

OCIC

18 POINTS STUDY GUIDE

(part 1) Principles 1-5

OCIC Steering Committee

March 1980

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(part 1) Principles 1-5

- 1) The solution to the basic problems of our people in the United States can only come as the result of a profound revolutionary transformation of our society. That is, only socialism can provide the context to build a society free from exploitation, racism, sexism, oppression and war.
- 2) The foundation of all the varied forms of oppression in our society is the socio-economic system called imperialism. The economic essence of imperialism is monopoly capitalism. Under monopoly capitalism, a handful of monopolies ruthlessly exploit the overwhelming majority of the population, chiefly the working class.
- 3) However, imperialism develops not only on the basis of exploiting its domestic population. Imperialism also exploits whole peoples and nations in other parts of the world. This exploitation, like the exploitation of its own working class, is a fundamental feature of imperialism.
- 4) It is only the working class which has the capacity to lead the entire working and exploited population in the struggle to overthrow monopoly capitalism, in the struggle to consolidate its victory, in the building of socialism and in the struggle for the abolition of all classes.
- 5) The leading section of the working class, owing to its socialization and discipline which grow out of the material conditions of large scale capitalist production, is the industrial proletariat.

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Required Readings:

- Buy
1. Felix Greene, The Enemy, Vintage Books, (1970)
 2. VI Lenin, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism
 3. Leo Huberman, Introduction to Socialism, Monthly Review Press

Enclosed in Packet:

1. Study Guide on Communist Manifesto
2. Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, pp 31-61 (Peking Edition)
3. Lenin on the Proletariat
4. The Priority of Large Socialized Workplaces, For The People
5. Judah Hill, Class Analysis: The U.S. in the 70's (selections)

Optional Readings:

Not enclosed in packet, but one copy of optional readings will be sent to each locality so that they can be duplicated upon decision of local steering committees.

INTRODUCTION to OCIC 18 POINTS STUDY GUIDE

The OC's 18 Points

The 18 Principles of unity are the ideological and political basis of unity of the Organizing Committee for An Ideological Center (OCIC). The Committee of 5, predecessor to the OCIC, wrote the first draft of the principles in 1977. The points were refined through a 3 year process of ideological struggle. They were finalized at the OCIC's National Conference on Labor Day of 1979, when the OC adopted its resolution on Point 18.

The 18 points include basic ideological tenants of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism such the necessity for socialism, the leading role for the working class in the revolutionary process, the need for a Vanguard Party, and the necessity to smash the bourgeois state and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Secondly, the 18 points include the most rudimentary statements of political line on racism, sexism, partybuilding, and the international situation.

Thirdly, the 18 points include lines of demarcation with the basic forms of opportunism, hostile to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. This is expressed through some of the points' opposition to Trotskyism, Revisionism, and Left Opportunism.

The 18 points are just beginning statements of the OC's political unity. In the coming years these 18 points will be deepened, modified and added to through the course of the OCIC's efforts to elaborate revolutionary theory to the US conditions. The principles will deepened through ideological struggle, theoretical work which the OC presently seeks to centralize into a national, leading, ideological center.

The Reasons For Studying the 18 Points

General agreement with the OC's 18 points (and consolidated with point 18) is required to be a member of the OCIC. It is the responsibility of every member to have studied, internalized, and be prepared to defend this basis of unity.

In addition, the OC's 18 points have generally become accepted as the basis of political unity which defines the broader anti-revisionist and anti-left opportunist tendency.

A working knowledge of the 18 points is essential for comrades to fully participate in OC, and broader partybuilding discussions and activities. It is important that the OC has a minimal level of political consolidation so that every member is capable of analyzing the political positions of other comrades in the ideological struggle. A background in the political concepts embodied in the 18 points will help prepare OC members to take up more advanced theoretical tasks of political line development, which the ideological center will be taking up.

The main purpose for studying the 18 points is to consolidate the whole OC membership on the political basis of unity of the OC. We stress consolidation because the study of the 18 points will not be able to deeply elaborate the basic points under discussion. In addition, the study will contribute to the overall theoretical development of OC members. But the study cannot be a substitute for a fundamentals study or a deeper study of political line. With this limited purpose in mind we feel that the study of the 18 points can make an important contribution to the consolidation of the OCIC's political unity.

How To Take Up the Study of the 18 Points

In the OC's First Year we targeted our failure to pay enough attention to consolidating the OC's political unity. Our OC survey showed that OC forces were characterized by theoretical underdevelopment. At our Labor Day Conference we sought to rectify this situation by putting top priority on the consolidation of OC forces around the 18 points, Draft Plan, the struggle against Racism and Federationism. As a result the enclosed study guides are to be used to carry out educational work on the 18 points.

Enclosed in this packet are study guides for the first 5 of the 18 principles. These 5 guides cover the topics of capitalism, socialism, imperialism and national oppression, the leading role of the working class, and the industrial proletariat as the leading sector within the class. The study guides on the following 13 points will be coming out in another month.

The guides are developed with study groups in mind. Each guide covers one point, in some cases two, which can be discussed in one meeting of the study group. It is assumed that an average study group organized around the 18 points would meet once every two weeks, therefore the entire study of the 18 points could be completed in six months.

The study guide restates the basic principle under discussion, explains what the session is trying to accomplish, and in some cases gives historical background to the reading.

The study guides prioritize the required readings for the session. It is estimated that it will take between 4 and 6 hours of careful reading and preparation for a session. In addition, supplementary readings are listed for those who complete the required readings, and wish to go deeper into the subject. Discussion questions are also provided at the end of each guide.

In addition, study guides on classical texts are provided along with the study guided accompanying each point. In particular, the study guide on the Communist Manifesto should be used along with the reading. An optional study guide on Socialism: Utopian and Scientific is included for those who wish to go more deeply into the basic tenants of historical materialism, although this is not required. And finally, Additional Notes on the Communist Manifesto can be used in the first session.

So for example, if a group were studying point 1 in this packet, materials would be passed out at least two weeks in advance. Study group members would study the Communist Manifesto, the Introduction to Socialism, and the study guide on the Communist Manifesto. Each member would quiz themselves, or perhaps with a study partner, on the questions and come prepared to the discussion.

