Lessons of the May

Workers Movement

The draft programme states that "throughout the country workers are coming forward in greater numbers to lead struggles not only in the shops and unions, but also in many other battle fronts against the bourgeoisie—for example, against police repression or imperialist aggression and war...These workers are the backbone of the working-class organization that is built up by workers and is carried on by voluntary effort at a higher political level than caucuses—directing its spearhead squarely at the ruling class." (p. 31)

In the Bay Area, a large area was organized in this kind of this local for a long time. The May 1st Workers Movement (M1WM) grew out of last year's May Day events in the Bay Area, but its roots go back several years. Ever since the publication of Red Papers 2 in 1968, the M1WM has been working with other organizations that are intermediate between communist organizations and the union trades as a key aspect of building the revolutionary workers' movement.

In the Bay Area, in addition to work in particular industries and the development of caucuses and other forms of organization there, the M1WM played a leading role in developing area-wide organizations to support the Farah strikes and the farmworkers and to build the fight against wage controls.

The Workers Committee Against Wage Controls (WCAWC) developed in 1973, after a successful campaign in defense of the workers who were locked up at the Pay Board. With the contracts of about five million workers coming up against the government's wage-increase ceiling, in addition to the WCAWC, the Committee published a widely-used pamphlet called Building the Committee.

The immediate experience that triggered this campaign, the M1WM has been actively involved in a number of important struggles, including the struggles of Asian immigrant workers in San Francisco's Chinatown, and the campaign against police repression. The main strength of the M1WM has been that it has continued on page 3.
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brought together a solid core of advanced workers from a number of different industries. These workers have united with communists to take important issues and struggles to the whole working class.

The work of the MIWM around the Rucker and Chinatown struggles helped to raise the class-consciousness of the strikers by showing them the reality of working with and through other revolutionary workers' movements. Auto, electronics, and postal workers, warehousemen, bus drivers, and many others worked the picket lines at Rucker, Lee Mah, and again Jung Sea, often under the banner of the MIWM.

These workers came out not simply on the basis of trade union solidarity (although this was the starting point for some), but because they understood that the fight against the oppression of women, minority peoples, and immigrants was a crucial part of the struggle. Together with the MIWM, Rucker strikers marched through a barrio in the Bay Area to protest the murder of a young Chicano, and stood on crowded street corners in San Francisco's Chinatown passing out leaflets about the Jung Sai and Lee Mah struggles.

In the preparations for the Abei/E.N.A. demonstration, the MIWM strengthened its ties with the various caucuses around key campaigns and to take a unified political line to the broad masses of workers.

This process took a big step forward with the work around the recent Abei/E.N.A. demonstration, but it's an area where there is much work to be done. Only by doing this, and by helping to develop intermediate organizations in key industries where they don't yet exist, will the MIWM be able to develop deep ties with the working class.

Another important question that has been struggled within the MIWM from its very beginning is that of the correct mass line, particularly the question of whether the revolutionary overthrow of the system and the building of a revolutionary workers' movement, should be projected as the organization's level of unity. Of course, within the MIWM R9 cadre and others have put forward the necessity of building a revolutionary workers' movement that will lead the broad united front in overthrowing imperialism and establishing socialism, the rule of the working class. And just about all of the workers who are active organization within a particular industry was seen in contradiction to building the MIWM.

This question is still in the process of being resolved. But it is becoming much clearer that when organizations are viewed from the standpoint of political line—winning the active workers to an anti-imperialist understanding and program and then taking this boldly back to the masses of workers—then the question of organizational relationships becomes less complicated. It is correct and necessary to build intermediate organizations within particular industries, but in the course of building these it is also necessary to strengthen their ties with the MIWM.

Of course, this can't be done in the real world by issuing charters or by formal declarations of affiliation. The MIWM is not some kind of left-wing "central labor council." In fact, it has had to fight against the dual union tendencies that spontaneously develop among workers and others who are disillusioned by the miserable, treacherous record of the trade union leadership.

Back into the Shops

In applying the "simple spark method," it is important for communists and active workers to take the main political lessons of key struggles back into the shops and to apply these lessons to the struggles developing there. On the whole the MIWM has not done this consistently.

At the Rucker strike, for example, there were a number of mass mobilizations where large numbers of workers came out to the picket lines. The same was true at Lee Mah and Jung Sea. But the MIWM did not consistently find the ways to take the main issues and the key lessons of these struggles out to the many thousands of workers in the shops and hiring halls who did not actively support these strikes.

There was some definite improvement on this front in the preparation for a "Defend the Right to Strike—Smash the E.N.A.'s picket line and rally held in Concord, Calif., recently when labor tailor I.W. Abel showed his ugly face there. The MIWM called the demonstration and united with a number of caucuses and other organizations to build it. A general leaflet was widely distributed at plants throughout the Bay Area, and also door to door and at shopping centers in a local area where U.S. Steel has a large mill. In addition, some of the caucuses put out their own leaflets or newspaper articles linking the E.N.A. in steel with the particularities of the right to strike in their own industries.

In building for the Abel/E.N.A. demonstration, the MIWM strengthened its ties with the various caucuses and intermediate organizations that have been developing in a number of industries and unions. For a while there had been a lot of confusion about the relationship between the MIWM and these organizations—sometimes for workers and cadres who had been relating actively to both this had been a problem.

To some degree this confusion developed because of a tendency to view things organizationally rather than politically. The question of political line, and of viewing organizations from the standpoint of building the revolutionary workers' movement within the concrete conditions in each area and industry, was sometimes
the best way to do this is for the workers' organization to call to build as many workers as possible in an organization that takes up the struggle on the shop floor, builds this struggle as a revolutionary struggle, and, at the same time, takes up other major struggles of the whole class. In this way workers see how their shop floor struggles and broad, class-wide struggles are aimed at the same enemy.

