

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 12 OF 16

FOLDER 13

MASS PARTY ORGANIZING
EFFORTS

Report on contacts re moving them to continuations committee, Congress and Party

Organizations that we have been in contact with re Party building.

1. PWOC
2. LA collective
3. Baltimore grouping
- 4 Wisconsin Alliance
5. Seattle group
6. Resist
7. Rising Up Angry - Michael James
8. Sojourner Truth - Noel Ignatin
9. Kinoy
10. IPC

Individuals separate from orgs

Tim Dean, Bill Zimmerman, Micheal Lerner
Jerry Coffin, Walter Collins, Bill Strickland
John McAuliffe, Dale Johnson, Danny Schecter
Elizabeth Martinez, John Froines, Jan 1Gallant
Leen Webb [Bob And \$Pru Greenblat, Barbara Deming,
Ro Reilly, David Dellinger, Gino Cestero (PSP)
Barbara Webster, Lilian Shirley, Arther Kinoy, Tom Davisdon
all Kinoy people]
[Ann Froines, Sosanne Ross, Helen Williams, Jane and Tom, IPC
people]
Resist- [\$ Una Claffey, Eileen Atherton, Larry Johneson,
Dan Stern, Andy Himes, ~~Selma~~

We have all read the reports on the individual groups , my purpose is not to rehash those reports but to develop a methodology an approach to struggling with those groups and individuals that we feel can possibly be moved to the continuations committee or to the Party shortly after its creation. We must begin to view the PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE as the Iskra of the period, the ALL USNA NEWSPAPER. We must begin to use it and Marxist-Leninists Unite more thoroughly and consciously.

1. The PWOC- get on with them after talking with Billy. Send them a letter expressing interest in getting back on. include within the letter the may issue of the People's Tribune- *If no response within two weeks I should call*
2. LA collective. Send them the May issue of the People's Tribune, get on with Johnny and see how things are going. RV should probably take a trip out there and struggle against sectarianism, empiricism and male supremacy. *(and M L unite)*
3. Wisconsin Alliance. Racine. The People's Tribune should be sent to them as many back issues as we can get. LAE and JC should both go up in about three weeks to struggle with them Madison; Only after Racine will we know how to move with these folks, should certainly now send them Marxist-Leninist Unite and the May issue of PT

4. While in Chicago it might make sense for people to talk to Rising Up Angry

5. Baltimore- Marxist-Leninist Unite and the people's tribune as well as a number of books and many copies of our paper have been sent them. JL within the next month should go there for weekend. These folks are open to struggle, are and have been studying capital for about 7 months weekly

6. Tim Dean- Billy should get on with him. Dubuar should write another letter to him and if necessary go himself, although this is probably unnecessary.

7. All individuals we have already sent our paper and M-L unite should now be sent ie after two weeks or so, the April and May issues of the people's tribune with a short letter from MCLL saying that we would like to get on with them around the continuations committee and the Party, they should contact us if interested.

8. PSP- we should send them a letter initiating discussions with them, although it might be good to try and get on with those members that we know to be progressive. We should struggle around the national question and the party

9. Seattle group- send letter saying good to have talked with them, ~~send~~ giving summary of our position and send them material to read, send back issues of PT. Have someone from CL get on with them.

10. We should attempt to get from PWOC their contacts with East Coast groups so that we can send them our Paper and M_L unite and so that CL can get on with them

PWOC, Baltimore, La Collective, Tim Dean are our priorities.

The impact and use of the PT ~~and~~ cannot be underestimated. Its influence on us during the September to March period was not unimportant and the last three issues of the paper have been superlative. In particular the article on Lenin ie the all USNA newspaper and the May issue with the speech on May Day should move honest elements. In this period we must struggle sharply with honest elements to rid them of small group mentality, petty-bourgeois discouragement and hesitation and to an understanding of the importance of theory and its correct dialectical relationship to practice, and thus the necessity of the Party now.

BUILD A MULTI_National anti-REVISIONIST COMMUNIST PARTY

DESTROY THE PETTY_BOURGEOIS ANTI-PARTY OPPORTUNIST TENDENCY

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE.

JL

A good suggestion.

*N.Y. Times
July 18, 1973*

The Lying Campaigners

By Timothy G. Smith

Senator Sam Ervin, Chairman of the Senate committee investigating the Watergate affair and related matters, voiced the conventional wisdom on the subject recently when he said that the scandal was a result of people with financial and political power attempting to "distort the process by which Presidents are elected."