Leadership Given to the 18 Points Study

In addition to using the study guides, it will be important that study sessions have good leadership. Several comrades should be selected to lead the study. These leaders should be well versed in the material, and prepared to give guidance to the discussion in the group.

Study leaders have the responsibility to insure consistent and quality participation of study group members. This involves a number of tasks. First, the leaders need to instill good study habits. To be sure that people read material carefully they should be encouraged to take notes on the main points in their readings, jot down the main points of answers to the study and discussions questions, and where possible seek help from other comrades when they do not understand something, or find a certain section difficult.

The main obstacles to good study are not organizational but political. Study leaders can be most effective by presenting the important reasons why study is so important for communists. It must be explained why study and development of theory are so important in building a revolutionary party, and developing the OC membership.

In addition, this means combatting various incorrect attitudes or approaches to study. The two most serious ideological deviations are a downplaying of the importance of study and a scholastic approach to study.

Some comrades do not place a necessary priority on study. There are many particular reasons for this, but it will usually express itself in poor preparation, or lack of consistent attendance. If this occurs study leaders must investigate the reasons and struggle to correct this attitude.

Particularly harmful is a scholastic approach to study which some comrades might bring to a group. These comrades can tend to be very abstract and show little concern for the collective development of the group. Such petty-bourgeois approaches to study are objectively racist and sexist, and hinder the participation of others. Study leaders must struggle to insure that comrades give concrete examples in their explanations, stay on points chosen by the group, and do not monopolize discussion time. Here again it is the responsibility of the study leader to explain that Marxists study to serve the class struggle, and that we have no interest in reproducing the dynamics of a bourgeois class room.

Taking Up the Study of the 18 Points in Your Local Center

There are three main stages in carrying out educational work around the 18 points. These include the initial evaluation of study needs and developing a program, the implementation of actual study, and its summarization and evaluation.

1. Each locality must do an evaluation of their members present level of consolidation of the 18 points and develop a concrete workplan for implementing the study. Each locality will be different. Some comrades will have studied the basic content of the 18 points previously, some comrades may have studied none of it, and still others will have studied certain points but not others. The local OC leaderships after briefly surveying the level of development should draw up a concrete plan that insures every OC member will be consolidated on all points at the end of the study period. This may involve establishing 18 point study groups for those who need to study all of them, and particular studies on a few of the principles for weak areas of other comrades.

2. Secondly the local OC leaderships are responsible for overseeing the implementation of the study program. This involves establishing the study sessions or groups, choosing study leaders, distributing materials etc. It may be best to choose one person to be overseeing the whole process within the local center.

3. The political summarization of the study and evaluation will be a key part of the study of the 18 points. This has several aspects. The study leaders should be responsible for doing brief political summarizations of the sessions, noting the unity and disunity achieved.

In this process it will be important to have differences drawn out and elaborated. If comrades have substantial differences with the 18 points they should be asked to write up their differences for struggle. Additions, deepening, or disagreements can be sent to the education coordinator for review. While the purpose of the study is not primarily for elaboration purposes, key points of disagreement can be circulated in the discussion bulletin for feedback.

In addition to political summarization of the study, evaluation of the study - study leaders, participants and materials - should be an ongoing part of the process. In particular there should be one major evaluation half way through the study and at the end of the process. This is so we can improve our methods and materials of study in the future.

18 Points Study Groups as a form of OC Outreach

18 Point study groups can be an excellent form of outreach. Many local centers will be establishing groups, and there is no reason not to include non-OC members.

In Seattle for example, comrades from the local center sent out a letter to their interested contacts informing them of the study groups. They received a good response and established a number of groups with both OC and non-OC people. In this way the groups establish a way for new people to learn about the OC and its political principles.

Schedule for Completing Study and Contact with the NSC

The study of the 18 points is part of the national OC process. The evaluation and workplan for the study should be begun as soon as possible. All localities should begin a study as soon as possible but no later than August, 1980.

A 3 month evaluation of the study should occur at the end of November. This should include both the political summarizations and the mid-year evaluation.

A final evaluation - i.e. by the end of Feb., 1981, and summarization should be sent at the end of the study. Therefore each locality will have communicated to the Education Coordinator three times. In addition, copies should be sent to the regional leaderships of your region, and the NSC person in charge of your region.

- Schedule:
1. Workplans for study due by August 1980.
 2. 3 Month evaluation: November 1980.
 3. Final evaluation and summarization: February 1981.

Workplans and evaluations should be sent to:

DF
2244 Vicksburg Ave.
Oakland, Ca. 94601

Session #1

INTRODUCTION TO STUDY ON POINT ONE

Point 1: "The solution to the basic problems of our people in the United States can only come as a result of a profound revolutionary transformation of our society. That is, only socialism can provide the context to build a society free from exploitation, racism, sexism, oppression and war."

Point 1 establishes the revolutionary, socialist character of our movement. It points out that the basic problems of the US people are inherent features of capitalist society, and not maladjustments or dislocations which can somehow be reformed away. Only with the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by socialism is the basis laid for solving these problems. This point is in opposition to the various shades of reformism and social democracy which hold that these problems can be solved short of a revolutionary socialist transformation.

The study of point number one should accomplish the following points:

- to explain why the basic problems of the US people are rooted in the system of capitalism,
- to explain why socialism is necessary to provide the context for solving these problems,
- to explain the scientific basis for the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by socialism,
- to summarize some of the major ways capitalism exploits and oppresses the people, and to understand the basic dynamics of capitalist society,
- to explain the basic principles of socialism and to answer some of the common objections to socialism and communism.

A secondary purpose of the Point 1 study is also to introduce comrades to Marxist thinking on a number of different questions that will be taken up later on in the 18 points study. This is mainly done through the Communist Manifesto and the Study Guide that accompanies it. The Manifesto develops the Marxist viewpoint to one degree or another on such questions as: the leading role of the working class; the role of the state; the importance of proletarian internationalism; the role of communists and the need for a party; the need to place the interests of the whole movement ahead of the interests of a part (with implications for the struggle against racism, sexism, national chauvinism and opportunism generally); the relationship of reform to revolution; the woman question; etc. This introduction to various questions that will be taken up later in the 18 points study is clearly a secondary priority -- there are no discussion questions for them. But it is one of the values of the study.

