

PLP

# INTERNAL BULLETIN #3

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## DRAFT CONSTITUTION

The Progressive Labor Party is organized for the purpose of achieving a socialist revolution. Our object is to smash the state apparatus of the ruling class (dictatorship of the bourgeoisie), and to build a new state upon the power of the working class. This new state is called the dictatorship of the ~~proletariat~~ ~~proletariat~~. Consequently, our political efforts rely mainly on the working class. Worker's aspirations, and many others cannot be secured under capitalism. As we know from experience this system-the profit system- benefits only a few bosses. These rulers through their profit system oppress the majority of the population, especially workers. Workers who are in the minority as black, Latin, Asian and Indian are most oppressed by the bosses who use and develop racist ideas and practices to further enrich themselves. Women workers are also specially oppressed and enslaved by the ruling class who utilize thousands of years of male supremacist ideas so they can achieve maximum profits from women workers. Capitalism requires war, racism, male supremacy, national chauvinism, unemployment and a general attack on the conditions of workers and others in order to exist and secure maximum profits.

In order for a working class revolution to succeed it requires a communist party. This party must be founded on the philosophy of dialectical materialism. This is opposite to the ruling class philosophy of the status-quo. The ruling class needs things as they are, and acts to prevent change for the better. Specifically, they do not want anyone to try and do away with their private profit system. Communists utilize the philosophy of dialectics because it enables everyone to understand the laws of change or motion. Dialectics helps us see and understand the universal aspects of change which take place in any process. All phenomena changes, and of course society is ever-changing. It has already gone through several fundamental changes from communal to socialist society. We are <sup>ADVOCATES AND</sup> agents of change. Worker's lives can only change for the better if society changes from capitalism to socialism.

The full flowering of society and hence individuals can only come as a result of forward motion. The ruling class pretends to be concerned with individuals. They



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attack communists and socialist society because they claim it oppresses individuality. Individuality to bosses only means the right of one person to oppress the other; the right of one person to make much more money than others; the right of the rulers to instill racist ideas in others; the right of anyone to produce various forms of culture which maintain these ideas and the ideas of selfishness, capitalism and helplessness etc. Capitalist society rests on the destruction of the working class so it can keep things as they are. Capitalist society depends on containment of human thought within the narrow limits described. Socialist society and communists requires breaking these limits and replacing them with a completely different set of values; the abolition of private property, collective unity, and the full development of the working class to political power and cultural fulfillment.

Ruling class mysticism, idealism and pragmatism must be replaced by dialectical materialism.

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The Progressive Labor Party is organized on the political principles of Marxism-Leninism. These political concepts are the logical development of dialectics. In addition to the universal features of the need for workers, the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and of dialectical materialism which are required in the revolutionary process there are many others. Some are:

1. No revolutionary movement can succeed by itself. The working class is an international grouping. Consequently, an international communist movement is necessary. We are in the process of helping to build a new international movement. The main feature of this movement is to be anti-revisionist. At the moment the two main centers of revisionism are contained in the Soviet Union and in China. We must wage a resolute battle against their ideas in our party and around the world as long as necessary. New communist parties, eventually, must be united into one international movement.
2. We understand that the revolutionary process requires violence. The ruling class always resists change by using bribery and terror. Only an armed working class can eventually defeat boss's violence under the leadership of its communist party.

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3. Experience gained through our own limited efforts and through the lessons of the entire international communist movement shows us that there is no "better" section of the ruling class who can be allied with to achieve worker's revolution for socialism.
  4. We realize that the revolutionary process is long and difficult. However, it is wrong for communists to advocate anything less than socialism. There are no progressive capitalists, and there is no progressive capitalism.
  5. Our party is founded on the laws of motion. One of these laws is the "negation of the negation." So we want to learn from all the revolutionary experiences of the past. We want to preserve that which was good in these movements and to destroy the bad. We realize that millions of communists before us have made vital contributions to the development of the revolutionary process. Without their efforts it is not likely we would be on the stage of history. Our party is not an historical accident. It is the logical continuation of the revolutionary process. Essentially, our party is moving along similar paths-with differences- advocated by those before us. These were and are now still universal aspects of the revolutionary process. (Working Class, the state, violence, socialism, and the party etc.) In modern times the world-workers progress only when there is a strong communist movement moving resolutely towards revolution. This is why bosses hate communists, and it is why workers respect and love their communist movements. If our party fails it will not be because the bosses were too strong or the workers didn't seem to like us. It will be because we were not good enough. We will have no one to blame except ourselves.
  6. The organizational theory of our party is democratic-centralism. This contradiction in terms is the precise concept which gives our party-any revolutionary party- the ability to turn things into their opposite. A small party can win power from a seemingly omnipotent enemy. Now eventually, the working class can reverse the current contradiction in society and emerge as the primary class in socialist society. The ruled become the rulers of society.



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A few of the basic ideas about democratic centralism are:

- a) The party must have a base. Only by having a base can we learn and develop and test our ideas. Only by building a base can we seriously be engaged in practice and evaluate it. Democratic Centralism has no meaning if the party has no base. Without a base there is no way to really determine reality. Consequently, our efforts- whatever they might be- would become subjective-idealist.
- b) After decisions are reached the minority must subordinate itself to the majority. Only after united practice can decisions be reviewed, modified or changed.
- c) Differences must never go outside the party. Differences must go upward. The party convention being the highest level of the party. If differences are dealt with in other ways there will only be chaos, and at best the party would become a debating society.
- d) The party is based on voluntary discipline. Attitude is essential to making D-C work. A positive constructive attitude which limits and combats individualism is the basic component in enabling a collective body <sup>to</sup> work. The party cannot become a battleground nor a court for lawyers arguments.

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The present strategy of the party is to launch a movement for the shorter work-week; (30-40) To build an anti-racist movement aimed at driving the racists theorists from the campuses and from public life generally. We want to unite these two movements. This united movement will sharpen the class struggle winning some victories for workers, students and others. However, nothing can satisfy worker's aspirations short of socialism. Within these movements we want to raise people's political thinking and win them to the party. No practice is successful from a revolutionary point of view if it doesn't lead to building the party strengthening its ability and the ability of the working class to make a socialist revolution. Lack of party growth is one sign of revisionism in our ranks. Every party member must try and practice and build the party. Party building is the main task of each member. All of us can play some part

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in helping to build the party. When party building is no longer the goal of a party member they are outside the limits of party membership. Components of party building are:

1. Base-building
2. Mass Work-United Front
3. Literature sales-especially Challenge-Defeat
4. Organising study-action groups
5. Recruiting

Party building can only progress to the degree members are in struggle against the ruling class and building ties with people at work, school, community etc. Party members should spend considerable time with their family, shop-mates, school friends, neighbours <sup>COMRADES</sup> etc.

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Every communist party must have a leadership. Leadership responsibilities are primarily keeping the party moving ahead-within the limits of left and right- consequently sharpening the class struggle. Every advance produces new problems which must be solved so the party can move and keep growing.

The National Committee is the highest body of the party between conventions. New developments may create the need for the NC to add or delete members between conventions. NC members and as many members as possible should have the outlook of becoming professional revolutionaries. In other words-making the party the main thing in their lives. Thus the needs of the party are the needs of the members. In order to reach this crucial goal requires that we develop more objectivity. At the moment, idealism-subjectivity is a large part of our development. Subjectivity is a manifestation of class society. However, as the revolutionary process develops objectivity must supersede subjectivity. The more we develop the more we know. The more we practice gives us a better chance to see things as they are. The real world-objectivity is crucial in order to develop correct strategy and practice. It is the key to defeating negativism, defeatism, cynicism, and



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hopelessness. Objectivity can help us guard against despair when things "go wrong." It also places things which go well in their proper perspective. In other words we should never see things one-sidedly-statically-absolutely etc. Shedding moodiness, immaturity-our baby fat is paramount for a long-range effort. Seeing things in their duality helps us learn from our errors and move ahead. This is opposed to the petty-bourgeois concept of everything is "wonderful; or a big disaster." We should strive to become "revolutionary optimists". That is seeing the revolutionary development-evaluating it-knowing we can and will win because we-unlike the bosses can solve our contradictions.

Thus, the party becomes our true family, and our lives are an aspect of this revolutionary development. This requires that we train ourselves by taking all our responsibilities seriously. A bad parent, spouse, friend etc. will be greatly weakened in their commitment to the party.

In choosing leadership a few guidelines are in order:

1. Loyalty and commitment to the party should always be considered.
2. The ability to practise the line of the party
3. This would include some knowledge about the persons' base-building
4. Because we are a communist party and not some other organization seniority, friendship etc. cannot be basically considered. Our foremost job is to bring workers, and minority forces, and women into all levels of leadership. This must always be considered not some esoteric points. As our party fully develops this type of committed working class leadership democracy within the party will be more fully served.

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Other party guidelines:

1. Leaders and members must plan their time. Days and weeks go by without serious planning. Sometimes when plans are made they do not seriously consider the limits of the particular situation. They are not objective. They are not based on reality. These plans often do not take into account the uneven development of members. Lack of planning or poor planning lead to bad attitudes.

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2. When plans are made they should be checked up on when they are carried out they should be evaluated. This is a constant process. Any motion leads to change. Change means a new objective and subjective situation. Thus new limits are required for the next round of planning.

3. All party members should be in a collective group. These groups should function regularly. Clubs are the main group of the party. Decisions of a higher body are binding on a lower body. Decisions can be appealed to the next higher body or the NC. The timing of the appeal should be determined by its urgency.

4. Expulsions from the party should be reviewed by at least the next higher body. Expulsions can only be appealed if the expelled has not entered into anti-party activity. Factionalism is an anti-party activity which must not be tolerated. Anti-party action can be determined by the group who expelled the member or a higher body.

5. Leaders selected by a group must be reviewed by the next higher body.

6. A party convention must be held ~~every~~ <sup>at least EVERY</sup> five years.

7. To become a party member a person must agree with the party line. He or she must work with a party club for at least three months. Obviously, we cannot have bosses or their agents in the party, and the new members must have some degree of stability enabling them to carry out the party line.



Plan for Seattle PIP-Internal

1. Trade-Union Work

A. Major Outside Concentration-Boeing Co.

- sell C-D at Boeing-Seattle Plant once/week
- " Boeing-Renton Plant "
- " Boeing-Kent Plant once/issue
- " Boeing-Auburn Plant "
- monthly WAM-Boeing Newsletter to be passed out all shifts and all plants
- a step-by-step plan for at least 3 PL members and 2 friends to get jobs at Boeing
- Article, well-researched, on Boeing for PL mag.
- series of articles for C-D based on interviews of workers
- Team#1-(Charles, Dave and Bob) to follow up every Boeing contact and form them into a Boeing WAM chapter within six months

B. Secondary Industrial Concentrations-(to build WAM city-wide and aid the Boeing concentration)

1. Shipyards

- sell C-D at all major shipyards once/week

2. the Gear Works

- sell C-D at Gear Works once/week
- WAM chapter to be formed immediately

3. Bethlehem Steel

- sell C-D at Beth Steel once/issue

4. Union Pacific Railroad

- sell C-D at Union Pacific yard once/issue
- WAM chapter to be formed immediately

C. Other WAM Work

1. WAM chapter in hospitals and nursing homes to be formed immediately
2. WAM chapter in AFT to be formed immediately
3. Petition to City Council on the shorter work week and more jobs
4. General WAM newsletter with articles on hospitals, Bethlehem, Railroads, Gear Works, Shipyards
5. Monthly WAM forums, social events or film showings to be built by all WAM chapters and WAM members
6. WAM Steering Committee.

D. Other PL Work

1. sell at Group Health and Harborview Hospitals once/week
2. sell C-D union meetings: IAM, SEIU, Boilermakers, SPEA, USW, AFT
3. two workers study-action groups; one in south-central, one in north end

11. Other Work

A. University of Washington  
\*\*UW WORK MUST LEAD TO RECRUITING MINORITY STUDENTS.

1. PLP Work

- \* The work in classrooms is the key and has #1 priority-to include caucusses, forums, debates, papers focused on the anti-racism struggle
- \* Other work-door to door dorm sub drive, table up at least 3 times/week, sell C-D every day, PL class in experimental college, monthly PL campus-wide forum, a mini-teach-in on racism at UW, extensive use of bulletin boards, regular column in UW Daily, coalitions on other issues.

STUDY ACTION GROUP

2. SDS Work

- \*The Fight Against Williams, and Omenn is key to include a wide range of tactics from militant confrontations to posters, articles, forums, etc.
- \*SDS table and meetings to be regularized

B. Seattle Central C.C.

- PL forum once/month
- Table up once/week
- Fight to ban racist books
- Sell C-D regularly
- Study-action group

C. CAR

- a PL member to aid that organization and win it to a more left line

D. Ft. Lewis

- forum once-month
- study-action group centered in fighting racism in the military
- sell C-D once/week

E. Internationalism

- close co-ordination with Vancouver CPL on joint events and mutual support of struggles

F. General Party Building

- Saturday mobilizations for C-D
- new members class #2 will start around Feb.1 (first one produced 3 PL members)
- sell C-D at the unemployment center
- racks, PL mags in bookstores
- independent PL events



10 Party - Building *Milly Freddie suggested & send me of these to you as well as Georgian - Hari*

Four months ago at the Party convention, we resolved to double the membership of the Party in the next 2 years and make PLP a mass communist party with a solid base in the working class, particularly in the unions. We agreed this should be done in the context of bolder participation in the actual class struggles and mass movements in the shops, unions and on the campuses.

