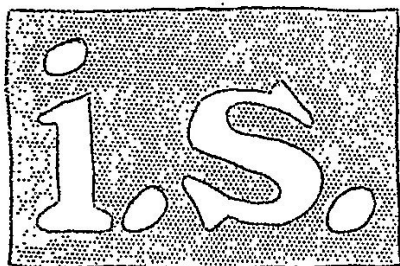


DRAFT

TRANSITIONAL

PROGRAM OF THE

INTERNATIONAL



SOCIALISTS

First Draft: November - Kim Moody
Second Draft: December - Sy Landy

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DRAFT TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

Motivation to ISers:

The first draft was done by Kim Moody, the second by me. He hasn't seen this draft prior to typing so he's not responsible for it. On the basis of preliminary discussion, we hope to produce a third draft -- with both changes in politics as the discussion makes things clearer and certainly in English and organization. The document is not intended to be public although we don't care if other read it. It is for our own understanding. We may wish to publish its final form (or a counterposed one) later on -- the organization should worry about that then, not now.

This was designed to produce a long discussion, with articles, meetings, polemics and all the struggle of ideas that is necessary for as complete an understanding as we can arrive at.

There is no arrogance involved in producing a document like this, even given ~~xxx~~ our comparative lack of experience in the working class, recently. We know the future and experience will make it necessary to change many things. Good. But we need a coherent understanding of what we are doing in order to change anything. Putting forward 12 different lines to the working class clarifies nothing and is not a basis for an organization.

This program after extended discussion, argumentation, and substantial amendment should be passed -- or a counter program, if disagreement is basic. This can only be meaningful if the understanding on the part of all comrades is present that in passing such a program the organization is thereby transformed. The organizational consequences that flow from, at least this program, spell a wholesale change in the nature of IS activity.

SY LANDY

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I. INTRODUCTION

Humanity huddles around its own history, frightened to move in new paths. Humanity's consciousness of its ability to control its own destiny trails behind the underlying changes that make such a condition possible. Historically consciousness always lags, sometimes for just an instant, other times interminably. We have lived in other times.

Capitalism has outlived its utility many times over. As a system it was born corrupt, vicious, avaricious, and brutal. Its only redeeming virtue was the lack of any alternative. Capitalism was able to rapidly and rapaciously accumulate. It was able to develop the means of production and technology so that there could be plenty for all. However it denied the fruits to those who had labored to create them and gave plenty only to the few.

Now, alternatives under which man can be free are possible but the system lingers on, in its "death agony." World wars, depression, poverty, misery, alienation, ugliness are the nature of the human condition in the dying stages of capitalism.

Marxists have always pointed to the working class as that social force within society that could overthrow this system and usher in a new world. The working class has not yet done so. Nevertheless, we were never more sure than we are now that this central proposition of Marxism is accurate. It is not a religious tenet, it is based upon experience, analysis and examination of the alternatives. The death agony of capitalism has spawned a number of solutions--fascism, Stalinism, and the like. These anti-working class tendencies have crystallized into societies to perpetuate everything that is rotten in the history of humanity: totalitarianism, repression, genocide, class rule. Modern technological despotisms, allegedly designed to help the people, inexorably tie them to new yokes. The same old shit.

We look to the workers not because they are the best people, not because they suffer the most, not because they are the wisest. Capitalism in the very process of production organizes workers in such a way and with such strategic power that they are capable of demolishing the system. Once moving, the productive process provides the basis for self-organization and affords workers the opportunity to attack private industrial control, the main artery of the capitalist mode. The dynamics of the system are such that conflict and struggle are inevitable.

The period through which we have passed--the most prosperous in the history of the world--demonstrated that even under those circumstances, the class struggle never abated. It may have moved sluggishly and quietly, but it never stopped. Just after the heralds of harmony finished their eulogies upon the demise of class struggle, it bursts forward again on a newer and higher plane.

We are entering into a period of intense class warfare which will shake society to its very roots. At this crucial juncture, the International Socialists seek to put forward a program for struggle in the coming times. The program is directed toward the entire class; its wordage is aimed at the advanced layers: those who already see the need for socialism. It attempts to furnish a program for reaching the rest of the class; and indeed other sectors of society who are in turmoil. They can only find resolution in aiding the working class in its revolutionary mission.

The I. S. is attempting to make its contribution the renewal of the socialist movement. It has at its disposal its knowledge of the history and ideas of the revolutionary movement. It has evaluated the struggles and experiences it itself has gone through. It pays heed to its traditions and the earlier movement from which it derived. It is proud of the history this tradition represents--intransigent revolutionary opposition to capitalism and Stalinism. Its distinguishing mark is that it has kept alive the thesis that no elite, benevolent or otherwise, can bring socialism. Only the conscious action of the masses can achieve that goal.

Contrary to some, we do not proclaim ourselves the vanguard party. The notion that any socialist group in America today, with the lack of roots in the working class, could proclaim itself the leadership of that class is absurd. Dangerously and tragically absurd.

Although we recognize that we are a sect, we reject sectarianism. We consider ourselves one nucleus of a future leadership party. In the future there will be a regroupment of socialist tendencies. When a working class movement flowers, those who have worked together in struggle and found that their divergent ideas are best argued within one group that has agreement on the basic struggle--then unity will exist. But even such a combination with great increases in numbers does not yet indicate that that group is the vanguard of the class. Vanguards are not proclaimed--they are historical acts. When a sizeable layer of the class 1) takes the lead in the direction of socialism, 2) fashions itself into an instrument for attracting others, 3) does combat with the ruling class, and 4) has a theory and program others less committed are willing to follow--that is a vanguard party.

The concept of a vanguard is in direct counterposition to the ideas of many who have usurped the title. The vanguard is not an organization of the pure, the elite; it is of the class itself. Its program is that the class must rule, not itself. It offers leadership which the class may or may not follow. Its claim to the title is based upon this; not a self assertion that it represents the class and therefore dictate to the people what the people's interests are.

For real democracy, leadership is necessary - those who assert that they have confidence in the direction the class should move. The class chooses between those who so prefer directions. It may reject all of them and throw up new leadership at any point. Struggle and history indicate which leadership was substantially correct (not always correct, and never infallible).

With this understanding and without pretensions, the IS puts forward its program. It does so with the profound understanding that such a program is a guide based upon the ideas and experience available to it. Given our confidence in our ideas we are not humble about them, but we do understand that it is in no way a "finished" program. Undoubtedly, the struggle will force us to revise it in many ways. But we do claim that the methodology employed and the framework given will enable us to test the theories against practice and enable us to project more accurate directions. That is the real test of a program -- not infallibility.

The program is presented by a group which considers itself to be within the working class. Many of us come from middle class backgrounds, are intellectuals, students and the like. Many of our comrades are in school, some in the professions, some in factories and offices. Yet, given this statement, as a group, we are part of the working class because we have seen that we can be socialists only by politically identifying with the manifest interests of the working class. Therefore, our whole perception of the world stems from weighing it by the measure of the needs and destiny of the class. We have broken from our political identification with the needs of other social groups from which many of us come, and judge politics from the only socialist standard. Such is our claim, only history and not our words can testify to its accuracy.

The working class is taught by society to eschew abstraction; intellectuals were taught to generalize and theorize. They were designed to be the bureaucrats, the managers, the adjusters, the mythmakers, the culture pre-fabricators. In breaking with this background, intellectuals, nevertheless, bring ways of thought and abilities to the working class which it would be hard pressed to come by in other ways. They bring a knowledge of class history and tactics which the class itself frequently lacks. Their contribution can be of major proportions. But only if they are able to break with the class-promoted elitist outlook that the workers do not and cannot control their own destiny; that since they know what is best for workers, they are pawns. The central message of socialists to the class is that it is able to rule for and by itself. All else is commentary, important, crucial perhaps, but commentary. We do not expect workers to accept this simply because we tell them so, simply because we "educate". Ideas and teaching are important but consciousness stems from the best educator of all, life and its struggles.

Socialist intellectuals, in identifying with the class, do not do so out of a belief in either their own infallibility or that of the working class. The actual working class can be and frequently is wrong about its own interests. Frequently, the working class is

prejudiced, narrow, crass, patriotic, religious and the like. However, when the class begins to move dynamically in combat with the bosses, it learns and it builds its confidence. In short, it gains consciousness. The working class is taught that it is stupid, fit for little more than what it does, that it must look to others to give it manna from heaven. It is taught this by schools and publications, but most importantly by the life circumstances and employment it is forced into. However, once it moves and becomes conscious of its power as a class, it becomes increasingly aware of both its capacity for and need to establish its rule.

Examining the development of consciousness schematically can be helpful, provided we understand it is only a helpful model, not realityxxx

A working class does not move more than molecularly when it is on the bottom. Working class upthrusts can come when it is on the way down from a previous standard of living it had accepted as its due. Or it can come when its gains are rising but are not consonant with its expectations. What "bottom" is and what "expectations" are, are relative. Take away a worker's car or TV today and you might get even more of an explosion than you got taking away his bread in the Thirties.

For any of these reasons, when workers begin to aspire and move to acquire more, they naturally conceive of doing it as others have around them. They seek to become middle class and gain status, position and money in that way for themselves or their children. When this road seems cut off by the lack of possibility they form class institutions to defend themselves and give themselves a platform to fight with the boss in a more unified way to get a little more. They recognize they are in a class but do not yet see that their needs to be fulfilled must of necessity mean that they must overthrow the bosses and establish their own power. First they learn just how much of an enemy the boss is. At first the worker may think it's because he's got a "bad" boss or many similar lessons. As the struggle for more (or just survival) progresses, he learns that all bosses (nice guys as well as bad ones) are the enemy. Then, by brutal experience, he learns that not only does the capitalist control the factory but he controls the state which maintains that property. The struggle also teaches him the power of his own position in society -- that he, united, can stop it dead in its tracks; that he produces all that is necessary and valuable, and that by withholding his labor power he can tumble the entire structure. He learns that as part of a united class he is capable of forging his own destiny and that he not only has capacity and power, but that he has the ability to dispense with the parasites who suck his blood.

Consciousness is little more than the unravelling, through struggle, by word and deed, of all the social myths imbibed by workers as to their powerlessness in the world.

Socialism represents that ultimate understanding of power through class unity and struggle. Socialists stand for and look at the world from the vantage point of that ultimate working class consciousness. Their ideas represent the ultimate unity and power of the class and from that standpoint and goal they fashion their political judgements of the present stand of the class. Therefore any socialist program has as its reference point the conquest of power by the working class. All demands, all slogans, all work is aimed in an organized fashion to lead to this goal.

It is the class as a whole with its allies that makes socialism, not an elite. A major difference between revolutionary socialists and social democrats is that while both of them avowedly stand for unity of class the social democracy (basing itself in reality on a privileged layer) demands unity at a low level of consciousness: The acceptance of the incapacity of workers themselves to really control. Revolutionary socialists stand for unity at the highest level of consciousness attainable.

The socialist revolution in contrast with the bourgeois revolution must be conscious. The militant of the bourgeois revolution thought they were ushering in liberty, equality, fraternity and many other things. Since scarcity and the "hidden hand of the market" determined fundamentally the nature of the resultant society, consciousness was false consciousness. Socialism on the other hand demands the highest understanding because it predicates the knowing hand of man running his society and not the blind forces of capital.

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A class in Marxist terms is not a rigid sociological category but a dynamic understanding. It attempts to describe the relationship between social groups in reality and does not depend on the groups perception (as consciousness) of that reality at any given point. In terms of the major classes in society the defining relationship is to the means of production. A rough description of the working class is that set of people who have the same or similar relations to the means of production. That is - their labor power is sold as a commodity and they receive back from the capitalist class a proportion of the value they produce. The proportion is generally enough to cover subsistence and reproduction of future labor power. The value produced over and above this - surplus value - is taken by the capitalist class. That defines the capitalist class.

The class struggle is nothing more than the fight for the control of this surplus value between the capitalist class and the working class. Who controls it, controls society. It is the working class as defined by this relationship that Marxists rely upon.

This class, or set of people is larger than the sum of its parts. It is, as a class so defined not black, not white, not male not female, not blue collar, not white collar, not skilled not unskilled, not American, not Ghanian, not Jewish, not Christian but all of these and greater than their simple addition. It is that grouping marked off from other sections of society by the life situation we described above. That relationship is key, and the social struggle for the control of the values produced by that

relationship is the central conflict that will tear society apart. This doesn't mean that other sets, castes, classes, ways of social division do not exist or have no importance.

These divisions have deep meaning for us. They demonstrate differences in outlook, consciousness, state of being that must be wedded and welded together into the creation of a united class fighting for control of the means of production. In part many of the divisions are inherent in humanity itself - e.g., black and white, male and female. Others are divisions created by history and exacerbated by capitalism; some are the products of capitalism alone.

Unity of the working class, to revolutionaries does not mean the dull antheap of sameness. It is a dialectical unity of many opposites all of which can fructify the whole by their diversity. Indeed, the individual human components of the class are each different in identity and potential. Collectivism and a united class seek to establish such a com-unity that true individualism and self-realization are for the first time possible.