But it also should be remembered that the process itself is a distortion. Manipulation of the media—and through them, the electorate—is a pervasive fact of campaign life.

On one level, such deception is rather obvious. My father, a Washington newspaperman for thirty years, used to say, that the first lie of each campaign was always the one where the candidate said he was not a candidate, only testing the waters, and so forth. In fact, the office-seeker had typically assembled a staff, raised money and formulated strategy.

On another level, much of campaign

deception has until recently remained hidden from general view. Anyone who has ever worked in even the lower-middle levels of a national campaign, however, can tell you that campaigning involves, in large measure, nothing so much as systematic deception.

It is well known inside campaigns, for example, that "spontaneous" crowds are painstakingly built through days of effort by political advance-men with considerable local help. "Homemade" signs are another fraud. In a year of planning rallies, I doubt if I saw more than ten truly homemade signs, though I personally painted and distributed hundreds.

A famous Nixon placard of 1968 was ostensibly made by a little girl in Deshler, Ohio, and it read: "Bring Us Together." The candidate referred to this sign for some time afterwards and the girl who held it was flown to Washington for the Inauguration. In fact, a Nixon advanceman later told a reporter he had supervised its manufacture the night before by a local Republican worker.

These are small examples to be sure.

Of greater significance in terms of the great national issues, of course, are what contemporary historians tell us were bald misrepresentations of policy: the Kennedy reliance on the apparently nonexistent missile gap in 1960, the Johnson dovishness in 1964, while plans for escalation were being readied.

A national purging of the Watergate events may not be enough to restore confidence in the American system of choosing political leadership. Political lying in general must be attacked. A national constituency for the ending of lying in politics must be developed.

How can such a task be begun? I am not sure, but let me suggest some possible first steps:

Exposure: "Inside" campaign books and articles, while traditionally not great prose, can be a deterrent to political lying. More importantly, they can educate the press. But the day-to-day political reporters have to move away from their wink-and-nudge view of political prevaricating.

Innovative candidates: Given the

credibility of politicians as a class, a candidate might be well advised to adopt the radical, announced-in-advance strategy of telling no lies, with the further instruction to his staff that they, too, tell no lies. Not even small ones, like the one where he says he is ahead when he is behind.

Monitoring: An admittedly one-issue group could enter a few Republican and Democratic Presidential primaries in 1976. Their narrow, nonpartisan concern would be exposing the lies—both grand and petty—of all the other candidates. Their efforts would be particularly appropriate for 1976, the 200th year of the democratic experiment in this country.

Each day or each week, they could announce the previous period's lies. Or, they could announce that there were no lies. Indeed, their aim would be to phase themselves out of existence by goading the candidates and press into fulfilling their proper roles.

Timothy Smith, a student at the University of Virginia law school, is working as a summer associate in a New York City law firm.

STEPS IN ORGANIZATION

At the meeting of September 8 we should have some ~~fifty~~ fifty people present from a dozen cities throughout the nation. We should also at that time agree on a thirty-page paper presenting our ideas as well as a short manifesto that can be printed on a single sheet for mass distribution. We should also have determined whether we go forward or no. (*Enclosed is a "for instance" draft of a manifesto*)

Assuming that we do go ahead, the next step is to call for a ~~wide~~ broad organizing committee of several hundred people covering every state in the nation. I would suggest the meeting ~~to~~ be held in Chicago early in November, that a ~~big~~ hotel be reserved for a given date so that the date and the place can be printed at end of manifesto.

We should have the paper ~~and the manifesto~~ printed in say 5,000 copies and the manifesto, say in 50,000 copies. This takes about a week. Then distribution takes place.

It can be stated with confidence that everyone of those fifty people ~~has~~ knows at least 10 people around the country who are first-class organizers and who would respond to ~~the idea of a new party~~ the idea of a new party. I know at least 25 such people, and some of us may know many more, so that an average of 10 is not at all unrealistic. We are talking, ^{by} be it stressed, about organizers---not just left friends, people who know what to do, do it promptly, responsibly and people with whom we have a close relationship so that we can telephone them and check up on their doing things.

This gives us, ~~at the start~~ at the start, 500 organizers scattered all over the United States. It is a powerful cadre and it is ~~there~~ out there, waiting to be activated.