Building the IWO as an open-ended organization with a fighting program around the shop issues and the broader campaigns is also crucial in forming area-wide IWOs encompassing many industries. At present our area is building such an area-wide IWO and the view is that the various industrial "sections" of the IWO be firmly rooted in, and leading, the day-to-day shop struggles. It is not enough to say, as the draft program does, that the IWO "must be based mainly in the plants and other work places." They must lead the struggles in the plant. If they do not, then they are, or will inevitably become, paper organizations which fail to act as workers and workers' organization out of the daily shop battles of the working class. The IWO proposed in the draft programme make them into organizations which unite people ideologically around an understanding of imperialism, and not programmatically on the basis of a fighting program, a program which is not static, but develops and grows as the level of struggle intensifies.
Using Single Spark Method in Steel

We want to sum up recent experiences that coincide with the last two decades of the 20th century. These experiences have broadened our understanding of the revolutionary workers' movement in a large basic industry.

How to understand that working class learns through its day-to-day struggle and applies the single spark method in a conscious way to unite the workers take matters into their own hands and wage a blow for blow struggle against the enemy, inside and outside the factory, the company, the rank and file organizations, unite with the advanced forces and consolidate them? How do we Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought as a living science which helps us develop and apply.

We put out a special leaflet dealing just with layoffs and workers really dug it. (One guy said he took it 20 times). The single spark method could have been summed up and fanned as a spark in the overall struggle where a dozen guys refused to do a job (fighting for health and job safety). This was during this period. Recently, in meeting the draft and workers, especially the single spark method, he said: "Yes, guys, we took it out of the package and did it for a few weeks. After we should have put up a sheet of paper saying what happened and the lessons learned and spread it all over the mill.

In another struggle, 20 workers got sent home for refusing to do a job another department had done (because of layoffs they didn't have the personnel). This was a key battle and victory, based on the unity and militancy of workers refusing to work at the risk of losing their jobs and pensions. In this battle, rank and file organization and union officials trying to funnel it into reformist channels. Discussion about this walk-off continued for months, and our line was that the shop, using it as a spark to show the way, forward and defeat the defeatist lines coming out.

Several Struggles

In one shop the company organized a special shop meeting to reject the "drive" and bring in a layoff. (There were only 10 people and they decided to quit and let 20 more of the shop meet and discuss the layoff). Workers built their unity by letting the company know and letting him know what they thought. In the end, when people walked on the picket lines fed out and even taking matters into their own hands, calling for a walk on the when the union officials decided.

After the meeting, the company pulled out all the stops, offering deals, pleading, making threats, even threatening violence. The workers were taking sides and lining up, and some unions were trying to red-bait and trap us), laying out the lines fed out and even taking matters into their own hand, calling for a walk out when the union officials decided.

At the time of the massive layoffs, we discussed in the caucus how we would fight them. We said: "Let's do just the opposite of what they do!" We decided to take the issue of layoffs to the shop, to make it a political question, at least to build consciousness and through this develop struggle (we weren't sure what). One advanced worker wrote in big magic marker letters on a locker room wall, "We've got a right to work." All hell broke loose. There was intense discussion, with goons writing counter-black and workers backing our struggle. We started putting stickers up with "Slow Down". "No foremen working". "They say layoff, we say no". "Sidelines". "No outside contractors". "Fight for every job!" etc.

Lines began to be drawn, with the blackbuck打卡ing us to organize, union members asking many honest questions, and the advanced looking for other ways to fight. We got a lot of the workers to follow the controversy and the company started pulling the stickers down, but they'd pop back just as fast. And whenever we were bold enough to try to take control of the shop, the workers backed us up.

Work around the Consent Decree is a good example. During the period from Nov. to Jan., this was the most active period of the whole movement. The company was using the Decree to increase divisions in the class, especially to pit Black against white. We decided to take the issue of layoffs to the shop, using it as a spark to show the way forward and defeat the defeatist lines coming out. Several Struggles

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Steel...

Continued from page 4

using it as a spark to fan all throughout the mill. Our failure to do this was based on a tendency to look at things plant-wide and make the major focus of struggle that within the union, trying to get the local to take action, instead of linking the broader issues to the day-to-day struggles being waged via the single spark method.

Day-to-Day Struggles

Through these struggles, we have begun to "win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy and to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses." We have much to learn about consolidating advanced workers, but some have come forward to fight consistently in the shops and to participate in broader political activities (such as May Day). And the caucus has definitely become a force which workers look towards. Our last leaflet was handed out at the gates and for the first time in such a haulout, hundreds of workers stopped to take it. Responses included, "We've got to get this wider distribution," many took extra copies in with them, and one worker came off the leaflet to his first union meeting in 10 years working at the mill!

Through all this we are learning how communists lead the working class in learning through its day-to-day struggles. We've seen the mass line be a force that workers take as their own and use to change reality. We more clearly see that the mass line must be used to mobilize the rank and file around a fighting program representing its interests.

Workers are looking for and demanding leadership—leadership which provides a concrete program of action and which helps take that action. And we've come off the leaflet to his first union meeting in 10 years working at the mill! Workers are looking for and demanding leadership—leadership which provides a concrete program of action and which helps take that action. And we've come off the leaflet to his first union meeting in 10 years working at the mill!

DAY TO DAY STRUGGLES

A lot of questions and confusion have grown up over the section of the draft programme on classes, especially the working class. This criticism has focused not about who is in the working class, but more about how the class defines itself.

The first two paragraphs are fine. But then the draft programme makes "productive labor" as some kind of key characteristic of the proletariat, and gets off the track.

What's the problem? First, it's a confusing distinction, and one that doesn't really make much difference in terms of the class struggle. What, for instance, is the difference between a giant employed by the government, one employed by a large merchandising firm, and one employed by Gulf Oil? Not very much at all in terms of social being, conditions, and the consciousness and kinds of struggle growing up out of that. But the draft programme gets all hung up in separating them on the basis of whether their wages are paid out of revenue, whether they create or just make possible the realization of surplus value, etc. No matter where the wages come from, the key thing is their conditions of life, which are basically the same.

Or take it from another angle. A worker in a small machine shop of eight or ten workers engages in productive labor—that is, creates surplus value—and is paid out of the value he creates. A postal worker at a large bulk mail sorting facility does not create surplus value, and is paid out of revenues. The draft programme as now written elevates this to a very important and significant point. But the really important and significant point is which worker is in a job where the socialization, need for unity, and sense of the collective power of the working class is more likely to come out.