However, under capitalism, the system itself sets person against person and social grouping against social grouping in order to divide and conquer. It does this not as a conscious plot but by its nature. It does this by offering material differentials between and betwixt the groupings so that in situations of scarcity the groups compete instead of uniting. Prejudices, myths, status assertions and the like are the superstructure of this pattern. The prejudices themselves are able to flower because the system provides the material cement for them. Blacks getting more jobs in a situation of a finite number of jobs is a material threat to white workers. Blacks getting more money when the payroll is viewed as static does cause material change in the income of white workers. And so forth.

The task of socialists is to widen consciousness, to point out that the limits imposed by capitalism are not necessary limits. Appeals to brotherhood and fairness are less than enough. Because socialists stand for a unified working class movement at the highest consciousness we must pay particular attention to the parochial divisions within the class both for the sake of the workers within them and lest they be used to smash the overall class movement. And not only can majorities be so used but the animosity of a class majority may be so used against the class itself. So thwart it from moving in socialist directions.

For example, the Czech workers' hostility toward the German Sudeten workers gave the stalinist bureaucracy a lever to tighten on alien class rule over the Czech workers. Minorities such as the skilled privilege strata of European workers were used by the Social Democracy to bludgeon the revolutionary alternative in 1917. The examples are, sadly, numerous.

Historically in the United States the working class has been divided into ethnic, racial, sexual, income and geographic hostilities. Starting from the keystone of unified consciousness at its highest point socialists recognize that, for example, a black worker believes that his impotence viz a viz the system stems from being

black as well as prior to his position as worker. And he is correct in his perception and must go through the stage of black consciousness -- the struggle that proves that to be black does not mean powerlessness and degradation. In America, such a struggle for Blacks must inevitably involve the Black workers -- who constitute both in numbers and power such an important position in the community -- and a fusion of Black consciousness with working class consciousness.

And so too with Spanish-speaking workers and women workers, each in their own way.

However, all roads do not lead to Rome, most roads under capitalism lead away from socialism. Working class black, Spanish, and women must relentlessly oppose the middle class elements within their ranks who see salvation within capitalism. It must also be pointed out that such ideas stem from workers at particular stages of the struggle. This alien ideology within the class must be fought as well.

The direction of class collaboration and so called liberation within the system frequently comes wrapped in a flag other than its own -- militant, revolutionary rhetoric and even actions, may be a mask for reformism rather than a harbinger of revolution. Capitalism has not lived on for years in its death agony with no defenses. Unconsciousness and acceptance is a tool of capitalism. Partial consciousness can be turned to its opposite -- false consciousness -- if it remains chained within the system. Nazism did win the German petty bourgeoisie and even sections of the working class by its pseudo attack on the rich and their system. By doing deliberately what socialists sometimes do by error, fastening on to particular groups or individuals as the enemy rather than the ruling class as a whole they accomplished their goal. The workers they attracted were at a partial state of consciousness they knew they lacked power, knew there was an enemy and wished to move.

Therefore, socialists who stand for the fullest consciousness fight against any tendency to misidentify the enemy even though pragmatically, it may seem to stoke the fires. In the Black movement, socialists point out that it is a class enemy, not whites, white workers, or Jews. In the Women's movement, socialists point out that it is a class enemy, not men or male workers. Amongst white male workers, we are relentless in showing that the enemy is not the black, the woman, the Chicago, but the capitalist class and its system.

Very often, given the level of consciousness, this is extremely hard to do for it is not just prejudice but material facts that conjure up a false enemy. It is inescapable that a Black in Harlem will not notice that a heavy percentage of the storekeepers who leech on him are Jews. It is inescapable that he will not recognize the hostility of his white working mates. It is inescapable that a woman worker after experiencing an un-understanding of what she has been subordinated to, will fail to develop hostility toward the male workers. The role of a socialist is first and foremost to widen and deepen the consciousness of these workers as women, as blacks, as workers so that the fact that these "enemies" are merely being used by the system against not only blacks, women's but their own interests. This does not mean we preach love, and acceptance

of subordination but the opposite. Blacks, Women, Spanish-speaking workers have to relentlessly press their own struggles so that they can achieve real class consciousness on an equal basis -- so that their power is respected. They do this not only for themselves but to prevent the capitalists from using them as either a bludgeon or a safety valve for the rest of the class.

There is a law of social gravity. What goes up must break through the capitalist integument or it will come down and remain within the system and turn to its opposite. The particular consciousness within the working class movement must evolve into full unified working class consciousness or destroy themselves and the movement as a whole.

A unified conscious working class is the only salvation for the various divided movements. However, real consciousness cannot be achieved by subordination to the majority of the class. The majority of the class has nothing to do with the real class interest which is heightened consciousness of all the parts. When the divided sections within the class fight for their due, therefore, Socialists support them. It is the "majority" which is dividing the class by not fighting for all. So we stand with the black workers self-organizing and demanding equality. We press for not only their just demands, but point out that equality of little is insufficient for both blacks and whites. We must couple a demand for more jobs for all to black demands for more black jobs. We do not counterpose these demands because the demand for them is further on the road to consciousness than the demands for no jobs to blacks made by white workers who thereby hinder unified class consciousness.

So too with Spanish demands and womens' demands. We are in the forefront in making them and in coupling them with generalized demands and programs. And in the last analysis, if temporary defeat evidences itself, we defend the "minorities." For example, in North Ireland the Catholic workers had to fight off the onslaught of Protestant workers who sought to deny them even elementary democratic rights. Revolutionary socialists of whatever background stood on the barricades with the Catholics but they didn't try to fool themselves or the workers that a victory was won. It was and is necessary to defend, but to proclaim a victory born out of the polarization within the class is to play the capitalists' game.

The unification of the class at a high point of consciousness is in reality, as opposed to theory, a very uneven matter, never pure. Consciousness that goes forward may recede. The minorities will and should have separate institutions even during and after the revolution. Within them, revolutionists will press for the most complete working class consciousness as well as fighting for that within the vanguard party itself.

The unity of the various divisions within the class is one aspect of a transitional program; so to speak its horizontal plane. Its vertical plane is the attempt by the advanced layer of the class to constantly win other strata of the class to the socialist goal.

It is the task of a socialist group which confidently puts itself and its ideas forward as worthy of class leadership to demonstrate that its present conduct leads to its ultimate goal. Our goal is socialism or Marx's communism, a classless society in which people are free of the idiot problems of hunger, war, poverty, crime, pestilence, and illiteracy. In such a society, mankind can at last face its real problems and try to create a human culture. In such a society the line between workers of the hand and workers of the brain would be obliterated. All will work to the extent that is necessary, all will think and create.

The working class is the agency to create such a society not only because it can terminate this one, but because it, under the situation of its own rule, obliterates itself by incorporating all within it; thus creating a classless society.

Therefore, our transitional program has as its hubstone the seizure of power by the working class. All slogans, demands, programs, actions, strategies and tactics have this as their goal. The essential unity of our program flows from the idea that the class must take power itself, conscious of what it does and must do it as a result of its struggle to overcome capitalism. No "condescending saviors" or benevolent elites can substitute their knowledge or beneficence for the self-knowledge and self-action of the workers.

Therefore our central slogans and conceptions are Workers' Power through a Workers' State, and Workers' Control of Industry. The two are inseparable. Workers' control of industry cannot maintain itself while the executive committee of the bourgeoisie controls the armed power of society. Workers cannot "own" industry in small groups or as individuals and remain a working class. They can control industry only through their political control of the state which "owns" the means of production.

Conversely, a seizure of state power by the working class which allowed the bourgeoisie to still own and control industry and production would make short work of such political control.

To reach these goals we elaborate further demands which yet in turn marshal other demands and programs. Our reason to demand workers' control is Production for Human Use--Not Profit and Waste. In "the death agony of capitalism," much of our productive resources are poured into the socially destructive wastes of imperialist war; we supplement this demand with the more explicit ideas of Production for Human Use--Not War and Profit and Workers' Control of the Arms Industries.

It is not our purpose to deal out slogans one at a time, holding the rest of our cards close to our chests. We are quite explicit in that we proclaim to the world that no half way measures will work, nothing short of socialism itself. Nevertheless, in order to march with the class into full consciousness and in order to render each lesson crystal clear, we advance slogans and programs which the

worker perceives are in his interest and crystalize what he is fighting for. The relationship we enter into is the following. "We think that socialism is the only answer. You do not at present agree. We do agree on X but you think X will be enough. We think X is a good step forward but will not solve the problem. Let us fight together for X and the fight and/or achievement itself will prove which of us is right."

In this spirit of complete honesty with the class, lessons can be learned in the struggle itself.

Slogans and demands are only the distillation of an analysis which we also present in full to the working class and to all who will listen. The combination represents a transitional program. A transitional program establishes its goals--what is objectively possible for the movement to obtain in the epoch in which it exists. Then it examines the possibilities obtainable in the particular period it is entering into. With this standard, it judges the subjective attitudes, the state of consciousness, the actual struggle in itself. It then establishes the connecting links between the present reality and the future goal. In its effort to obtain consistency between the ideas addressed to the concrete aspirations and needs of the movement, it is careful to avoid "blowing with the wind," and it resists moving with every eddy in a pragmatic and empirical manner. Such methodology is the feature of opportunists who resist no tendencies or trends but wallow everywhere giving no consistent leadership. It is a subtle form of elitism which says, "since you can't grasp my direction, just follow me through every maneuver."

A transitional program while maintaining its consistency and non-programmatic character is not a roadmap. Predictability even for Marxism is a limited tool. It does not claim to furnish all slogans for all situations but merely to establish guidelines of development.

Within those general guidelines it is not enough for a program to present merely the goals or concepts in relation to the goals. The program proclaims a general strategy, based upon the period for attaining those goals. A group offering itself for leadership must have not only a clear conception of Socialism but a knowledge of the history of working class strategy and tactics. This too it must offer the class.

In our opinion, the whole history of the working class indicates that the conquest of power must be led by the advance guard of the class as we have explained before. This means that the class must construct a Revolutionary Party wedded to, and part of the class. As we have explained the I.S. considers itself one nucleus of such a development. The formation, education, and training of a revolutionary cadre is a long difficult task. In the next period we do not expect the class itself to adhere to the banner of such a group in the mass. But we do expect the class to engage in political

action in its own name as it moves more and more in a revolutionary direction. Because we see the necessity for such a beginning step, we call for the formation of a Workers' Party. It is our expectation that such a party, given American experience, will be a radical, volatile and combative movement, but will not turn to a revolutionary program overnight. We, in calling for the formation of such a party, point out its urgent necessity but also indicate that without a revolutionary program it cannot accomplish the liberation of the working class. Within such a party, we will fight for the adoption of just such a program.

Already within the working class self-organization groups exist on an informal basis. They engage in wildcats, fight on the floor of the factory every day and give direction to the molecular struggles of the class. We advance the idea of Workers' Struggle Committees to crystallize the power of these groups and to help expand their horizons. We do not artificially organize these groups but we attempt to crystallize them. We advance ideas about the struggle on the shop floor, the need to establish links with similar

groups in allied factories and in other industries. We direct whatever strength we have to demonstrating the need for them to engage in independent political action with the goal of a workers' party. We do not attempt to lock them within the trade union structure but encourage them to engage within and without that structure in a battle against the capitalists and the trade union bureaucracies.

With this general outline of working class strategy we advance another framing idea which has far-reaching significance and is in tune with current needs as well as with our overall goal: Jobs for All. In a period where the divisions within the class are so apparent and the ability of the capitalists to turn one segment of the class against another so clear, such a demand is a necessity. Coupled with programs stemming from the demand for Production for Human Use--not Profit and Waste, programs which will benefit the entire class and other depressed strata plus creating jobs for all, is a necessity. This runs directly counter to the bourgeoisie's need to maintain and expand unemployment and their need to maintain war and waste production. Not only will we point this out, but even more so, the experience of the struggle itself.

With this outline of the general counterpoints of the program and analysis to follow, only one more introductory thought is necessary.

Programs are all well and good--but meaningless unless tested in practice. Only an organization can test that. And only one kind of organization: one that is completely democratic internally and acts in a disciplined fashion. A program emanating from a group which itself puts twelve different programs into the field stands for nothing, tests nothing and has no reason for existence. The very notion of a program means that the entire group--everywhere it exists--attempts to prosecute that program. No sane transitional program can or should list every slogan or every sub-program, but it does indicate the direction every slogan or program must follow. A program is no substitute for creative action and ideas, rather it

should stimulate them. No two situations are alike; there will be different kinds of programs and tactics for each arena of struggle but they must have the essential identity of direction. Only a democratic organization where each is free to argue and evaluate can successfully evaluate the results. Only a disciplined organization can carry out a unified program.