The week following the printing, say the week of the 15th, every one of the 50 people receives a package of 10 copies of paper and 100 copies of manifesto ~~together with~~. Each person prepares a letter to his friends, a personal letter of whatever length desired, Xeroxes it and mails to each friend-organizer one copy of paper and 10 copies of manifesto and urges them to write back for more ~~of~~ of the same material, sending in money as well, and start to get people to join and form chapters.

On second thought, perhaps we should print say 15,000 of paper and 100,000 copies of ~~manifesto~~ manifesto so that each of the original 50 will have say 30 papers and 200 manifestoes. After mailing to their ten organizers ~~they~~ each would have 20 papers and 100 manifesto in reserve. This mailing to organizers would go out at the end of September. A week later, each of the 50 checks on their friends and sees what they are doing and sends to national office a quick summary of response. Incidentally, if response is great each of the 50 can print paper and manifesto, by offset, in their own city.

With six weeks to organize, after everything is rolling, there is little doubt that the organizing committee could muster between 500 and 2000 people for their meeting in Chicago.

This organizing meeting should last a long week-end (registration Friday night) and break up into panels to deal with name, organization, finance, action suggestions etc. Specifics to be discussed Sept. 8

(new party)
THE ----- MANIFESTO

When in the course of human events a government betrays and subverts its own legality, it becomes necessary for the governed to re-assert their sovereignty, dismiss the betrayers and reclaim their heritage. The attempted subversion of the Constitution known as Watergate is not the sole work of a deluded neurotic president and his ultra-right cabal; it is, like Vietnam, the culmination of policies begun under Harry Truman.

Truman begat Eisenhower, who begat Kennedy, who begat Johnson, who begat Nixon: --- five presidents, Republican and Democratic alike, for 38 years relentlessly carried on a Cold War, which is shorthand for saying imperialism abroad and repression at home.

The Cold War has been studded with such obscenities as the Bay of Pigs, Kent State, Attica, the murder of Black Panthers, the murder of Diem, the murder of Mossadegh, the horrors of My Lai, the genocide in Vietnam and now Watergate. Both Republicans and Democrats as a whole have co-operated in the Cold War; both parties, historically, are accomplices in Watergate; both parties have forfeited the respect and confidence of their constituents.

The Cold War is not an accident. Its historical roots go back to 1776 and as we near the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence a decent respect for the opinion of mankind requires a long overdue assessment and criticism of the foundations of our nation.

One hundred ninety-seven years ago, our forefathers brought forth upon this planet a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Yet our forefathers

spoke with a forked tongue: some humans, they felt, were more equal than others. The lesser breeds were marked for extermination or slavery; women, Catholics, Jews, immigrants, aliens were second-class citizens.

This nation was born with a soul divided; a great Civil War was fought to close the gap, but its goals aborted. It is time for us to make our nation whole.

Inextricably intertwined with Indian genocide and Black slavery has been the practice and ideology of imperialism. Under modern conditions, racism and imperialism give rise to fascism. This is the essential meaning of Vietnam, ~~and~~ Watergate and the wanton murder of Black Panthers. All three policies must be checkmated at once and then destroyed---forever.

This is a tremendous task and it will not be undertaken by the racists, the imperialists, the liberal elitists who now run our politics for profit, power and prestige. It can only be undertaken by the people themselves, and they cannot do ~~the job~~^{it} acting as single individuals in splendid isolation. ~~There~~ They can only do the job if organized. There must be a party, a party with no mortgages to the Establishment, a party ready to govern and to restructure our society to the extent that is necessary.

We ask the American people to join in forming such a party, a new party, the ----- Party, born of our daily struggles, reaching for power under the fighting slogans of No More Vietnams, No More Watergates; No More Kent States; No More Fred Harmons. Let us form a party which is unconditionally pro-Constitution and pro-Bill of Rights; a party which is unequivocally anti-fascist, anti-racist and anti-imperialist.

We are dedicated to the proposition that all ~~men~~ and women are fit to be self-governing; that all humans, from an Einstein to an ~~idiot~~

idiot, know their own needs and can together find the proper solutions to fulfill those needs.

We are dedicated to the proposition that the human species can overcome, in struggle, the ignorance, apathy and defeatism of the poor, as well as the arrogance, cynicism and violence of the well-to-do.