Recently here in SF, the mass work has improved in some areas: the WAM 30 for 40 campaign, Kaiser Hosp. struggle, the successful fight to stop the police in the schools program which we were able to do largely because of our growing strength in the AFT #61, and the anti-racist teaching at SF State and Berkeley. However, if we want to sustain these struggles and expand them, we have to build and strengthen the Left which means consolidating people into Party base groups and WAM chapters and winning them to join the Party. We have to give qualitatively more attention to base-building (for want of a better word) in the struggles we're involved in.

In order to help give leadership to Party building we are setting up a new committee composed of a leading cadre from each club (who will work closely with the club leader). Immediately, we want to focus our efforts to improve our base building for the Party around 3 things: the Fund drive, the Dec. 9 dinner, and Challenge sales and subs.

**Fund Drive:** We have to raise \$8000 by Dec. 4. This is part of the national fund drive to raise \$50,000 for Challenge and locally to help pay some of the debts from the 30 for 40 campaign. The quota for each club are as follows: Schools clubs \$1400; SF State \$1200; Berk Students \$400; E. Bay WAM \$800; Phone Co. \$400; Muni \$800; Hospt \$1400; Office \$600; 30 for 40 Club \$1400. This is roughly \$200 per club member. These aren't projection, this is money we must have in hand by Dec. 4.

**Dec. 9 Challenge dinner:** This dinner will culminate the fund drive and will be a reflection of our progress in winning people closer to the Party. Someone asked yesterday, "Do these dinners really build the Party?" No, in and of themselves they don't. They help to give a sense of the whole Party which is important. But we should not rely on a Party speaker at major events to win our friends to the Party's line. It's the process of discussions and struggle to win our friends to come, to donate \$15 to \$100 or more to the fund drive, to subscribe to the paper, and the follow-up discussion about the Party after the dinner - its this process before, during and after these events which are decisive in winning our base to the Party and taking more leadership on the job or campus. The number of dinner tickets sold, money raised, and CD subs sold are a reflection of this process. Again, all dinner tickets and subs must be in by Dec. 4.

**Challenge sales and subs:** First of all, we want to re-establish SAT MOBES which suffered during the 30 for 40 campaign. All Party members should participate in these mobes. During the week we are going to concentrate selling at Muni, Hospitals, Phone, Offices, and Unemployment. In this way, selling the paper becomes directly linked to building the Party in our TU concentrations. Students should do the same on campus. The average sold each issue per member in SF is about 25 papers. This must be DOUBLED in line with doubling the Party at these same concentrations.

We also want to increase the number of non-Party people who sell the paper. This is a big step towards recruiting them. Lastly, we want to INCREASE THE SUBS to Challenge. This can start by making sure everyone who buys a ticket to the dinner and contributes to the funddrive buys or renews a sub to the paper.

FIGHT TO WIN: BUILD THE PARTY!!!

The new committee is: Sue D. & Henry P., Jimmy B., Ellen, Cathy, Jim S., Debbie W., Melinda, and Hari.

EVALUATION OF THE PARTY'S ROLE IN THE N.Y.C. LOCAL 1199 HOSPITAL STRIKE

The strike of 30,000 hospital workers from Nov. 5-12 was a major experience for the Party in NY and has lessons that are important for the Party nationally. Every club in the party should discuss this article and apply it to their own situation.

Two hospital trade union clubs exist in NY: one in Local 1199 includes six delegates (similar to shop stewards) with the club chairman being the head of the grievance committee at NYU Hospital, one of the key institutions in the strike; five of these delegates are in the "guild" division, composed of technical workers; the 6th is in the hospital division at Mt. Sinai, another key institution (the hospital division contains the bulk of the "non-professional" workers). There are two other members, one at N.Y.U. and one a housewife who used to work in the hospital. Of the eight club members only four were in struck institutions; the other three working members are in either city hospitals or others not called out.

The other hospital club is concentrated at Bellevue Hospital, in Local 420 (a city hospital as distinct from the struck hospitals which were "voluntary" ones), in AFSCME. Bellevue is situated just below and next door to N.Y.U. Hospital. In addition the Party has seven other trade union clubs in various unions around the city, plus "community" clubs which contain a number of trade unionists, plus a medical section of the hospital "professionals"--doctors, medical students, nurses, etc. So much for the background of the Party organization related to the strike. (People should also read the articles in C-D on the strike.)

There was more Party involvement in this strike than most any other in recent memory in NYC. In addition to the Local 1199 club being involved on a day-to-day basis, giving on-the-spot leadership on the picket lines, members of most of the other clubs went to the picket lines from 3 to 5 times a week, walking the lines, selling C-D, distributing WAM and Party leaflets; a few raised money in their shops, got resolutions of support passed, held shop meetings on it, and made many contacts for the hospital clubs and others to follow up afterwards.

A greater base was established at NYU, with the distinct possibility of it becoming a real mass base in the near future. The potential exists to expand our influence throughout the union. (As mentioned in C-D, a slate under our leadership ran in the elections for delegates to a constitutional convention and won about 20% of the vote, with the highest individual vote-getter--not a Party member--getting 2800 votes, to the leadership/machine's about 7,500.)

WAM participated in the strike more deeply than others recently. It organized marches of solidarity which were very well-received by the strikers, for the most part. A WAM coffee wagon brought coffee and donuts, leaflets and talks about WAM to the picket lines. Nearly 200 strikers gave their names, addresses and phone numbers to WAM members to be contacted after the strike. A great potential exists now to build



1199 STRIKE - 22222

WAM among hospital workers in NYC.

The vote itself saw nearly 4000 workers vote against the sellout. Of the 30,000 members on strike, only about 3000 came to the picket lines every day after the first morning. It is estimated that nearly all of these militants voted against the settlement. About 14,000 voted to go back. Considering there was hardly any alternative leadership to the Davis misleaders, this 4,000 "no" vote is very high. While workers went back to work disgusted, demoralization was not necessarily the dominant mood. In fact, many workers took the attitude that they're out to recoup their losses at the next contract struggle in June '74. A number of them are hopefully being brought into Party study groups. And the basis exists to have WAM chapters beyond just the party members at a few hospitals.

Over-all, a tremendous amount of experience in class struggle was gained by our members who participated fully in the walkout, experience that will be invaluable in the months to come. But for this experience to mean something, we must draw all the lessons of this struggle as they relate to the Party's strategy in the trade union movement. Several discussions have already taken place, in the NYC T.U. Section Committee and in the recent national cadre school (which included two of the 1199 club members). What follows is drawn from these discussions.

## II. Strategic Goal: Union Leadership

Our strategy within the trade union movement under capitalism is for the rank and file--led by communists--to take over the leadership. In this strike our goal was (or should have been) to take over the leadership of the strike, and thereby of the union to a certain extent. While we call for a strike all the time, if we--the Party members and our base--are not prepared to give the kind of leadership--and organize others--to actually LEAD THE STRIKE, knowing full well that the current crop of union "leaders" will not do it, then we are merely being a "loyal opposition," whether we want to or not. If we are not ready to become the actual leadership, we are fundamentally revisionist, since we are then saying what many workers feel: that we still need the Davises and the bosses. While the 1199 club raised many points at union meetings and criticized and exposed the Davis leadership, it did not prepare itself to become--as much as possible--the leadership of a strike (nor did the Party leadership really prepare it for that role). Therefore, in essence, it was more like a "loyal opposition," although it did fight hard, as outlined, in the strike and on the ~~lines~~ <sup>(picket)</sup> lines.

Most of our members do not point to a take-over of the union leadership through our daily activities--we don't have this daily attitude. Our goal is not merely to replace the current piccards in an election--although we should run in elections--but to replace them in fact, at the helm of class struggle. Why is this? *Why don't we have this daily attitude?*

One explanation is a "fear of winning." That is, if we gave the

1199 STRIKE - 33333

kind of leadership that would take over and lead the class struggle, we and the Party as a whole would really be under the gun, under real sharp attack, and we would have an even greater responsibility to lead to still higher levels of struggle. We are afraid the workers might just respond to the things we do and call for, would sharply confront the bosses and the union misleaders--as they did, on occasion, during this strike--which would mean we would be called on to rise to even greater heights of struggle. Essentially this means we are afraid of the workers, which may explain why we form so few close ties with them week in and week out; this would mean we would have to struggle with them over our communist ideas and we don't like to struggle with our friends (that's what capitalism teaches us). Most of our members say "we didn't expect the leadership to really go through with a strike." In the back of our minds we are nearly hoping that they don't, so we won't be called on to give the kind of leadership necessary to win it, not just the Party members directly involved but the whole Party, all our leaders and members. The fact is workers do respond to our line and leadership; and when they do, it impels us to give even more and sharper leadership, leading to greater responsibility (which, again, capitalism teaches to shy away from), and leading to sharper attack by the ruling class.

The question arises: how to organize this kind of leadership which takes over a class struggle and sharpens it while being under the nose of the sellouts' control of the trade union structure? (whether an "official" authorized strike or a wildcat). The rest of this article will deal with some of the ways to do this, as reflected in the attempt and lack of it in the 1199 strike.

## III. The Strategy and Tactics of Strike Organization

### A. BEFORE THE STRIKE:

One of the first things we do is get a fight going over the demands. We should petition for and demand mass membership meetings to discuss the demands and call for a strike--and vote for one. We should call shop meetings ahead of time to discuss all this. A few such shop meetings could force a local-wide meeting. All this should lead to a conscious decision by the membership to strike, rather than "be called out" by the anti-strike sellout "leaders."

Now, of course, this doesn't mean we can accomplish all this. But this should be our goal and what we should fight for. The more we do, the more will be accomplished towards the optimum, the more the seeds of HOW to achieve rank-and-file control will be planted with each succeeding struggle. In 1199, the situation showed us calling for a strike to win the contract increase provided for in arbitration but denied by the wage freeze board. Then, with anger rising (see C-D article), the Davis leadership called a strike, without any preparation beforehand, and we were, more or less, taken by surprise. (Of course, this was not the ordinary situation where there is a known contract expiration date and we work around that timetable on the basis of "No contract, no work.")



But still, if we were calling for a strike to bust the wage freeze board's denial, we should have been preparing for one. The act of doing so would, in itself, <sup>have</sup> been a prod and action to win the goal.)

We must develop a clear political line, of why we're striking and what for; have an estimate of the strength of the bosses and of the workers; how are we going to "shut it down"; where? etc. For instance, in a hospital strike, the question of "killing the patients" always arises and did this time, helped along by the Davis crew. Unless we answer that sharply, as we did somewhat, workers will weaken in their resolve to "shut it tight." Or in a teachers or welfare strike--or any other "service"--we must, in advance, build an alliance around mutual demands with clients or parents and students or other affected workers, as the case may be. Otherwise, it will not just be a question of these groups "not helping" the strikers--they will be misdirected by the ruling class to be used to break the strike.

We must decide on the key parts of production or services to shut down, that will make or break the strike, and especially win the workers in those sections and departments. We could distribute strike-pledge cards to all the workers, partly to spread strike "fever" and partly to find out--in advance--which workers might oppose a strike and why, and therefore be able to concentrate on answering objections or confusions.

All this and more to follow must be done BEFORE a strike. To do it we must have a strike preparation committee which, once a strike were to occur, would or could become the actual strike leadership committee. First we should try to get the union to set up such a committee, with us and other rank and filers free to join and be on it. If it is controlled by the leadership--which means it's a do-nothing committee--or if it is not set up by the union officially, then we should go about setting it up anyway, with us and our base the leadership of it. Here a WAM chapter would play a key role; it would be the center for such a strike preparation leadership. Such committees could start on any level that we could achieve it on--in a department, a school, a welfare chapter or center, a local, etc. The point is to start it where it can be started and then to spread it by having members go talk to places where it doesn't exist, starting with the ones we think most important to success of a strike.

No doubt the union leadership and the bosses won't sit idly by watching this develop. All that means is increased struggle with the class enemy--and, in some cases, winning over some honest local union leaders to participate who didn't see any base for such a movement until we started one. And the development of such a strike strategy committee ~~means~~ serves notice on the bosses that the workers mean business; they won't take any stalling around with "negotiations" for months after the contract expires--"no contract; no work." The workers will be dealing more from a position of strength, since our ultimate trade union weapon under capitalism is to shut production, stop profits. If

we do nothing along these lines beforehand, it's a clear signal to the bosses that they can drive us into the ground, force us to accept any sellout and we will have no alternative but to agree, since there is no alternative leadership to organize a fight-back. In 1199, with a strike "called" by Davis on a Thursday for the following Monday, without the membership involved, and without us preparing for months before when we were calling for a strike to get the contract increase, we were left with three days to prepare. And then a Party meeting on Friday (of which more later) impelled the 1199 club to call together as many slate members as possible on Saturday to form a strike leadership. Otherwise most party members would merely have showed up early on Monday morning at the picket lines. The "leadership" of the strike was completely in Davis' hands--which meant certain defeat.

A strike committee formed before-hand would get lists of members and their phone numbers, either through the union office or by meeting them on the job or through the bosses' files, or any way we can figure out to get them. From them, and from our base and knowledge of who the most militant workers are, hopefully ourselves included, we could set up picket captains, each responsible for 5 or 10 workers, whose phone numbers and addresses they would have and be responsible for, to call in case of any action and for strike preparation and actual strike duty. These captains would then be formed into a leadership body, from which, and to which, the strike leadership committee would be responsible. These captains would be able to contact, within hours, the ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP of the group of striking workers. One big weakness in the 1199 strike occurred when the bulk of the members, while not scabbing, just stayed home and very few could be contacted to come down, either because we didn't have their numbers and names or because we didn't have the organization to do the job even if we could get up a list from first-hand knowledge.

The strike committee would go to other unions and workers, both to those immediately affected at the same location or working for the same boss, to assure respect for picket lines, and all workers, for strike support in advance. What would it have meant, for instance, if all the other workers in N.Y.U. Hospital plus workers at nearby Bellevue had held a strike rally around common demands in advance of the strike, right in front of the hospital?