Discipline means a general will within the organization to work together in a cohesive fashion. It does not mean that one lies to the organization or the world about one's opinion. The I.S. is proud of its diversity and it knows that only by the struggle of ideas within its own ranks can new ideas and evaluations be put forward. But at the same time it insists that all of its official subdivisions - chapters, fractions, and committees - put forward one program so that the leadership of the I.S. attempts to give to others can be clearly evaluated - followed or rejected.

The unity in action that the I.S. represents is a microcosm of the unity we seek for the class in its struggle against capitalism.

Discipline does not consist of expulsion clauses (these are only last resorts) but of a willingness born out of general agreement to work together cohesively. Discipline does not consist simply of formulas or amount of activity one must put into the revolutionary cause. The organization states that not to be active to one's full capacity is not to be a revolutionary and is immoral. We want no such members.

Lastly, our program is aimed at the working class. All our work flows from this idea. We do not organize into the I.S. students as students, middle class anti-war people as middle class anti-war people. We are not a multi-class group in outlook. Within the student movement, within the anti-war movement we unabashedly state that we identify with working class interests. We state that we favor middle class movement and organization only in so far as it leads to enhancement of working class interests. We call upon individuals and groups stemming from the middle strata to forsake their backgrounds and join us. Others, unwilling to do so, we call upon to ally themselves with the working class to accomplish agreed upon goals. We, ourselves do not "ally" with the working class, we identify with its interests.

PART I THE ATTACK ON WORKING CLASS LIVING STANDARDS

L. THE DECLINING STANDARD OF LIVING OF AMERICAN WORKERS

For as long as anyone can remember, working people have not only had to work for a decent living, but to fight for it as well. They have organized, bargained, struck, sat-down, slowed down and fought in a thousand other ways to increase the rewards of labor - more often than not just to make ends meet. Putting aside for the moment the question of how well the unions and the union leaders have carried out this job demanded of them, the fact is, that in the past few years when workers have fought they have usually won some gains, at least on paper. As the corporations and government economists never tire of telling us, in general, wages and benefits have increased. Of course, the figures on strike activity show that they had to fight to get even these increases. Yet the facts also show that what can be bought with present wages has decreased. As the table below, from the U.S. Dept. of Commerce, shows, workers' actual purchasing power is lower than it was four years ago. The table also shows why this has happened. Taxes and inflation have eaten up incomes. The figures below do not even include State and local taxes. But, it is not necessary to dwell on what we all know, that in terms of real wages and income, workers are worse off today than before. The important question is how and why this has happened and what can be done about it.

Simply put, the official explanation for inflation is that the American people are consuming too much and that the pressure of this "demand" has forced prices up. It follows from this, the government assures us, that the solution is to stop or cut down this demand for goods and services. As even Nixon has admitted, stopping the Vietnam War, thereby cutting \$30 billion off that "demand" would slow down inflation. But apparently the nation's rulers, as opposed to the majority of the people, find that solution unacceptable for the

REAL TAKE-HOME PAY OF WORKING PEOPLE

| Period | Average Weekly Earnings | Less Federal Personal Taxes | Less Price Rises Since Escalation in Vietnam | Purchasing Power of Weekly Pay |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| <u>WORKER WITHOUT DEPENDENTS</u> | | | | |
| 1965-2nd half | \$96.21 | \$16.26 | | \$79.95 |
| 1966 | 98.82 | 17.53 | \$1.91 | 79.38 |
| 1967 | 101.84 | 18.46 | 4.20 | 79.18 |
| 1968 | 107.73 | 21.02 | 7.74 | 78.97 |
| 1969-1st quarter (Prel.) | 110.95 | 22.68 | 10.15 | 78.12 |
| <u>WORKER WITH THREE DEPENDENTS</u> | | | | |
| 1965-2nd half | 96.21 | 8.94 | | 87.27 |
| 1966 | 98.82 | 10.16 | 2.08 | 86.58 |
| 1967 | 101.84 | 10.98 | 4.57 | 86.29 |
| 1968 | 107.73 | 12.45 | 8.51 | 86.77 |
| 1969-1st quarter | 110.95 | 13.74 | 11.18 | 86.03 |

moment. So, part of their solution is to raise taxes. That was the main argument for the 10% surcharge, under Johnson and Nixon. In fact, the official solution to inflation for the past 30 years has been to cut down purchasing power, by one means or another, and increase unemployment. The problem is that this solution has never worked. There have been recessions and unemployment, but even during the roughest periods prices have not fallen at all since 1948, and then only slightly. Usually, prices just keep rising. It is very likely that in the coming years we will have both continued inflation and taxes and unemployment. The reason for all of this is that the current, long standing, inflation has nothing to do with consumer demand.

Today, there are basically two causes of inflation. The first is to be found in the monopoly structure of the economy. The enormous power of the giant corporations that dominate the American economy allows them to raise prices without regard to competition from other firms or to the desires of consumers. Thus, even if a recession occurs or some anti-inflationary measure is taken by the government, the industrial giants see no need to cut back or even restrain prices. In fact, it is cheaper and more profitable for these corporations to cut back production and lay off workers - whose wages are a cost of production - and maintain or even raise prices. In some industries, such as auto, this is going on right now.

The second, and most immediately important, major cause of inflation lies in the so-called defense budget. Every year, the Federal government spends in excess of \$80 billion on "defense". About \$40 billion of this goes directly to the largest private corporations through defense contracts. This, of course, reinforces the problem discussed above by increasing the power and monopoly position of these corporations. More importantly, however, is the fact that

the end products of this arms production are, economically speaking, waste products. That is, all these planes, missiles, bombs, guns, etc, do not re-enter the total production of society in any form, either as capital goods, materials, or consumer goods. In short, the products of arms spending simply leave the productive processes of the economy. The \$40 billion, however, don't leave, they enter into circulation but bring forth no new marketable products. More money, but not more goods and services. Economically, the same thing could be accomplished simply by printing more paper money. This is the classical definition of inflation, and that is precisely what massive arms production has brought us: more paper money, proportionately fewer goods and services, thus inflation of prices.

The money for arms production comes largely out of the pockets of the working people through taxes. Taxes on business are partially passed on to the consumer and ordinary tax payer through price increases. On the other hand, a healthy proportion of this money flows into the coffers of the corporations and the pockets of the owners and managers of these corporations in the form of profits and, it should be said, not a little bit of boondoggling. From the point of view of these businessmen, arms production is good business whether or not it causes inflation. The patriotic appeals made by management to workers during strikes in arms industries rings a little less than true when it is realized that it is these corporate powers are making a killing off of these government contracts. Thus, while to the capitalist the causes of inflation are quite profitable, to the worker they are disastrous. Clearly, it is in the interest of the working people to demand that this waste production be replaced by production that increases the amount of goods and services needed and, at the same time, reduces this major cause of inflation, regardless of how it affects the arms profiteers. Production for use and need, not profit

and waste. If the capitalists and their government won't do this, and we don't think they can, then let the workers do it by placing the present arms production under Workers Control and Democratic Management for the purpose of converting it to the production of socially useful goods and services, with no loss of jobs.

Our conception of the socialization of industry, or any section of it, has little or nothing in common with "nationalization" of industries that exist in some capitalist countries such as France and England. This sort of capitalist "nationalization" is nothing more than another bureaucratic attempt to save the capitalist from their own inefficiency by paying millions in reparations and then giving this same or another group of capitalists power on the governing boards. Neither does our conception have anything to do with the totalitarian, bureaucratic nationalization of the so-called Communist countries, Russia, China, etc. We want no more welfare programs for the rich and no more giant bureaucracies on our backs. What we do want, and what most working people want, is work that provides a decent standard of living, good working conditions, and products which improve the quality of life of all the people. Capitalism cannot accomplish these goals. Workers will have to do it themselves. Workers control, the democratic management of things by the workers is therefore one of the central ideas of our program.

PRODUCTION FOR HUMAN USE-NOT WAR, NOT WASTE, NOT PROFIT

WORKERS CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION

FOR A WORKERS STATE

2. The Cities and Social Decay

Most working people live in cities or suburbs. The decline in the conditions of life in urban areas is, therefore, a part of the decline in working class living standards. Urban decay is, of course, nothing but social decay - the result of an overaged capitalism in which production is geared toward war waste products, public poondoggles, and business subsidies rather than housing, mass transit, and other necessary public services. Left to their own devices, the capitalist and their politicians will never change these priorities. New "poverty programs" in which the government pays private industry to hire the unemployed and similar programs to underwrite housing loans are a fraud. Both simply funnel public funds into private profits, while little or no change occurs in housing or unemployment. In fact, all of these programs have not even been able to slow down the rate of social decay, unemployment, or the housing crisis. The questions of real jobs and a real attack on urban decay are but different sides of the same coin. Building Trades Unions that resist hiring minority group workers as a way of defending the jobs of their members, are, in fact, missing the point and creating an illusion. So long as housing and other useful construction are grinding to a halt, because of high interest rates and government cutbacks, no job is safe. The reconstruction of the cities, under workers control, is the only guarantee of steady work; for it is a job that never ends if our cities are to suit our ever changing needs. But, there is more than this. Under the control of working people, such a massive program can generate more jobs in industry as well - producing transit equipment, steel, concrete and other building materials, pre-assembling of some structures, furnishings for homes, etc., etc. This is not just a question of increasing "demand", it is a matter of consciously allocating capital to productive ends and is closely interrelated with the expropriation and redirection of the arms industry. In this sense urban reconstruction is simply part of

production for use and need.

A massive program of urban reconstruction is also, of course, an attack on the physical conditions of the slum ghettos that have grown like wild fire in the past twenty five years. It is an attack on slum conditions, furthermore, that is in the interest of both black and white workers and unemployed, including people now trapped on welfare, since, as we shall see later, it is the rich and big businessmen who must pay for this.

The politicians, both liberals and conservatives, have led large numbers of working people to see welfare as a major source of increased taxes. Later we shall see that the facts show otherwise, and that welfare doesn't amount to much as far as taxes go. What many employed working people however do not see, is that welfare is a system of oppression for unemployed working people.

The bulk of people on welfare around the country are white and rural, that is, former farm workers and farmers, discarded by the monopolization and industrialization of agriculture, as well as miners and other workers no longer needed in ~~the~~ industry. Capitalist production simply has no more use for these people, so it sets them aside on welfare for the rest of their lives. Many of those on welfare in the cities are people who have moved to the cities in search of employment. But urban welfare has a specific oppression function.

The largest group of unemployed people on welfare in most cities are black people who have left the rural south not only to find work and escape poverty, but to get away from the blatant racism they experience in the south. Even during the best of times, however, there were not enough jobs to go around. The rural family structure was smashed by unemployment--the men forced into low paying jobs or total unemployment, the women and old people onto welfare. As a result, welfare has become, not only a source of humiliation for black

women who are doubly discriminated against as blacks and as women, but a system of racial oppression that divides and subjects the will of the black community to the will of the (rich, white dominated) government. Living on welfare is like living in a police state in which you have neither freedom or privacy. Furthermore, the income from welfare is so low that it is ^{nothing but} legally enforced poverty. The growing rebellion of welfare recipients around the country is the proof that they don't like being forced to live on welfare any more than employed workers - black as well as white - like being forced to pay for it.

The solution of welfare and unemployment in general lies in a total program of Guaranteed Jobs for All. Such a program must be based on the redirection of industry from waste production to production for use and need and the reconstruction of the cities. It must also include a program of Universal Voluntary Child Day Care, run by those women and men who wish to work with children. Such a day care program can not only employ directly many women now on welfare or outside the labor force, but can free for employment millions of women, on and off welfare, who would prefer productive work. Universal Day Care, is in a sense, nothing more than an extension of universal public education. As with public education (discussed later), universal day care should be controlled by those directly involved rather than by any distant and irresponsible bureaucracy.

In so far as some form of income maintenance is still required by mothers of children too young for day care or others unable to work, it ~~should~~ become simply a matter of accounting for the government and of decent income levels. Above all, it is crucial that the working people recognize that no patchwork program can begin to solve the problems of social decay and poverty. Success

depends on a total program, in which socially useful production is the essential feature and in which control by the working people themselves can guarantee that the purpose of the program is not distorted.

Within the context of calling for massive reconstruction of the cities and indeed the country at large, we point out that in the long run this can only be successfully accomplished under workers control. Since we recognize that the present level of working class consciousness does not permit that to be an actionable (as opposed to an educational) slogan, we call for all sorts of demands involving workers taking stands on particular or general policies of reconstruction. Cities are now designed to meet the needs of capital and we have to demonstrate that it is legitimate for workers to try to change the priority to a human one. While pressing for both political positions and work actions relating to the purposes of the reconstruction we will oppose any co-determination schemes of representation. At this stage of struggle, they would simply be co-opted rather than achieving "a foot in the door."