It would be much better to use this section—which appears in the chapter of the draft programme on united front—to help people grasp why the proletariat leads the united front. The polemics in Red Papers 4 bring this out really clearly, especially in the whole debate over "largeness of mind." Let me quote at length from Red Papers 4, since I think it does a good job of showing why "the backbone of the working class are the workers in large-scale enterprises, engaging in highly socialized work."

"By proletariat we mean, first and foremost, the workers in large-scale industry, who are concentrated in the factories of the monopoly capitalists. These workers must be developed as the leadership of the entire working class—which includes all those who own no means of production, who are forced to sell their labor power to live and whose condition of life is similar to that of the industrial proletariat. Many of this last group of workers, especially those whose work is highly socialized, will play an extremely important role in the revolutionary movement. Many of them already are—hospital workers are a very important example...

"The conditions of the proletariat and its historical experience as a class demonstrate the necessity of cooperation, of collective rather than individual struggle; and they also make clear the relations of class forces in society—who is the main enemy and who are the potential allies..."

"In addition to its socialization, the proletariat, because of its relation to large-scale means of production, is more able than any other group in society—even more than other sections of the working class—to recognize the tremendous potential of the productive forces, once they can be liberated from the capitalist exploiters. These workers are best able to grasp the fact that revolution is not only a process of tearing down the old society—destroying the state machinery of the capitalist class and its control over the means of production—but of building the new society, based on the workers' collective ownership of the means of production and control of the state...."

"The point is that in the experience of the working class lies the greatest material basis for revolutionary understanding and organization. Where else, but in the large factories and thousands of oppressed and exploited people—white and Third World, male and female—concentrated together?...And where but in factory life can the discipline necessary to carry through struggle be developed thoroughly?"

We now know that some of these formulizations are wrong—but the overall thrust is still correct, and reiterates the ideas that we want to crystallize in this section. In reading Mao's Analysis of Classes In Chinese Society the emphasis is on the conditions of production of the different classes, and the consciousness and forms of struggle that these give rise to. By focusing on the question of "productive labor"—which was fairly obscure to myself and other comrades before the draft programme came out—we don't focus on what's really important—how the different classes will line up in struggle and especially why and how the proletariat will lead. In fact, making it all hang on "productive labor" could even leave the door open to "new working class" crap—after all, engineers, computer programmers and even professional baseball players do "productive labor."

One final point—over two years ago I helped to lead a workers' study group, and in this group a debate arose over who would lead the revolution—the "brothers off the block," since they were angrier, or the industrial proletariat. We read and discussed this section of Red Papers 4, and the more advanced workers in the group used the ideas in it to combat and defeat the other line.

(Lastly, a related question on the classes section: what is the dividing line between non-monopoly bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie who own small shops? Amount of capital? Amount of workers employed? Please clarify.)
Focusing Struggle in UWOC Work

Explaining the single spark method, our organization's draft programme states: "To seize on every spark of struggle, a broad-based program should be possible throughout the working class and among its allies. To build every possible struggle and build off of it to launch new struggles, and to avoid the futility for every battalion of consciousness, to identify and isolate the bourgeoisie and its agents, and unite all struggles against this enemy," (p. 32). The question arises: "How to use this method in practice? The local UWOC chapter, both through its work in organizing against a utility rate hike and in its work organizing the Jobs or Income campaign, has gained some insights into the implementation of the single spark method.

In both of the campaigns—one against the energy freeze and the other against unemployment—we found that it was only when these "broad issues" were made real through concrete struggle against specific targets that the masses came forward to fight, and that therefore lessons could be learned. In other words, in raising this issue, we found out that when you bring this "issue on the enemy" that masses could be moved into action, into struggle. And it is only through struggle that the masses will learn about the nature of the system, and the need to smash it.

Fight the Energy Freeze—Stop the Rate Hike!

When the UWOC chapter launched a fight against a proposed 25% utility rate hike last fall, it raised the level of consciousness in this industry down to its highest level in years. Although we have since summed up that it was incorrect for UWOC to relate to this fight as its major campaign for a several month period (more on this later), important lessons were learned during the course of the campaign.

When attempts had been made to mobilize the masses to fight what was going down. We put out pretty good propaganda around the country to turn this whole thing around. But we had been frustrated, to a large extent, in our attempts to mobilize the masses to fight what was going down. We put out pretty good propaganda around the issue, and distributed it widely—the gas lines were miles long, and Ian paper sold like hotcakes—but the masses just didn't come forward. As the comrades put it in the first issue of "Forward to the Party! Struggle for the Party!": "people got a few good ideas...but that's where it was left."

The fight against the rate hike provided a focus for the struggle and the energy freeze, and beyond that, some "energy-related" attacks, the struggle was built as a symbol for the many attacks coming down on our standard of living. As the real struggle against the rate hike was on, we found that limiting our agitation to running down this or that bit of dirt on the power company and its hanky-panky with the local politicians and city officials, would not have helped the workers in any way, but just didn't provide the spark that would swing them into action.

However, when we put the attack forward as a real glaring example of the attacks of the bourgeoisie on the working class in the deepest depressions, it put forward as a broad-based program to smash the system, and the workers should stand up and fight these attacks on our standard of living, workers came forward enthusiastically. Furthermore, we pointed out that this fight was just one part of a huge battle going on against the same system throughout the country and around the world, and the masses drew real strength from seeing that this fight is also part of a growing anti-imperialist workers' movement.

It was through this struggle that communists working on the committee against the rate hikes were able to draw out revolutionary lessons: the role of the state, the depth of the crisis and the desperation of the bourgeoisie, and the growing strength of the working class—especially in times of crisis, do everything they can to undermine the activists and spread it as broadly as possible throughout the working class and among its allies. To build every possible struggle and build off of it to launch new struggles, and to avoid the futility for every battalion of consciousness, to identify and isolate the bourgeoisie and its agents, and unite all struggles against this enemy."

The journal summed up, "The main demand of the unemployed today is 'Jobs or Income!'