There have always been two nations: the nation of the slave owners, the robber barons, the factory goons, the FBI provocateurs, the mad bombardiers---and the nation of the Abolitionists, the Molly Maguires, the Wobblies, the Socialists, the Communists. We would reclaim, foster and further our ^{long} ~~deep~~ radical heritage.

We are determined that our government shall be a government by the people; we shall reach for and exercise power at all levels, from school boards and hospital boards to city halls, to Congress, and, ~~in the fullness of time~~ ultimately, to the Presidency itself, when, in the fullness of time, the American people shall take their destiny into their own hands.

We shall tolerate no more Watergates. We shall defend the Bill of Rights against all attempts at subversion, whether political or military. Let the word go out to friend and foe alike that we are utterly determined on this score and that we will fight in the streets and we will fight in the factories, against all odds and with as much tenacity and valor as our forefathers fought the Hessians and the slave owners.

We pledge a new quality of life in our nation. We pledge to restore the fishes to our rivers and laughter to our children--all our children. We ask all Americans to make the new party their own party, flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood, and in commitment thereof we pledge our minds, our bodies, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

On The Concept of a Mass Party of the People and a Proposal on Organization
by S. Aronowitz

The projection of a new national radical movement in terms of a mass party contains a number of ambiguities that require clarification if an effective party of the people is to be achieved. First, there is almost no evidence of a mass party in western capitalist countries that has not deteriorated into a reformist party safely embodied within the framework of parliamentary politics. This formulation of the historical evidence holds for both the social democratic experience as well as the communist experience in Italy and France.

The reasons for this can not be sought merely in the perfidy of the leadership of the left. The revolutionary intentions of the founders of the great social democratic parties of Europe and pre-world war 1 U.S. are beyond dispute. The most right wing social democrats, Bernstein, Guesde, and even the English Fabians were in the minority most of the time. The American socialist party was the party of Debs more than of the right wingers, Spargo, Lee, et al . Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Kautsky shared the view that the object of social democratic politics was the replacement of capitalism by revolutionary socialism. Lenin admired Kautsky more than any other socialist leader of western Europe .

The issues go deeper than betrayals, although there can be no doubt that voting for war credits, capitulating to the Kaiser and the liberal politicians, and opposing the Bolsheviks in 1917 were influenced by left factionalism. The betrayal began in the decades prior to World War 1. Just as the horrible position of the French Communist party in the 1968 general strike was an outgrowth of the role it had played in French life since the 1930 s. I attribute the historical basis of the reformism of mass parties of the left to their transformation from opposition parties seeking to convince the masses to break with the old forms of capitalist domination to

parties that sought redress of workers grievances within the framework of the prevailing system. The two stage model of socialist revolution according to which the necessary condition of advanced consciousness is the slow, patient work of trade unions and parliamentary parties accounts for the ideological underpinnings of this development.

The socialist movements won the support of the masses by announcing their readiness to espouse revolutionary doctrines corresponding to the felt needs of large segments of the working class. At the same time, however, left leaders were all too willing to postpone struggles for fundamental control over society in favor of incremental changes which they justified on the grounds of expediency. The socialist and communist parties became mass parties precisely because they acted as another bourgeois party. In the day to day struggles of their nations they were nothing more than electoral machines and mass bases for the trade unions.

Lenin's analysis of the failure of social democracy pinpointed a critical feature of their leadership: they were representatives of the most skilled and most privileged sectors of the working class - those whose interests were manifestly served by imperialism. The notion of the labor aristocracy was carried one step further by Marcuse who attributed the failure of socialism in the west to the integration of the whole working class into a highly organized state capitalist system able to deliver the goods and able to contain its contradictions, if not overcome them.

The implications of the idea of capitalist integration for radical strategy are clear: mass parties can only be a genuine opposition to the prevailing system when 1) the crisis of capitalist institutions reaches such a point that even the most elementary economic and social demands are a threat to the ruling class; and 2) working class and popular consciousness has reached a point at which the masses see that the system can no longer meet their needs and are thus open to structural alternatives.

Short of these conditions, mass parliamentary parties are bound to reflect the reformist possibilities of the system itself. Even when capitalism can not satisfy the demands of the entire population, it can meet the demands of the most organized and militant sectors of the population. During the 1930 s, the severe economic crisis was not sufficient to radicalize the masses. Revolutionary groups simply became articulate spokesmen for the immediate demand that the effects of the crisis not be transferred to the backs of working people and blacks. They championed programs for relief and for job programs for all but abandoned their revolutionary programs except as an article of faith. It was in consideration of this experience that the New Left chose not to build a mass party. Instead, it organized relatively loose movements around specific grievances and public issues that could dissolve after the demands were met rather than harden into an oppressive bureaucracy. The call for a mass party now must answer both the classical objection that mass parties under conditions of social integration inevitably become reformist and the anti-bureaucratic impulse of the New Left. (Here I am not opposing the creation of a mass party. On the contrary, I am simply pointing to some dangers.)