We also point out that the Guaranteed Jobs for All and Reconstruction programs are the only directions out of the present struggle between black and white workers over a diminishing number of jobs. Further, we critically support ~~xxx~~ demands for community control over construction and reconstruction as well as in other areas of struggle. We generally will only support such demands when they are raised from among the black and Spanish speaking people's. Only under exceptional circumstances do we support such a demand within the white sectors of society. Because the Black and Latin people have been suppressed as a people, the demands for power by those communities have a progressive content. The way in which

we support the demand is to show that the blacks and Latins have a right to determine that the construction in and education of their communities has something to do with the needs of their people, instead of imposition from without. At the same time we state that the funds must be demanded from the state since the "communities" have been impoverished. We point out ~~that~~ the dangers of cooptation from both the state and the "funds" unless the finances are won by a militant movement which allocates the money itself. Further we point out that only the working class within these "communities" can actually exercise real kontrol in the interests of the people. We therefore press for community control only where class consciousness and differentiation within the black and Latin communities is such that it is a necessary step in development. In Detroit (and elsewhere), where black caucuses of size and power actually exist in the plants we would press for community control only in the sense of urging workers not only to struggle within the factory but to use their industrial organizations as a base for fighting for social ^{change} within the city as a whole.

We would generally refrain from pushing "community" control within white areas since there are few instances wherein a "community" struggle as opposed to a class struggle, directly, should be pushed. The exceptions are cases in which the "community" is clearly co-incident with class, or where the notion has clear generalizability to a class or even socialist issue given an atypical community (for example, Berkeley peoples' park).

In general our position toward community control is analagous to our position on national liberation. Marxists support national struggles because they are blows against imperializm and because the progressive struggle unlocks the internal class struggle. They point out that the national

bourgeoisie will either desert the fight or adopt a neo-colonialist relationship at its conclusion. Therefore the only real national liberation force can be the working class, which in the course of its struggle and accomplishment sees that national states are not viable in this world and that the only real liberation can come from an internationalist working class movement.

Similarly our position on community control, although we do not regard the black or Spanish American as separate nations. (Needless to say we respect and fight for their right to determine that question for themselves, but we have our own opinion as to what that determination should be.) However, although not nations, they do have similarities and our similar approach to problems flow from these. Therefore we support community control where it is so raised and liberation for all Black, Latin, and Indian people within the everpresent class struggle context.

Specifically this would mean support of a community, say, in construction with the general workers movement and arguing within that context against the Black or Latin bourgeoisie, politicians, and povertycrats control. We would stress the need for workers to organize in order to represent the community. We would center our demands on the workers struggle groups whether these exist in organized or unorganized form. Under certain situations we would demand that the unions interfere and in most cases, at the very least, demand their support for legitimate community struggles.

Given the immediacy of the war and war production as a fundamental issue, we propose formulation of programs for a total national conversion from Production for War and Profit to Production for Human Use. We demand massive outlay of funds now being used for war production to be used for mass transportation, education, and hospitals in the cities. We demand that

the funds be used for hydroelectricity, dams, roads, etc. for underdeveloped sections of the nation as a whole. We demand that the funds come from taxation of the rich rather than working people as they do now. We demand that this Conversion of Production from War and Profit to Production for Human Use occur in a context of Guaranteed Jobs for All with paid apprenticeship training with the guarantee of a job and income commensurate with the training time put in by the worker.

CRIME AND CAPITALIST ORDER

Like the physical decay of the cities, crime is a result of social decay-- from big organized crime to drug addiction and personal violence.

A new physical and economic environment can go a long way toward eliminating the causes of crime. An all out war on organized crime--which controls narcotics distribution nationally and locally--might help too. But this is not the sort of program the politicians are interested in, partly because they and their big business bosses are too deeply implicated with big-time crime. Instead, the politicians, liberal and conservative, play on our fears as isolated individuals and offer us nothing but more police, while giving the police more power. Their program is not "law and order," but the maintenance of the order, the capitalist order, that causes crime by increasing police power. In short, they want to cover up their inability to provide the people with a decent life and environment by increasing the totalitarian and bureaucratic drift of government. Less crime (supposedly), more cops, bureaucrats, personal restrictions, and taxes.

This solution is not only unacceptable from the point of view of democracy and personal freedom, it is illusory. As history shows, increasing police power has never stopped crime of any sort. After all, the police forces

Federal, State and local, are larger and more powerful today than ever before; and so is organized crime and the crime rate. The police can be, and often are corrupted. A recent survey in New York showed that over half the police admitted to taking bribes for one reason or another.

There is another, more important, problem with increasing police power from the point of view of the working class. The police, after all, work for those in power and the "order" they are maintaining is the order those in power want. We have seen, how, in the past few years the police have been used more and more to put down or break up political and social actions and demonstrations. Increasingly, the police are being used to put down wildcat and even official strikes and other workers actions. The more powerful the police, the more effectively they will do this job, i.e., protect the interests of big business against popular interests. In 1966, when the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)-AFL-CIO organized the N. Y. State Police, the "union" had to include in its contract a guaranteed that it would not intervene in strikes on the side of strikers, but would uphold anti-strike and anti-labor laws against the workers, even if they were members of the same union. Governor Rockefeller, who is hardly a disinterested party, felt this issue was central. And indeed, only two ~~last~~ years later, Rockefeller, used these State Police against striking State Hospital workers, also members of AFSCME. In a more general way, all police are bound to be loyal to the powers that be. Since the labor laws are stacked against us, we will find the police on the other side every time we move militantly. It is in the interest of working people to oppose increases in police power. Workers must demand through political actions the curbing of the police power to intervene on the side of the boss in class struggle situations. This is another reason for class political action. Instead of repressing workers' struggles, the police should be curbing crime, the job they are

allegedly paid for. In encouraging the workers to intervene politically in order to curb the police, we still as socialists point out what they will not yet accept: the police as an institution will forever represent the bourgeois power until the workers form their own state and the armed power is that of the workers' patrols and militia itself.

There are certain circumstances, which cannot be generalized from short of revolution itself, where policemen will side with workers at the cost of their jobs. Under a generally true proposition, socialists and workers should be flexible enough to vary their position to win over particular segments of the police.

EDUCATION

Public education in the United States exists only because the working class, in alliance with farmers, intellectuals and some other groups, fought for free schools in the nineteenth century. The working class movement of that time won free schools, but it did not win control over the educational system that was set up. The basic system of primary and secondary education that exists today was designed largely by Andrew Carnegie, the famous steel baron and multi-millionaire. The Carnegie system structured education, quite frankly and openly, around the needs and priorities of the owners of industry. These priorities had little to do with the free intellectual development of working class children. (The rich, of course, had and still have private schools where their children are trained for a different task, that of ruling.) Basically, this system is the one used today. It takes the form of "Tracking" (slotting for certain types and levels of employment according to social background) within the schools and a hierarchy of schools by function and neighbor-

hood. The common theme of all the schools is not self-reliance and initiative, but obedience and docility. Thus, in white working class neighborhoods trade and commercial schools prepare youths to be docile workers in skilled and semi-skilled jobs; in the ghetto schools children are prepared for low-paying jobs or for welfare -- often not even being taught basic reading skills; and in suburbs and middle class areas the schools train for professional and managerial jobs. In practice, public education is structured along a hierarchical combination of class, racial, and sexual lines. Girls schools or curricula in working class areas train girls to be clerks or secretaries, closing off possibilities for other types of work and for college as well. Roughly, the hierarchy runs from male students in wealthy suburbs all the way down to black and minority group girls. It is no surprise, of course, that the various government job training programs are segregated and structured along the same lines. The basic right of all people to a sound education is deprived by this whole system. Women and blacks are kept at the bottom so they may be used against the rest of the workers. As automation dilutes and eliminates many of the traditional jobs and skills, this sort of education traps all working class youth. The working people cannot gear production towards needs so long as this sort of rigidity and segregation exists to block our creativity. The first step toward the creation of a new quality educational system tailored to the needs of the people is the abolition of the "tracking" system and hierarchy within the schools. Schools and curriculum should be organized around the needs of people by winning democratic community control of the schools in black and Latin areas. This community control must include the participation of teachers and, at least from high school on, of students as well as parents. An alliance of parents, teachers and students, within the context of an aggressive working class movement, can win such control and in the process of struggle can determine the structure and content of the new school system. To make this new system work, the movement will have to fight for massive federal funds for community

controlled schools. Funding by private foundations and corporations, in the long run, can only side track the struggle and dilute any democratic control that exists. In the final analysis, these privately funded "experiments" are only attempts to revive the essence of the Carnegie system - the subordination of education to the needs of big business. Our support for Community Control is in the manner described previously. In non-black and Latin areas we call for the alliance of teachers and students. Where conditions are practicable we call for general working class intervention as well.

Although better education is desirable in itself, it is also a crucial part of the concept of Guaranteed Jobs for All. A genuine full employment program will require a good deal of job training and retraining. Most importantly, however, it is essential to prevent the continued use of education as a tool for dividing and slotting working people according to the needs and desires of the capitalist class. This can only be done by destroying the discriminatory set-up within the schools and by opening all levels of education to all of the people. This must mean, universal, free, subsidized higher education, that is, a national university system open to all, with financial subsidies to all who need them.

The abolition of hierarchy and tracking in primary and secondary schools, universal higher education, and guaranteed full employment through production for use and the reconstruction of the cities, all taken together as a unified program, are not only in the interest of every working person, but are also the destruction of the primary institutional barriers that oppress black people, Spanish speaking people, other minorities, and women. This program can be the basis for a resolution of the differing interests of black and white workers, men and women workers, the employed and unemployed. Together, these programs represent the aspirations of all people for an honest productive job, a good education, and a decent and safe environment in which to live.

With the further evolution of Community Colleges and the like, the principle of

tracking has accelerated on the college level. Part of the phony universal education program pushed by the establishment as a safety valve for both campus uprisings and unemployment discontent is the expansion of second rate schools that pass for colleges. The Universal Free Subsidized Higher Education that we advocate is inextricably linked with equality in education and the demand for a guaranteed job with wages commensurate with the time spent studying.

WAR AND IMPERIALISM

When a nation spends over half its national budget and well over 10% of its national product on war, as does the United States, it is obvious that there is more than an accidental relationship between the workings of the economy and the nation's foreign policy. As even a host of capitalist politicians, from Eisenhower to McCarthy, have pointed out, this huge arms budget is itself a drive to war. But even this cannot explain how the U.S. got entangled in wars all over the face of the earth. To begin with, American Business depends almost as much on trade and investment abroad as it does on the arms economy, at least another 10% of the national product. In fact, the ability of American capitalists to expand their profits has depended heavily on these two kinds of economic activity. Foreign trade and investment are essential to the capitalist profit system, not simply because other countries have goods and resources that U.S. business wants, but because the lower prices of labor and materials in these other countries allows American capitalists to make huge profits. Thus, American capital has a deep interest in maintaining its dominant position in the world market. Among other things, this means keeping this market, and all its parts, open for business on profitable terms. In this context, the capitalists object to "Communism," i.e. bureaucratic collectivism, not because it is not democratic, certainly not because it destroys trade unions, but because to a great degree it closes off sections of the world market to exploitation by U.S. capital. To capitalists, American or others, totalitarianism is only bad when it

interferes with business. U.S. businessmen don't object to totalitarian regimes in Spain or Portugal, or to military dictatorships in Latin America or Asia because those regimes usually keep the market open to exploitation. Only recently, for example, Governor Rockefeller, whose family has fortunes invested in Latin America, reported on the conclusions he drew from his "fact finding" trip to Latin America. What did he conclude? That the U.S. must send more military aid to military dictatorship!

From this long time drive to dominate the world economic market, which is what the government really means when it speaks of "American interest", has grown the whole military and political set-up of conflicts and "commitments" that keep us at war. The result is that the U.S. government is trying to prop up the entire international status quo by itself; using of course, our lives and labor. (In the past the United States was forced to prop up the whole world capitalist fabric against the threat or more dynamic forces. Sometimes it postponed its own immediate economic interests because of the shaky condition of the entire system. Inevitably, it aided the redevelopment of other bourgeois countries who, while still under the general hegemony of powerful American capitalism, have their own competitive games to play. American military-political imperialism still frequently plays the role of "stabilizing" areas in the capitalist sphere of power that lack immediate economic interest because of the long range need to maintain the system as a whole. Intertwined with this goal is of course the residual expectation that these countries will in the future feed our imperial needs.)

To play cops of the world, the rulers of this country have stationed over a million young Americans, mostly from working class families, all over the globe. This vast army (and the whole policy of political and economic domination) has, naturally, run counter to the aspirations of peoples who have national desires of their own. The term, imperialism, is not popular in this country, but it nonetheless accurately

describes the international position of U.S. business and government. After all, when a nation claims the right to intervene in the affairs of any and all other nations, it is clearly acting as an imperial power - no less than Rome in its time and Britain in its.