The crisis is the product of capitalism, and the capitalists, not the workers, must pay...Union jobs at union wages—and the same income for those without jobs—this is the uncompromising stand of the working class." (p. 32) We feel that all of the new Party's work around unemployment should be tied to this text to this demand. All of our struggles against unemployment are strengthened by uniting them under this banner, and, because the demands in all of these struggles are aimed at the same enemy, it serves to further expose the bourgeoisie and make it feel the pressure of the workers in the struggle.

We feel that in our work around the rate hike it was not correct for us to ignore what is the fundamental demand of the class around unemployment. And so, with the experience of the rate hike fight, and beginning to grasp the importance of rallying all of our struggles against unemployment under the banner of Jobs or Income Now, we launched our work around that demand.

Overtime Work: The Capitalists' Tool to Cheat You Out of Your Work

As the draft programme says: "...the capitalists, especially in times of crisis, do everything they can to pit the employed and unemployed against each other..." (p. 32). It is the job of communists to stop these divide and conquer schemes and to unite employed and unemployed in struggle against our common enemy. We feel that the demand "no more overtime during layoffs" doesn't do this. This demand implies that the workers cannot win to seeing their interests as a class and cannot be won over to the refusal of overtime as a tactic to force the company to hire back. And if some workers cannot be won over to refuse overtime, then the only thing we can do is force the company from "giving" it. This demand tends to pit the unemployed, who need their jobs back, against those working, who may need to work overtime to make ends meet.

We are convinced that workers can be won to seeing their interests as a class, that they can be won over to voluntarily refuse overtime.

Our demand should be: No Forced Overtime, at Any Time. But it must be coupled with an end to: A Decent, Liveable Wage Without Overtime, Mass refusal of overtime is a strong weapon in the hands of the working class in its fight against layoffs. But we must win the class over to this fight. And we must certainly: FORWARD TO THE PARTY! STRUGGLE FOR THE PARTY!
Continued from page 6

government.
We also united with state workers in their battles for their strikes, while at the same time organizing support for the strikes among the unemployed. We put forward—while the potential strikes would objectively mean that we would not be getting our unemployment checks, our food stamps, or our welfare checks—our insistence on jobs or income, and we say fight for jobs or income, because this is not stated going to workers’ demands, not siding with the government to crush the strike.
We went out to students and local community groups to tell the workers that we were going to school either to pick up skills in hope of finding work, or, in the case of most veterans, going to school to collect benefits because there were no jobs. In all of these cases we tied the struggles—the particular struggles—with the general demand of our class for jobs or income, and pointed to the greater strength that all of our struggles would gain by uniting with other members of the class against unemployment. Furthermore, we say that the key link between these struggles was the need of workers for jobs or income now, and pointed to the importance of laying the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the bosses.

A Success

The march was definitely a success and a real solid step in our building the movement of the unemployed here. Over 60 people turned out to the meetings, we have drawn new workers into the struggle, and there is a growing awareness of and respect for the struggle and UWOC amongst the masses. However, some important weaknesses have been suggested to us by this process. One of these is that we feel are tied to lack of a really firm grasp of the rate hike fight. This is—and unlike the rate hike campaign—we have done a lot of the struggle around any one of the particular issues thoroughly enough. We had called actions, we staged picket lines, and we put out a good deal of literature. However, had we built a real campaign around any one of these particular issues (while of course not ignoring the other fronts of the struggle) rather than limiting ourselves to “one-shot deals,” the workers who came forward would have been provided the basis from which revolutionary lessons could have been drawn from our mistakes.

As it was, we felt that our ties with the workers who did come forward during the campaign would be much stronger, and that their consequences would definitely be at a higher level, had we built systematic struggle around any one of the aspects of the working class’ fight against unemployment—drawing out the need for revolution while building concrete struggle for immediate gains.

Coming off the march, building on our gains while working to overcome errors, we are building a campaign for JOBS—NOT PROMISES! Initially, we did in fact fall into the right errors which we had recognized in our work which will be disastrous is left unchecked. These are serious errors that make us look very stupid. Of course we expose CETA—and any other phony programs. However, had we built a real campaign around any one of these particular issues (while of course not ignoring the other fronts of the struggle) rather than limiting ourselves to “one-shot deals,” the workers who came forward would have been provided the basis from which revolutionary lessons could have been drawn from our mistakes.

But what does this slogan mean when we raise it in these other cases? Nothing. We have a job we want to lose—so we say we want jobs or income. No—that could mean jobs with payouts, part-time, etc. In the case of layoffs it means no layoffs. In the case of plant closing it means either no layoffs, no shutdown or specific demands about severance pay, benefits, pensions, etc. that make it clear that if the bosses are going to leave us without jobs we are going to take every penny we can wring from them.

In this period of economic crisis our overall slogan is “We won’t take the losses for the bosses—Fights, Don’t Starve!” and “Employed, Unemployed, Same Critic, Same Fight.” These tactical slogans point to the problem and our answer. Then we have specific demands—jobs or income, the slogan of the class arising from the unemployed, and No Layoffs, No Speedups, No Payouts, etc. the slogans of the class arising from the employed. To shoehorn everything under the Jobs or Income demand is a right error. It is not to educate the masses and show that the class should be united because we face the same imperialist enemy and its economic crisis, and not because we have the same demand. And it leads to defeat in the fight against layoffs because it does not lend sharpness and clarity to the struggle but just makes a mush of things.

This does not mean that we do not take the fight for jobs or income to workers in the shops. Of course we do. Feb. 1975 Revolution has a good example of how we bring this campaign in Employed/Unemployed Committees and to the unions. Unemployment is the fight of the entire working class in its battle against wage slavery and for socialist revolution. This is what we bring to the workers.
Student Organizing in the New Period

From its formation, the RU has actively taken up the task of building a revolutionary student movement, correctly recognizing the contributions students can make to the fight of the proletariat—contributions that have been made in the U.S. and in revolutionary struggles throughout the world.

Given the rapidly developing new conditions—the formation of a single proletarian vanguard—a revolutionary vanguard, the Party, the revolutionary workers' movement, along with the ever-deepening economic crisis of U.S. imperialism, it is now time to, once and for all, sum up and re-evaluate our work among students.