~~The~~ In recent decades, the forms of capitalist integration were precisely to be found in the ability of capitalists to bring labor into the parliamentary system and to allow trade unions to organize the incremental demands of the minority of workers. But, the advances of the well organized skilled worker were ordinarily purchased at the expense of the least organized sectors of workers.

This feature reflects the domination of monopoly capital over all capital.

The fallacy of both the united front and popular front efforts at political mobilization is that they concentrate their attacks against the most right wing elements of the ruling class - fascists - rather than corporate

or monopoly capital as such.

Parliamentary socialism or reformism (which I'm arguing against) is defined by whether a mass party in seeking to win its following trims its sails on a host of issues. For example, communist and socialist parties have worked to protect the privileged position of skilled and professional workers instead of struggling against these conditions. Even the militant activity of radicals during the rise of the A.C.I.O. failed to address squarely the fact that union agreements were signed establishing separate seniority lists, maintaining high wage differentials, and condoning the takeover of union locals by well-organized groups of skilled workers.

I should make clear that the participation of a mass party in electoral politics in the country at large or in unions or similar institutions can help push the struggle forward at times, especially if the participation is at the local level. Similarly, struggles for immediate demands are not in themselves inherently reformist. Indeed under some conditions elementary wage struggles are strikes against the state and raise revolutionary possibilities. To repeat, what characterizes a parliamentary mass party - a reform party - is the tendency to trim sails on a wide front, on a host of issues, in order to gain a mass following.

No communist or socialist party has understood the pernicious role of professionalis m as ideology and as political and social practice. The popular front periods of communist party and socialist party in the US and elsewhere were marked by the mass recruitment of professionals, their elevation to leading positions in mass organizations (e.g. the Progressive Party, the American Labor Party, The National Negro Congress of the 1930 s, etc.) There is no distinction between trade union bureaucrats and doctors and lawyers; they are all professionals.

I believe the important issue for us is to understand what it means to be an extra-parliamentary party committed first of all to mass action around popular needs. This means that the party must under no circumstances commit itself to a parliamentary road to social change. The party should engage in electoral activity only when the social basis of the movement has been established through mass action. Only then will the identity of the party as a revolutionary party not be in doubt. The chief emphasis of the party's work among rank and file workers must insist on the autonomy of workers to engage in strikes, cultural and political activity, and educational work whether the trade unions agree or not. The main thrust of rank and file work can not be union takeovers because the national unions are structurally unable to meet worker needs. This does not preclude militants becoming stewards or committeemen at the local level. I am dubious about caucus movements whose aim is to capture national leadership on a program of union democracy. The record is littered with well-intentioned rank and file movements, even some with radical participation, that have degenerated into new bureaucracies, separated themselves from the most elementary demands of workers, become undemocratic and arbitrary, and have sold out to the liberal politicians or worse. Curran, Quill, Reuther, leaders of the Hotel Union, Bridges, hospital unionists in New York, were all well-intentioned people at the beginning. Their move to conservatism was not a personal character defect, a neurosis, but a mark of the incorporation of even the most militant and democratic trade unions into the corporate consensus.

The trade unions can not be ignored. But working from inside them is ultimately self-defeating for a movement seeking the development of a radical working class. The preponderance of successful working class rank and file movements since 1967 have taken place despite the leadership and often against the unions themselves. The most recent examples being the Chrysler sit-ins

~~which were~~

which were occasions for mass worker education about the role of the unions.

The party must reject a two tier or two compartment structure. Such an organizational form is deadly for building a party whose power comes from below. Bicameralism (two house rule in administration or legislating) must not be snuck in by means of prominent individuals who constitute an elite of power. This tendency is already a danger in the organizing committee. Only by insisting that everyone belongs to a local organization, only by waging systematic war on professionalism both within the party and in society as a whole can this danger (tendency toward elitism) be successfully opposed.