Readings on Point #1

- Required:
1. Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto, pp. 31-61
 2. Huberman, "ABC's of Socialism" in Introduction to Socialism, pp. 21-81
 3. Study Guide on Communist Manifesto, pp. 1-16
- Optional:
1. Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, pp 74-101
 2. Study Guide on Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, pp. 1-5
 3. Additional Notes on the Communist Manifesto, pp. 1-4
 4. Engels, Karl Marx
 5. Engels, Letter to J. Bloch
 6. Engels, Fuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy
 7. Marx, Preface to Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy

Notes on Required Readings:

Session #1 covers alot of material. The reading which is required is over 100 pages. Therefore study leaders are recommended to get readings out a month or three weeks before the first session in order to allow adequate time for preparation.

In addition, it should be noted that the "ABC's of Socialism" contains some important weaknesses. This includes a fully uncritical attitude towards the Soviet Union reflecting the time it was written (1953). In addition, there is almost a complete neglect of racism and sexism which are both central features of capitalism.

Notes on Optional Readings:

Session #1 also contains an extensive optional reading list for those who wish to delve further into the issues of point #1. These readings develop the basic Marxist approach to history, Historical Materialism. The historical materialist approach underlies the argument for point #1...and for all Marxism.

Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, critically evaluates the ideas of the utopian socialists that preceded Marx and Engels. The book summarizes the development of dialectical and historical materialism, and applies this theory to the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by socialism. A Study Guide on this book is also included in the readings, and encouraged for groups or individuals who have extra time.

Additional Notes on Communist Manifesto goes further into historical materialism. This can be read by study leaders for more background on the Manifesto. In addition, some of the best writings of Marx and Engels on historical materialism are listed in the optional list. These include: Marx's Preface which is one of the most often quoted and brief statements of Historical Materialism. The selection from Engels, Karl Marx, is a good brief summary of Marx's conception of history and class struggle. Engels' Letter to J. Bloch warns against the tendency toward explaining everything by reference to the economic base rather than recognizing that the superstructure has some

degree of independence from the base. Engels' Fuerbach..., is a longer statement on Historical Materialism that goes into such questions as the role of the individual in history and the relationship between the economic base on the one hand and the state, public law, and religion on the other.

Other Readings:

There are a number of Marxist textbooks on Historical Materialism. Two good ones are: Burns, Introduction to Marxism, especially chapters 2 and 5. Also very useful is Cornforth, Historical Materialism, especially chapters 2 through 6. Both are available from International Publishers.

Discussion Questions on Session #1: Capitalism and Socialism

1. What is the nature of the conflict between the capitalists and the workers?
2. Why is it necessary for the capitalist to constantly seek to expand profits and accumulate capital?
3. In what sense has capitalism played a progressive role historically?
4. Make a list of what you see as some of the basic problems of our people in the US. Explain how these problems are inherent features of capitalism. Why isn't it possible to "reform" capitalism in order to solve these problems short of its overthrow?
5. What is socialism? Explain how socialism provides the best "context" for solving the basic problems of our people.
6. Critics of socialism say it is wrong to abolish private property -- that it belongs to the people who own it, and its elimination will restrict freedom and eliminate incentive. How would you defend socialism against such a view?

Session #2INTRODUCTION TO STUDY ON POINTS 2 AND 3

Point 2: "The foundation of all the varied forms of oppression in our society is the socio-economic system called imperialism. The economic essence of imperialism is monopoly capitalism. Under monopoly capitalism a handful of monopolies ruthlessly exploit the overwhelming majority of the population, chiefly the working class."

This point defines imperialism as the system of monopoly capitalism, rather than a policy of the bourgeoisie. It identifies imperialism as the basis of the many forms of oppression in modern capitalist society. This point is important in relation to those revolutionaries who mistakenly see national oppression as the only significant feature of imperialism. Aside from theoretically misunderstanding the origins and nature of imperialism, these forces drive a wedge between the oppressed nations and the proletariat in the imperialist countries. In fact, imperialism aggravates the exploitation of the working class, intensifies national oppression, and deepens racial and sexual oppression within the metropolis. By so doing, imperialism objectively unites the struggles for proletarian revolution and for national liberation, and matures the objective conditions for socialist revolution.

Point 3: "However, imperialism develops not only on the basis of exploiting its domestic population. Imperialism also exploits whole peoples and nations in other parts of the world. This exploitation, like the exploitation of its own working class, is a fundamental feature of imperialism."

This point emphasizes that the oppression and exploitation of other nations is a necessary and integral component of imperialism. It also draws out the common anti-imperialist interests of the working class and oppressed nations. This point distinguishes us from forces who believe that the exploitative relations of U.S. imperialism to other nations can be reformed away.

Historical Background of Lenin's Imperialism

Lenin wrote Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism in 1916 in the midst of World War I. At this time, the international socialist movement was seriously divided over whether or not to support the war. The majority of the Second International took the view of supporting the war efforts of the bourgeoisie in their own country. Karl Kautsky, a leader of the German Social Democratic Party, the most influential organization in the Second International, provided a theoretical justification for this profoundly class collaborationist position. He argued that the drive to annex new territory is simply a "policy" of imperialism, and that in fact imperialism can eliminate the contradictions of capitalism and bring world peace. Thus, Imperialism is written largely as a polemic against these dangerously incorrect views.

Lenin demonstrates with extensive data that imperialism is in essence the system of monopoly capitalism, that it is the highest stage of capitalism.

He shows that the export of capital and the worldwide search for new markets, sources of raw materials and cheap labor are inherent features of imperialism's expansion and drive for profit. This leads inevitably to struggle among imperialist powers to divide and redivide the world among themselves. It also leads to imperialist war. This demonstrates how WWI is clearly an imperialist war, and that communists must lead the proletariat in opposing their bourgeoisie and pushing forward the struggle for socialist revolution.