How can we best unite with students, build revolutionary struggles, and contribute to proletarian revolution? How can we best train young Marxist-Leninists who come out of the revolutionary struggles students wage into being the fighting representatives for the further interests of the working class?

This paper is written by a few comrades who have actively worked in building the struggle of students for quite a while. Through study and discussion of the draft program, and summation of several years of student work, we have come to the old period. At that time, the revolutionary communist party must boldly lead the future struggles of youth and students, linking them up clearly with the fight of the proletariat.

A crucially important part of this task is the creation of an organization that will enable the proletariat to tackle the store of energy and initiative that youth hold, and help the Party of the working class lead the growing struggles of youth and students. We have summed up that the formation of student organizations is the main area of the RU's student work—the RSB—a mass anti-imperialist student organization, does not meet the needs of the proletariat in terms of campus work at this time.

Young Communist League

While the RSB has certainly made contributions to breakthroughs in student work, many more advances forward. In fact, the continuation of the present form of the RSB can only be a brake on the proletariat. The road ahead lies with the Party launching a youth group—a Young Communist League—that takes up the struggles of youth and the overall major struggle of the working class, with its Party, develops the mass organizations needed to further these struggles. The Young Communist League (YCL) would unite all the potentially strong allies of the working class, when the struggle of the masses of Black people come out of the revolutionary struggles students wage into being the fighting representatives for the further interests of the working class.

The road ahead lies with the Party launching such an organization among students, and the revolutionary struggles that were launched by the students were not linked up properly to the different struggles of the American people, particularly the working class, often making a principle of its independence from the proletariat—with ideas such as white workers were bought off.

The lack of a genuine Party, along with the tendencies of students and intellectuals to subjectivism, vacillation, etc. due to their material isolation from production, enabled a number of utopian "get rich quick schemes" to gain credence among progressive and revolutionary minded youth—from the idea of "student power" to the concept of youth and students going the revolutionary route alone and being the vanguard force.

All of these factors helped contribute to a number of people becoming confused as to what were the effects of waging mass struggle after the storm of student protest in the late '60s had not brought the ruling class down. The student movement died.

Of course, during the course of this, a number of people moved forward to Marxism-Leninism—making the leap to an understanding that it was proletarian ideology and the working class that was the vanguard that would lead the fight against imperialism to its successful conclusion. Many of these people left the campuses and went to the class—many of whom joined the RU—and in a relatively short period of time they came to see the importance of the student movement as part of the United Front with proletarian leadership.

Formation of RSB

In this context, the RU took up as one of its tasks the task of building the student movement. We summed up the old student movement, trying to weed out a number of weaknesses that existed in it and trying to make an effort without the weaknesses of the Brigade as a form of organization, let's look at the RSB and the mass organizations.

Ultimately, most of these organizations merged at the founding convention of the RSB last year in Iowa City. The RSB was based on two loose and vague principles: 1) support for national liberation struggles abroad and 2) support for oppressed people at home.

Students, a part of youth, as a part of youth is necessary to review the characteristics of youth and the particular character of students. Chairman Mao once said, "You young people are full of vitality and can people, the student movement was severely weakened without the leadership of a genuine proletarian vanguard. The victories, defeats, and lessons of that period were not properly brought back to the masses of students, and the revolutionary struggles that were launched by the students were not linked up properly to the different struggles of the American people, particularly the working class, often making a principle of its independence from the proletariat—with ideas such as white workers were bought off.

The proletariat applauds and wants to tap youth's innovativeness, rebelliousness and enthusiasm. At the same time, the vigor and rebelliousness of youth must be anchored by the material experience and materialism of the proletariat. "There is only one path that offers youth a genuine opportunity to put to use its enthusiasm, its innovativeness, its daring and determination to change the world—proletarian revolution. Here and only here will they genuinely find a life with a purpose." (p. 48) The Party must develop an organization that boldly takes up the struggle that youth wage, while showing the bright road forward to proletarian revolution.

Serving the Proletariat

Students, a part of youth, come from many different class backgrounds, particularly to the petty bourgeoisie. Many of them fit into the category of the intelligentsia—trained to serve the bourgeoisie, if given proper leadership, can serve the proletariat. As the Chinese say, "Although they were not free to choose their class origin, they are certainly free to chart their own future."

Students go to many different kinds of schools which have different purposes for the ruling class. Schools provide the means of socializing young people into capitalism—promoting bourgeois ideology. Schools also train youth to take positions in society—all the way from lab technicians, physical therapists, and teachers, to lawyers, doctors, and businessmen.

While primarily attended by youth from the petty bourgeoisie struggling to maintain their position in a class system, the working class, along with the ever-deepening class struggle students wage, and the working class that was the vanguard that would lead the fight against imperialism to its successful conclusion.

Concluded on page 9
Students...

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A program of struggle must be built around the at

Inadequacies of RSB

It is in this context—what is the best way to build

Warting Down Ideology

In its determination to build an independent stu-

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Students...

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that the Brigade directed its fire at the capitalist enemy as sharply as it could—as assuring it within the Brigade's rather uncomfortable principles of unity. This demand-
ed a well-rounded and integrated view of imperialism to be a Brigade member—as work over the course of the school year varies from outbacks, Indochina, Zionism to strike support. In fact, at this time, the RSB is made up of many hundreds of students, most of whom are dedicated revolutionaries, but it doesn't include masses of students beyond that.

The RSB is neither a scientific Marxist-Leninist or-
ganization nor is it a mass organization that involves masses of students in struggle. Instead, the RSB tries to combine the two into one, and fails at both. It puts forward some science, but not in an all-rounded and dia-
tactical way. It programmatically unites with students, but the unity demands a well-developed understanding of the workings of imperialism, way above the general understanding of the masses of students. Thus the Bri-
gade winds up uniting with students around a half sci-
tific view of revolution, that pretends ignorance of the
tical way. It programmatically unites with students,

No doubt the 2 into 1-ism of the Brigade was at least part of the reason for problems the Brigade had that we were never able to totally root out. Both in terms of how it went out and united students in struggle and the revolutionary ideas that it would bring out, study, and sum up. For in going out and developing struggle among students—whether around outbacks, po-
lice repression, etc.—Brigade members often saw them-
themselves as cadres of vague “anti-imperialist” ideology.

