

1. Add after last paragraph on the section on Bureaucracy (after 4th par., pg. 10)

For our perspectives, these differences between different bureaucrats and secondary bureaucrats is not just a matter of observation and analysis but also indicates to us tactics that we use in organizing the rank and file. First, we are not indifferent to the actual gains won for the working class such as organizing the unorganized, fight for women's rights, ousting of gangstersk introduction of democracy in the union. All of these give the workers self-confidence and puts them in a stronger and more organized position to fight for more demands, even if that is not the intent of the bureaucrats. We understand, of course, that the bureaucrats. even tjpigj tjeu ,au genuinbly want to win reforms, wge these struggles in the context of their positions as bureaucrats who depend on the maintenance of the capitalist system for their continued existance. We will not, as the OL will, give them uncritical support or make alliances with them. At the same time, we recognize that these fiths, becuase they do win gains, often win the rank and file's allegiance to the bureaucrats and may cause the rank and file to see them as their legitimate leaders, especially if there are additional ties of sex, race or national origin. For these reasons, our absolute condemnation of them, in the way we wo7uld condemn Abel and ENA, would be incorrect and sectarian. Our approach to winning the rank and file to our perspectives and away from the bureaucrats miš- leadership in these cases is to give critical support to theri progressive programs. We urge them to carry out the program of struggle and urge the membership to organize to see that they do it. In the course of the struggle we demonstrate the limitations of that program and the unwillingness of the bureaucracy to extend ~~xxx~~ or even to carry it our. We show that only our methods of class struggle unionism and our political program can succeed. In the process we expose the bureaucrats and organize the rank and file to replace them.

2. SECTION ON CLUW AND CBTU

A. DELETE SECOND SENTENCE PLUS WORK Rather. Begin the sentence "The influx. . . Add before the first full paragraph page 11

The recent awaremess of Blacks and women of their rights and also their emerging struggles to win these rights, either through caucuses or individually, did make CBTU and CLUW possible at thas time. From the rank and file side, the Black and women bureaucrats could appear to give leadership to their struggles. From the capitalist and bureaucrats side, the Balck and women bureaucrats could contrrrl and safely channel other wise potentially militant struggles among the rank and file. In either case, the bureaucrats make themselves, through their organizationd, seem necessary. But they can do this only because the rank and file is beginning to move, even though that movement also poses the greatest threat to them.

B. Add after 3rd full paragraph

The fact that these bureaucrats hoo have been the victims of racism and sexism add another discussion to our analysis of them shich does not enter into our analysis of white male bureaucrats. This fact gives them legitimacy in the eyes of black and women workers, which can win them support and create the illusions that these bureaucrats can and should lead their struggles. Therefore we must break the rank and file of these illusioms as well as point the way to self-activity. Because of their oppression, they in fact will ~~not~~ lead some struggles for reforms which could improve the actual conditions of working blacks and women. The purpose of these reforms, however, is to "make the system work" - especially to make it work for them, the black and women bureaucrats, and to insure and better their positions. We can take advantage of this situation by giving critical support when and if the bureaucrats present a progressive program. This allows

discussion only opened up - not ruled down -

us to expose their inability and unwillingness to lead a militant struggle, and also allows us to present our program and strategy. From our perspective, these struggles have the important potential to increase the self-confidence and combativity of the rank and file if they, and not the bureaucrats, get in control of it. Both the CBTU and CLUW organizations nationally could provide the vehicles for that, in spite of the intentions of the bureaucrats.

"Our sentency"

- MP-25

B - 15

round - 4 speakers - 5 minutes

MP-15

B - 7 1/2

I can live with more
of B.C. class - but its
relation is capitalist
one -

what is good about market - is - - - - - ?
(explain)

We are enjoying what
capitalism is -

Profits + planning

what are the social relations of production -
is there a w.c. - - - - -
- statism as a third possibility
- as such thing -
social systems

nature of statist social systems
in comparison with capitalist
w.c. classes, lab. proletarian -
3rd Camp unsatisfactory -
return to socialism from below
w.c. self-activity -

Key of value applies

can accept b.c.
as pol. sec. of the
state
but not pol. economy
of capitalism -

burden of proof is on B.C. to show how it is
an intermediate step - neither capitalism nor socialism
Barbarism perhaps? functioning defeat