The committee would have to decide who among its members should risk arrest during a strike, who would then take over those tasks, and who, if any, should try to keep from getting arrested. At N.Y.U., for instance, our two club members who were leading the strike there were arrested on the first day in a battle with the cops and were taken out of the struggle for nearly a day and a half at a crucial time. There being no strike committee functioning, this weakened the strike critically. To all intents and purposes, it may have been over right then. At best, we lost the potential initiative right away. It's relatively easy to get arrested stopping trucks and scabs (which we have to lead



workers to do some time); it <sup>16</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>is much</sup> harder to fight to organize a strike committee which will give overall ~~the~~ leadership to the strike. (In this case, our member at Mt. Sinai was arrested the ~~same~~ day and a member from neighboring Bellevue was arrested the next day while stopping a truck--but next to nothing was organized in the way of support from Bellevue workers.)

Given the fact that the Davis leadership would not do any of these things to prepare for a strike (which should come as no surprise, based on all their previous actions in not fighting for the class interests of the workers), and given our expectation that they would do nothing to lead a strike once it were to get started, and ~~in~~ in fact would sabotage a strike as they did (see C-D article), given all this, our own lack of preparation and weakness during the strike gave the workers no alternative but to go back when the ruling class and Davis agreed that should happen. The lesson should be clear to those of our members who are now working in ~~a~~ a potential-strike situation, as for instance the members of the welfare workers local 371, AFSCME, in NYC.

#### B. DURING THE STRIKE:

Once a strike starts, and we hopefully have organized a strike preparation committee that has done some or all of the above, we should gear it to take over the union headquarters and run the strike. That may seem like a tall order, given the nature of our base. On the other hand, if we were to organize a strike committee and it DOES things, and based on that we show them the necessity for all of us to run the union during the strike, many militants, seeing this alternative, will come forward to take this kind of action. We saw in the 1199 strike scores of workers who were never active in the union, never went to union meetings, but came forward during the strike to organize many ~~militant~~ militant actions (for instance, ~~concocting~~ concocting a diversionary action to draw the cops to one spot while others immobilized cars and trucks on hospital property, slashing tires, etc.). So giving leadership, and relying on the workers to respond and give leadership, also, could very well produce at least the attempt to take over the ~~union~~ union headquarters, or some variation thereof (use ~~it~~ it for many things). At "worst" it would produce a confrontation with the sellouts who probably would be forced to call the cops if they didn't have enough goons to combat the several hundred workers invading the headquarters. This, in itself, would greatly sharpen the struggle and further expose the "leadership."

The committee would have a picketing plan for all entrances (or might come up with a "sit-down strike" plan, depending on the situation and nature of production or service). It would issue instructions to all pickets, through the picket captains, about the length and place of picket duty, what their responsibilities are, who to call about questions and emergencies, where to go to get help, etc. All picket captains and strike committee members should have ~~easily~~ easily identifiable armbands. A trouble-shooting squad should be set up to <sup>be</sup> ready to move to weak spots on a moment's notice. Bullhorns should be available to easily communi-

cate with masses of workers. Daily mass meetings should be held. Daily strike bulletins should be issued, reporting on activities and issuing new instructions and new plans, answering ruling class propaganda. A strike headquarters near the picket lines should be gotten, beforehand, and set up with phones, mimeo equipment, eating facilities, a meeting room, etc. This could be either the local headquarters itself if the rank and file has won it, or another ~~one~~ one, but in either case, it should be walking distance from the strike. And, in a ~~case~~ case where the strike involves many locations far from each other, a HQ should be set up wherever we have the strength to do it and run it.

The strike committee should have a "flying ~~squad~~ squad" which would be sent from the strong points in the strike to other key places that are either weak or not involved, to set up the same organization that has already been established at the strong places. Much of ~~this~~ this could be done beforehand, with teams of people going from location to location, talking and organizing for a strike. And during the strike the flying squad would spread the strength around, and meanwhile pick up more militant members to be on the strike committee representing new centers of action. With key points decided in advance, the flying squad would have a path well cut out for it.

The strike support solicited in advance, if any, should be continued or organized during the strike even more. This means members of the strike committee approaching other workers in the same place, or in nearby shops, in other unions, the Central Labor Council, other locals in the same international, any group of workers--including those in the immediate community if the strike is so situated--to appeal for aid in the name of self- and class interest. One important ingredient of getting such support is for the strike committee and the local itself to support other workers out on strike in the time before their own strike. Make the first ~~move~~ move to be able to approach these workers later, and thereby spread the idea of strike solidarity action as 52-weeks-a-year activity.

Finally, for now, the strike committee must be prepared for ~~violence~~ violence and arrests. No successful strike will be conducted without violence and at least the threat of arrest. Stopping scabs, defying injunctions, "shutting it tight," sitting in, stopping deliveries, etc.--all ingredients of any strike worth its salt--all involve either battling cops or goons or scabs or all three. Aside ~~from~~ from the usual legal preparations--lawyers, bail funds, back-up leaders, etc.--dealing with violence involves a strategy and tactics of its own, too much to go into here. But dealing with it will fail unless its discussed and planned in advance.

In the 1199 strike, we did not succeed in organizing a strike leadership beforehand to prepare, nor ~~one~~ one during the strike to organize it then. Therefore, many of the things mentioned above ~~could~~ could not be accomplished. Others happened sporadically. With hardly any preparation (because we "didn't expect a strike" and therefore did not prepare for one, and certainly didn't regard ourselves as the leaders of one), very little happened before it started. Once under way, a WAM and



1199 STRIKE - 88888

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Party leaflet did point some elements of a political line and strategy, but there was no organized leadership to carry it out in the way outlined. While the things mentioned on the first two pages did take place as far as our own daily role on the picket lines and with WAM and strike support, they fell far short of becoming the leadership of the strike. Some organizational/tactical instructions were handed out. An attempt to invade the union headquarters was made, first with 10 workers (see C-D article) and the next morning (Friday) with 25, which was greeted a little more "civilly," but "promises" to make membership lists available were never kept nor were we, by that time, in a position to enforce them. While we did have a somewhat of a "trouble-shooting" squad at N.Y.U. Hospital, we had no flying squad to go to other hospitals because we had no strike committee. We did hold some meetings among workers at N.Y.U. but never set up a strike headquarters we had "contracted" for. While, to all intents and purposes, we were the strike leadership at NYU--the union organizer being weak and ineffectual--we didn't carry it beyond that, nor use what strength we did muster to set up an actual strike leadership that met and made decisions and assignments. Of course, we were also operating with the handicap of having done nothing to prepare for this in advance.

Why was so little of what was needed to be done actually carried out? The answer relates directly to:

#### IV. The Role of the Party

The lack of advance planning reflected the fact that the Party--in the club, the section committee or elsewhere--had not really considered the situation, beyond trying to push the busting of the wage freeze in every area and therefore in 1199. The section committee was alerted to the possibility of a Davis-called strike on Wed., Oct. 31, and had a short discussion the next night at its regularly scheduled meeting when the 1199 club chairman came directly from the union meeting that voted for a strike. It was decided to have a special City Committee meeting the next night, Friday, expanded to have more representation. At this meeting, some strategy was worked out--to have the slate meet to become a strike leadership committee; that, at least, we try to become the leadership of the strike where we were; that scabs be stopped, and that a special Party committee meet to direct the entire Party during the strike. While the actions of the 1199 members themselves was singled out as the crucial aspect of the Party's role, perhaps there were too many people at this meeting, and, given the fact that the Party hadn't discussed how to actually try to run the strike prior to this meeting, much more time could have been spent on zeroing in on what the club had to do. Thus, while we did discuss things like setting up picket captains, a local headquarters, Party/WAM leaflets, support by other Party members, the role of the medical professionals, etc., we didn't go into detail on how to take over the leadership of the strike.

While attempts were made on Saturday at a partial slate meeting to plan for Monday, the concept of leadership take-over did not come off.

1199 STRIKE - 999999

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But even more important, the special Party committee set up to guide the Party during the strike "somehow" never met. The T.U. Section Committee never met. Thus, while it was mentioned that the club had to meet frequently during a strike, the club never fought to do this, generally dragged its feet about meeting and really only met because Wally got it to meet, except for one meeting of several members Monday night when three club members were in jail and not attending.

So, while the members of the Party did get to the picket lines, did sell literature and distribute leaflets and did fight the union sellouts' losing philosophy, the clubs never met on an emergency basis, didn't develop a strike support strategy in their own unions, didn't really fight to support the strike on their own jobs, overall (although it happened sporadically). All this happened--or didn't happen--because the T.U. section committee and the overall Party leadership committee didn't meet at all during the strike. For instance, had the TUSC met, the fact that we had many members in District Council 37 of AFSCME, that the DC 37 "leadership" had decreed the strike "didn't involve" them" (while many 1199 members worked--and some struck--in the very hospitals AFSCME members worked)--all this would have come out and a coordinated plan could have been worked out to break this anti-solidarity and anti-union policy by all our members in DC 37. While many Party leaders and many members were running around doing things, they didn't see how they particularly fit into an over-all plan (none really existed). They called each other, mainly Wally, to find out "what to do."

While Wally did call the club chairmen to give each a three-point plan, did spend some time with the 1199 club chairman at the picket lines, did organize WAM's role somewhat, including a Tuesday march, basically, HE TRIED TO DO IT ALL HIMSELF; HE DID NOT CALL THE COLLECTIVE TOGETHER to plan out the work. That's the main reason the special Party committee and the TUSC didn't meet. That's why, when Wally decided WAM had to be involved and a good way to get it involved was to start a WAM support coffee-wagon, he spent most of the first day and a half helping directly to start it, instead of spending his time mostly with the 1199 club and having others organize WAM participation. While it was true that WAM's role was very important, it was the SECOND most important thing; the FIRST most important was the 1199 club's role in trying to directly lead the strike. Had the Party committee met, that probably would have come out, Wally would have had a particular role, others would have had their's, and so on. When an army (the working class) has a general staff (the Party), and one of the army's battallions (the hospital strikers) are involved in a sharp battle important to the whole army, and the general staff doesn't even meet, how could the strength of the whole army be zeroed in on this particularly sharp struggle in the class war?

The strength of the whole army had to be mobilized by the general staff to fight the enemy at this point of sharp confrontation. As one dialectical law shows, when a certain quantitative increase occurs, at a certain point a QUALITATIVE change takes place. Had the



10-10-10-10 1199 STRIKE

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Party pushed and concentrated all its forces in an organized way on this strike, a qualitative change might have taken place, in the leadership of the strike and the whole 1199 union, in the example set to the rest of the working class if the wage freeze had been broken and the wage board defied successfully, in the labor solidarity developed to win the strike, in the workers seeing the leadership role of the Party and therefore in a number of workers being won to the Party and recruited, and in a new set of relationships developed between the working class in NYC on the one hand and the bosses and labor sellouts on the other.

But, by the general staff acting individually, without a plan, and therefore sporadically or not at all, a great potential was lost, in what we estimated to be a wide ~~open~~ <sup>open</sup> situation (as proven by the tremendous spontaneous militancy of the workers--after all, it was essentially the rank and file, for instance, at Mt. Sinai Hospital who had brought the hospital bosses to their knees with the fuel supply down to its last day, when a union vice-president came down to get the fuel trucks in). Had Wally called the collective together regularly, had Milt met with the Local 420 club to develop hospital strike support, had ~~the~~ City Committee leaders ~~bring~~ brought the special committee together, we would have had a much greater chance to win what there was to be won. The fact that it was hard to get the 1199 club away from the front lines to meet, to draw back a few hours in order to plan out the next steps in the battle--which could have mapped out the ideas to try to win--all this was only a reflection of the sporadic-type leadership given by the Party ~~leadership~~ leadership overall. It would have been hard to expect anything different, if this is the way Wally and others were acting. If Wally were running from the picket line to the WAM coffee wagon to writing a leaflet to the phone calling up club chairmen, how would it be expected for the 1199 club members to act? No wonder the 1199 club study group never met once throughout the strike. Had the Party committee met, it might have seen sooner the necessity to try to take over the union headquarters and get a "flying squad" organized. As it is, when the former was attempted Thursday night and Friday morning, it was already too late. But with no organized leadership, spontaneity ruled the roost; many had the view that "we can't win" and therefore did their own thing, within the general idea that we should support the hospital strikers.

While Wally fought with the 1199 club chairman (and only with him, not with others in the club), he didn't win on getting a strike leadership organized, nor on other things (except getting out some organizational leaflets to the pickets, and then only at NYU). The club chairman was content, essentially, to depend on the 1199 leaders' "promise" that names of workers would be turned over to them to call ~~them~~ and get them down to the picket lines. This reaction probably influenced Wally to feel that we couldn't take over the leadership of the strike, instead of Wally fighting harder to do just that. No doubt, a successful take-over, even for a short time, would have ~~meant~~ meant a sharper battle, with the union leaders, with the cops, etc. It would have upped the

~~1199~~ 1199 STRIKE - 11-11-11

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ante, not just for the 1199 club members but for the whole Party. PLP, not just the individual 1199 club members, would have been attacked. That is, deep down, leadership and membership can feel that if we plan out how to up the ante, the WORKERS WILL RESPOND, and we will have ~~more~~ STILL GREATER RESPONSIBILITY TO LEAD and be under sharper attack. We are afraid of this, afraid of the workers.

Although the Party did do more than in any recent strike struggle, that's not necessarily saying that much. Not only could the 1199 club have given much more and better leadership, but every club in the Party could have been much better-organized to plan out its role in the strike, in other unions, among their co-workers in the shops, offices and schools, to INFLUENCE ALL THOSE AROUND THEM CLOSER TO THE PARTY. It all adds up to the fact that it's easy to get arrested and sometimes harder not to get arrested, harder ~~to~~ to struggle with workers, ~~it~~ harder to lead them, harder to organize a "cadre group" to really move against the ruling class, the Davis types. Much of this reflects a fear of the workers, of what they could be led to do (to really take over the union), of what we then would be responsible for and to do.