Readings on Points 2 and 3

- Required:
1. V.I. Lenin, Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism (Peking Edition), pp. 79-111 and 148-155
 2. Felix Greene, The Enemy, (Vintage Books 1970), pp. 69-85 and 156-166
- Optional:
1. Remaining parts of Lenin's Imperialism
 2. Remaining parts of Greene's The Enemy

Discussion Questions:

1. What are the main features of Imperialism as explained by Lenin?
2. What was incorrect about Kautsky's analysis of imperialism?
3. What were the main features of the rapid expansion of U.S. industry in the latter half of the 19th century? How did this lead to U.S. imperialism?
4. What is the impact of extensive foreign investment on the economic development of lesser developed nations?
5. What is neo-colonialism? What is the advantage to imperialism of neo-colonialism over old fashioned colonialism?
6. What is the impact of successful national liberation struggles on U.S. imperialism? Give examples.

Glossary

Lenin uses many terms in describing the development of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The following is not intended as official definitions, but as clarification on the meaning of important terms to be used as an aid in reading and discussion.

capital: a social relation of production between the capitalist class, which owns and controls the means of production, and the working class, which is deprived of the means of production and must sell its labor power. Marx wrote: "Capital...consists in the fact that living labor serves accumulated labor as the means of preserving and multiplying its exchange value."

monopoly capital: intensification of capital relation. Capital becomes concentrated and centralized to the extent that production and exchange of particular commodities is controlled by a single or a few capitalist(s)

industrial capital: capital employed directly in the production of commodities and surplus value

bank capital: capital (money) owned by bankers which is either lent or invested in industry to gain a surplus for bankers, in the form of interest or surplus value

finance capital: merger or coalescence of bank capital and industrial capital which occurs in the era of monopoly capitalism. This places huge blocks of capital under the control of a financial oligarchy, which takes forms of trust companies, international banking conglomerates (e.g. Morgan Guarantee Trust, Chase Manhattan Bank)

concentration of capital: development of increasingly large units of capital through the addition of its own surplus value (one capitalist enterprise gets larger and larger)

centralization of capital: creation of large units of capital through mergers, acquisition of small enterprises by larger ones, etc.

cartel: agreement by separate companies to maintain prices at a given level

trust: separate enterprises merge completely, individual owners become shareholders in the trust

Session #3INTRODUCTION TO STUDY ON POINTS 4 AND 5

Point 4: "It is only the working class which has the capacity to lead the entire working and exploited population in the struggle to overthrow monopoly capitalism, in the struggle to consolidate its victory, in the building of socialism and in the struggle for the abolition of all classes."

Point 4 asserts that the working class is the leading class in the revolutionary process. The working class is the only consistently revolutionary class and the only class with the capacity to lead the entire working people to overthrow capitalism and build socialism. It is this understanding that leads communists to focus activity in the working class. Furthermore, this point provides the foundation for the building of a united front against imperialism -- developing working class leadership of all popular and democratic struggles. Finally, this point separates Marxism-Leninism from the petty bourgeois trend which denies the vanguard character of the proletariat and substitutes some other social grouping or holds that all classes, strata or groupings oppressed by capitalism are more or less equally revolutionary.

Point 5: "The leading section of the working class, owing to its socialization and discipline which grow out of the material conditions of large scale capitalist production, is the industrial proletariat."

Point 5 goes on to locate the leading section of the working class in the most highly socialized sectors of the proletariat. In particular, it points to the industrial proletariat as its leading section. This point also has important practical implications, namely that communists must give priority to activity among the industrial workers and develop this sector's leadership of the class as a whole. This point demarcates with those who deny the leading role of the industrial proletariat in favor of "new" sectors of the working class, its most oppressed sections, or other such alternatives. The point pinpoints the reasons why the industrial workers are the vanguard section of the proletariat as a whole -- "its socialization and discipline which grows out of the material conditions of large scale capitalist production." It is primarily these features, and not its size and capacity for disruption, that mark the industrial proletariat for its role.

The study for points 4 and 5 is mainly aimed at developing the above ideas. In addition, the study seeks to develop an analysis of:

- the process by which the proletariat becomes a revolutionary class -- how it achieves class consciousness,
- how communists can help build the class consciousness of the proletariat,
- the importance of engaging in serious organizing around the daily issues facing the working class,
- why communists must make organizing inside the workplace a central focus of their work,
- the role of trade unions as the leading mass organizations of the working class,
- the role of various sectors of the working class in addition to the industrial proletariat.

Readings on Points 4 and 5

Required:

1. V.I. Lenin, Lenin on the Proletariat, selections from
 - "The Development of Capitalism in Russia"
 - "Who the 'Friends of the People' Are"
 - "A Great Beginning"
 - "Draft Program and Explanation"
 - "On Strikes"
2. For The People, The Priority of the Large Socialized Workplaces for Communist Work, pp. 1-6 and 12-13
3. Judah Hill, Class Analysis: The United States in the 1970's
 1. The Proletariat or Working Class pp. A - B (required)
 2. The Semi-Professional Sector pp. B - E "
 3. The Office Sector pp. E -56 "
 4. Service Sector pp. 56-59 "
 5. The Production Sector pp. 59-63 "
 6. The Industrial Proletariat Sub-sector pp. 63-66 "
 7. The Small Scale Production Sub-sector pp. 66-68 "
 8. Rural Proletariat Sub-sector pp. 68-71 (optional)
 9. Government Workers pp. 71-73 "
 10. The Aged Sector pp. 73-75 "
 11. The Excluded Sector pp. 75-77 (required)
 12. Controversy Over the Proletariat pp. 78-79 "
 13. Class and Ideology pp. 91-92 "
 14. Class and the Individual pp. 92-93 (optional)

Optional:

1. Lenin on the Proletariat, more selections from "On Strikes" and "Draft Program and Explanation" as well as selections from "Tasks of Russian Social Democrats"
2. Remaining sections of Priority of Large Socialized Workplaces for Communist Work
3. Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto, pp. 43-48
4. Remaining sections of Judah Hill, Class Analysis: The U.S. in the 1970's
5. Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital
 This is an excellent analysis of the transformation of work under advanced capitalism, both changes in the work process within industries and changes in distribution of jobs between industries. It both identifies the causes of these transformations and presents an extensive picture of the particular changes that have occurred. It takes up such issues as: the division of labor under capitalism; scientific management and its effects; developments in science, technology and machinery and their effects; major shifts in the distribution of labor between industries (for example, the rise of the service and office sectors); the decline in skill; the structure of the working class; and the class position of intermediate groupings like professionals or management. It is well worth reading.
 (From Monthly Review Press)

Discussion Questions:

1. Why is the proletariat the leading class in the revolutionary process?

--Why must the working class play the leading role in all popular and democratic struggles on the road to socialism? What has happened to popular movements in which there has not been working class leadership? (e.g., anti-nuke, civil rights, women's movement)

--What would you say to someone who believes that oppressed national minorities are the leadership of the U.S. revolution, not the working class? If the proletariat is the leading class, then does this do away with any kind of leading role for national minorities?