And, of course, because we saw the Brigade and anti-imperialism as the leadership of the student move-
ment, and not proletarian leadership, the work of communists was hidden within the Brigade—and the masses of students learned nothing of Marxism-Lenin-
ism and the fact that it was communists who were the driving force in building struggles on the campuses. This also left the campuses wide open for phony com-

Some of the best examples of the problems of the Brigade’s “independent” character came out whenever the Brigade tried to organize a study group among the students it was bringing into motion and struggle, some-
ting it never could do no matter how many times con-

Significant Contributions

The way out is for the Party to develop a Young Communist League open to the revolutionary-minded students wanting to apply Marxism-Leninism to the struggles of the masses of people. And with the Party and its youth group developing a fighting program and mass organizations to unite students and unfold revolu-

Given our level of understanding when we took up build-
ing the brigade, it was certainly correct to build it. And the Attica Brigade and the RSB made signifi-
cent contributions to the revolutionary struggles of the American people. It built important struggles on the campuses—particularly during the Throw the Burn Out Campaign and in cutback struggles. It brought to hundreds of thousands of students revolutionary ideas, while leading struggles that involved tens of thousands of students against the capitalist enemy. And through the course of these struggles, many rev-

There is no social movement which is “independent” of class leadership. The proletariat and its Party must go out, build, and lead every battle, every movement. And it must do so openly and boldly. It must bring the answer of proletarian revolution to youth's quest for life with a purpose. It must actively show youth the way out of the capitalist mess. And that way is for youth to use its muscle, its powerful muscle, for the working class. Let's take the fetters off, and build a mass student and youth movement led by the pro-

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No. 10 • March 1972
In our discussion of the draft programme, we felt that the subsection "Life Under Socialism" (pp. 8-12), in the section "Socialism and Communism" (p. 7-14), did not reflect the strong class stand of the draft programme as a whole. This shortcoming had the effect of weakening the entire section.

The criticism focused on two closely related errors. First, socialism tends to be portrayed as a static oppo- site of capitalism, which is not true. As Chairman Enrico pointed out, socialism has a great deal in common with capitalism, since its starting point is no more than the old capitalist society in its entirety. Socialism is a transition period, characterized not only by class struggle (which is dealt with in the ideological level in this section "The Struggle for Communist Society"), but also by the struggle with nature to constantly transform society and move it to a higher level.

Second, and more important, the subsection does not sufficiently reflect that it is the efforts of the working class and its allies that actually build socialism. "The means to the end" is the potential inescapable method for socialism. To turn this potential into reality, we must avoid the tendency to present socialism as an abstract idea. "While the working class is struggling, the whole section will be "struggle-struggle-struggle.""

We felt that this was a distortion and that what we were struggling for was in fact an improved vision that would show readers what the lair programme means clearly to the role of the working class in the process of building socialism.

We decided that the best way to make this point was to submit a rewritten "Life Under Socialism" subsection. In doing this we have altered only that subsection and attempted not to include material from the preceding and following sections. We have stuck as closely as possible to the content of the original, changing only the order in which it is written, so that we preserve the various aspects according to our criticisms, and a few minor unimportant points we felt were inaccurate or inappropriate in the original.

As a method of study, we suggest reading carefully the entire section of the draft programme "Socialism and Communism," checking the original "Life Under Socialism" subsection to evaluate the criticism made of it. Then read the new version of the subsection below to evaluate shortcomings in the original. We hope and are confident that our comrades will be able to come up with further criticisms and suggestions in the course of study, discussion and struggle.

The working class in making revolution keeps always in mind its final goal—to transform all of society, to wipe out all of the ulcers left over from capitalism, to create the state of socialism. When that has been done, communism, classless society, will have been achieved, and humanity will enter a whole new stage of its development. There will no longer be the state, since there will no longer be any class to suppress, and the state will be replaced with common administration of society.

But the advance from capitalism to communism requires a long period of transition. This transition period is socialism, which is the first, and not the end, stage of communism. This period begins with everything just as the bourgeoisie has left it in its death throes. The only difference from the capitalist system that was overthrown is that now the oppressed and downtrodden are the masters. But this is all the difference that is necessary. In the working class, with its insights, is free of the chains of capital and private ownership, free to rebuild society as it should be.

Socialist society is built in the image of the cold-hearted, grasping parasites who rule it. Socialist society will be constructed by the proletariat in its own image—cooperative and revolutionary. The power to create and the ability to cooperate will permit the working class to create a thoroughly plan, through its state, society's development.

The elimination of theocrisy of capitalism and the class distinction among people.

Although socialism is not yet full communism, it is a tremendous advance over capitalism; it is the road to communism. The key to this transition period is the dictatorship of the proletariat which must be defended and strengthened by the working class.

Under socialism, there will be jobs for all. The reason for unemployment has never been that there is no work to be done! People need enough food, decent housing, new roads and transportation systems, better social services, good clothing and furniture, all the necessities of life. Everyone's labor is needed to produce these. And as the working class develops new machinery and scientific methods to expand output, workers will not be thrown into the streets. Instead they will be transferred to other jobs according to an overall plan, and gradually the length of the work day for all workers will be reduced.

Nor will working be the boring, grinding hell it is under capitalism. Workers need no longer slave endlessly to keep their heads above water—only to wind up enriching capital. It can further enslave the working class. Under socialism every drop of sweat will go to make a better life and a better future for the workers and their kids, and all of society.

Socialism requires a long period of transition. This transition will eliminate the anarchy of capitalism and its crises.

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that the only way to change things is to put faith in the masses of people. Under socialism, the working class will protect freedom of religion. But it will also put an end to the robbery of the masses by "holymen"—whether the fat leeches who control big organized religions or the "miracle working preachers" who hustle in every community. The party of the working class will at the same time lead a consistent political and ideological struggle against the basis of religious belief. The working class will have no need to believe in made-up supernatural beings, because its scientific outlook teaches that the real causes of things lie in the living struggle of opposing forces in nature and society. There will always be things which are not yet understood, but there is nothing that cannot be known, whose laws cannot be grasped through practice, thought and experience. And once the laws governing it are known, anything in the universe can be harnessed and transformed by the masses of people in their own interest.