Section 2: Proposal on Organization

Jim Haughton has several very pertinent questions relating to strategy and political organization. The purpose of this paper is to provide a starting point for discussion. No claim is being made to a final formulation of the issues.

Strategy

What segments of society are to be organized? Haughton lists some groups black workers, white workers, students, professionals, others. He lists men and women, presumably to ask the question of how the special needs of each sex are to be met within the broad framework of the party.

Clearly, all segments listed should be welcomed into the party. All of them have demonstrated, through their struggles as well as their oppression and exploitation that their essential interests are not of those of the capitalist class. None has benefited in the long run from the integration of the state and the corporations which constitute the ruling class of our country. Yet, having said that, it does not follow that the new party should place equal weight on the needs of each sector, or regard itself as a "Peoples Party," that is, a coalition of democratic, anti-authoritarian forces.

I wish to argue for the position that the new party ought to regard itself as a workers party giving prime weight to the struggles and interests of the working class. That orientation should be present in its program as well as in the composition of its leading bodies. Thus, the question of workers control over production and all institutions of society should be embodied in its statements; struggles of workers themselves to capture control over their labor, to determine the general course of working class political struggle, should be a cardinal feature of the daily struggles in which the party participates.

One of the critical tasks of the party is to assert that the working class is not another sector of society. Its social weight in production and distribution of both agricultural and industrial commodities makes it the key to social transformation. The existence of a mass party that recognizes the class nature of capitalist society and is prepared to fashion a class program for its overcoming is essential.

Certain propositions advanced in the Kinoy paper must be modified. Within the working class all the recent evidence points to the importance of black workers struggles as a cutting edge of protest against trade union bureaucracies and the companies. Movements exist in almost all basic industries beginning with steel and auto, and extending to transportation, construction, and the distributive trades.

The character of black worker movements differs from other black movements in several ~~movements~~ respects. They have been democratic: the workers themselves have determined the issue and the direction of the struggles. They have been anti-capitalistic - working class anti-capitalistic movements - at least they have raised the question of workers control over production.

Parallel movements of white workers must be recognized. While black workers suffer special discrimination in that they are systematically barred from the skilled trades, occupy the dirtiest and heaviest jobs even among un-

skilled and semi-skilled workers, and have trouble enteging many occupations, the critical issue is the united power of all workers to control production and society as a whole. The difficult question of the competition among workers themselves must be confronted by the party. For a time, its capacity to attract skilled or professional older white workers will be limited by its unwavering position for complete workers equality, without regard to race, sex and skill.

The party has to argue within the working class for a class as well as a sectoral approach to the problems faced by blacks and women.

~~Among~~ Opposition to professionalism ought to be a key to the platform of the party. The party could raise the slogan "equal pay for all" and "we are all equal on the production line", a phrase uttered by the Fiat workers.

The party should oppose separate seniority lists within industrial plants that have effectively excluded unskilled workers, both white and black, from skilled trades. The party should also oppose no-strike agreements in union contracts, management prerogatives to decide what is to be produced, by whom, by what methods, with which work and safety standards.

The issue of the party's attitude towards trade unions has to be confronted. Does the party favor takeovers of existing trade union organizations or their smashing? Does the party favor independent workers committees or groups that would prod the unions from the outside? lead shop-floor struggles, participate in larger social questions. Should the party endorse both approaches?

On students and professionals

Although the party should welcome all who support its program, it should demand confrontation with the connection between the personal and the political, between work and extra curricular activity, between private and public life. Just as the women's movement has demanded that family life and sexual relations be considered politics

so should the party ask that professionals ~~to~~ examine their own relation to the life of society. All "professionals" are not managers. Many are merely technicians working for a wage or salary and have little or no control over their own labor or the labor of others. The party should be active among technical workers such as teachers, medical workers, engineers and scientists who labor in industrial, government or university bureaucracies. It should encourage the self-organization of these groups around their social and economic interests.

As a social category, managerial personnel, even if not owners of industries, are professional servants of big industries and institutions. Individuals who have become radicals in the course of their work as managers should be encouraged to examine their life situation, ~~especially if they are under 25~~. The party must not allow itself to be dominated by those professionals who ordinarily control political parties within our ~~xxx~~ society or who are ordinarily found at the pinnacle of the bureaucracies. On the other hand, technical workers should be encouraged to come to terms with the fact that they have become workers and share the exploitation common to their class.