Thus, the Party, by not so acting, failed to recruit, failed to really grow, although many workers have a greater respect for Party members in 1199 and therefore somewhat for the Party and for WAM. That the 1199 members, for instance, were not able to organize a greater effort was partly reflected in their lack of close ties with the workers around them, which greatly contributes to a fear of the workers, as well as reflecting another feature of that fear. Party members, not just in 1199, do NOT spend very much time off the job with our fellow workers. That, essentially, is why we're not recruiting, and ~~we~~ didn't in this strike. Had we been much closer to some of these workers, we would have known, in advance, who were the more militant ones (which surprised us during the strike). And had we had a much tighter base, we could have not only organized better leadership during the strike, but these workers, seeing how the Party operated, could have been won to the Party during the course of this peak of class struggle. SO THE FIRST ORDER OF THE DAY NOW IS PLAN OUR TIME SPECIFICALLY TO BUILD THIS KIND OF BASE WITH SPECIFIC WORKERS, who are, or become, our friends and are recruited to the Party.

In summing up: the Party acted and did more, among all our members, in this strike than in recent struggles. WAM did more and its ~~potential~~ potential was increased greatly. Within these positive events, valuable lessons were learned of the need to fight to give Party leadership and strategic trade union leadership. But, if we don't act on these lessons, whatever positive points that came out of the strike would be negated. Whether this happens remains to be seen (and fought for). Now the HARD WORK is first at hand: consolidation of the nearly 200 contacts who say they're interested in WAM, a solid WAM 1199 group growing out of that, study groups and RECRUITING to the Party, and preparation for attacks to come, of the next contract in June, of the Spring union elections, and of the use of all these valuable lessons in the coming battle in welfare in N.Y.C., organizing a strike, defeating layoffs and winning leadership.



MAKE 30 FOR 40 A MASS ISSUE IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1974.

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When the party first formulated the 30 for 40 strategy as its main mass line for the trade union movement, the electoral arena was pointed out as a secondary but important tactic.

While elections can never win anything by themselves-- even minor reforms-- they give us a wide range of maneuverability in which to popularize our line, involve significant masses who still have an electoral-legal outlook, and ultimately pave the way for sharpening contradictions with the ruling class. We should make use of all the <sup>legal</sup> maneuverability presently available to us, in order to turn it into its opposite.

This outlook led us to decide upon last summer's 30 for 40 electoral campaign in New York City. What did we accomplish, what were our errors, and what should we do in the future?

We did manage to collect some 70,000 signatures. Assuming that one in four people who were approached actually signed, this means we probably spoke to nearly 300,000 people in NYC about 30 for 40. We must have handed out a similar number of 30 for 40 referendum brochures. We probably conducted 40 street meetings in the garment center and collected some 7,500 signatures from garment workers. We conducted some agitation in various neighborhoods. We did get a fair number of signatures on some jobs, and the referendum probably had a positive effect in stimulating <sup>subsequent</sup> responses to the 30 for 40 demand in several unions here. *Local 371 participated in the campaign*

However, while none of these things are bad in and of themselves, the campaign and its results were generally very weak. We could-- and should-- have accomplished the following:

a) At least three times the number of signatures and possibly

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more.

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b) Active endorsement from at least the unions in which we have concentrations. The 371 situation didn't have to be unique. At one point, 40% of the 1199 delegates voted to sponsor the referendum. We didn't pursue this and other opportunities.

c) Significant recruiting to WAM thru the referendum. This was to have been one of the major goals of the activity-- building the left <sup>of</sup> the t.u. movement-- but we didn't make it happen.

d) Independent electoral organizations in the various communities. In essence, nothing was built.

e) Active involvement of broad forces far in excess of our numbers, at the very least, in the signature-gathering process. It would not be difficult to count the number of non-party people who participated on the fingers of a few hands.

f) Sharper confrontation-type activity involving some of the more left-minded forces in the referendum. As it was, we barely managed to involve ourselves <sup>in</sup> the small demonstration <sup>at</sup> the end of the campaign.

g) An increase in party study groups and recruits. Hardly anyone joined either a study-action group or the party as a direct result of the referendum.

All these things could have been accomplished regardless of whether the bosses allowed the referendum on the ballot or not. If we had really carried out the line and done the above, their refusal to put it on the '73 ballot could have led to broader activity and sharper confrontation. **T**he actual electoral result of <sup>such</sup> any campaign is never the major determinant of success or failure. We can't judge our accomplishments or progress within the limits and guidelines set by the ruling class.



We can, however, evaluate our own performance. As indicated above, it was poor in this instance. The major responsibility for this lies with the City Committee leadership and, particularly, with Bob.

In essence, neither he nor the committee ever took the referendum seriously, in terms of developing a clear strategy and plan for it and making sure the plan was carried out. An initial <sup>WFM</sup> meeting took place in February '73 which did attract some numbers beyond the party. The goal of the meeting was to involve broad forces in the referendum immediately. Pledge cards were to be signed and circulated. The key concentration was to have been in the unions. Not bad-- but it never got carried out. Plans which could have been made for forming union and community 30/40 groupings were never made and therefore nothing happened between the February meeting and the official May campaign kick-off.

Other party forces who had been assigned to this work in the main followed the "example" set by Bob. So when May rolled around, the "campaign" consisted of some lethargic Saturday signature-gathering and less of the same during the week-- virtually all of it by party members. Some party members were more vigorous than others, but even in the best of instances, they generally failed to involve anyone else.

To the extent that the campaign took shape at all, nothing really began until late July, when daily garment rallies started taking place and continued until September <sup>and other signature gathering intensified</sup>. By this time, however, it was too late to reverse the general trend of the campaign. The best we could hope to accomplish was the avoidance of a débaclé. Imagine not even getting the 50,000 legally-required signatures! But, given all that had-- and had not-- gone on before, it was too

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late to build a serious organization between August and September. We were barely rolling out of bed when we should have been at the high point of the campaign.

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We estimated that the overwhelming majority of the 70,000 signatures were collected in the last six weeks. We probably ~~had~~ had less than 15,000 by late July. In one day alone, after a tiny demonstration around Aug. 4, we collected 7,000 signatures-- 10% of the total for the whole campaign. On two other similar mobilizations, we collected 3,500 each. In other words, we got 20% of all the signatures on three days.

The conclusion is inescapable. The referendum wasn't woefully weak because the workers of NYC weren't interested in 30/40. The ~~referendum~~ referendum was woefully weak because the city leadership made it so by not planning it carefully, mobilizing the party to carry it out as a major effort from the very beginning, and not becoming directly involved until it was too late to do much of anything but avoid an all-out disaster.

Given this evaluation, we cannot pin the problem on the strategy or the line. The San Francisco referendum (as many signatures as we got in NYC, the referendum on the ballot, and tens of thousands of votes for it) and even our own very meager accomplishments indicate that the road to bigger and better electoral campaigns is wide open, and that they can lead to building both the left of the t.u. movement and the party itself.

We should now plan and carry out electoral activity around 30 for 40 in 1974. It should consist of the following:

- a) Another attempt to get a referendum on the ballot. Since ~~referendums~~ referendums deal with issues directly, they have more to offer politically than running candidates. Because of this and



other reasons, the City Hall crooks don't like to allow them to take place. We can hire a lawyer to draft the best possible legal document, but in any event, the issue of whether or not they allow it on the ballot is really an integral part of the campaign.

b) Local 30 for 40 candidates in some neighborhoods where we think we can pull it off. The West Side Rodino activity and some of the Brooklyn work-- at the very least-- could lead to this.

IF THE WORK IS BEGUN NOW, THERE IS NO REASON THAT WE CANNOT EXPECT TO GET 250,000 SIGNATURES, INVOLVE A BROAD GROUPING OF FORCES, ENLIST ACTIVE SUPPORT FROM CAUCUSES AND/OR COMMITTEES IN SHOPS, BUILD COMMUNITY ELECTORAL FORMATIONS, BUILD WAM, AND ENABLE THE PARTY TO GROW SUBSTANTIALLY. THE TIME TO START PREPARING IS YESTERDAY.

Certain steps need to be taken immediately:

a) A number of party forces have to be assigned to the referendum as a fulltime political task beginning now. When the drive gathers some momentum, one of these comrades should go on salary until the ref. is over.

b) The Dec. 19 WAM meeting, which is scheduled to evaluate the previous campaign, should set the date for a mass meeting to actually kick off the '74 campaign-- no later than the first week in February. This meeting should be well publicized and attended by all members of the t.u. and community sections. We should of course bring as many non-party trade unionists and workers as possible. This means raising the issue and meeting in union meetings etc.

c) A WAM brochure announcing the referendum should be prepared immediately with a sign-up coupon.

d) The t.u. section committee should plan the tactics for introducing the referendum to all areas of concentration. The garment agitation should gear itself to the referendum now.

e) The period from February to May should be one of intense agitation around pledges to sign and circulate the petition once the campaign begins for real. One of the existing WAM committees should ensure this. If this isn't possible, a new committee should be formed.

f) The community section should concentrate its agitational work on unemployment centers, given the present rise in layoffs, and link this work to 30/40 and the referendum. A citywide petition calling for 30/40 as the means of creating more jobs should be drafted and circulated citywide. Every community club should choose one or two centers to concentrate on and, weather permitting, conduct agitation there at least twice a week. Contact work from this should be done vigorously. As the WAM report indicates, this pays off. Agitation around prices can continue on Saturdays, when unemployment centers are closed.

g) In Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx, members of the community section can and should plan now to run for school board in the spring. In addition to anti-racism, smaller classes, and more teachers, the program should include 30/40.

h) All personnel assignments to carry out this work should be made before the year is over. A leadership referendum committee for the party, including Bob, Derek, Neil, Wally, and whoever is assigned to this work should be formed and meet regularly.

Recent developments (the CAR conference, some of the events cited in the t.u. reports) demonstrate



the enormous untapped potential for growth around our line. Two hundred fifty ~~thousand~~ <sup>thousand</sup> signatures on a 30/40 petition are within the limits ~~of~~ of our ability. What this means in fact is building an ~~organization~~ organization that would involve a few hundred people at ~~various~~ various levels of activity. From this, it should be possible to recruit ~~some~~ several dozen workers in the coming period of time. With imperialism declining and hitting the working class in the solar plexus on the home front, masses will ~~respond~~ <sup>respond</sup> to our line now. Let's correct our previous errors and seize the opportunities that are open.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING DEC. 15-16 in NYC

Following what was decided in the international workshop of the Party convention in July, the IC held a meeting in Dec. to discuss the developments since the Convention. Comrades from Canada, Angola, ~~Eritrea~~ <sup>Eritrea</sup>, Honduras, Mexico, Dominican Republic, Germany and the U.S. participated. The comrades from Puerto Rico couldn't come to the meeting. Party members came from Boston, ~~Washington~~ <sup>Washington</sup> and New York. It was very unfortunate that people from the Midwest, the South and the West Coast couldn't participate in the meeting.

The meeting was divided in four parts.

I. The international situation:

Comrade Mort S. gave a report on the situation internationally and pointed out the relative decline of U.S. imperialism (water-gate, dollar and oil crisis, etc.) He pointed the increasing contradictions between different imperialisms, and showed that apparently the Soviet Union was becoming stronger e.g. in the Middle East. Mort said that revisionism has turned the old Communist movement in a counterrevolutionary force and the need for a new international movement based on the principles of internationalism and Marxism-Leninism and no deals with any boss. He pointed out that revisionism is a strong force and characterized the 5 features of revisionism" 1) rely on negotiations and use it as a strategy; 2) support of one imperialism vs. another imperialism; 3) unity with the so-called "progressive" national bourgeoisie; 4) believe in 2 stages revolution; 5) stress of nationalism rather than the class struggle.

The discussion that follow stress the "energy crisis" situation and pointed out that the class struggle was going to sharpen because of the bosses squeeze on working people in general e.g. it is already happening in ~~Great~~ Great Britain where the workweek has been reduced with a big loss in pay. It was pointed out that because there is not a strong Communist movement dedicated to revolution the bosses can get away with this shit without their system being destroyed once and for all. It was pointed out that the "energy crisis" proved that the European and Japanese bosses are really very weak in relation to the U.S. and the USSR (they are crumbling because of the crisis), but it was also pointed out that the U.S. bosses are going to be really affected by the crisis and that therefore racism, chauvinism and the general oppression of working people are going to be increased, but that the workers are fighting back. This is a real opportunity our parties and mass organizations into real strong forces. 30 for 40 is key to building this fight against the unemployment and general deterioration of living conditions coming due to the "crisis".

Comrade Ken S. from CPL gave a report about his recent trip to India. He pointed out how things are extremely bad there. Capitalism is stagnated there. The workers are being attacked by incredible high prices and exploitation in the shops. Calcutta, one of the biggest and most important city in India, is like a big slum. Thousands of people live in the sidewalks. Thousands die every year, but the workers do fight back. A general strike against high prices just took place in nov., led by



the Communist Party of India (marxist), a centrist revisionist organization as compared to the plain CPI, which is part of Indira Ghandi Congress Party govt. and is completely obedient to the USSR. The comrade describe a demonstration of thousands of workers led by the CPI (m) where the workers were led to be arrested by the CPI (m). <sup>(see copy of the worker from CPL)</sup> Repression is also very strong in India. CPI (m) lost 1,000 cadres in the last 3 years. The CPI (m-1), better known as the Naxalites, a Maoiste group that became terrorist, has 32,000 members in jail. There are many other groups in India: SUC, described as hidden trots. RSP, trots. CPI (revolutionary), described as probably the best group there, still believe in 2 stages revolution. The Naxalites are split in 3 main groups and 18 subgroups. The strongest "left" group is the CPI (m) with 26,000 cadres and a mass base in the working class. The group is supposed to be neutral in the Sino-Soviet split, but actually supports both countries, like it considered the recent visit by Brezhnev to India good because of the deals these two bosses made. Its only criticism was that Brezhnev called the Indira's govt. "progressive". Their reaction was: 'How could you call progressive a landlord-big bourgeoisie govt.' These revisionists are actually holding the revolution back in India. A clear case where revisionism is a danger to the working class and all oppressed people.