The one result of imperialism is always the same: war, war, and more war. Needless to say, it is always the working people who die fighting those wars and who pay the war taxes. In this era, the working class gains nothing but misery from these wars. It is now obvious that wars such as Korea and Vietnam have nothing to do with "national defense", and that the so-called "national interest" these wars are fought over holds no benefits for the vast majority of the people. Indeed, the Nixon administration no longer puts forth any reason for our presence in Vietnam, other than that we are already there. For them that is reason enough. Today, there are a dozen of future "Vietnams" brewing. We are already as deeply at war in Thailand and Laos as we were in Vietnam in 1964. Will we have two, or twenty, Vietnams in 1972? The people of these countries view U.S. troops as foreign occupation armies, and that is what they are. These people are, from their point of view, simply fighting for their national independence, regardless of the politics of their leaders. Obviously, the average G.I., stationed thousands of miles from home in a country he knows little about, did not ask to be there. Yet he may have to die or be maimed fighting against the independence of another country. There is no sense in which it is in the interests of the American working class to fight against the aspirations of these nations.

Socialists are internationalists because we believe that the workers of all nations have a common interest. This means that the workers have no nation in the sense that the nation has been the tool of the capitalist class and its definition at the "national interest". American workers should identify with the positive phenomena of America and its history, its struggles and its culture (that portion that has n't

been completely degraded by bourgeois society.) We want to fight for an America which is foremost in a progressive program for meeting the needs and aspirations of people throughout the world. Therefore we fight for America to adopt an anti Imperialist foreign policy and within this context we call for A Democratic foreign policy by which we mean a policy of opposition to every autocratic, dictatorial, and militarist regime in the world. We mean A FOREIGN POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, WORKERS RIGHTS, AND LAND REFORM EVERYWHERE. In short we mean that America must identify with the popular tide of revolution against the status quo in every area of the world.

The American worker has bought the anti-"Communist" cold warrior foreign policy of our ruling class. At long last this support is waning but is still a present factor. The reasons for anti-"Communism" by the American establishment are quite different from the reasons the workers have accepted it, as we have pointed out above. We say to the workers that the anti-"Communism" of our rulers is reactionary and that the very system they spend your money to prop up is the root cause of millions turning to that social system that parades as socialist. The only progressive way to defeat the "communism", ie, Stalinism, that you fear because it represents repression of people, someone else's "national interest", the destruction of workers organizations, etc. is by a radically new socially progressive foreign policy...one encompassed by the demands we have raised above.

In terms of the over-riding demands for change in America's international position, we also state categorically to those who see their need, that in our opinion only a socialist revolution in America could achieve such a policy. An anti-imperialist foreign policy proffered by a nation whose property relations are still bourgeois is not only a contradiction in terms, but in reality. But even if they do not accept this

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conclusion we work with them and the struggle itself will prove who is right.

We further put forward the idea that at minimum neither the Democratic nor Republican parties can bring such a policy into being, that only a Workers Party can take real steps in that direction. Even while strongly advocating this mechanism we add that only a revolutionary government can really terminate imperialism.

Within this context we raise demands such as: All U.S. Troops Be Immediately Withdrawn From All Foreign Countries and Dismantle All Overseas Bases, Not One Tax Dollar For Military And Political Aid to Foreign Reaction. Under these slogans we call for End Nato, End Nato and Warsaw Pact, End Seato, etc.. We call for Immediate Withdrawal From Vietnam.

In our educational and analytical work we make clear our opposition to both social systems/^{that} presently control the world and point out the need for a socialist alternative: INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

TAXES

A good part of the attack on working class living standards has come in the form of taxes. Working people are paying more taxes and, yet, the public services we pay for are getting worse. It is already obvious, from what we have said, that a lot of this tax money goes into war goods. The politicians, newspapers, TV and all those in power, however, have busted their backs to convince everyone that all this tax money is going to help the poor. The conservatives and reactionary demagogues like Wallace have tried to win white working class votes by saying that all this money is going to the blacks and other minority groups. The liberals have tried to cover up their spinelessness by using the same line to convince minority poor people that they are getting

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something. The fact is, that none of this is true. It is not the poor of any race or color that are getting all this federal, state and local tax money - it is the rich. It is a matter of record, that beyond those minimal public services that most people agree are necessary, the new billions of tax dollars are flowing increasingly from the working people to the bankers and war profiteers.

The table below, taken from the U.S. Government's Statistical Abstract for 1969, shows general government spending for all levels of government - federal, state and local - minus payments between different levels of government, for 1967. This is the most recent year for which such a comprehensive table was compiled by the government, but a glance at recent statistics would convince anyone that things are even worse today. Using the 1967 figures, we can see that welfare, for example, doesn't amount to a hill of beans - a little more than 4 cents on each tax dollar, federal, state and local combined. On the other hand, "defense" amounts to about 34% on the tax dollar. Over half of this defense money goes directly to the giant corporations for arms production. Health and hospitals, which we all need, are about 4 cents and housing slightly more than a penny of each tax dollar. The fourth largest government expense is "interest on general debt", i. e., interest on federal state and local bonds and securities. The overwhelming bulk of these bonds and securities belong to business and financial firms of various kinds. Only about 22% of federal securities (Savings Bonds, Freedom Shares, etc.) belong to individuals, and most of that to the very rich, while another 25% belong to different levels of government. This 25%, however, is not included in the total interest figure shown in Table II. With State and municipal bonds it is even worse, most of them belonging to banks. What this means is that excluding interest paid between governments, more than \$10 billion a year goes to the rich and the businesses they own. Working people pay more to keep the bankers fat and happy than is "given" to the over 8 million people

TABLE II

General * Government Expenditures at all levels, 1967 (\$mil.)

| Function | Total**(Fed., State, Local) |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Defense, International Relations | 74, 638 |
| Space | 5, 359 |
| Postal Service | 6, 227 |
| Education | 40, 217 |
| Highways | 14, 032 |
| Natural Resources | 10, 142 |
| Health, Hospitals | 9, 457 |
| Public Welfare | 9, 592 |
| Housing, Urban, Renewal | 2, 413 |
| Air Transport | 1, 326 |
| Social Insur. Admin. | 1, 210 |
| Interest on Gen. Debt | 13, 406 |
| Other | 28, 871 |
| TOTAL | 216, 888 |

* Excludes: Insurance Trust Expenditures and Utility and Liquor Store Exp., both of which are self liquidating.

** Totals excluding payments between various levels of government

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1969, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1969, p. 412.

living on welfare each year, and the income of government bonds is tax free. While there is much talk about the rapid growth of welfare, the figures from 1950 to 1967 show that arms' spending and interest payments have grown faster. While welfare costs slightly more than doubled from 1950 to 1967, defense cost nearly triples and interest payments grew by about 8 times. All of this doesn't even include the billions that flow to the rich through other subsidies, graft and boondoggles.

Who pays to keep the rich living in the style to which they have become accustomed? The working people pay most of the taxes, and a larger share each year. In 1950, business paid 47.8% of federal taxes and individuals 39.2% - of which about 70% is from income under 15,000 a year, including joint returns. In 1967, however, business paid only 33.4% of federal taxes, while individuals paid 42.5% (still 70% below \$15000). The remaining amount,

13% in 1950 and 24.1% in 1967 came from "contributions for social insurance", much of which comes from workers pay checks, and which, in any case, is not used for the expenses discussed above. It isn't much different on the State and local level. Whereas, in 1950, 51% of all State and local revenue came from property and business taxes, this was down to 48% by 1965. The difference comes largely from increased sales and income taxes which fall mainly on the working people. The real burden of taxes is even more absurd if the billions that go directly back to business are figured in. Figuring it out roughly for 1967, using only federal figures, business received about \$40 billion in "defense" and space contracts and another \$8 billion in interest, while tax receipts on business came to \$47.6 billion. This doesn't even include the huge profits made off of other government programs, such as highways. One could conclude that, taken as a whole, the capitalist class pays no taxes at all. Of course, some capitalists do pay, while others receive the money from the government; i. e., the government redistributes income within the capitalist class and from the working class to the capitalists. No matter how it is viewed, the poor and working people, black and white, lose.

Naturally, a program for the reconstruction of the cities, guaranteed full employment and universal free higher education, raises the question of who will pay. Part of the answer lies in the idea of "Production for Use" discussed earlier. That is, a lot of the waste (arms) production workers pay for in taxes will become wealth producing production that pays for itself. The rest of the answer, however, lies in what we have said about the tax system.

First, if the bulk of the arms budget is eliminated, the \$40 billion that goes to business can be cut or allocated elsewhere, which means that that money is no longer funneled back to the capitalists. But more than this, there is the fact that the capitalists are not paying what they can and should pay - even the de-

bate over Nixon's meaningless tax "reform" bill showed that. The working people will have to fight to make the corporations, banks and rich people pay. This involves more than some phony tax "reform", it means turning the whole tax structure around. We say: no taxes on incomes under \$15,000; abolish all sales taxes, except on high cost luxury items; abolish the 10% tax surcharge on individual incomes. Replace these taxes with: a sharply graduated tax on incomes above \$15,000, up to 100% on anything above \$50,000; a graduated tax on interest from all bonds and securities, private and government, according to the size of the holding, and on the sale of such securities; a steeply graduated tax on all price increases by industry; a general increase in the level of all business and corporation taxes. Finally, the practice of subsidizing the profits of "sick" industries should be ended and those industries socialized under workers control and management. Only the creation of a worker's party can take meaningful steps in the direction of a really progressive tax.

Part II THE FIGHT FOR A BETTER LIFE
 FROM A DIVIDED CLASS TO A UNITED FIGHTING FORCE

It is obvious that the capitalists and politicians will not give the kind of programs we are proposing. The working people will have to fight for them, and fight hard. To win, workers will have to use the sources of power that are at their disposal. The capitalists and their politicians derive their power from wealth, the control of the economy, and the monopoly of government. The power of the working class lies in its numbers - a majority of society - and its ability to bring the economy to a halt, through the strike and other industrial actions. But the ability to use those sources of power depends on unity and organization as a class. Workers don't all have to agree on everything or even like each other but they do have to act together. The enormous actions of the CIO in the the 1930's and the French general strike of 1968, show just how immense the power of the working class can be when there is united action.

Today, however, the American working people are anything but united in practice. They are divided among themselves by occupation, income, union, but most acutely by race and potentially by sex. So long as workers' efforts are directed against one another, they are not likely to win anything. Unity in action can come about through parallel or joint fights against the same enemy, the political and economic bosses. Today's divisions, however, are so deep and so emotionally charged, that it is necessary to be aware of how these divisions came about and how the socialist relates to them.

BLACK WORKERS AND RACISM

The black people in America are overwhelmingly working class. More than 70% of all employed "non-whites" work in blue-collar and service jobs. Because of this, black and other minority group workers are a disproportionately large sector of the working class. While black and other so-called "non-white"

people make up about 11% of the total population, they are about 18% of the blue collar and service work force, ie, nearly one-fifth. This fact stems from the discrimination and oppression experienced by black people ever since they were brought to this country as slaves. While even most white people could not work their way up out of the working class, scarcely any black people were allowed to do so. Even within the working class, however, black people have been forced to accept the worst and lowest paying jobs. Where significant numbers of black workers held skilled jobs, as in the South in the 1870's, they were forced out of these crafts and into more menial jobs. Today, the average black worker makes only about half the income of his white counterpart. Furthermore his chances of being laid-off or forced into unemployment are twice that of any white worker. Beyond these economic facts, are the thousand and one indignities experienced by black working people. Thus, the black worker is doubly oppressed; exploited as a worker and subjugated as a black person. In addition to all the problems faced by working people, the black worker must confront the special problems associated with racism.

As the economic position of black workers shows, racism is not merely a set of attitudes of prejudices held by white people; it is a set of institutions and structures deeply rooted in the history of labor and life in America - including welfare, housing (ghettos), employment, exclusion from craft unions, discrimination in seniority, etc. It is these bitter facts of life that have forced black people to fight, even to attain the tenuous social position held by most white workers. For black people, the growing fight for liberation from this double oppression is a matter of survival. But whereas the civil rights movement led by middle class and professional black people was limited to the struggle for legal equality, the movement now growing among black poor and working people for self-determination and a decent life is also, necessarily, a fight against the economic and social oppression experienced by all working people. This is true

first of all in the sense that the most prominent demands made by black workers and poor people, such as more housing, more and better jobs and pay, an end to speed-up, an end to degrading welfare, etc., are demands that are also in the interest of white workers. But it is true in another sense as well.

The doubly oppressed position of black workers has, for over a hundred years, been one of the primary means by which the capitalists, have divided the working class. Ever since slavery was abolished black and white workers have been pitted against each other by the capitalists. This struggle of workers against workers, white against black, has been used to destroy or weaken every attempt by the working class to organize and use its numbers to win social or political power. Racism has been used to weaken the trade union movement and to destroy political movements such as Populism which drew together black and white farmers and workers; the Knights of Labor, America's first industrial union; the IWW, and even the CIO organizing drives. The result is that, historically, racism and the division of the working class have not only forced black workers into poverty, but has held down the living standards of all workers by weakening the organizations and struggles of the working class. This is just as true today as it was in 1890. By convincing all too many white workers that the blacks are the "enemy", that it is they who are responsible for higher taxes and social decay, the capitalists and politicians have not only divided and weakened the working class today, they have succeeded in turning the attention of white workers away from those who are responsible for the attack on working class living standards, ie, those who have power now. Obviously, black people, like all working people, have no policy making power, either in business or government. There is nothing to be gained by fighting black workers, because black people have nothing left to give up. It is the rich and powerful who must be made to pay for a decent standard of living.