2. Why must communists make organizing in the workplace a central focus of their work? What are some of the ways that the focus on the workplace helps root the Party in the working class?

3. Why are the most socialized sections of the working class its leading sections?

--What is the effect of the advancing socialization of production under capitalism today on the revolutionary potential of the proletariat?

--Some say severity of oppression is the key to determining what section will play the leading role. Why is this not so?

4. Compare the revolutionary potential of these 5 sectors of the working class: production, office, service, semi-professional, and the excluded. What do you see as the main strengths and weaknesses of each? Do you agree that the production sector plays the leading role?

Should all of our work be focussed on the production sector? Why or why not?

STUDY GUIDE TO THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

INTRODUCTION

The following Study Guide has been written for the purpose of clarifying and further elaborating parts I and II of The Communist Manifesto. In addition to highlighting the main points of the reading, it seeks to draw out the significance of these points. In some cases, historical background is provided to help make the meaning of what is being said clearer. Throughout, it seeks to show where the Manifesto is putting forward the basic ideas of historical materialism, and to elaborate those ideas. In some cases, an effort has been made to update the Manifesto when important developments of relevance have occurred since its writing in 1848. In many places, the Study Guide also quotes from various Marxist works that serve to elaborate the reading and to provide a further introduction to the ideas of historical materialism.

To help in understanding the structure of the argument made in the Manifesto, it has been blocked off into different sections. All together, there are 17 sections. An outline of the Manifesto according to this breakdown is presented below.

OUTLINE OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, PARTS I & II

PART I: BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS

Baseline of Feudalism and Rise of the Bourgeoisie and Capitalism

1. History of all society is history of class struggles, pp. 32-33
2. Bourgeoisie an outgrowth of development of production, pp. 33-34
3. The struggle of bourgeoisie for political power, pp. 34-35
4. The historically revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie, pp. 35-39
5. The overthrow of feudalism: the feudal relations of property become fetters on the productive forces, pp. 39

Baseline of Capitalism and Rise of the Proletariat and Socialism

6. The overthrow of capitalism: capitalist relations of property become fetters on the productive forces, pp. 39-41
7. Rise of the proletariat, pp. 41-43
8. Development of the proletariat as a revolutionary class, pp. 43-46
9. Why the proletariat is the only revolutionary class, pp. 46-48
10. Victory of the proletariat is inevitable, pp. 48-49

PART II: PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS

11. Relationship of the Communists to the working class movement, pp. 49-50
12. The scientific basis of socialism, p. 50
13. Bourgeois objections to Communism: abolition of private property, pp. 50-55
14. Bourgeois objections to Communism: women and the family, pp. 55-56
15. Bourgeois objections to Communism: abolition of nationality, pp. 56-57
16. The ruling ideas of each age are the ideas of the ruling class, pp. 57-59
17. The Communist program for transforming capitalism, pp. 59-61

STUDY GUIDE TO THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

PART I: BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS

1. pp. 32-33. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

This statement, which applies to all societies except primitive communism (see Engels' footnote on p. 32), is a central part of historical materialism -- the Marxist theory of history. The following attempts to further draw out its significance.

As Engels explains in his Karl Marx: "The whole previous view of history (before Marx) was based on the conception that the ultimate causes of all historical changes are to be looked for in the changing ideas of human beings, and that of all historical changes political changes are the most important... But the question was not asked as to whence the ideas come into men's minds, and what the driving causes of the political changes are... Now Marx has proved that the whole of previous history is a history of class struggles, that in all the manifold and complicated political struggles the only thing at issue has been the social and political rule of social classes, the maintenance of domination by older classes and the conquest of domination by newly arising classes."

Thus, events like the French Revolution or the religious wars of the Protestant Reformation appeared on the surface to be struggles over political or religious philosophies. And certainly, these ideas were believed strongly. But underlying these differences of ideas were different class interests -- the interests of the rising bourgeoisie versus the interests of the ruling feudal classes. (For more on this, see note # 3 on pp. 34-35 below).

Today, it is the class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie that is the driving force of history. As the Manifesto demonstrates, the end result of that struggle will be the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and the establishment of socialism, in turn laying the basis for development of a classless society.

Second, the significance of this statement about class struggle lies in recognizing the antagonistic nature of classes with contradictory relations to the process of production, and the inevitability of struggle between them. Under every mode of production, the ruling class develops an ideology of the harmony between classes to justify their rule. The antagonism between lord and serf, ~~master~~ craftsman and journeyman, slave and slave master, or capitalist and worker is denied. And in fact, the relations between these classes at an early stage of their development may be fairly peaceful.

However, in each case, this apparent harmony masks underlying contradictions which will express themselves sooner or later in the open struggle between classes. For example, the serfs in Europe rose up against the lords in the 14th century and after. The journeymen rebelled against their employers, the craftsmen, in the same period. In America, slaves revolted against their masters. And of course, there has been plenty of struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

This reality of class antagonism, and the inevitability of class struggle, provides the scientific basis for revolutionary optimism on the part of communists.

The class struggle between worker and capitalist does not have to be conjured up -- it objectively exists. It is this class struggle that makes it possible for the working class to accumulate the experiences necessary to grasp communist ideas and to transform it into a revolutionary class. (See pp. 43-46 of The Manifesto for more on the development of the proletariat as a revolutionary class.)

2. pp. 33-34. "We see...how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and exchange."

According to the viewpoint of historical materialism, the origins of classes can be found in the development of production. Just as the underlying issue behind political and ideological struggles is the struggle between classes, so it is production which underlies the development of classes. As Engels explains in Fuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy: "Bourgeoisie and proletariat both arose in consequence of a transformation of the economic conditions, more precisely, of the mode of production. The transition, first from guild handicrafts to manufacture, and then from manufacture to large-scale industry, with steam and mechanical power, had caused the development of these two classes."