#### II. Foreign workers and deportations in the U.S.

The second topic dealt with the problems of building a base among foreign workers and students in this country and the problem of deportation that those workers and students face. It was pointed that there are over 2 million "illegal" workers in the U.S. and thousands of workers and students "legal" facing the problem of being deported if they do any political work or fight back against oppression. The Rodino Bill was listed as an example of attacks against this group of workers. It was pointed that all these attacks were basically to build racism, blaming everything wrong with capitalism on these workers (like the "energy crisis" is being blamed on the Arabs, and soon too on the Jews) and to increase the superexploitation of these workers, therefore every worker will suffer because it a well known fact of capitalism that when a group of workers get low salaries, the rest of the workers suffer too (like in NYC, where because the 400,000 garment get such low salaries, NYC ranks 19 among the top 20 cities in salary level). It was proposed to increase the work among those foreign workers and students, to get them involve in the class struggle here and for those who go back to become carriers of revolutionary Communist ideas. But the main emphasis was to involve the workers in the class struggle here, among students that come from foreign countries to study in the univ. here, the emphasis will be double: get them involve in the struggles here

and prepare them when they go back (it was pointed out that Dan Vered got his political training from SDS and PL, and that Phil Taylor from the CPL was a PL member before he moved to Canada and helped build CPL). It was proposed to organize anti-deportations group independent or as part of any mass organizations like CAR, SDS, WAM, etc. A sharp debate took place on whether the emphasis of these anti-deportation groups should be on the legal or the political level. Some people put forward the position that the legalistic aspect should be the strategic line of any such group. Finally the argument that it should be based on both principles, but that the political struggle aspect should be the main line of the organization won. Comrade from Canada pointed out how the CPL helped lead a struggle at the beginning of 1973 that force the Canadian parliament to change a law and make 42,000 aliens legal citizens. The law originally was aimed to avoid foreigners to become citizens inside Canada. 99 of Canada 101 Immigration offices are in Western Europe, so the racist aspect of this law was obvious. It was also decided to ask students and workers to send recommendations of what changes they consider necessary on the different student visas, or changes in the Immigration law. A suggestion to write a pamphlet on the question of foreign workers and deportation was suggested. It was suggested that the comrades in CPL write about their struggle and that the comrades on L.A. write about the whole question of deportations, foreign workers and the Rodino bill

#### III. PROPAGANDA

The question of propaganda was presented as a key part of our struggle. The IC will be putting out a journal called WIN (Workers International Newsletter), a journal with articles from different organizations and about the class struggle internationally with different point of views. It would be a debate journal among anti-revisionist forces throughout the world. It was pointed out that the journal did not reflect a United Front effort in the production since people in NYC did all the work to put it out. It was also proposed to put out different pamphlets, be in the name of the IC or of individual organizations, on the question of Trotskyism, on the restoration of capitalism to the USSR and China, on the road to revolution in non-industrialized countries, on deportation and foreign workers, on the Middle East situation, on the contradictions among imperialist powers, etc. It was pointed out that due to limited sources, the publications will be only in English, and maybe in Spanish some of them. Road to Revolution 3 will be coming out in the German edition soon, it was informed. A mass distribution of WIN and any other publication was suggested as a primary task in this work. A comrade from Canada suggested somekind of publication on Dialectical Materialism and the history of the Int'l Communist movement, hopefully a series of articles on dialectics will be published in future editions of Challenge-Desafio.



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Comrade Richard C. from N.Y. gave a report about his recent trip to England and Ireland. he met ~~several~~ people doing work against Eysenck members of a group called Communist Federation. G.B (m-L), a group which according to him is moving away from Maoism. He said that PL is well known among people in England. He also met a fellow head of a union that is doing a lot of work in the fight against racism there. He pointed out that the IRA is full of nationalism and revisionism in Ireland and the Irish Communist Org. is very small.

#### IV. WHAT KIND OF NEW INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT?

A report was given on the building of a new international in this period. A new international based on the struggle for socialism and of many of the ideas put forward in RR III. But this new international will have to be built from scratch because of the disarray of the old movement. Therefore it would have to be based on a struggle with many antirrevisionist forces throughout the world which agree that the Chinese and the Soviets are revisionists but disagree on many other aspects of PL line. A struggle with these movements will bring them forward more and more. The problems of whether the new international will be a centralized one like the Third Int'l or a more loose one like Marx and Engel First Int'l. The comrade from CPL put forward a strong disagreement with this line. Their position was that the leadership of many of these groups is completely corrupt and that they (CPL) will refuse to participate in an international with many of these groups (like MIR, etc.), but will be willing to work on a second level but not based on fraternal relations with them. A sharp debate took place in relation to this last point. Many pointed out that this was a very sectarian and chauvinistic attitude and that it will isolate us from the rest of the world revolutionary movement. It was pointed out the dialectical point of changes and that PL and CPL and the PRSL had basically the old line we now criticize back a few years ago and that we would have discarded ourselves back them with that kind of thinking. It was also pointed out that we don't intend to build fraternal relations with many of those groups on the basis that they are today. It was also pointed out that although the main danger today is revisionism, sectarianism and chauvinism could be very dangerous. The question of fraternal relations was taken up. There is a qualitatively and quantitatively difference bet. fraternal relations between organizations and exchanges of ideas and unity in action bet. organizations with differences that can be considered sharp. The discussion was not ended in this meeting and it was agreed to continue the debate in the future. The feeling of the majority, though, was against the proposal of the Canadian comrade.

#### ADDENDUM:

A comrade from Nigeria gave a report on the two lines on the road to revolution in Africa: national liberation vs. socialism. A meeting about this point took place at the NY WAM office on Nov. 17 with the participation of representatives from different liberation groups in Africa and members of the IC. A report will be written in the near future about this meeting.

A comrade from LA, who was deported, met with a group of revolutionaries in Mexico whom had proposed an anti-imperialist united front with PL. It is the feeling that there is an open field for our ideas and to form a revolutionary communist organization in Mexico. A future report will be written about this meeting.

A friend of PL came back from Argentina and described a couple of groups that basically agree with our line, plus the growing fascism of Peron.

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This article will deal mainly with two aspects of the AFT convention:

- 1) the role of the Party and the Rank and File caucus on the floor of the convention.
- 2) a self-criticism of my role.

Given the small number of delegates ~~which~~ which we had and the strength of the Shanker machine, we made a great deal of headway in raising issues and ideas in committees and on the floor of the convention.

One of the best struggles of the convention took place in the Civil Rights committee. About the first day and a half of the convention were devoted to workshops and committees which went through various resolutions, amending, accepting, etc. We had not submitted any resolutions (this required endorsement of a local, and sending the resolutions about a month in advance), so we were dealing mostly with gutless and irrelevant resolutions. The first struggle in the Civil Rights committee took place around the seating of the visitors in the committee meeting. In the past, non-delegates have been allowed in committee meetings. The chairman decided not to allow it this year, mainly because the Civil Rights committee has always been the scene of great controversy. This made many delegates very angry, including one fellow from Southern California who is ~~now~~ on the steering committee of the r & f caucus. He was ~~so~~ <sup>now</sup> angered by this blatant lack of democracy that he ran around the convention hall trying to get a copy of the rules which stated whether or not non-delegates could be seated. He was told that he could not have a copy of the rules until they were voted on the next day at the plenary session. This, of course, outraged many people - the idea that we were forced to operate under rules which had not been adopted and which we also could not see. We made an issue out of it in the committee, a number of people signed their names to do something about it, etc. And the committee chairwoman was ~~now~~ embarrassed with the spectacle of 10-15 visitors, all AFT members, about half minority, sitting around the door of the committee room, straining to hear the discussion, because they were not allowed inside.

We succeeded in winning two amendments to the resolutions in this committee. The first was a resolution against "stereotyping in textbooks." We amended the resolved section of this resolution to say that the national AFT would urge locals to set up committees on textbooks in each local. This was passed in committee and by the general session, so people might use this as a basis for fights around



Perspective for the next 7 months:

- a. In the schools - build a base for the caucus, for WAM, for the Party. The caucus is the Rank-and-File Caucus we started in the AFT in August 1973. The main thrust of the caucus is the fight against racism to improve the schools, to ~~IMPROVE~~ strengthen the union. We will build a base for *our ideas* ~~the~~ by being active in our chapters-- raising anti-racist demands and carrying out a bold militant attack to upgrade the education in our particular school.

We think it is realistic to sell 15 Challenges per issue in each of our schools. These papers should be sold to teachers, aides, paraprofessionals, custodians, cafeteria workers and students.

We think it is realistic to recruit 5 teachers and/or paraprofessionals to the caucus.

- b. In the Rank-and-File Caucus-- build through the petition drive to reopen the UFT contracts for more money, smaller classes, etc. We need an anti-racist campaign. Caucus may focus on class size which would make intensive reading programs possible for students ~~not~~ not reading at grade level, plus affirmative action on hiring to hire more black and Latin teachers.

This caucus will not be a mass caucus although it should certainly have more members than it now has (approx 30). We should be able to grow to 75-100 by June. The purpose of the caucus is to act as a cutting edge in the UFT--to oppose ~~racism~~ racism and offer a real alternative to teachers -- *led by r+f control not by sell-out racists*

We want to insure that the caucus will not shy away from fighting racism and we want to win teachers in the caucus to a pro-working class position, to build working class solidarity and to recruit members to WAM.

- c. In WAM-- In each school we should try to build a committee of school workers around a particular issue. If this is not possible at the present time we should discuss WAM activities with all school workers and bring them to WAM citywide meetings which we shall also attend. (2 members of teachers clubs now on ~~the~~ WAM steering committee)

The parent-teacher alliance will be built in WAM with teachers attempting to involve the parents of our students in WAM. We should start trying to find out the occupations of all our students' parents. We should set up a meeting of all garment workers

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committees on racist textbooks in various locals. We also succeeded in amending an otherwise stupid resolution to include a sentence condemning ~~the~~ theories of genetic racial inferiority. Besides these two amendments there was some good discussion on whether bilingual teachers should also be bicultural (in other words, minority hiring). Minority teachers played a big role in this committee, which they, by and large, did not on the floor of the convention.

In spite of the fact that there were approximately two-thousand

delegates, and Shanker controlled half of them, it was not difficult to speak on the floor (objectively, at least - subjective fears were a whole different matter). In the first plenary session Bill S. proposed a special order of business. We were pretty sure this would not pass, but by proposing it as a special order of business, he was allowed to read it straight through. It was a resolution calling for support of the Mack Ave. strikers and condemnation of the UAW. Many people spoke with him about it afterwards, proposed various changes, etc.

The first big debate took place when most of the Party delegates were - not even on the floor, which was a big mistake. The leadership had organized a demonstration in support of the Farah pants strikers. The Black Caucus proposed ~~that this demonstration should proceed to the White House and demonstrate against Nixon for cutbacks, etc.~~ Shanker's forces opposed the White House demonstration but they were defeated, 633-631 in the first vote, and by a wider margin in the second vote. It was a defeat for Shanker on a somewhat anti-racist issue, and it is unfortunate that we were not involved in the struggle. One of the tactical screw-ups which I will discuss more later.

During the last <sup>two</sup> members of the Rank and File Caucus and the Party raised and argued many points on the floor. We proposed a set of three by-laws amendments to democratize the convention. These called for written copies of the convention rules to be distributed at the beginning of the convention, for elected committee chairmen, and to allow visitors in committee meetings. We won the first on the floor, and lost the other two. These debates helped to publicize the caucus' stand on rank and file control. We argued against a resolution thanking every pig from Meany down for the Philadelphia teachers strike, and commending the rank and file instead. This was defeated, but raised a ruckus. Primarily we concentrated on many points about racism. In one exchange we argued against the inclusion of a phrase calling for the hiring of "qualified" Hispanic educators. Shanker himself actually took the floor to defend this bit of racism and make some points about "racism in reverse." We attacked him as a racist, which met with boos from New York, but some interesting, friendly conversations afterwards. In general, I think that, considering our inexperience, small number of delegates, etc. we played a good role in the convention, especially in the last two days. The weaknesses I will discuss more later.



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with ourselves and a member of the garment club present.

We should discuss our WAM activities with our students.

We will sign up members to WAM in our schools/community.

d. In the Party- Sales of literature: Challenges 60/issue  
We should also sell PL magazine and other literature in the schools.

We should invite our friends to all party functions. These friends will be met ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ in all of the above activities: in the schools, community, caucus and WAM.

We should vigorously attempt to win these friends to a party study group. Right now we only have two study groups and they are still not really off the ground.

We should recruit members to the party.

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STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESS OF THE CLUB MEMBERS

Strengths- has been a teacher in the same school in the neighborhood for 4 years and has a good standing in the school and neighborhood. Knows a large number of people (if only superficially) and a large number of people know him as a respected teacher and communist.

Is stable and responsible. Has a wife & one child with another on the way. Is willing to take responsibility and be bold when his understanding of an issue is complete and he is sure of his position. Knows when he doesn't understand something and now tries to seek out leadership to help resolve problems or ~~to~~ help him understand something.