Culture is a term used to describe the manner in which people live, and more particularly the various ways in which they express their various ideas and aspirations. But in every class society, among every people, there are two very distinct cultures, that of the masses of people, especially the working class, and that of the ruling class. These two cultures exist in every nation because the bourgeoisie lives, thinks and acts differently from the masses. The culture of the monopoly capitalists is so sterile and lifeless they are reduced to paying each other tens of thousands of dollars for pictures of soup cans. But they also use culture as they use education, to spread their corrupt and rotting values and outlook among the masses. They take the culture that the masses of people develop—the music, clothing, even the way people talk—and twist it to their own ends, profit and pushing their proslavery policies. Through their mass media—newspapers, magazines, books, radio, television, recordings, movies, etc.—the ruling class pushes out backward and divisive ideas. They glorify slavery and call for the return to the old society and by mobilizing them to defend and develop the bourgeoisie culture which leads to the oppression of the masses. They moan about the “non-white culture” and how we are diminishing the “glory” of capitalism. They use the language of the workers to justify their own exploitation and to keep the masses of people divided.

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Under socialism, education will serve the interests of the class that holds state power—the proletariat. Education will be available to all, through schools and colleges. It also needs some experts, specialists and managers and trains these from the youth of the working class. The bourgeoisie mystifies knowledge and learning—making fields like natural science, philosophy and economics seem complex and incomprehensible. But these are just ways of describing and explaining. The only way to change these is to put faith in the masses of people. Under socialism, the working class will protect freedom of religion. But it will also put an end to the robbery of the masses by "holymen"—whether the fat leeches who control big organized religions or the "miracle working preachers" who hustle in every community. The party of the working class will at the same time lead a consistent political and ideological struggle against the basis of religious belief. The working class will have no need to believe in made-up supernatural beings, because its scientific outlook teaches that the real causes of things lie in the living struggle of opposing forces in nature and society. There will always be things which are not yet understood, but there is nothing that cannot be known, whose laws cannot be grasped through practice, thought and experience. And once the laws governing it are known, anything in the universe can be harnessed and transformed by the masses of people in their own interest.

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Rewrite...

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capitalist class.

Those who, in capitalist society, are forced into crime for survival, because they cannot find work—at least not at a living wage—will no longer have the need to do so. They, too, will be re-educated and will take their place in the ranks of the revolutionary working class. Those who have made crime their business and have built whole criminal syndicates, like the Mafia, will be ruthlessly punished. Their organizations will be smashed by the armed power of the working class.

All these thoroughgoing changes in society will be possible under socialism because, and only because, the laboring masses have the power, the knowledge and imagination, and the will to do them. None of this, however, will take place instantly or by magic, just because the monopoly capitalists have been overthrown.

To insure its success, the working class will have a variety of organizations to involve the masses of people in the process of ruling and remaking society. The revolutionary party of the working class will be the leading organized force within the government and every aspect of society, but other forms will be developed to involve the maximum number of non-party fighters.

The government will have responsibility for keeping social order—mainly keeping the old ruling class down—and handling relations with other nations, but its most important task will be planning and coordinating the development of the economy and society as a whole. It will draw up its plans based on reports sent up from the masses around the country—what they need, what their ideas are, what they can produce. The government will then come up with a broad plan of what can and must be done. This will be sent down to the local levels with guidelines for each industry and area. The masses in every field of endeavor will study and discuss it—Is this correct? Can we meet these guidelines and how? Can we improve it?

The government will have many committees from among the workers to supervise the implementation of their plans. There will be high and mighty white-shirt managers—who with such responsibilities will come from among the workers and spend much of their time in the actual work in the shop. Organizations like factory committees will exist not only in every work place, but also in every community. These organs of working-class power will have the vital job of mobilizing the masses of people in carrying out socialist revolution, maintaining order, and seeing that the workers' specific needs are met. These mass organs will function in coordination with the government under the leadership of the proletarian party.

The working class will have a regular army—but unlike those of capitalist countries, there will be no reason to keep it separated from the masses of people.
The faith" cuts the heart out of Marxism-Leninism focus the blow of spontaneous struggles jumping off. "idea" anymore than any other "idea." At best, we the original contacts who formed our committee's

conditions in our struggle forced us to mobilize

"workers" the truly active workers who were respected

in the course of the struggle people team who

"rap sessions" to objective hold back the mass struggle. We felt

"workers" not only about every question of the immediate

"take their ball home." But our "BWC-PRRWO dogmatists did not want

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Learning...

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...every question of immediate struggle but also about the
events throughout society and the world. As our
union struggle was being waged, the Vietnam war was
raging on. Instead of us exposing the nature of the im-
perialist system around the war as well as other ques-
tions and drawing out the links between the struggles,
connecting all battles against the common enemy, we
were happy to organize anything to do with the trade
union struggle. At the same time, a young Black child
had been murdered by the cops. A whole community
struggle against police violence was being waged in the
community surrounding the hospital. But we drew out
no links and essentially ignored everything but the
trade union struggle. From our leftist [Kautskyist]
view, we felt the workers (especially white workers)
had a task in the imperialist system, that they should
in some way be benefited by the capitalism and try to
organize around their narrowest economic interests.

Struggle for economic concessions is just one form
of the working class struggles in. But the class sees
itself as a class in its struggle against all forms of
oppression and in relation to other classes and their
positions. Indeed, how can we speak of "the political
education" of the workers, if one does not recognize
the possibility of conducting political agitation and
political struggle? Surely, there is no need to prove
Social Democrats [communists] that there can be no
political education except through political struggle
where the workers can be "politicized". It must be imagined that (you)
can politically educate the masses of workers if they
are kept away from political activity and political

In the January issue of Revolution, it sums up
the danger of the error we made: "If the spontaneous
struggles of the working class are not carried against
not only its more obvious forms, such as the CP
(USA), and increasingly the OL, but also in its less
belligerent forms, such as on the shop floor, the Social
Democrats do not and will not take the leadership of
the mass movement to the bourgeoisie and its social
democratic front men anywhere. We will miss the
opportunity to develop the struggle and make revolutionary
consciousness among ever broader sections of the working class
and people, and will contribute to democratization and
proto-capitalist relations, especially in the ranks of reac-
tionaries, including in the newly formed party."