3. pp. 34-35. "...each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class."

Historical materialism maintains that the superstructure of society (including the politics and the ideas of society) more or less reflects the material base of society -- the way in which production is carried out and the class relationships that derive from production. When the material base undergoes changes, this in turn tends to produce changes in politics and ideology.

This general theory is confirmed by the facts of the rise of capitalism out of feudalism. The 13th through 18th centuries in Europe sees an unprecedented development, first of commerce, then of industry. Corresponding to these changes in production and exchange is the rise of the bourgeoisie. Each qualitative development of the bourgeoisie sooner or later expresses itself in corresponding changes in the extent of political power held by that class.

Let's describe these political changes in more detail, drawing on the history of the rise of capitalism.

a. Rise of self-governing medieval towns. In the 12th and 13th centuries, many towns developed based on trade and small crafts. The craftsmen and merchants both organized themselves in associations called guilds.

These towns were at first under the thumb of the feudal lords (the nobility) who owned the land in the surrounding countryside. The rising commercial bourgeoisie of the towns came into increasing conflict with the nobility. Just about anything the bourgeoisie did required getting the lord's permission and paying him a fat fee. The nobility made and enforced the laws, laws hardly suited to the affairs of business. The lords imposed numerous taxes, taxes which only served lavish life styles or financed destructive wars.

Despite the oppression of the new bourgeoisie, it gained much wealth. With this wealth, it bought freedom from the feudal permissions, fees, and obligations. In addition, it allied with the craftsmen and working people of the towns, and sometimes with the oppressed serfs, to rebel against the power of the nobility. In some cases, the towns organized their own armies to fight

these battles. The fortunes of both nobility and bourgeoisie rose and fell, but within a couple of centuries, most of the towns had won considerable freedom from feudal rule. Nevertheless, feudal privileges remained, particularly in certain countries such as France, where it took the Revolution of 1789 to wipe them out once and for all.

b. Rise of the nation-states. The next stage in development of the bourgeoisie's political power came about as part of the rise of nation-states ruled by powerful kings or monarchs. During the Middle Ages, the Kings were little more than the biggest feudal lord. They had to depend on the nobility for military support and lacked the power to unite all the lords under their rule. Each lord was instead a ruler unto his own in the area under his control, exacting his own fees and taxes, enforcing his own laws, and maintaining his own armies.

The Kings saw in the increasingly wealthy merchant class a way of asserting political control over the nobility. For its part, the rising bourgeoisie saw an alliance with the Kings as a way of strengthening their own political position.

The bourgeoisie and the Kings shared a common interest in a strong national government that could impose one set of laws and support one strong national army. The merchants wanted to see order and security replace the constant warring and pillaging of feudal armies. It wanted to eliminate the great variety of local tolls and taxes imposed by every feudal lord, which were a great obstacle to internal trade within the country. And they wanted a strong national government and army to support their efforts to establish supremacy in rapidly growing international trade.

These interests of the bourgeoisie corresponded to the desire by the Kings for greater power and wealth. The Kings could use the wealth of the merchants to establish strong standing armies trained in the use of gunpowder and cannon. These armies could defeat the inferior armies of the feudal lords. Once in undisputed control of their countries, the absolute monarchs could continue to raise money from the bourgeoisie -- many of the main wars and overseas explorations were financed by giant banking houses like the Fuggers, who made lots of money as well as gaining political influence from these loans.

On the basis of this alliance between the rising bourgeoisie and the Kings, absolute monarchies established themselves in a number of countries, thus weakening the power of the nobility and increasing the power of the merchant class. The monarchies granted trade monopolies for the bourgeoisie and fought for the supremacy of their own national bourgeoisies in world trade. The merchants in turn gave their political loyalty to the status quo, defending the monarchies against further revolutionary challenges.

c. English Civil War and French Revolution. While the richest sections of the commercial bourgeoisie became a conservative force propping the monarchies, the new rising industrial bourgeoisie found themselves in fundamental conflict with the monarchies. These conflicts were resolved through great Revolutions -- especially the English Civil War in the 17th century and the French Revolution in the 18th. On the surface, these Revolutions were fought over different religious or political philosophies. However, underlying these different ideological justifications for these Revolutions were the class interests of the rising bourgeoisie.

The overriding concern of the emerging industrial bourgeoisie could be summed up in the slogan "Free Trade." "Free trade" had to be seen in relation to the restrictions and regulations imposed by the monarchies and the remnants

of feudalism.

In England, "Free Trade" was particularly directed against the trade monopolies held by a small handful of the richest merchants. The monopolies drove down the prices of industrial products bought from English producers, then sold them at artificially high prices in foreign markets. They could do this because of their monopolization of the market.

This cut into the profits of the industrial bourgeoisie in two ways -- both by cutting the price received for their products, and reducing the total demand for their product on the foreign market because prices were so high. In addition, the super-profits made by the monopolies in foreign trade meant that capital flowed into trade where the highest rate of return could be earned, instead of into industry where the return was lower.

The issue of the trade monopolies was fought out in the English Civil War. One of the effects of Cromwell's victory over King Charles I was to eliminate these monopolies and therefore open the way for development of industrial capitalism.

In addition to opposing the trade monopolies, the issue of Free Trade concerned the elimination of a whole range of restrictions on production imposed by the craft guilds, which had long since been incorporated into the feudal order, and by the monarchies themselves. These restrictions were felt particularly keenly in France before the Revolution. According to Huberman's Man's Worldly Goods:

"Industry in France was surrounded by such a network of "musts" and "must nots" with a network of meddling inspectors who enforced the troublesome regulations that it is hard to understand how anything got done at all. (Craft) guild rules and regulations were bad enough. They continued in force, or in their place came government regulations even more minute...Could a manufacturer of cloth, for example, make any kind of cloth he pleased? He could not. Cloth had to be such and such quality and exactly so long. Could a hat manufacturer cater to public demand by producing hats made of a mixture of beaver, fur and wool? He could not. He could make either all-beaver or all-wool hats, but nothing else. Could a manufacturer use a new and perhaps better kind of tool in the production of his goods? He could not. Tools were to be a certain size and shape and the inspectors came around to see that they were just that."