Weaknesses- sometimes his understanding of different aspects of the line is not complete enough to act on it. 11/18/54

Often not decisive enough in offering leadership because not enough thought has been given to doing this.

Sometimes acts alone or in consultation with Barbara or Susan (wife) and not yet in a collective with the club.

Doesn't struggle hard enough with club members to carry out the line--to do what they have to do--to do all the 4 tasks outlined in the perspective.

Can be very subjective at times.

Strengths- has been a teacher in the same school for several years and knows a large number of people in and around the school.

Is a good party member-defends the line sells ~~it~~ literature and carries out most of his responsibilities.

Weaknesses- sometimes doesn't carry through on things he has agreed to--perhaps due to disorganization which is conveyed to friends

Doesn't budget time or plan well at times

Does not or has not integrated political work with his life. This may change with a family now.



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INTERNAL BULLETIN ON AFT CONVENTION

The following is an account of the Party's role at the 57th Convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), held from August 20 to 24. In Part I, we describe the important events on a day-today basis, which we hope will give others an idea of the activity involved at union conventions. In Part II, we discuss the strengths and weaknesses of our convention work. We hope that other party members and friends will get a sense of the important gains that can be made at these conventions. We can not, of course, change our union in one week, but we can make a significant impact as well as meet many delegates and non-delegates who will go back to their local areas and work closely with us.

Part I - DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS

A- Sunday night - first meeting of Rank-and-File Caucus (RAFC - a teacher's caucus which began in N.Y.-N.J. and which the party is active in).

- 1- About 60 teachers present from around the country (one-third party), including 8 or 9 delegates.
- 2- There is an active center leadership.
- 3- There are a handful of Labor Committee and I.S. members present. They are easily handled by allowing them to present their proposals, quickly discussing them, taking a vote, and then moving on (at which point they leave).

4- Political Mistakes of PL:

We fail to act as the left in the caucus. Specifically, we do not attempt to have anti-racism adopted as one of the planks of the RAFC. We also do not bring up "30 for 40" for adoption, although a "Why Teachers Should Demand the Shorter Work Week" leaflet is distributed to everyone at the meeting.

- 5- The RAFC vows to confront the AFT leadership over their refusal to give us a meeting room and booth.

B- Monday - first day of Convention

- 1- 7:30AM - first party meeting - 22 teachers present. We divide Convention responsibility into 3 areas and assign PLers to each area:

(a) RAFC work, (b) WAM work, and (3) independent party work. We did not discuss in any serious way either our role as the left in the RAFC or what we felt should be the perspective of the caucus or the need to basebuild.

- 2- 9:00AM - RAFC confronts AFT sect.-treas. Porter (\$39,000/yr.) over denial of booth and room. We are informed there is a new rule passed 2 days earlier - we must get 10% of the delegates (280) to sign a petition asking that we be recognized as a caucus.

- 3- RAFC members collect over 300 signatures from 35 delegations. This is a big victory, as we establish ourselves as a recognized caucus by actively seeking the aid of the rank-and-file delegates.

- 4- Afternoon - (a) We hand out a 4-page PL flyer which analyzes the so-called "split" between Selden and Shanker, calls on the delegates to fight racism in the schools, and explains why it is only under socialism will our children be able to receive a decent education. Most of the delegates receive this flyer.

(b) The RAFC booth is set up and the first leaflet comes out which lists the 3 basis principles of the caucus: (1) fighting around educational and trade union concerns, (2) union democracy, and (3) the parent-teacher alliance. The leaflet says nothing about racism.

- 5- 10:00PM - The second RAFC is run bureaucratically, with items rushed through with little discussion. The party does little to change this. A committee to write a petition for a national contract, a committee

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to decide what position to take on Convention Resolutions, and a committee to work out a program on racism are established.

C- Tuesday

- 1- 7:30AM - Second PL meeting where a sharp discussion begins concerning the right-wing errors we had been making. The meeting lasts until 1PM when we have finish discussing the following errors and solutions:

(a) Racism

Though some party members had spoken at the RAFC meetings about the need for a teacher's caucus to combat racism, we had not seen the importance of proposing that it be one of the caucus' four guiding principles. We resolve to guarantee a full discussion on this point at the next RAFC meeting and to propose the setting up of daily workshops on racism in order to discuss implementation of an anti-racist strategy.

(b) "30 for 40"

We had not even raised this demand at the RAFC meeting much less taken around the WAM national teachers' petition for "30 for 40" to the Convention delegates. We resolve to do both.

- (c) Party Literature Sales - We had sold few Challenges or other party literature per person. We resolve to carry party lit. around with us wherever we go and spend some time each day selling.

(d) Focus of RAFC

Why are the caucus meetings becoming bureaucratic? We decide it is because the caucus, including ourselves, is becoming overly concerned with taking positions on every matter before the Convention rather than concentrating on strengthening the caucus both politically and numerically. RAFC members are beginning to spend hours debating and writing up position papers on what to do about resolutions #11, 23, 44, etc. We decided to rectify this by proposing the following to the caucus:

I- That the RAFC delegates focus in on the resolutions having to do with racism and fight to have them strengthened both in the Civil Rights Committee and on the Convention floor.

II- That the RAFC adopt the concept of a "convention within a convention". We should all realize that fairly decent resolutions can and have been passed in the past and yet remain just pieces of paper because our union leaders, like Shanker, are unwilling to implement them. The Caucus should therefore see the most important thing for it to do is to insure adequate discussion of delegates and non-delegates on what is needed in our union and how we can begin to organize for these things.

Specifically, we decide to suggest that the RAFC have workshops everyday on important issues like how to fight racism or how to build a parent-teacher alliance.

- 2- Tuesday afternoon - the RAFC's national contract petition is circulated, PL literature is sold, and the Party flyer is distributed.

- 3- 10:00PM - At the third RAFC meeting our perspective for the caucus is adopted. In addition, party members and independent teachers alike point out that we will not get very far in convincing large numbers of teachers to join with parents to demand big improvements in the schools unless we work to overcome racist ideas which put the blame for bad schools on the students and their parents rather than the government.

However, the discussion of racism and "30 for 40" is not completed and must be continued the following day. On the whole, however, caucus members appreciate and accept our suggestions, and we do not dominate the meeting.

The caucus votes to hold a demonstration in the Convention Hotel lobby around the issues of union democracy and racism.



D- Wednesday

1- 7:30AM - At the third PL meeting it is felt that we are on the right track although there are still weaknesses. For one, the RAFC has not done anything to show it to be an anti-racist organization; for another the shorter work week for teachers has still not been discussed. Party lit. sales are still low as we have been "too busy" to sell. Also, we have not been trying to get to know non-party people in the caucus. We resolve to try to work with other RAFC members more closely and ask those friendly to the party to join either a PL study group or PL.

2- Afternoon and Early Evening -

(a) One party leader confronts Shanker in the lobby, demanding to know what he has done about the cutbacks. Shanker answers "What cutbacks? About 70 people gather around and for the next 20 minutes Shanker is in a shouting match with members of the RAFC, led by PLers. AFTER makes a comment to the effect that blacks and whites will never get together, he is attacked for being a racist. Shanker walks away having come out on the short end of that debate.

(b) Plers take part in an AFT demonstration to support the Farah striker with a huge banner that says "Smash Racist Farah, Bust the Wage Freeze - PLP". Union hacks from Shanker's "Progressive" Caucus try to take the banner away, a shoving match begins, the cops step forward to help the goons, but delegates demand that they leave us alone. Not only do we keep our banner at the demo but teachers start coming up to us asking us for literature. These confrontations with the union hacks arouse so much interest in our ideas and lit. that perhaps these guys should be made honorary members of our Circulation Committee.

(c) There is a workshop on racism where suggestions are discussed on how to counter racist ideas, develop anti-racist classroom lessons, work with Black and Latin parents, etc.

(d) A Party delegate from Detroit introduces, as a special order of business, a resolution to support the Mack Ave. Chrysler workers' sit-down strike and condemn Chrysler and the UAW International Exec. Bd. This resolution was distributed to every delegate before the general sessions began. Though we do not attain the necessary 2/3 vote to suspend business in order to discuss the motion, nevertheless over 2,000 delegates have an opportunity to learn the truth of the sit-down and of the treachery of Mazey and Co.

3- 10:00 PM

It is unanimously voted at the fourth RAFC meeting to adopt as the #1 principle of the caucus opposition to racism in education. After discussion, "30 for \$0" for teachers is adopted nearly unanimously. A committee is established to plan the logistics of Thur. dem

E- Thursday

1- 7:30AM - PL meeting

2- Morning - PL lit. is sold, WAM teachers' petition is circulated, etc.

3- 1:30PM - The RAFC pickets in the Convention lobby with signs and chants like "Rank and File Take the Lead, To Open Up the AFT" (referring to the attempt by the AFT officials to close committee meetings to non-delegates, not recognize the RAFC, etc.) and "Fighting Racism is the Key, To Build a Strong AFT". We then hold a rally in the lobby to the amazement of the AFT bigshots who stand watching us with their mouths open. When the rally is over, scores of delegates come up to speak to us and most are friendly and interested in what we have to say.

4- 5:30PM - The second workshop on racism is held with about 30 people, all of whom agree to become a National Committee of the RAFC to Fight Racism. The RAFC members in Chicago agree to become the central headquarters of this committee, with the job of collecting and sending out

ideas and literature on how best to wage campaigns against the many facets of racism in our schools and union locals.

5- 7:30 PM - WAM Forum

A party teacher from Detroit tells of the struggle of the Mack Ave. sit-down strikers and draws out the important political lessons for all workers. Other participants at the forum talk about how the lessons from auto apply to teachers and the AFT. Then 2 I.S. creeps attack WAM for being adventurous and misleading workers. In the ensuing discussion their position is so totally discredited that one of them runs out of the forum room in a fit of rage before the meeting ends.

6- 9:30PM

At the final convention meeting of the RAFC, a national steering committee is elected and a newsletter planned for. Over a majority of the steering committee is non-party, including a number of teachers we have just met.

7- 11:00PM - RAFC Party

A great way to end a week of Convention work! Food, music, and a good deal of getting to know each other better.

F- Other Events Throughout the Week

1- Work in Other Caucuses

(a) Progressive Caucus - a few party members regularly attend Prog. C. meetings of close to 2,000 teachers. Our estimate is that many teachers can be won to oppose the rotten Prog. C.-AFT leadership. When the Prog. C. advertises for their party with a picture of a belly dancer, we and a number of independent women delegates circulate a petition protesting this sexism, which gets a few hundred signatures.

(b) United Action Caucus (UAC) - a few party members regularly attend meetings of this caucus, the largest "opposition" to the Progressive Caucus. This caucus, which is led by the Communist Party and some liberal union leaders (Herrick Roth - Colorado AFL-CIO President, William Simons - Washington D.C. Teachers Union), concentrates mainly on fighting the AFT leadership around union democracy. They take positions on many things but take little action around anything.

It is clear from their meetings at the convention that they are on the decline. Last year they announced they had 500 paid up members at the Convention; this year they announced 190. They are very upset over the formation of the RAFC and one of their leaders even pleads with us to link up with them. Fat chance, after working in their NYC affiliate for a year and a half in a vain attempt to get them to move.

2- Work in Local Delegations

Four party members and friends who were delegates work in the Boston delegation. The result is that the head of the Boston Teachers Union, Doherty, is now isolated from his own delegation. Before the Convention he promised Shanker he would "deliver" his delegation on votes. So when the Boston delegation votes on whether or not the AFT should continue its march from Farah pants to the White House to protest Federal school cutbacks, Doherty votes with Shanker against this demo. The entire Boston delegation, however, including Doherty's wife, votes to have the demo!

Later, Doherty gets up on the Convention floor and proposes that next year non-delegates be screened before being allowed in in order to keep out "disrupters". Immediately after, a Boston delegate (friend of PL) gets up to the mike and explains why the screening proposal is a rotten idea. Doherty is livid!

When a San Francisco PL delegate announces on the floor of the Convention that "the days of Shanker and his racism are numbered", the Conv. chairman flew into a rage and screams: "I rule you out of order and everything you said is ruled out of order!" Yet back at the S.F. dels. party she is approached by many dels who either agree with what she said or want to talk about it.



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Part II - Lessons of Our Convention Experience

There are a number of valuable lessons to learn from our experiences at the AFT Convention on: (1) how to best operate at a union convention, and (2) how to best work year round in our schools and union locals. These lessons apply not only to teachers but to other industries as well.

A- Necessity of Preparation

There are at least two kinds of preparation that have to go on before a convention from the point of view of either the party, WAM, or a rank-and-file caucus. The first is political preparation and the second is organizational preparation.

Politically, we should hold in-depth discussions before the convention on what our goals are (i.e., what kind of caucus do we want to build, what role will we play in the caucus, what independent party presence will we have outside the caucus, etc.). We should all be clear on the answers to the following three questions: "What do we hope to achieve at this convention, what is our plan for accomplishing these things, and what part in this plan is each of us going to play?"

Organizationally, we found that it may be best to assign convention tasks to party members beforehand so that they have time to plan how to most effectively carry that task out (e.g.: raising a resolution on the Convention, organizing PL lit. sales, etc.). It is also important to decide beforehand what flyers, leaflets, and lit. is needed so that valuable time is not wasted at the convention running these things off (e.g., we spent hours at the AFT convention getting the teachers' "30 for 40" leaflet run off).

Another aspect of preparation is to try to learn as much as possible beforehand about the rules and by-laws of the convention. While some of this knowledge will be learned by attending the convention, there is absolutely no reason why we can't read our union constitution, send away for lit. on how our union functions, speak to people who have previously attended these conventions, study Robert's Rules of Order, and so on. We saw at the AFT Conv. that knowledge of these procedural matters can sometimes make the difference between being able to raise an important item on the floor or not (e.g., we were able to raise the "Support Auto Workers" Resolution).