The double oppression of black people, of course, means that they make demands that are particular to their situation, such as entrance into skilled trades, an end to discriminatory seniority lines, the right to organize black workers' groups to defend their particular interests. Insecure in their own position, white workers often view these demands as an attack on or threat to themselves. This is true only if white workers are not fighting for their own interests and those general to all workers, i.e., fighting for full employment, against cuts in construction programs and for new programs, for increased wages and better working conditions, etc. Thus if black workers are fighting for skilled craft jobs, white skilled workers are only playing the bossed game, and splitting the class, unless they protect their jobs by fighting for massive construction programs that could provide jobs for blacks and whites, and eliminate seasonal nature of construction work. Similarly, when black workers lead a fight against a racist foreman who is enforcing speed-up on all the workers, it is in the interest of the white workers to support this fight.

To both black and white workers, we say that the capitalists will never solve the problems of racism and racial conflict, for it is they who exploit this racial division of the working class. The problem must ultimately be resolved among the working people themselves. There are no simple solutions to this age-old problem, but it is clear that a beginning can be made by joint struggle around a program that is in the interest of both, but does not require that either group "wait" for the other. In the context of this sort of working class program, it is essential that white workers understand who is their real enemy and who is a potential ally. With the understanding that an alliance of mutual interest between black and white workers is essential even to the defense of present living standards, white workers should, and if victories are to be won, must, support the entirely legitimate demands of black workers for equal status within the working class. We have already mentioned a number

of demands that relate to the needs, and actual demands of black people, such as full employment and universal voluntary day-care, an end to high school tracking, and universal higher education. Though there may be many more, we would especially add the important demands for: free entrance into skilled positions into craft unions and apprenticeship programs, equality in seniority, the right of black workers to organize black workers' groups or caucuses and to bargain and strike on racial grievances. In addition we support and advocate demands such as more jobs for blacks and guaranteed jobs for all.

The two latter demands are consonant and necessary. There are those in the radical movement who argue that the white workers have to give up their "white skin" privilege and therefore reject slogans such as guaranteed jobs for all. White workers do not have much in the way of "privilege" as we have shown. Furthermore what they got, they got by fighting for it, not by dispensation of "privileges" from above. These radicals play the game of the capitalists by pointing to the enemy as the white worker instead of the capitalist; they seek to give the blacks a share of scarcity rather than the big pie.

There are yet other radicals who play the same game only standing up as a left cover for the white workers who wish to maintain the status quo. Every demand by blacks for access to better jobs and higher pay is countered by the idea: "they are splitting the class!" When the problem is viewed in this manner, the essential fact that the white workers, from the vantage point of more stable jobs and prior degree of organization, have failed to lead the fight for the class as a whole, thereby aiding the bourgeoisie in splitting it. The split exists in reality of poorer wages, oppression etc. The movements are the reflection of a division which already exists--one not created by black demands.

The white sectors of the working class will only move under pressure actualized into struggle (and that is true of any section of the class). One important catalyst can be the black demands. Simply supporting white hostility to

black demands by wrapping a figleaf of "jobs for all" around a conservative fight will sugarcoat racism but never move the class beyond it. The only hope is that the class will resolve the pressure of black demands by attacking the limiting cage around it, the system itself, its narrowing job market, its worsening conditions. If it reacts by crushing the movement for black demands it will pay no heed to the "socialist" who says, "Great, now let's have jobs for all." Why bother, the worker has found an easier way . . . out to disaster . . . but out.

In the most abstract, in the most profound class terms, the movement of black workers simply represents the upthrust of the most oppressed layers of the class. In the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution in Europe every true revolutionary supported the struggle of the lower strata of the class against the ideology of the upper strata: the revolutionary masses against the "aristocracy of labor." (Of course they tried to win the upper strata over by programs in the interest of the entire class, not by notions of surrender of privilege or such social idiocy.)

WOMEN WORKERS AND M/ E CHAUVINISM

Women are a caste in American society. The subordination of women occurred long before the advent of capitalism, but the particular forms that it takes on here are variants upon the theme dictated by the needs of Capitalist society. The institutionalization of the oppression is the family.

The caste of women are segmented, like other castes, ethnic groups, races, etc. by the major and fundamental division of class. Just as top layers of the black community seek leverage within the confines of the system but withdraw from the struggle as it deepens and takes on class proportions - in different dimensions - this is and will be true of the women's struggle as well. Without denying the catalytic impact of both upper class black and women's movements we can be sure that these elements will not lead the struggle for liberation in the last analysis.

Women are by virtue of the family by and large attached to the class status of their husbands, even though their functions differ and thereby their consciousness varies. Although the form may deviate, the family is a necessary institution for workers to perform their tasks ~~as~~ ^{for} the exploited ~~for~~ ^{by} the capitalists. The worker receives in exchange for his labor power enough, more or less, to subsist and reproduce his labor power: ~~or~~ the future exploitation that is the very definition of a worker in the Marxist sense. Under capitalism what it takes to subsist and reproduce is determined relatively and historically, but as a general proposition involves the necessity of a wife who maintains the worker and provides the ability for him to reproduce. Socially, this means a stable family in which the wife plays a subordinate, auxiliary and adjunct role - in an overt relationship to her husband - but in the most basic sense to the commodity (labor) of power necessary for the bourgeois mode of production.

Therefore the wife is an element in the labor power physically expended by her husband and thus a recipient of a portion of the wages paid for that commodity. Thus the wife is part of the working class even when she is not part of the "work force". "Work force" means those actually hired for and physically involved in production, and distribution (or derivative tasks) designed for the market economy. Naturally it doesn't mean the woman does not work. Analogously to the peasant (although they are far distant in reality) women in the home perform a reactionary isolative form of labor which enables the modernized system to exist. Women repeat the endless and degrading tasks of maintaining "the home and the man" without entering into social labor, without the advantage that the factory (even with its oppression) brings in setting the lines for cooperative and class struggle. By the very nature of her oppression within the family the working class woman tends to have a narrow non-struggle outlook.

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WOMEN WORKERS AND MALE CHAUVINISM

In the past twenty years millions of women have entered the labor force as permanent workers. Although both men and women still often think of women workers as "second incomes" for families or as temporary workers until they are married, the facts show that women stay on the job. In fact, women now compose one-third of the labor force, and over 62% of those women workers are married; some 16.6 million married women workers. From the point of view of the working-class family, it is no secret why so many women have gone to work; the income from one job has not been enough to make ends meet. Very few families with only one wage earner could hope to meet the Dept. of Labor's "modest" budget level of \$9,076 for 1967. The figures show this was true even before inflation hit hard in 1965. So an ever growing number of working-class families have had to have two working members in order to survive.

Women workers, however, confront a distinctly "separate and unequal" job market. Women workers, much like black workers, make on the average slightly less than half the income of men of the same race or educational background. According to the Dept. of Labor's Women's Bureau, if a man 25 or more years old with a high school diploma was making \$6,458 a year in 1965, then a woman of the same age and education was making only \$2,544. This flows from the fact that the jobs women are forced into are low paying -- whether they are factory or clerical jobs. Underlying the low wages of these jobs, however, is the exploitation of the prejudices and divisions between men and women workers. For the most part, women are forced into occupations regarded as "women's jobs." Because women workers are thought of as "second incomes" or temporary workers, the capitalists are able to make these "women's jobs" low paying, since they are not expected to support anyone alone. This crass discrimination has nothing to do with the

nature of the work, but is allowed by the capitalists' use -- whether conscious or not -- of male prejudices about women. Even where women actually hold the same job as men, the employers will attempt to pay women less--as in the paper and pulp industry, where the women fought back. The ease with which the employers get away with this is only an indication of how widespread and deeply rooted male chauvinism, i.e., the belief in the innate superiority of men, is in all sections of society, including the working class. Trade unions, whose strength is always based on the concept of equality, consistently refuse to organize "women's occupations" and rarely allow women leading positions in the union even where they are organized. Needless to say this attitude has weakened the trade union movement in scores of industries--particularly those that are becoming more and more important, such as public employment and other white collar work. Frustrated by the barriers confronting them, in society at large as well as the union movement, women have begun to organize on their own. These new women's organizations range from the largely middle class National Organization of Women (NOW) to working women's union caucuses such as Women, Inc. in the Association of Western Paper and Pulp Workers. Increasingly, women workers are fighting for equal status as workers, and they are fighting the bosses, not other workers. The resistance of some men to such struggles not only weakens and splits the working class movement, but is rather absurd since it is clearly in the material interest of any working family man to see that his wife gets as much money as possible.

Equal pay and working conditions, however, almost never exist where jobs are "segregated." Thus along with the demand for equal pay, the workers' movement must raise demands for equal access to all occupations-- excepting only those where physical requirements clearly preclude women --to union apprenticeships, an end to sexual tracking in the schools, and

universal voluntary day care. These demands would not only free women from their second-class position in the work force, but could free million of women from the loneliness and drudgery of housework for productive employment. The independence of women, after all, i.e., the social equality of men and women, depends to a great degree on dignified and equal employment. But the concept of social equality rests on real freedom of choice. For this freedom to be real for women, it must include the right to decide when or when not to have children. At minimum, this requires the legalization, and free subsidy of, voluntary abortion.

Women workers are awakening to fight against the conditions of their oppression, both as militants in union struggles or wildcats and specifically in women's groups. These groups are not fighting men workers, but oppressive institutions and often the employers. It would be a tragic error for men workers to stand in the way of this movement or even fail to support it. The growing anger of women, who are not only a third of the work force, but at least half of the working class, is an essential element in the movement to protect and advance the standard of living of all working people. The idea that ^{workers} can make gains as a social class, while half ^{the} number are being doubly exploited is absurd and impractical. The capitalist class knows this well--indeed, the playing of men against women pre-dates the use of blacks against whites. They will bombard us with all manner of nonsense--everything from "the sanctity of motherhood" (who can be against motherhood?) to sheer filth and pornography designed to bring out male chauvinism. The stakes are simply too high to fall for these old ploys. The women's movement, by and large, will be part of the working people's movement, even if it has its own organizations and special demands, we dare not allow a part of the movement to suffer defeat. For the next defeat will be that of the whole movement.

As with black movements, our special direction as socialists is to play a left wing and not a tail-end role. As socialists we cannot lead social movements that do not have our consciousness, we cannot substitute for others. Our role within these movements is to relentlessly press for full liberation, not only equality but freedom. We support and advance the just demands of these sectors of the working class but are critical of all tendencies which lead to co-optation or dead-ends no matter how radical their rhetoric.

We are especially critical of those radicals whose definition of women's liberation is for women to essentially become "men"--"men" as described by the culture we live in. In the petty bourgeois and socially mobile sectors of the black movement, "black" frequently becomes the systematic adaptation to admired white middle class attitudes and the self-acceptance of these if a "black" label can be pinned onto them. For example, the Muslims abjure liquor, collard greens, pork... Negro stereotype articles of consumption and seek a male-dominated family, neat and unostentatious clothing, etc., etc. Thus Blacks who have been taught that whites who they hate but who they must admire for being "more civilized" can resolve their ambivalence and so forth, ad nauseum.

So too in the radical women's movement, so far mostly the product of petty-bourgeois radicalism, liberation simply means adaptation toward the perceived image of "men" and labelling it "women's", thereby making it good. The heralding of indiscriminate sex, physical brutality and the like says that women should become what society hails as the "Man," a whore who goes to bed with everything in sight and who is physically strong and callous. We are not prudes but this conduct and program (believe it or not) has nothing to do with sexual liberation but has everything to do with the decay of any values within the decadence of the modern American scene. It is a symbol of the "death agony" and not of liberation.

We are forced to deal with the above notions not because of their intelligence but because of their corroding prevalence within "revolutionary" circles.

Far more serious and more dangerous in the long run are those ideas held by other radicals who view the women's movement as they do the black's-- as a divisive force within the working class whose special demands must be opposed in order to preserve class unity. As we have said, before the responsibility for the split is the capitalists', and insofar as they have tools of division those are the better organized workers who have failed to fight for the whole class, thereby forcing women and other class-segments to fight for themselves.

In the case of women, it is particularly important for support of their just demands if the class as a whole does not want a vast conservative enclave within their midst. Women have not as yet developed within the working class the self-consciousness that blacks have. In the next period, with the general class struggle rising more sharply, the women's movement may never attain the independent existence that the longer-term black groups have. Even so with the vast increase in women's position and numbers in the work force, it will be even more necessary to raise women's demands to reach and activate this layer lest it go in other directions.