Similarly, the guilds strongly resisted the rising capitalists' efforts to introduce a division of labor into their work, or to otherwise reorganize production methods in the interests of greater efficiency. And they resisted capitalists' attempts to farm out work to cheaper and more pliable non-guild labor. The craft guilds had monopolized production for many centuries, and they wanted to keep it that way. These guilds had to be broken if the new production methods of rising capitalism were to make headway.

Another issue of concern to the rising bourgeoisie was less taxes for themselves and less spending by the state. On the one hand, the monarchies went easy on the nobility, while taxing the bourgeoisie heavily. In addition to taxes by the monarchy, many of the burdensome taxes imposed by the nobility and the Church in the Middle Ages still remained. On the other hand, the state spent money on a lavish scale. This foolish and wasteful spending to support the conspicuous luxury of the nobility was not only financed by the taxpayer, it threatened the loans of the bourgeoisie which it feared would not be repaid.

When the French Revolution finally came, it wiped away the political power

of the nobility or landed aristocracy much more decisively than had the English Civil War of a century earlier. The English Civil War resulted in a compromise between the rising bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. This helps explain some of the aristocratic forms that have continued on even to the present day in England -- the Queen of England, the House of Lords, etc. On the other hand, the French Revolution dealt a knockout blow to the feudal system. Marx viewed this Revolution as the culmination of the political movement of the bourgeoisie for power.

d. Protestant Reformation. Marx and Engels identified 3 major upheavals on the path to power by the bourgeoisie. 2 were the English Civil War and French Revolution. The third was the Protestant Reformation -- the revolution against the Catholic Church.

Bourgeois history tends to portray the Protestant Reformation and the wars that accompanied it as purely religious bickerings. Certainly, both sides believed in their own religions. But the conflict reflected underlying class struggles between the rising bourgeoisie (under the banner of Protestantism) and the dying feudal classes.

In the first place, the Catholic Church was part of the ruling feudal classes. In the Middle Ages, the Church owned between 1/3 and 1/2 of all the land in Europe. On its own lands, it held onto its feudal privileges as long as it could. It bitterly opposed the serfs who wanted freedom from feudal obligations (such as free labor services and numerous fees) and it imposed burdensome taxes on both commerce and the land. There were major peasant rebellions directed against the Church as early as the 14th century -- for example, the Wat Tyler rebellion of 1381.

In addition, the rising bourgeoisie had to get rid of the Church as the chief ideological prop of feudalism. As Engels pointed out in The Peasant War In Germany:

"In the hands of the clergy, politics and jurisprudence, as well as other sciences, remained branches of theology ... The dogmas of the church were at the same time political axioms, and Bible quotations had the validity of law in every court ... This supremacy of theology in the realm of intellectual activities was ... a logical consequence of the situation of the church as the most general force coordinating and sanctioning existing feudal domination.

"It is obvious that under such conditions, all general and overt attacks on feudalism, in the first place attacks on the church, all revolutionary, social and political doctrines, necessarily became theological heresies. In order to be attacked, existing social conditions had to be stripped of their aureole of sanctity."

The religious protest against the Church took 2 forms, depending on its class base. One was more radical, associated with the peasant revolts of the 14th century onward. The other was more conservative, associated with the rising bourgeoisie of the towns. Given the political strength of the bourgeoisie compared to the peasantry, it was the conservative form of Protestantism that prevailed, while the radical forms were crushed. The version of Protestantism known as Calvinism was particularly suited to the interests of the bourgeoisie. Calvinism maintained a democratic church structure, which corresponded to the need of the bourgeoisie to break down feudal hierarchies. It upheld thrift and hard work. And it asserted that profit-making was serving God. It was under the banner of Calvinism that the Cromwell Revolution was fought in England.

(Note: Much of the previous history is based on a very readable book on the rise of capitalism, Man's Worldly Goods by Leo Huberman. For a more in-depth treatment of the subject, see Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism.)

4. pp. 35-39. "The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part."

Marx viewed the bourgeoisie as playing a progressive, revolutionary role in historical development. This did not mean he liked capitalism, or supported the cruelties capitalism perpetrated. He was above all a revolutionary committed to the overthrow of capitalism. But he recognized that while capitalism now plays a reactionary role in holding back social development, its original emergence was an historic step forward on the path toward achieving communism. Let's discuss just two of the ways this is so.

First, it brought about incomparable development of the productive forces of society. For the first time, the material basis existed to meet the needs of all humanity. For the first time, the abundance could potentially be created to make possible a human rather than animal existence for the world's people.

Previously, the productive capacity of earlier modes of production was so limited that only a minority could live at above a subsistence level. This minority extracted the surplus production above subsistence for their own use, based on their ownership of the means of production. The function of the state in these class societies was always to defend the property of this minority against the challenges of the oppressed majority.

But with the rapid development of the forces of production brought about by capitalism, a new stage of human development appeared on the horizon. The potential now existed for producing a sufficient surplus that an entire people could live in abundance, not just a small minority. For this reason, the potential also existed for creating a classless society. And without the existence of classes, the whole basis of the state as a repressive apparatus for the rule of one class over another would disappear.

Of course, this potential has not and cannot be realized under capitalism. Capitalism is severely restricted in its ability to develop the productive forces. But the development of modern industry lays the basis for these developments, once the proletariat takes ownership of the means of production out of the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Secondly, capitalism also develops the basis for international solidarity and for the eventual elimination of national barriers. As the Manifesto explains, capitalism establishes markets in the most backward sections of the world, destroying native industries, creating new needs, and drawing these nations into international politics. These developments are qualitatively heightened with the later development of imperialism, analyzed by Lenin in Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism. With imperialism, not only do workers of the world have identical interests, but the basis is established for a united front against imperialism between the proletariat on the one hand and the nations and nationalities oppressed by imperialism on the other. This development of an international system lays the basis for eventual breakdown of national differences and the establishment of one world communist system.

5. p. 39. "At a certain stage of the development of these means of production and exchange ... the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder."

This states a basic principle of historical materialism, applied to the decline of feudalism and the rise of capitalism. As Marx explains in his Preface to The Critique of Political Economy:

"In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness ... At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or -- what is but a legal expression for the same thing -- with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed."