B- The Role of Communists in Building a Rank-and-File Caucus

Conditions are growing worse in most industries, including teaching, and yet our union leaders are unwilling or incapable of doing much about it. In these industries there is therefore growing dissatisfaction among the workers towards the union leadership. An active, serious opposition among the unions has the potential of attracting many workers who want to take back control from the present dictatorial sellouts. In the teachers' union, we have the beginnings of such caucuses. In N.Y.C.-N.J. it is the Rank-and-File Caucus, in San Francisco it is TAC, and in Chicago it is ACT. Hopefully, all three of the caucuses will be affiliated with the National Rank-and-File Caucus and work together. In other cities party teachers should be building similar teacher organizations.

These caucuses can be left-center organizations, with a large and growing center membership and leadership. This exists now in the RAFC in N.Y.-N.J. and in San Francisco TAC.

Communists have a crucial role to play in these caucuses. We have the responsibility of presenting ideas which if adopted can strengthen the caucus' fight against the Board of Education and the union sellouts. We certainly want to avoid sectarianism in doing this, yet the main weakness in party work in the RAFC to date has been failing to raise PL's line rather than raising it in a sectarian manner (e.g., our position on racism, "30 for 40", socialism).

Not only should we be raising our vanguard positions within the caucus, but we should be recruiting the most politically advanced members into PL

teacher study groups. Teacher study group guides should be developed, circulated and discussed among all party teachers. Every PL teacher should aim to lead a party study or discussion group and we should all be helping each other out on doing this. After all, any gains which our caucus or union make can eventually be taken away, as they have in the past, as long as the bourgeoisie wields state power. We shouldn't be embarrassed about wanting to build the party, for its only under socialism can working, living, and learning conditions be fundamentally improved and you can't get socialism without having a large communist party.

Having members of the caucus join the party does not have to make the caucus any less of a left-center coalition ("PL heavy"). Our goal should be to recruit teachers who are committed to convincing other, non-party teachers to join the caucus. This can be a continuing process, with an ever-growing caucus and party, each contributing to each other's growth.

C- The Necessity of Fighting Racism

One of the reasons we were so hesitant to raise our position that the RAFC should actively organize against racism in the schools was the fear that if adopted this plank would turn away teachers who would have joined the caucus solely to demand union democracy, smaller classes, more reading programs, etc. Yet our experiences at the AFT Convention demonstrated the following:

- 1- The fear expressed above, for one, is racist because it worries solely about not attracting white teachers. More important, however, is that any caucus that does not seriously fight against the racist practices and ideas which oppress millions of Black and Latin people, cannot hope to attract many minority teachers, if any. At the Convention, the RAFC meeting which had the most Black teachers attending was the workshop on racism.
- 2- The most aware white teachers also realize the oppressive nature of racism as well as its divisive effect on white and black workers. At the Convention a number of these teachers joined the RAFC. At the meetings they were in total agreement with the party about the need to fight racism and actively participated in the workshops, becoming members of the National Committee of the RAFC to Fight Racism.
- 3- Finally, even if there was evidence (which there is not) that there are teachers who would join the caucus if only it didn't say anything about racism, this would still be no excuse for the party not to push to have anti-racism as part of the caucus' program. Indeed it would be irresponsible given our belief that a teacher's caucus can't succeed if it doesn't combat the government's #1 justification for bad conditions and its #1 divide-and-conquer strategy.

There is, of course, another reason for our not pushing the RAFC to do much about racism: this forces us begin to wage campaigns about racist practices, curriculum, and ideas in our own schools. Non-party teachers naturally look at us and say: "You've been doing a lot of talking about fighting racism, now what are you going to do about it?!" We're suddenly held accountable. Now this is a very good thing but we don't always see it that way.

D- Boldness

These conventions are usually so boring for most delegates that anytime an organized group does something out of the ordinary, something bold, it is likely to generate interest. At the AFT Convention everytime we were bold and took some action, a number of delegates became more interested in what we had to say: the booth and table confrontation, the shouting match with Shanker, and the RAFC rally in the lobby.

E- The Functioning of the Party

Without the regular party meetings at the Convention we might very well have been running around doing many things but accomplishing little in



the way of lastin results. At the party meetings we were able to set overall goals, evaluate what we had done, and then make plans to improve. Because of the general seriousness in the party it was possible for 22 party teachers from different cities to work well together and have serious meetings where we could raise constructive criticism of each other and ourselves.

In general, we would suggest that for all future conventions, if possible, party members should arrive a day early and discuss the strategy for the next few days. Regular party meetings should also be held on the days of the convention, either in the morning or the evening.

F- The Potential for Victory

We attend these conventions because we believe that one day the rank-and-file, led by our party, will oust the labor bureaucrats and reestablish the unions as mass workers' organizations that fight to advance the interests of our class. Yet at times many of us may have doubts about whether this will ever really happen or not. That's why our participation in the AFT Convention was a shot-in-the-arm for PL teachers' work. We got a feeling for how possible it really is to someday topple the clowns that presently run our union.

We saw serious delegates join the RAFC and commit themselves to building the caucus in their cities in the next year. One teacher decided not to go to Tanzania (where he had been invited by the government) in order to be on the RAFC's steering committee. We watched our high-paid union officials - Shanker, Ballard, Doherty, Riordan - come off looking like first-class jerks when they tried to defend their reactionary stands when we challenged them.

Now we don't want to underestimate the considerable power these union leaders still possess, but when you think about it these bigwigs are only a handful of people. They aren't going to represent the interests of most teachers. And so a teachers' caucus that works hard to dump these creeps and establish rank-and-file control around a good program should be able to gain the support of large numbers of teachers.

Likewise, the potential for growth of our party among teachers is also quite good. Judging from our conversations and lit. sales at the Convention, anti-communism is not strong at all among teachers. In fact, there are a good number of teachers who are already very friendly to many of our ideas. As it becomes clearer and clearer to teachers that the problems of the schools, like most big problems, will not be solved under capitalism, many will search for an alternative. Many will turn to revolution and socialism provided that our party works hard to popularize these ideas. It is in this context that one can see the extreme importance of the PL flyer at the convention and, on the other hand, the seriousness of our low sales of party lit to teachers and our lack of boldness in raising party ideas (including the idea of joining). Our experiences at the AFT Convention should convince all of us of both the need and the potential for us to quickly overcome the above-mentioned weaknesses.

PARTY EDUCATION AND STUDY-ACTION GROUPS.

More clarity is needed on the purpose of party study-action groups and the methods of building and running them.

If the party is to carry out the program of the convention and double its size in the coming period, present recruitment rates have to double. This means that present numbers of study-action group members have to triple at least.

In addition, more careful attention must be paid to what the groups are doing and how they plan their activities and discussions.

One persistent problem seems to be that we don't as yet grasp the main purpose of the groups.

As outlined by the convention, the basis of party education is action around the line. The groups are not functioning properly if they aren't constantly in motion and carrying out one or another of the party's mass campaigns.

The meaning of this is not yet clear to most group leaders and to most party leaders in general. The concept of action is often either completely obliterated or else distorted to mean jaw-boning group members to organize for the next party-wide function (demo, dinner, etc.). While organizing for party-wide functions is a legitimate, necessary topic for a study-action group, the organizing will have no meaning if the group members aren't themselves carrying out the line locally.

For example: it goes without saying that a trade union study group should organize for a city-wide WAM demonstration against the wage freeze. But does the group take up the question of what it and its members are doing to build WAM city-wide and in their own industries? What is the plan to carry out the idea of contract re-opens, if this is appropriate, or to plan activity for an upcoming contract? How can study-action group members stimulate the development of caucuses in their own industries? Etc. and also

What we expect people to do shouldn't be a mystery. Theoretically a plan of work exists for each major industry in which we are involved. The study-action groups should be an integral part of this plan: this is applicable regardless of the area of work in question. For example: if the college teachers' plan is to organize teach-ins against racism and then to help build a national conference on racism and the university, a college teachers' study-action group would have to take up the question of what each member is doing to hold a teach-in on his/her campus and the further question of who will come from these teach-ins to the conference.

These general points apply to all areas of party work: **STUDY-ACTION GROUPS MUST BEGIN WITH AND CONSTANTLY RETURN TO DISCUSSION OF WHAT THE GROUPS ARE DOING INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY TO SHARPEN THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND CARRY OUT EITHER THE 30/40 CAMPAIGN OR THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACISM, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE PARTY'S PLAN FOR THIS WORK.**

If practice, struggle, and action around the mass line are made the primary aspect of the study-action groups, then it is possible to deal correctly with winning group members to understand and carry out the more advanced, independent aspects of the party's line. In the absence of this approach, discussion of the party's ideas will appear sterile and confusing at best.

On the other hand, if a study-action group in the welfare industry is actively involved in a 371 caucus, if it is carrying out a mass campaign around the upcoming contract, if it is working on a plan to build WAM and 30/40 in the industry, then it will have an excellent basis for spreading the party's ideas about the mideast war when DC 37 kingpin Vic Gotbaum sends \$100,000 of union funds to



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the Israeli fascists. The party's ideas about all-class unity, racism, U.S. imperialist decline, the need for workers' unity, rank and file control of the mass movement, and revolution will emerge from the struggle.

If a student study group is carrying out the teach-in plan, it will also have to deal with the party's more advanced position that discussion of racism isn't enough, that more militant confrontation is necessary to get rid of the racists. This brings on the questions of "academic freedom," the class content of education, the worker-student alliance, and ultimately, crushing the bosses' universities. In this context, the study-action group would have to take up the party's ideas about Watergate and the present state of U.S. imperialism, because the liberals are already organizing their forces to divert the anti-racism campaign.

If a teachers' study-action group is active both in the fight for improved classroom conditions and against racism, then it will be in a position to play a constructive independent role when the bosses try to intensify racism among teachers and anti-union sentiment among parents by cooking up a fight over Luis Fuentes.

Many more examples could be brought out. The point to retain is that discussion of the party's independent ideas and of carrying them out should be a function of each study-action group's practical activity. The sale of CHALLENGE-DESAFIO must also be viewed as an integral part of the work, not as an appendage to it. This can happen if the party's ideas are viewed as part of the group's strategy for carrying out struggle.

To summarize the purpose and function of party-study-action groups:

1. Every group should be an organizing unit for advancing class struggle in its area, building one of the party's two mass campaigns, and building partywide activity.
2. Every group should discuss key aspects of the party line (the state, internationalism, the party, socialism, revisionism, racism, nationalism, RR3, etc.) in the context of its activity. The M-L "classics" are not the primary source of reading material. The basic "classic" for PLP groups is RR3. The basic day-to-day text is CHALLENGE-DESAFIO, which every group member should read for every meeting, to the extent this is possible. Ditto PLP pamphlets and PL.
3. Every group leader should constantly attempt to win group members to sell the paper and contribute sustainers to the party. Clubs and leading bodies should check up on this with regularity.

Lack of clarity on the purpose of study-action groups is not the only problem we have to solve. There is also a serious problem of form, i.e. how the group meetings are actually run.

Many people are reluctant to attend regular meetings of what they view essentially as a "class," where discussion (regardless of its content) appears school-oriented in the way it takes place. This problem is especially true of non-students, who may feel uncomfortable in this type of atmosphere-- although the problem also applies to students, some of whom complain that the groups are boring.

There is a good deal of validity to this complaint, and we can't solve the problem simply by saying that the idea of revolution is stimulating enough to make the form in which it's presented irrelevant.

To one degree or another, study-action groups will always have to resemble formal meetings, because they are supposed to have structured discussion around an agenda dealing with a plan of activity. However, given, this limitation, it is still possible to be a lot more creative in planning the meetings or sessions.

--People go to movies anyway. A study-action group could go to a movie together and then go back to discuss some aspect of the

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ideas presented in the movie - racism, the "inferno" of women, etc.

--Everybody watches TV, and the TV programs mirror the ruling class' line, whether they're features, news or whatever. A study-action group could watch, say, the 6 o'clock news and then discuss how the bosses' media are organized to oppress workers. This discussion could serve as the basis for a discussion of CHALLENGE and why sell it.

--Most parents have some relation to the homework of their school-age children. Why not discuss both how to help the kids better and the content of what they're learning?

--Several years ago, one comrade formed a study group of workers in his industry. The initial purpose of the group was to learn the skills necessary to qualify for upgrading. The group also took up political questions. This particular group no longer exists, but the principle on which it was founded isn't a bad one and could be applied in many situations. What about a study-action group of teachers concerned with how to teach better in the classroom?

Again, many more examples could be raised. We have to try to think more creatively about how to hold interest in the groups, given the objective fact that people have a lot more on their minds than 30/40, anti-racism, and the party.

The final problem study-action groups must solve if they are to recruit at the required rate is the persistent weakness that exists in basebuilding. By and large, party members who lead study groups are not won to the idea that their lives have to be integrated with those of the group members, and many party leaders do not pay enough attention to this question.

We are not a Dale Carnegie school or a lonely hearts club, but there is a great deal of validity to the point that if you don't make friends you can't influence people. Reality bears this out. The non-party people who regularly participate in party activity are, almost without exception, the friends of party members.

Friendship and ties, like almost everything else, are developed by repetition and habit. Quality comes out of quantity. So if we want to stimulate this development, we have to pay more attention to quantity.

As a general rule, every meeting of every study-action group should have a social aspect. People can get together for dinner or brunch. You have to eat anyway: why not discuss politics while you're doing it?

As a general rule, every PLer who leads a study-action group should see at least the key people in the group in between meetings on a social basis. A great deal can be accomplished politically if this is done; a great deal will not be accomplished if it isn't done.