Social Democrats

With our "socialist" line we essentially failed the
workers and handed the leadership over to the 1199
social democrats. They constantly "spread illusions
among the people that the contradictions of capital-
ism can be somehow worked over. If they would
put forward liberal politicians as "saviors," "Kennedys,"
"McGoverns," etc., parading them in front of the
workers, like it says in the draft, "to take matters
up building for May Day."

In our earlier errors we had a bad conception of the kind of
organization which essentially was based on "moving
the trade unions to the left." Because this caucus by
its very nature was mixed in trade union in-fighting
with the officials over every question, when other
struggles came up outside the union, it was always
hard for the caucus to respond.

Now we have an independent political organiza-
tion and newsletter in our shop that has been active-
ly involved not only in our recent contract struggle,
but also in the community and political struggle.

During the recent contract struggle we struggled
to make our local militant take up preparations for a
strike and take up the mass demands. We were suc-
cessful in mobilizing the rank and file independently to
take up the fight.

When the contract was finally sabotaged and the
officials aided the bosses in throwing it into arbitra-
tion, we didn't stand on the side. We mobilized the
rank and file and took actions against harassment
and exposed the nature of arbitration and the whole
state of the apparatus.

The arbitrator, seeing that the workers were ready
to move if their demands weren't met, was forced to
give in to all but one of our demands and "apologized"
to the bosses in the agreement by stating that he had
to give in to all of our demands "or a constant melt
with endless requests will be our fate.

Besides actively taking up the campaigns of the
class, we recently took up the struggle against under-
staffing and attrition. The union officials refused to
take any action in "negotiation's rights." So we
mobilized the workers independently and after some
struggle won four jobs.

If we had not reduced this struggle to a struggle for
the control of the union, and not mobilizing the rank
and file, we would have won nothing and only helped
breed cynicism.

Also, from our leadership in these struggles and
the fighting organization these workers' groups provide,
workers are drawn into struggle. Many of these work-
ers come into these struggles at a very low level of
understanding, many times agreeing with only one
particular struggle the group is helping to lead. But
through the course of struggle many of these active
workers, through the help of communists, are able to
make connections and link up their struggles with
other struggles against oppression and exploitation.

An Example

One example in our struggle. In our contract fight
a young white guy who was fed up with the hacks' "stale tactics" came forward and joined us in the strug-
gle. This gave us an opportunity to wage struggle on
many fronts—one of which was the national question.
In early discussions, it was obvious that the bourgeoisie's
lies had really confused him and he was particularly
backward on this question. But through the course of
the struggles, and meeting with other workers and trying
to explain the issues and common interests, and with
cases discussing this question in depth with him, he has moved forward on
a whole new level.

When the police repression campaign work got into
full swing a cadre was reluctant to approach this young
guy about taking out a petition around the question—
especially since it raised the question of special oppres-
sion of Blacks and Latins. When he was finally approach-
ed he took the petition, read it and had his whole floor
sign it.

These organizations are fighting organizations and their
program of action attracts many workers while aiding
the struggle. It is the role of the communists through
the course of these struggles to sum up and connect
each thread of every battle and link them—
constantly pointing out and focusing the blows against
the imperialist enemy.

These organizations are valuable instruments in the
class struggle not only in aiding our day-to-day battles
but our struggles to make our trade unions fighting
organizations, but in focusing all the workers' strug-
gles against the source of oppression and exploitation
in a revolutionary way.
"Class Stand Is Shown in Practice"

The Boston busing article in the first journal quotes several paragraphs from the draft programme, that the "workers learn in the course of struggle." But communists also learn that way! And all the errors we talk about in the journal article looking over our shoulders at the "rose of the old movement," or oscillating and uniting with the NAACP) would have been harder to fall into if we had consciously practiced the mass line. In our area (and we would suppose all over the country) there has been a deepening of our understanding of this—based, of course, on time and on struggle.

Sometimes comrades thought it was mirroring what the masses were saying ("the police are never there when you need them"), but even when people correctly understood it was summing up the scattered and un-systematic ideas, putting them back out in a systematized way (a program), many times people thought you just put them out, and didn't understand it also meant persevering till the masses grasp them on their own.

This is another key thing we failed to do in the Boston busing struggle. Even with the limited program we could have had if we didn't consistently persevere in putting this out and thus learn in the course of the struggle how to deepen and expand this program, make it more closely conform to reality. Of course we shouldn't have held back until we felt we had the perfect, fullest, most proletarian program in the world. But we had to, once we had summed up to the best of our ability the way forward, consistently go out, attempt to win people to this, both in South Boston and elsewhere.

The last point is that the journal article mentions Bundism, but doesn't go into this deeply enough. The Boston busing plan is an attack on the whole class—an attack on Black as well as white. It involves national oppression as well as a general attack on the standard of living of the whole class. It is, in fact, an issue where the thousand threads that link the national and class struggle become clearer. To build the struggle, consciousness, and revolutionary unity of the proletariat, and its leadership of the broad anti-imperialist struggle, it is necessary for the communists, for the whole class, to take up the issue of national oppression, and to do this we must put forward demands, otherwise it is all just a question, again, of moralism and "ideas."

Concrete Analysis

We feel these points are important to raise. The article in the first journal quotes several paragraphs from the draft programme, but we feel it really mis-understands and negates the essence of the draft programme, which is that the programme of the proletariat's party proceeds from the real needs and struggles of the working class, from concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and not from our subjective desires, or our questions and needs to make ourselves more knowledgeable. If we don't firmly grasp this, our errors—failing to grasp the centrality of the contradiction between the exploiters and the workers, driven by exploitation and oppression of the working class, Bundism, failing to perceive, etc.—will not be corrected, and the struggle for the party will not become a real ideological, political and organizational leap forward, deepening our ties with the masses and leading the struggle forward to victory.