Intellectuals may be found in universities, within industrial plants, or in other sectors of society. The party must encourage the most creative intelligence available to the movement to ~~affiliates~~ ^{xxxxxxx} affiliate with it.

The measure of a successful effort to build a mass party of social change is its capacity to attract "the best minds of our generation", in the words of Allen Ginsburg. Contrary to regarding ~~these persons~~ ^{intellectuals} as an elite destined to direct the fortunes of the popular movement, ~~they must become~~

educators, journalists, social theorists and ~~humanistic~~ artistic workers ^{must forge} ~~with~~ organic links to the base of the party and the working class. This is not to say that art or theory should be subordinate to the policies and practice of the movement. On the contrary, The independence of the intellectuals is the most precious plank in the party program in this regard. Intellectuals do not wish to exchange one set of masters for another. The experience in all western and eastern European countries is that the most creative, militant and courageous intellectuals have systematically left the orthodox socialist and communist parties precisely because they have insisted on subordination to party doctrine. The party needs theory, good ^{news} ~~public~~ papers and a rich cultural life, but these cannot be purchased on the grounds of political agreement alone. The party life must constitute a conducive atmosphere for dissent and criticism.

This type of linkage is

~~These problems are~~ always difficult in a country and a left political movement that is profoundly anti-intellectual. Nevertheless, a party of opposition can only thrive on the originality and the strength of its social ideals and practice,

B. Haughton has raised a series of questions on "Tactics of Organization"

"How are we to organize an independent party?" he asks.

This next section will ~~address~~ address ~~two~~ two issues: First, the shape of things to come, since it is only the future that can help us evaluate and determine the present. And second, how to reach the future, from where we are now?

~~1. The criteria for new party~~

1 Principles of organization

There are several models of party organization employed in other places and at other times:

model 1. The British Labor Party ~~model~~

The British LABOR Party is organized along the ~~xxxxx~~ broad lines indicated in the preliminary paper. On one hand, national organizations, chiefly trade unions, are affiliated with the party and cast votes at party congresses in proportion to their numerical strength and political power.

Although the party cannot determine the policies of the unions, the reverse is almost always the case. The unions dominate the party

On the other hand, local constituencies have party branches. These are numerous, but almost never weighty enough to wield power within the party. They are composed of intellectuals, ~~xxxxx~~ small businessmen and workers in small enterprises, students, ~~xxxxxx~~ women who are not paid workers, and unaffiliated professionals. They are usually to the left of the basic policies of the party, but can only influence the selection of parliamentary candidates and are weakest when the party is in power. The affiliation basis of membership assures the domination of the trade union bureaucracy over the party and seals its non-revolutionary character. The bloc votes at party congresses defeat the more ~~xxxx~~ radical planks and party candidates; only the right-wing intellectuals get to lead the party apparatus and survive on the sufferance of the union bosses.

(new line)
Model 2 At the other end of the spectrum is the Leninist model, ~~or the~~

" party of the new type *"* Its virtue is that it eliminates institutional

affiliation. Its theory proclaims the democracy of all within the party

Each member is considered "cadre", that is a person who belongs to a

party club or group, pays individual dues, and agrees with the party
program and ^(to carry out its) tasks. Lower bodies select the higher bodies who exercise
party policy between local, regional or national congresses or convention.
Since the assumption of the leninist party in its classical form
is that a pre-revolutionary period is in existence, then military-like
discipline after decisions have been agreed upon by a majority of members
is insisted upon. Contrary to later interpretations, Lenin was equally
adamant on the question of the right of members and lower organs to
disagree with decisions before they are made and debate all issues, even
forming factions and caucuses that uphold contrary positions to those
of the leadership. The centralization of the leadership was, for Lenin,
an expedient ~~dictated~~ dictated by the illegal and semilegal status
of the party in Tsarist Russia. Essentially he agreed with the German
Social-Democratic model under "normal conditions" which preserved the
right of individuals and factions to abstain from acting on programs
with which they disagreed, but forbade them to oppose the party publicly.
The essential assumption of the Leninist model is fundamental agreement
on principles and probable disagreements on ~~strategy~~ strategy and tactics.