In addition, where possible, study groups should be combined every so often for a larger social activity that also discusses a political question (borough-wide brunches to discuss the Mid-east, fund-raising parties to which group members invite their own friends, etc.). At this point, aside from repeated discussion about the relation of politics to basebuilding, stability, etc., improved mass ties can be developed if we consciously plan and carry out regular social events.



THE DIALECTICS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS AND OF WORKING IN THE MASS MOVEMENT (THE TWO LINES)

A CURRICULUM FOR THE THE NOVEMBER NATIONAL CADRES CLASS.

I. Materialism and idealism:

a) Materialist philosophy vs. idealism--Materialists express that nature exists outside our minds, i.e. nature exists objectively, independent of man's consciousness. Idealists affirms that the spirit, the mind or the idea existed before nature and that nature was created one way or the other by the spiritual principle and depends on it. Materialists express that the main thing is nature, the material principle, and that thinking is a property of the matter. These two ways of thinking have always been in struggle in the philosophical field. Religion (belief in God, the after life, sins, etc. is an example of idealism)

b) Dialectical and historical materialism. Materialism started 2500 years ago in China, India and Greece. During the XVII and XVIII centuries, it became more mature (Bacon, Descartes, Diderot, T. Hobbes, etc.). These were not able to use materialism to interpret society. They were limited by the mechanistic way of looking at things (boil down everything to mechanical moves, ignore peculiarities of organic nature and the specific laws and traits of society) and by being metaphysical (they saw nature as eternally submitted to the same rotation, unchangeable). Finally they saw changes in society in terms of the progress of science, in terms of changes of the ideas and concepts present in a society. They were idealists in that sense. They didn't see the importance of classes and of the masses in the change of society. They rejected the class struggle as means of changing society. ~~But~~ Ludwig Feuerbach in the XIX century went one step ahead of these materialists, but still suffered from many of the idealism of his predecessors. Finally Marx and Engels developed Materialism to its highest form (historical and dialectical). It became the essence of marxism-leninism: the science that study the most general laws of the development of nature, society and thinking and of the procedures of knowledge and the revolutionary transformation of the world. In other words--marxism-leninism teaches to intervene actively in life, to change it and transform it. Marx expresses this way: "Philosophers has only interpreted in different ways the world, but the point is to transform it".

Read; Engels Thesis on Feuerbach. Lenin's Materialism and Empiro-criticism

II. THE DIALECTICAL METHOD--

Marx & Engels considered dialectics as a method of knowledge and a guide to action. Dialectics teaches that contradictions are the main causes of changes i.e. contradictions in society (between bosses and workers) will bring about changes. There are 3 laws in dialectics (a law is defined as a relation between objects and phenomena originated not by casual circumstances, or by exterior or temporary reasons, but by the internal nature of the linked phenomena). The most important aspect of any law is its objective characteristic. It means that the laws of the development of nature and society don't depend on the will and consciousness of humankind. The laws of nature have been around long before humans came to exist. The same is true about social laws. Humans cannot either create, nor destroy, nor "modify" these laws arbitrarily. But this doesn't mean that man can intervene and transform nature and society, but men have to do this by acting in accordance, not in contradiction, to these laws, otherwise they will fail. Wishful thinking is the belief that humans can act divorced from reality. Thinking that men's will, not the objective laws, or economical conditions, are the basis of any changes. the 3 laws

a) Quantitative changes, no matter how small they might be at the beginning, upon its accumulation will cause a qualitative change at certain stage and a new quality comes forward, which originates itself new quantitative changes. It means that our work in the mass movement, no matter how small they might be now, will create enough changes in the objective conditions to bring about radical changes in society. The more work we do, the fastest and the biggest the changes. The more the Party grows the fastest the changes in society.

b) All processes and objects have contradictory internal aspects that are linked between them but at the same time fight constantly among each other. This is the main law, the motor of development. Lenin called it the backbone of dialectics. There are two contradictions: external and internal. The internal contradiction is the main one. Therefore, the Chilean workers were defeated not because of the Junta or U.S. imperialism (although it was important) but because of the hold that revisionism had on the working class. The same is true for any revolutionary movement. In our work, we fail because either we are not strong enough, or because of our left or right errors.



There are also antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. Contradictions bet. workers and bosses are antagonistic ~~xxx~~ and can only be solved violently. Contradictions among workers (e.g. ~~xx~~ racism, nationalism, male supremacy, anticommunism in the working class) can be solved in the process of revolution without violence since they are contradictions among workers and therefore non-antagonistic. All these contradictions are antagonistic when they happen bet. workers and bosses

c) <sup>AN</sup> Negation of the negation. This is the third law. By negation, it is meant that there is a constant process of renewing, of extinction of the old and surging of the new. The negation of something is the substitution of it by something. Therefore the negation of the negation means that in a process of development each higher stage negates, suppresses the previous stage, and develops a new stage which preserves all the positive aspects of the old stage. A negation is dialectical when it carries with it all the positive aspects of the previous stage. A revolution is the negation of the previous social system. Socialism is the negation of capitalism, but socialism retains all the good aspects that were developed under capitalism (like the development of science, which under capitalism only benefits the bosses, under socialism will be used for the benefit of all working people. To negate everything developed under capitalism--good and bad--will be nihilism).

Reading: Engel's Anti-Duhring, mainly chapters dealing with these laws. Pre-convention internal bulletins dealing briefly with dialectics.

#### REVISIONISM AND DIALECTICS IN THE MASS MOV'T.

There are two ways of looking at the mass movt.--~~xxx~~ the Communist way and the bosses way. Revisionists are just part of the bosses side in the mass movt. In the Mack Ave. Sit-Down, every scumbag in the "left", from the various Trots ~~xxx~~ and Maoist sects to the "C"P and the bosses saw it as a defeat, adventurist, animalistic, crazy, and so on. Only PL saw it as a step forward and a turning point in the class struggle in the U.S. We were right. Mack Ave. has destroyed the UAW <sup>outlets</sup> ~~file~~ cover inside the union, the series of walkouts that followed Mack Ave. (like the three days strike when the contract expired) caused a drop in profits ~~xxx~~ for Chrysler, and Mack has turned the class struggle around (check, the Chicago busdrivers walkout, the Montreal steel mill strike, etc.). The revisionists, and the bosses, are afraid like hell of the ~~xxx~~ workers taking stepping up the ante in the class

struggle. They are even more afraid of PL Communist role in these struggles. They know that means danger. They know that dialectically this means that the contradictions will get sharper and the workers might come out winning.

Take the case of Watergate, every revisionist scumbag saw it as a fight against Nixon's fascism. We said over and over again that it was just a bosses' fight. We were right, they were wrong. We just used a little dialectics and checked out who was the main contradiction. Who was the big money--Rocky and Co.

Check what was happening in Chile. Every scumbag praised Allende's "anti-imperialism" and his "struggle for socialism". We being saying for the last two years that Allende was opening the way for fascism by demobilizing the working class. We were right they were wrong. We used a little dialectics.

Dialectics, in short, only serves the working class because it helps find out the truth, something the bosses and all their scumbags fear like mad.



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Although it is true that the question of our line on free abortions is certainly secondary to other problems we face, to the extent that an incorrect position on this question hurts our work, it is important. Some good papers on the family and raising children came out of the Convention, but other papers have expressed ~~very~~ very reactionary, anti-housewife, anti-kid attitudes. (i.e. the Day Care Workshop proposal from the founding WAM Convention in Detroit, pro-abortion papers in the Internal Bulletins, ~~an~~ an article demanding free abortion coverage ~~as~~ a union demand, which provoked ~~an~~ angry letter to Challenge as well as questions from my friends who are aware of the Welfare Dept.'s policy of pressuring clients into having "free" abortions.)

It is not contradictory to believe abortions should be free and legal under socialism, but harmful under capitalism. We should consider why the ruling class has now taken a position for legalized, ~~abortion~~ (and for welfare recipients--~~many~~ free) abortions. Automation has created a huge army of surplus labor--above and beyond what is necessary. (For two years, 25% in Seattle.) There is ~~x~~ every indication it will continue to grow. A certain degree of unemployment is absolutely necessary under capitalism (Marx's army of unemployed) as a reserve labor pool, to keep wages down and supply scabs. But too many unemployed leads to turbulent situations. The rulers ~~are~~ haven't forgotten working class rebellions of the 1930's. They do stand to gain by a reduction in the number of ~~working~~

future workers, especially Black workers.

(They also haven't forgotten the Black rebellions of the 1960's, and the Chrysler wildcat this year was a ~~great~~ sharp reminder of Black working class militancy and

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leadership.) I don't believe abortion under any system is a good solution, but it is sometimes a necessary one. For that reason, it should be legal and ~~is~~ naturally free. It is necessary to ~~look~~ look at the question from a class position, not a personal, subjective one. Some women want and/or need abortions. O.K. We are <sup>not</sup> talking about the individual who has an abortion. We are concerned about a government backed movement, an anti-kid ideology that is being spread, and where it leads.

Another point. In the pro-abortion article in Bulletin #2 and a paper before that, abortion was put forward as the most technologically advanced means of birth control. To me, this is <sup>a</sup> very callous and dangerous attitude. After two or three abortions, a woman's ability to carry a baby full term is severely reduced, and sometimes made impossible. Also, an abortion is not equivalent to an appendix removal. Many, if not most, women suffer mentally afterward. It is not to be taken <sup>so</sup> lightly and coldly. Having a baby, even ~~at~~ 16 and unmarried, or 35 and already a mother of 3, is not the worst thing in the world. One's life is hardly "completely ruined".

A. Damm



## RACISM IN THE MASS MOVEMENT AND IN THE PARTY

The main emphasis of the party convention was to double the size of the party. The point was that in order to make our party a party of the working class, there have to be a lot of workers, especially Black and Latin workers, in it. The main place to meet them is on the job, or in the schools, wherever we are. In order to build a revolutionary movement we have to be able to unite the vast majority of white workers with the most oppressed people. Right now the main obstacle to that is racism. It has a powerful ideological hold on most white workers and the ruling class has a definite economic interest in maintaining that. Most people now don't see that racism hurts Blacks and Whites, nor that it is pushed consciously by the government. In order to make a revolution, and to build the party in the meantime, we have to win a lot of people to see that. One way is for us to see how the ruling class pushes racism.

### A. RACISM ON THE JOB.

1. Racism in job classifications and pay differentials.  
How does this racism affect white workers? How can a struggle be built that shows this?
2. Racist harrassment; racist foremen.  
Is this a conscious policy or just racism on the part of some individuals?
3. Our main strategy is the fight for 30/40.  
How is racism related to that.  
Do people have to be consciously against racism to fight for 30/40?  
How can the ruling class use racism to divide the 30/40 movement?
4. What is the ruling class's strategy to build racism in the trade unions?
5. One of the main ways that racism of white workers comes out on the job is in discussions during leisure time, lunch etc.  
What do workers talk about? What are they concerned about?  
Money, crime, housing, prices, their families, the kid's schools, their plans for the future...  
Many of the things people discuss have to do with racism. How do we deal with racist comments?  
It's pretty clear that people get most of their racist ideas from the newspapers, TV, advertisements, politicians, books, etc. and not from first hand experience with Black people.  
What's the best way to show that the government and not the people is responsible for bad conditions?
6. How can the trade unions, caucuses, WAM, etc. relate to racist incidents that may not be directly connected to it?
  - A. "Race War" propaganda in Boston?
  - B. Racist campaign on foreign workers - "Japanese workers are stealing our jobs." "Buy American"
  - C. "Illegal Alien" campaign

### B. RACISM IN THE COMMUNITIES

1. HOUSING - The bosses try to keep housing as segregated as possible so Black and White workers won't get to know each other, then they use racist myths to charge high rents for deteriorated housing for Blacks and

### C. IS RACISM A GOVERNMENT PLOT??

Most people view racism as bad ideas that people get from their parents or other sources. Things are getting better and as soon as people get more "educated" things like racism will have no place. We view racism as a conscious plot on the part of the ruling class. It is one of the key things they have to make money and to keep people divided and therefore insure their power for as long as they can. It is up to us to win people away from what the ruling class wins them to so that we can unite and smash them!

How would you win someone to see that racism is pushed by the government?

Kennedy sent troops into Little Rock to integrate the schools and Johnson passed the Civil Rights Bill, how can you say that the government is responsible for pushing racism?

Why does the government "harrass" these companies and universities about hiring minority personnel?

"The newspapers and TV stations play up sensationalist things just so people will buy/watch."

How is the government behind some of these movements: busing, housing projects (Kawaida Towers), "Race War" in Boston, publicizing of Jensen, Shockley etc.

### D. RACISM IN THE PARTY

We have to win many working class people into our party in order to be on the way to really having an effect in the mass movement and making a revolution. Right now personal relations have a lot to do with who we win. Who do we bother to get to know really well? Many people in the party now are from middle class backgrounds and this affects the people that we tend to "want to get to know". It is crucial that in all sections we fight the racism and anti-working class ideas that we have been brought up with.

A. Get rid of the middle class bias - People still think that understanding the line is measured by the length of the words one uses to explain it.

B. "Fighting racism might inconvenience us". One party member did not want to have a minority "friend" move in with her because the landlord was a racist and would throw them both out. She thought it was more important to be "stable".

C. "I do my political work, but when I relax I want to be with my friends." Most of whom don't happen to be Black or Latin. People separate their personal and political lives. Until our political friends are our personal friends we won't be getting anywhere.

The party's strategy is to fight for 30/40 and against racism. In all cases this puts us into contact with Black workers and students who really like the ideas. It is our own racism that prevents us from getting to know them and winning them to the party. Racism doesn't have to mean being nasty to people. It means not struggling, emphasizing weaknesses instead of strengths, not socializing with people, not discussing personal things or not discussing politics.