Women's demands are part of and integral to any overall transitional program. They are not auxiliary demands to be tacked on but are inseparable and inherent. Socialists stand for the highest consciousness, which is the consciousness of a class which is neither men nor women, black nor white, but more than these subcategories. They press for demands aimed at liberating and winning those class-parts that have been separated by the enemy class. The socialist has open to him no shortcuts. The socialist doesn't point out the white as the enemy to the black people, even though the capitalist class--the real enemy--may be almost entirely white. They do not point out the Jew as the enemy, either, even

though the landlord, the employer, the shopkeeper may be Jews--they point to the class enemy. So too, socialists point out the same enemy to the women's movement. The white worker, the Jewish shopkeeper, the man, all inspire anger and hatred amongst those they are ranged against hostilely. The anger and the perception of prejudice and chauvinists are real. But to view these groupings as the enemy is to view the gun instead of the triggerman as the evildoer--the consequences of such misidentifications have always proven reactionary.

We support the self-organization of women workers. We support their just demands for equality and liberation. We press for additional demands to widen the pie for all.

THE UNIONS AND THE RANK AND FILE

The trade unions have been and still are the only independent mass organizations of the American working class. Though the struggles of American working people have taken many forms, the unions have been the primary organizations of the defense of living standards. Yet, over the years the unions have become more and more bureaucratic and, at the same time, less and less able to win real gains. It is no secret that even before inflation took away wage gains, working conditions in industry were getting worse. Speed-up, safety measures, over-time and all the things that determine how workers live for eight hours or more a day, have gotten intolerable. The unions haven't done much, if anything, about it. Even some important income protection measures, like the cost of living escalator clauses won in the 1940's and 50's, were dumped in the past few years. At the same time, the bureaucratic structure of the unions and the enormous power of the international leaders and staff within the unions has made it nearly impossible for the rank and file to have much influence on the content of the contract.

To make matters worse, over a long period of time the unions have become caught in an incredible web of legal entanglements. This is not just a matter of certain anti labor laws like Section 14B but even of many of the laws that the labor movement fought for. The National Labor Relations Board, for example sets limits on what the unions can bargain over, i.e. what is "management's prerogative." By the power to set the size and scope of bargaining units and interpret the laws the NLRB also reinforces the bureaucratic power of the union leaders over the ranks. This of course is not written into the law but it is a matter of consistent NLRB practice. Related to this is the fact that under U.C. law the labor contract is not just an instrument for protecting labor from management i.e. capital, but for restraining labor. As every union member knows, the union is responsible for disciplining the rank and file under the terms of the contract. Simply put, management "gives" some increases in wages and benefits and the union promises that workers won't do anything (like strike) to change these conditions during the contract period. So while inflation runs wild and technology changes working conditions workers are tied to a two or three year contract. The most blatant problem with this two sided contract is that workers are virtually powerless under most contracts to do anything about working conditions. Throughout industry and in white collar work as well workers must go through a drawn-out grievance procedure that is entirely out of their hands after the first or second step. Even then most contracts forbid strikes over such issues during the contract period.

All of this came about when the union leaders who accept the power relations of capitalism, agreed that the union should play the role of disciplinarian over the workers. The capitalists fight for this set up not only to keep costs down, but to allow them to freely plan ahead for future profits without interference from the workers. The union leaders see

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it as a way of gaining respectability and of maintaining their power in the union. In the decades since this began, this practice has been reinforced by laws, the courts, the NLRB and the executive branch of government. The two-sided contract is not an example of "equality" between labor and management, but of a set-up that maintains the inequality of power between the two. The labor bureaucracy, however, continues to enforce and defend this set-up, while the working people continue to suffer from its consequences: speed-up, unfair over-time, unsafe conditions, etc. Growing numbers of workers, however, have not accepted this set-up. Through wildcat strikes, contract rejections, shop floor actions, internal union fights and other ways more and more workers have struck out on their own to fight intolerable working conditions and declining living standards. In the 1950's wildcat strikes were unusual and contract rejections almost unheard of. Today, wildcats are as common as, though not as large as, official strikes and over 14% of all contracts are rejected at least once. This growing rank and file rebellion is so powerful - and so respected by this nation's economic and political rulers - that it now fills pages in popular and business magazines and books and is an important consideration in management's bargaining strategy. In short, the independent action of the workers has the powers-that-be worried.

This rank and file rebellion has the union leaders worried too, for they are so integrated into the system. Clearly, this rebellion threatens their power and position. There can be no doubt that rank and file independence and initiative is the reason why some international leaders have been more willing to call strikes than in the past. It is also the background to some of the fights and new moves within the labor bureaucracy. The split of the United Auto Workers from the AFL-CIO and the subsequent formation of the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) are distorted responses to the same conditions that cause rank and file unrest as well as to the general social crisis. Similarly,

the growing trend toward coalition bargaining by different unions, particularly in the electrical industry, is a response to the worker's' demands for action. Yet, even these responses are largely in the old context. As important as both events may be, they are really attempts to maintain the power of the bureaucracy by giving these leaders a more militant or progressive "image." This is particularly clear in the case of the ALA, which tries to present a new image by putting forth some broad (and totally inadequate) social programs while still ignoring the problems in their own industries and by-passing participation by rank and file workers. Similarly, while the coalition of 13 unions was an important step in fighting the power of General Electric, the leaders of these unions made no attempt to build on-going unity at the rank and file level or even to pull together some kind of inter-union shop stewards' council. Thus, the on-going struggle over working conditions is still out of the hands of the workers and the contract still a double edged weapon.

If the union and the contract are to defend the interests of the workers, it is clear that the power to enforce contract provisions must lie solely with the union ranks. In the first place, inflation and rapid changes in working conditions make a shorter contract necessary. National contracts should be limited to one year in length. Annual re-negotiations, with the unfettered right to strike, will enhance the power of the workers to change their working and living conditions. In this context, although it is not our intention to present a full collective bargaining program, certain kinds of contract provisions can help to shift power to the workers, as well as alleviate inflation and unemployment. The cost of living escalator clause, tied to real increases in prices with no upper limit, along with the right to examine company books, can be a first step toward workers' control of pricing policy. Similarly, the winning of the 30 hour work week, at a 40 hour pay rate, with the right of workers in each shop or plant to control and determine the amount and frequency of over-time, CAN OFF-SET UNEMPLOYMENT to

a degree and give workers some measure of direct control over the amount of time they work. Working conditions, speed-up of production, safety enforcement, etc. even more than wages and hours, require direct control by workers at the shop level. To begin the fight for total control over these conditions, workers can demand the right to make and enforce supplementary shop-level agreements covering the regulation of all working conditions. Fundamental to enforcing these agreements and to abolishing the disciplinary nature of the national contract, is the unlimited right to strike at the shop, local, regional and national levels, immediately over all grievances and issues. More than any specific clause or agreement, the unlimited right to strike is the key to the struggle for control over the worker's standard of living at home and at work.

SHOP FLOOR STRUGGLE AND ORGANIZATION

Throughout this pamphlet we have raised ~~the~~ demands and programs that counteract the growing attack on working class living standards and working conditions. Yet, the condition of the unions and the absence of other independent workers' organizations raises the question of how workers are to fight for these demands. Every worker is aware that the struggle against deteriorating living and working conditions-- always a part of workers' lives-- has intensified. Wildcats, contract rejections and other means of struggle are, by now, widespread. In most of these fights the workers find they have to fight the union leaders as well as the bosses. Whether these struggles are hassles on the shop floor, strikes, or fights for union democracy, the workers are always at a disadvantage because they do not control the union and have no other expression of resistance. Yet, whatever level they are fighting at, it is clear that victory requires that the class be organized. It is, of course, legitimate and necessary for workers to demand that the unions, which are theoretically their organizations, fight for the kind of programs they need. Indeed, in a thousand ways working people do this all the time. Yet, the union leaders' power over the

workers and their commitment to enforce discipline on the workers, means that the union leaders will not fight for these programs. In fact, until they are thrown out by the ranks and the unions are made democratic, these bureaucrats will probably fight against us on the kinds of demands we have raised in this pamphlet. Even to win demands that increase workers control over working conditions, labor is forced to organize its resistance independently of the union bureaucracy and of the whole structure of contract administration. Even the traditional shop floor leadership, the stewards and committeemen, are forced to play an ambiguous role because of their position in contract administration. Often, of course, stewards resist this role and act as real militants. In some industries, it may be that stewards will play a leading role in rank and file organization, but the pressures to do otherwise are always there. Furthermore, the representation ratio of stewards is so large in most industries (300 or 500 to 1) that the ability of the workers to control the stewards, i.e. to keep them on their side, has been watered down. With little or no control over the union, and even its shop floor organization, the workers are left without an on-going means of fighting the foreman, manager, boss, union bureaucrat, etc. Many wildcats and shop floor struggles are lost not because the workers have no power, but because they have no way of carrying on the struggle in a coordinated way after the initial strike or job action. Control of the union and of working conditions depends on the ability of the workers to organize themselves at the source of their power -- the point of production. Ultimately it is the ability of the workers, in the shop and nationally as a social class, to bring industry to a halt that makes the working class the most powerful social force in society. Workers' ability to control production or win political power grows from what is done on the job. The power of the unions is itself based on this fact. The power to regain control over those unions, to control production and to fight politically must be based on the same power. The first step, therefore, is to organize shop floor workers' committees controlled directly by the workers and independent of the union

structure. Let the workers choose representatives who are free from the duty of enforcing labor peace on management's terms and who can begin to lead -- now -- in the fight for the demands workers must win to protect their living and working standards. Let these representatives be chosen on the basis of their commitment to fight for a program that really gets to the problems labor faces. Such an organization of shop floor struggle on a permanent basis can begin to shift the balance of power from management and the union bureaucracy to the workers on the shop floor, and this shift in power can be the basis for re-establishing union democracy and moving towards workers' control of production.

Obviously the workers' power to affect the unions and to wrest power, industrial or political, from the corporations depends on their ability to unite shop level organizations throughout industry and to forge alliances with other groups of working people. The shop floor workers committee is crucial in fighting particular conditions in each shop, but it must be part of a movement of working people in general. Industry-wide, city-wide, area councils of shop floor representatives, cutting across union and occupational lines, are necessary steps in the organization and use of workers' power. Alliances and coalitions with particular groups of working people, such as blacks and women workers and their independent organizations, are also essential if the working people as a whole are to make their power felt. In short, the historic concept of workers solidarity that built the CIO must be given a new living organized expression.

Working class power is not so much a matter of organizational forms or structures as it is of unity of purpose. Fragmentation along occupational, union, racial and sexual lines is what has undermined ~~workers~~ workers' power and left the field open to bureaucrats, managers, capitalists and politicians. Unity among working people, however, cannot be forged by demanding that blacks, women, young people, or for that matter older white workers subordinate

their legitimate interests to some false "consensus" or unity. Rather, real unity of purpose and action can be forged through common struggle around a mutually agreed to program; a program that is in the interests of all working people, even though particular groups may have other demands beyond those mutually agreed to. If workers' committees and alliances are built on a programmatic basis, the road can be opened to all for a new and better life and the achievement of a common program encompassing the needs of all sectors of the class.

For working people, the question of struggle for a better life is not a matter of choice. Day in and day out, workers are forced to struggle for the slightest advance, or even to defend what they have won in the past. The real question is how to organize this struggle most effectively and how to advance workers power and control over their lives and work, so that they don't have to continually repeat the struggles or mistakes of the past. An organized, coordinated, programmatic movement based on ever present shop-floor struggles and a strategy of alliances with other groups of working people is the first step in the fight for workers control in industry and workers power in society. But it is only a first step. For workers struggle groups. For inter-factory and inter-industry COMMITTEES based on these groups.

TOWARD A WORKING CLASS PARTY

1. The central role of the arms budget and of war and imperialism in the economic problems facing the working class, dictates that the working people must fight politically as well as industrially. In the field of politics, however, the working class has no organization, no party, of their own. In fact, the American working class is the only working class in the western world that doesn't have some kind of party of its own. Traditionally, of course, American workers have voted for the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party, however, doesn't belong to the workers or the union leadership, and is scarcely influenced by either. In fact, the Democratic Party, nationally and locally, is as

much a party of big business as is the Republican Party. After all, the enormous giveaway arms budget is as much a product of Democratic Administrations as of Republican policy. Indeed, the sharpest increases in arms spending, in inflation and taxes and the beginnings of cutbacks in social and educational programs all occurred under the Democrats. Generally speaking, one has only to look where we are today to see the futility of labor relying on the Democratic Party, or on capitalist politicians of either party, to win political gains or policies that benefit the working people. In earlier sections of this pamphlet we discussed where these capitalist politicians, liberal and conservative, have left the working people. What needs to be pointed out now, is that the Democratic Party is an organized structure whose major function is to absorb the power and cripple the independence of important social movements. Earlier we mentioned how the Populist Party was smashed partially on the rock of racism. It was the Democratic Party that carried out that task and picked up the pieces. Locked in a death embrace with the power centers of the Democratic Party, the union bureaucracy has not only been unable to win any significant new gains from the government, but has been forced to accept and support policies that have caused inflation, taxes, war, etc.