Model 3x depends on the judgement that neither the totalitarian
character of the present government nor the ^{revolutionary possibility of the present time} ~~political situation~~ warrants
military-like organization. On the other hand, agreement with fundamental
principles should be insisted upon if the party is to function with
coherence. ① ^{allows for} Model three ~~admits that~~ a multi-tendency political party,
~~allowing~~ ^{can} all to join who agree with the fundamental principles of the
party and are willing to carry out its program.

in general, ^{they} But [^] are not obligated to support every action or plank. ✓

② Every members should belong to a local organization of the party either in the neighborhood, work-place, cultural group, or other designated area of political activity. This feature is important to guard against domination by prominent national individuals, ^{Prominent people} they should be recruited but required to accountx for themselves within their own work, community, or other area, ✓

③ Groups within the organization can form factions, caucuses, establish papers propagating their views and speak openly at meetings without discrimination. This is not the same as a debating society, provided they agree to refrain from attacking the agreed position in the big press, or run counter activities under the party name. ✓

④ Individuals should be required to refrain from joining other parties or political groups of an ideological character. That is, dual membership should be prohibited, but those whose ideology agrees with an x existing group but are not members of it may join to work for their positions within the party. ✓

⑤ Party clubs or groups should not exceed 50 members. Like ^{in as Italy} Japan, such [^] groups that grow beyond this or a similar figure should divide in order to prevent concentration of power, mass politics in the bad sense or power plays within local groups. The cellular character of the party xkx will assure it closer connections with living struggles, greater membership participation etc. ✓

⑥ A minimum of ten members can establish a group even if there is another group in the same town, work place etc. Often groups within the same

areas have different political, class or cultural styles and are in conflict over them. For this reason, it is important to allow the greatest amount of autonomy of those who wish to work together.

Representation at national ^(or regional) meetings should be one delegate for every 10 members or one delegate for every club or group. Since none of them will be so large that they can dominate by weight of their own numbers, this is somewhat of safeguard against the British model.

National and regional committees elected at conferences and conventions should have a purely ~~administrative~~ and coordinating function. They should be instituted for the purpose of carrying out tasks directed from below, helping local groups carry out actions, organizing new groups, providing research, publicity, information to groups and ~~xxx~~ act as a public spokesperson when needed. They should be elected for short terms and rotate frequently,

Getting from here to there

The group that met on July 7 is a convening committee that should see itself as a temporary organizing group leading to the convening of a national conference to establish the party. The party can only be set up when it fulfills several criteria:

- 1 It is truly representative both geographically as well as by class, racial and sexual composition. Until then it can call educational, action or political conferences, but should not constitute itself a party.
- 2 A program exists that really represents an alternative to the system. This is not to argue for a finished, definitive document, but an outcome of long discussions among the constituents of the party as well as its members about the serious questions of a new society and

1) the road to it

3 a movement of social weight that is capable of carrying out the tasks of a mass party. This means not only numbers, but ~~xxxx~~ persons who are driving forces of important social movements among workers, women, Third World groups etc

The tasks of the temporary group

1. appoint a national committee to meet regularly and constitute a steering center in the interim
 2. appoint some travellers or organizers to help new groups get started
 3. ~~ask~~ help raise funds to pay for its functions
 4. help establish a national weekly or bi-weekly that can represent the point of view of the party, but be independent of it. This weekly is important to provide day-to day analysis of events, mass struggles, ~~xxxxxx~~ cultural issues ~~xxxxxx~~ It would not be an internal newsletter or discussion bulletin although these are needed as well. The paper should be independent because its task is to attract those who are not yet ready to join but are interested in independent radical views of a non-dogmatic kind.
 5. The newsletter and/or discussion bull. deals with problems of organization, theory ideology, provides news of local groups. The national committee should be small enough to carry out these tasks, well funded enough to get them done efficiently, and hard working enough. It should be elected at the next meeting ^(Sept 29) ~~xx~~ not as an honorary body of prominent people, but a working group that devotes almost all its political activity to organization building.
- Its first time horizon should be Sept-June for achieving the tasks outlined above.

— It should call a Christmas meeting to report on progress. At that meeting the convening group should be amplified by representatives of newly organized groups who should gradually assume leadership in the organizing or convening committee.

— An easter meeting may be called for a similar assessment. Finally, if a June conference is warranted it could be convened, not to prematurely organize a party if the criteria have not been fulfilled, but to give the organization some national visibility, hammer out the policies for the coming year, project ~~xxxxxxx~~ itself as a truly national grouping capable of assuming serious political responsibility. A new national committee could be elected, consisting chiefly of members of local groups and having a heavy representation of workers, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{also} to demonstrate the serious intention of the party to root itself deeply on a class basis.