The possibility for a real and permanent reunification of the Motor City Labor League as a revolutionary democratic centralist organization is intimately related to our ability to understand and use the process of criticism and self-criticism and apply that process to our external work. The cause of the present organizational crisis lies in our under-development of this phase of struggle and our inability to have historically applied criticism and self-criticism as we have grown to become what the Motor City Labor League now is.

When a revolutionary democratic-centralist organization fails to develop a viable and healthy process of criticism and self-criticism, what could have been minor problems to be successfully struggled through become, instead, major erroneous tendencies. Without criticism and self-criticism, what should be strong and confident leadership made responsible to membership through its accessibility and vulnerability becomes, instead, intimidating and arrogant leadership. And finally, without criticism and self-criticism, what should be continually developing membership with an increasing ability to exert internal as well as external leadership becomes, instead, a resentful timid and guilt-ridden membership, uncertain of both their external and internal capabilities. Criticism and self-criticism is the process of suruggle by which single acts, single incidents, single thoughts * become the subject of struggle within the context of a political analysis. Without this, a single act of arrogance can become a pattern; a single case of abdication of leadership can become a pattern; a single personal attachment to privilege or to laziness begins to characterize organizational style.

The position of the present membership of the Motor City Labor League is that all members of the organization, prior to the crisis, were responsible for a number of errors that were unchecked by criticism and self-criticism. We all acknowledge our underdevelopment in the use of this process; we all acknowledge our mis-use of the process as we flailed about attempting to make sense of complex patterns buried deep in the history, and well as the present and

future of the organization.

At the same time, however, the present Motor City Labor League believes that a process of criticism and self-criticism was not developed in the organization and, indeed, that it was actually prevented from developing for real and concrete political reasons. It was not inevitability or "fate" that led us to the present crisis. It was, rather, a particular political perspective on the nature of human beings and how such human beings are motivated to do political work, that shaped and framed the internal dynamics of the organization away from criticism and self-criticism.

This particular political perspective, which assumes the inherent untrustworthiness of the majority of folks, which assumes the inability of people to grasp, understand, and move on the basis of political analysis, and which sees leadership as a function of moving people, but not responding to people, is a perspective that the present Motor City Labor League believes to reflect incorrect and non-revolutionary

It is critically important that our criticism of this political perspective be understood. We do not believe that individuals who hold this perspective are necessarily "ill-motivated;" indeed, individuals holding this perspective may sincerely believe that such a perspective is for the good of the organization and the revolution. What we do believe is that the objective results of this perspective are detrimental to revolutionary struggle in the interests of the class, in terms of external and internal activity. We have now come to understand that many of the charges that may appear to be personal criticisms - that is, commandism, individualistic leadership, possessiveness of work, arrogance - are in reality styles of political work that are consistent with an incorrect political perspective. And, most seriously, the organization's failure to adewuately develop mature criticism and self-criticism is directly due to the dominance of this political perspective in the past.

In the beginning of the crisis period we placed an unnecessary emphasis on describing the political process in terms of individual acts and motivation. In our own struggle and self-criticism we have now come to see that the "sabotage" was the result of a political process by which the majority of the membership who had repudiated, through elections, the political perspective described above, were then seen by those holding such a perspective as having proved themselves untrustworthy and politically undeveloped. The resultant activity in the organization by those who held that perspective, because of their inability to trust or respect the membership or the elected leadership, was the break-down of internal organizational process along correct democratic-centralist lines, which did lead to "sabotage."

The extensive political growth of the Motor City Labor League over the last three weeks can only have significance as it is translated into political practice. It is through our political practice that we can measure, and be measured on, the validity of our political analysis. The present crisis has had a dual effect. It has sharpened our commitment to and understanding of the politics which most reflect the needs, interests and potential of the working class. It has also created a condition in which our ability to put our politics into practice externally has been inhibited. We believe our external work, as a result of intensive internal political analysis and struggle, will more accurately reflect responsiveness to the demands of revolutionary struggle. We are prepared to move into the future now and concretize further our political understanding where it belongs, in the external work and the internal process which facilitates that work. The dialectic of the theory-practice relationship informs us of the necessity to wait no longer for resolution.

We therefore propose that reunification be accomplished on the basis of: 1) acceptance of the fact that we are now operating in the future, and 2) acceptance of the following internal disciplinary measures around past praxis:

1. Jack Russell's resignation from the central committee will be accepted by the membership of MCLL.

Jack Russell will be censured for:

- a. vacillation on the question of his role in the Thursday afternoon central committee meeting, and,
- b. misrepresentation of the content and process of the meeting to Sheila. Specifically, he is to be censured for failing to indicate to Sheila his role in initiating the discussion of organizational tensions, and allowing the impression to be created that the remaining central committee members used Sheila's absense to deliberately run out criticisms they were not prepared to run in her presence.

Jack Russell is to be criticized for practicing the incorrect politics of arrogance and intimidation through continuous sexist behavior.

2. Sheila Murphy's resignation from the central committee will be accepted by the General Staff and the membership of MCLL.

Sheila Murphy will be censured for:

- a. the error in resignation of moving the organization to an internal crisis which has seriously impaired our primary task of external practice.
- b. failing to view the internal contradictions politically, within the context of the primary contradiction between the working class and the ruling class, i.e., acting to increase rather than alleviate divisions within the working class by:
 - 1. advancing bourgeois forms of intimidation, contempt and personality politics as models of leadership, based on an incorrect political perspective of regarding the masses as incapible of struggle, unwilling to move unless forced to, and unable to relate to principle over personality.
 - 2. advancing false dichotomies between external work and internal struggle, political power and revolutionary struggle, etc.
- c. demonstrating in practice a contempt for the membership by:
 1. impugning its ability to responsibly elect a central committee
 - ("There was an utter and complete abdication of leadership by the membership in the central committee elections.") and setting the agenda of the next membership meeting as an examination of the meaning of the election process and its results and then raising false accusations about conspiracy in voting patterns, all of which was implying that the membership hadn't clearly voted, but rather had been somehow manipulated by one or two people like sheep.

2. practicing contempt for the elected central committee, by which elected refusing to engage in political struggle with both the General Staff and the membership around a cc minority position

within the appropriate democratic-centralist format.

3. Valerie Snook will be censured for:

a. demonstrating a lack of confidence in the process of collective struggle to resolve political differences by reacting to the phone call with a liberal, individualistic hesitancy to put herself in the position of articulating political differences which emerged collectively during the meeting, as a member of the central committee, and instead responding to the question in the context of past individual struggles or the lack thereof.

b. abdicating leadership by failing to exhibit an exemplary leadership practice of honest response and willingness to

struggle on the phone with Sheila.