Clearly, the growing rank and file rebellion, particularly as it becomes organized, will have to fight politically in its own name. Councils of shop floor representatives, and shop floor organizations themselves, will have no choice but to enter the political arena in order to fight for and win sweeping changes. To attempt to wage this fight within the Democratic Party would be to repeat the mistakes of the past. The fact is that serious programs in the interest of the working people cannot be carried out by the Democratic Party, because that party is dedicated to the maintenance of the power of the capitalist class. What we have said of the struggle on the shop floor is a hundred times truer in society at large. The basic issue is power; and working class political power

requires an independent working class party.

In the course of proposing this transitional program we have laid stress upon the fact that we do not believe that any of the individual demands we have raised will "solve the problem". We openly proclaim that and do not hide it. In presenting our program for the shop floor -- in demanding escalator clauses for example -- we do not claim that it will solve the problem of inflation which, as we have pointed out, has wider social roots. The victories around such demands and the evident understanding that more is yet necessary will and must point out the need for attacking the state politically to the workers. The fact that only an industrial approach leaves the capitalist and his macro-tools still at work dictates to moving workers the need for their own political party to do battle on another level.

A political party should represent the interests of the class as a whole on a national scale, in a way that shop committees and unions cannot. But there is also a fundamental difference between a working class party and mere support for some politician who "sounds good" -- whether he is a liberal or a social demagogue like George Wallace. The power of a working class party rests not only or even primarily on the number of votes it can muster, but on the social power of the workers at the point of production. It is because of this source of power that the formation and coordination of workers committees, with a political program and in alliance with other workers groups, can be the first step toward the formation of such a party. Those who would lead the workers must be tested on their commitment to political independence and the use of the workers potential power as well as to specific programs.

Trade unions are basically defensive organizations and for this reason they are usually doomed to accept the limitations posed by the bosses and government.

This prevents them from fighting for increased power for working people in society as a whole. So long as the unions are the only independent mass workers organizations, the working people are doomed to accept crumbs from the table of the powers that be. The conscious organization, around a class program, of the current shop floor and economic struggles of the working people can begin to shift this balance of power. The growth of this movement into a nationwide working class political party would be an even greater step. The fight for a better life that has already begun in the form of resistance can move on to the concept and reality of workers control and workers power. Everyday, taxes and inflation rob workers' pocketbooks; speedup and unsafe conditions destroy their health, and imperialist war robs the lives and limbs of their youth. They have the power to stop this. They dare not use that power.

Such a workers party would be an organic growth out of the workers struggle organizations. Therefore, we would link industrial problems to their wider social and political ramifications with our analysis and programmatic demands. While retaining our shop floor and grassroots control orientation as central, we will seek to widen the horizons of struggle and carry the fight into combat with the state.

The concept of a workers party as a demand is different from that of a "labor party". The Labor Party arose in England at a time when the bureaucracy of the unions were relatively free of entanglement with the bourgeois power structure and could have the leverage to play a role in the creation of an independent class party for a period of time. The American labor bureaucracy at this point in historical development has no such latitude. Under the pounding of a militant rank and file, the bureaucracy will undoubtedly move to the left for an interval but as a cohesive force will not be able to go as far as independent parties. Undoubtedly, in practice, some sections of the labor bureaucracy will go into a new party but mostly in a trailing capacity. A Labor Party, in which

the major control rests with a union bureaucracy leadership is only a remote possibility in the United States.

Independent working class parties have and can take many forms. The workers party we call for will not be, at least in its first stages, a Revolutionary Party and we make no such claim. The period we are entering into is one of severe crisis but not as far as we can see now, a revolutionary period. The advent of a workers political party (encompassing far more than electoral action alone) will be a radical, volatile and cataclysmic upsurge, if American history is any guide. However, in the period we are describing, to confuse this with a genuine revolutionary party would be sectarian and ultra-left now, and lead to profoundly conservative conclusions in the future.

A program and the demands and slogans that follow from it are rooted in two dimensions: not only a guide to what should happen (as influenced by one's prediction of what will happen) but what the current level of consciousness can identify with as desirable and necessary. Making the central slogan "Revolutionary Workers Party" flies in the face of current consciousness of any significant portion of the class and is therefore unreal. Establishing this as a goal and direction is however necessary and in tune with the basic need to honestly point out our own conclusions as to the consequences of our demands.

We make no secret of the fact that our task within such a workers party will be to press a revolutionary program -- to campaign to change the party into a revolutionary one. We suggest that in such a fluid vehicle there are two possible lines of development: a revolutionary left wing energized by growing class consciousness takes over the party or, secondly, such a party in the future splits into reformist and vanguard parties. (In a Labor Party, the first

alternative is highly unlikely.)

, 2. In our present work in a period when the working class is only just beginning to move openly and rapidly we are heavily engaged in student, anti-war and other types of work in largely middle class areas. So long as this work is determined by an overall working class program, this is necessary and desirable. The polarization of the middle classes and working class unrest stem from the same basic cause, the death agony and decline of capitalism and the impending crisis. Various middle class movements, volatily (and frustratedly) churning, may provide a catalytic impact upon the working class and a source of additional allies.

These areas also provide a constant source of intellectuals who in breaking from their prior class position, enrich and build cadre for a working class organization in this period. These cadre participate in work designed to reach the class and in the formulation of theory without which no revolutionary group (or revolution itself) is possible.

These movements when operating in an independent mass fashion are able to move events to a degree. When they couple themselves to the Democratic Party they recede. We raise the slogan of independent political action -- for a workers party in these milieus. We point out that the Dem. Party is a death trap for their goals. We also point out that they do not have the social power to accomplish their ends even independently without the working class.

"Middle class" based independent parties are unstable at best. We will work in them, should they occur, but not attempt to take organizational and political leadership. The leadership we exercise should be from the left orienting toward the working class. If there is no real possibility of accomplishing such an

orientation, we will abandon such work.

We do not believe that the middle class in America will form a new party because they are too tied and too amorphous to do so. (With a real working class alternative present they can gravitate toward such politics but not on their own.) However, elements from the intelligentsia and allied sections -- the fertile ground from which revolutionary cadres emerge -- can develop such formations at least for periods of time. Our attitude toward such parties is conditioned by the role outlined above and by certain other considerations. The logic of intelligentsia development is that short of achieving revolutionary consciousness it has only minimal and maximal positions -- it engages in reformist acts and/or revolutionary posturing. The transitional program link does not occur to those who do not have a firm revolutionary position to make organized proposals short of but leading to that goal. Therefore we campaign in these groups to win people to our full position, of which the transitional program is part thereof.

We do not take positions of leadership where the consciousness of the rank and file renders that untenable and bureaucratic. We are for "middle class" parties being as broad as possible so that they can win many others to their ranks and also deliver real allies to the working class. However, we must push our own program within that context and cannot substitute ourselves for absent social forces that have that broad program themselves.

We do not attempt to keep such groups at halfway houses. The working class will not be reached on the most moderate basis possible even if that conforms to the level of their consciousness at the moment. They may accept its program but have no reason to move with it. Secondly, the frustration level of the "middle classes" is so high that only sharp and clear alternative "way out" can move it to action.

Where we have failed to carry out such directions in the past, such as our work in the Peace and Freedom Party, we weadily admit our errors and seek to examine and learn from them. That is in the nature of Marxism. Our aim is not to make no errors but to constantly mitigate them by learning from our experience. For a workers party. Independnt Political Action -- for a workers Party. For a Revolutionary Organization.

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

As socialists, we make no conditions on our support of the working class and its struggles. Yet, we do not believe that these struggles will end at the formation of a workers party or at the level of the transitional program we have proposed here. Although we do believe the demands we have suggested offer a way out of the immediate dilemma facing the working class, ultimately the attack on our living and working standards will never cease, though their form may change, until social, economic and political power is combined in the democratic rule of the working class -- which is socialism. The deep rooted process of social decay which we are now experiencing in the chaos around us can only be thouroughly uprooted when the enormuous productive capacity that already exists is consciously used by the people themselves to fill the needs of all the people and provide a constantly expanding standard and quality of life. So long as this productive capacity remains in the hands of a minority (capitalist) class, and the goal of production is profits, the needs and desires of the overwhelming majority of people will be shunted to the side. We believe that as the process of social decay continues and the struggles of working class people, black, brown and white, men and women, for dignity, security and a better life grow, these facts of capitalism will become apparent. Indeed, we can already see how private exploitation for profits of our common wealth -- natural wealth and wealth produced by the workers has led to urban decay, the pollution of our air and water, the destruction of large areas of once beautiful land, mass poverty, a wasteful arms production that chews up over 10% of our natihal product,

etc. We know that we, the working people, did not make this mess, for we have had no power to do so and no say in what has been done. We know that regardless of which bunch of capitalist politicians we elect, we get more of the same and things get worse. All of these facts point to the conclusion that the capitalist class and its political hangers on can no longer manage society even adequately. If they cannot do it, then the working class, the only other social class centrally located in production, must do it, but on its own terms. Industry must belong to the people and be controlled by those who actually work in it. The government becomes nothing more than the assembled representatives of the working people, elected directly and immediately recallable, meeting in constant legislative and executive session. Rather than being elected on personalities or meaningless slogans, these workers representatives would be elected on crucial questions relating to the use of the national wealth. At last, the people would have democratic control over how ^{what} we produce is to be used, what we are to produce and how to produce it. Most of the bureaucracy that exists today for the purpose of underwriting and "regulating" business, education, welfare, health, and above all regulating people, will not exist since the people will control the government, instead of the other way around, and because the conscious use of production by the people will eliminate most of the "middleman" and regulating functions of government in economic affairs. Many social services, for example, can be organized directly at the industry level and controlled by the workers themselves. We don't claim, of course, that socialism is the final solution to all problems. No doubt it will raise some new ones. What we do claim, is that socialism represents the first possibility in history for the people themselves, through democratic control of the economy, to work out their problems in a conscious, rational manner.

Democracy and workers control are central to socialism. Indeed, without

them socialism cannot exist. For this reason, we insist that socialism has nothing in common with bureaucratic government intervention in the economy or in our lives, which are the products of capitalist decay. The notion of "creeping socialism" or the idea that various liberal patch-work programs are somehow "socialistic" are, from a socialist point of view, absurd. Increasing state controls of the economy are a necessity for a decrepit capitalism that can no longer function on its traditional basis, market competition. In fact, the giant monopolies that dominate the economy - and the world capitalist market as well - demand state support and even regulation. For without the cooperation of the government, these international economic giants cannot plan for future markets and profits. These same powerful corporations also demand the "regulation" of labor, whether it is through labor laws, taxes, wage guidelines, or police and military intervention in strikes. All of this is the opposite of socialism. We seek not the control of men by government, but, to paraphrase Frederick Engels, the administration of things by men. For these same reasons, we view the so-called Communist societies, which we describe as Bureaucratic Collectivist, controlled by a bureaucratic ruling class, as every bit as alien to working class socialism as Capitalism. In fact, for all their differences, we see a thousand times more similarity between Capitalism and Bureaucratic Collectivism than between either of them and Socialism.

Socialism then, is the democratic rule of the working class. This rule can only be won by a working class conscious of its ~~own~~ mission, that is, aware that it can rule democratically as a class. This awareness is not gained simply by reading books or being told, even by socialists, that socialism is a good thing; but by the experience of the class in its economic and political struggles with the ruling class. There can be no timetable on this struggle nor guarantees that the working class will achieve socialism. We do know, however, that the price to be paid for the failure to struggle for power is a terrible one: Russian

totalitarianism and European Fascism in the 1930's, almost ceaseless war since 1940, and the growing repression and chaos of the last two decades. Even where minimal democratic rights have been preserved, it is only because of the vigilance and the power of the working class. As economic problems and social conflicts increase, however, it is utopian to imagine that these rights will persist. Repression of political dissidents and radicals, as well as of leaders of social movements, particularly blacks, has already become alarming in this country. The growth of authoritarian solutions to problems in the United States, indicates that, in the name of "law and order", we may find even those freedoms we do have threatened. Indeed, nothing can stand still, much less return to some idyllic (and non-existent) "good old days". The same is true in the realm of economics. Today's unbearable inflation may be moderated, but only by introducing mass unemployment and enforcing sacrifices on the working people. It is in the struggle of the workers against these conditions that the seeds of socialism are born. For the struggle for basic economic and political demands must become the struggle for power. Though the struggle of social classes for power may go back and forth for a long time, or even subside for a period, sooner or later the sharpened conditions of struggle dictate that it become decisive. The capitalist class and the working class cannot share social power. In the end, one or another must triumph. When the working class triumphs, we will have socialism.

We, the International Socialists, are conscious, militant workers, students and intellectuals committed to the cause of the working class. We see our primary task within the working class movement as the analysis and interpretation of the decades of experience of the world working class in its revolutionary struggles of today. It is in the context of our participation in and support of today's struggles that we propose this transitional program as a way out of the current attack on working class living standards and as a way forward to power for the American working class. We make no promises and ask no privileges, other than that of struggling side by side with our working class brothers and sisters for a better life. Let us struggle together to turn the attack by the capitalist class into a route.

WORKERS POWER