As discussed above (Note # 3), feudal relations of property held back both the development of widespread commerce or exchange and the development of capitalist production. As a result, the bourgeoisie needed to challenge the power of the feudal lords, the church, the craft guilds and the absolute monarchies at various points in its development. Only in this way could trade and then industrial production push forward. To do this, political revolutions and wars were waged -- in the name of such principles as nationalism, free trade, and religion. The results of these struggles were to free the conditions for the further development of the capitalist mode of production.

6. pp. 39-41. "The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself."

This section explains how the same contradiction between rising forces of production and outmoded property relations that led to the overthrow of feudalism is now working to overthrow capitalism. The focus is on the inherent tendency of capitalism to periodic economic crises.

Under capitalism, every manufacturer is forced to expand production as rapidly as possible, to maintain their rate of profit and to compete with other capitalists. At the same time, the system of exchange or distribution operating under capitalism grows slowly. Capitalism seeks to limit wages as much as possible -- this reduces the size of the market for capitalist production. At the same time, capitalism always maintains a reserve army of the unemployed which can be drawn into production when needed and thrown out of work when not, and the existence of which keeps down the wages of those workers fortunate enough to have jobs. The existence of large numbers of unemployed further limits the market for capitalist production. The end result: production has a tendency to expand rapidly, while the market expands slowly, causing periodic crises of overproduction.

These crises seriously hold back the growth of the forces of production. They show the basic irrationality of capitalism: here are forces of production capable of meeting the basic needs of humanity, and here are unemployed workers desperate for jobs -- yet the machinery remains idle, because no profit can be made by using it. The crises also demonstrate the inability of the bourgeoisie to control its own mode of production -- they take place regardless of the will of the capitalists, and nothing they do succeeds in preventing them from occurring.

This tendency to overproduction and crisis continues to operate under capitalism. To see this, we need only look at the experience of the U.S. in the last 50 years. After the Great Depression of 1929-33, the economy picked up to some extent, only to fall back in another depression ("recession") in 1937-38. The only thing that picked up the economy from its crises of the 1930s was the massive war spending of World War II. Then, since World War II, there have been depressions of varying severity in 1949-50, 1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61, 1969-70, 1974-75 and 1979-?

The defenders of capitalism point out that it has found methods of cushioning itself against the most severe forms of depression -- for example, by means of heavy government spending to provide the demand that is otherwise missing from the private market. This is true, it least temporarily. But capitalism has only done this by creating for itself new contradictions -- such as the chronic problem of inflation. Furthermore, the prosperity of contemporary U.S. capitalism (to the extent it exists) is built on a house of cards -- for example, extremely heavy indebtedness (which again increases demand, but cannot go on forever). All the efforts of the capitalist state to eliminate the economic contradictions and to bring the economy under control have failed.

As a result of economic crises, the growth of the forces of production is seriously held back. In addition, capitalism holds back this growth in other ways as well.

First, there is the general tendency not only to boom and bust, but in the later stages of capitalism, to stagnation. Even in "normal" times, unemployment in the U.S. is an official 5-6% -- and these official figures seriously understate the actual extent of unemployment. For particular groups, such as oppressed national minorities, these figures are far higher. At the same time, much industrial capacity goes unutilized, even in times of economic "prosperity."

Second, there is a tremendous amount of unproductive work that is done, where both labor and machinery are utilized to produce not for the needs of the people, but for the needs of the capitalists. Examples of this would be the production of luxury goods for the rich and the production of weaponry to enforce imperialist domination. Other examples include dumping large amounts of capital and labor into the effort to increase sales through advertising and product style changes. Still other examples include development of a large management and state bureaucracy whose main purpose is to control the working class.

Third, much productive forces (including labor) are destroyed by wars which are chronic features of capitalism. These wars result both from competition among the imperialist countries for investment outlets, markets, and raw materials, and from imperialism's need to put down revolutions against its rule on a worldwide basis.

7. pp. 41-43. "But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons -- the modern working class -- the proletarians."

This section describes the development of the proletariat -- capitalism's "grave-diggers." As the capitalists accumulate the means of production in their own hands, and drive small producers out of business, a class is created that can only make a living by selling their labor to the capitalist. The capitalist in turn makes a profit only by paying labor less than the value of its production -- by extracting surplus value. In general, labor gets paid at the level of subsistence needed "for his maintenance and for the propagation of his race," but nothing more.

At the same time, as modern industry develops, the worker becomes an appendage of the machine. Jobs are broken up into their minutest component parts, to be performed over and over again by the worker. A whole group of people -- management -- is set up by the capitalist to organize this labor and to make sure it carries out production as efficiently as possible. In the later stages of capitalism, a whole science of management is developed -- so-called "scientific management" -- which consciously robs workers of knowledge of the process of production, further reduces the worker to a robot whose job is to take orders, while management is given power to make all decisions concerning the production process. (See Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital, for an excellent description of scientific management.)

The Manifesto also points out that as modern industry advances, the small producing classes (farmers, craftsmen) are largely destroyed, joining the ranks of the proletariat. Even the largest part of the bourgeoisie itself is driven out of business and is thrown into the working class. This development, which had advanced to a certain point in Marx's time, has now proceeded much further. The proletariat was a minority at that time, even in England where capitalism was most developed. Today on the other hand, a sizeable majority of the people in the advanced capitalist countries are proletarians. For example, in the U.S., the last century has seen most small farmers forced off the land, coming instead to the cities looking for work. At the same time, many independent craftsmen and small businessmen have been squeezed out by the competition of big business. As a result, a much higher proportion of the population is proletarian than a century ago. For this reason, the conditions for proletarian revolution are greatly matured today compared to a century earlier. This will be even more the case in the future when the various new (or relatively new) arrivals to the working class shake off the consciousness produced by their former existence as small property holders and adapt to their new status as members of a class without property -- the proletariat.

8. pp. 43-46. "The proletariat goes through various stages of development."

This section shows how the proletariat develops into a class capable of carrying out the socialist revolution which is its historic mission.

Some important points are made. First, it describes the development of the class struggle from local, isolated struggles against a particular boss to nationwide struggles of an entire class directed at the entire class of capitalists. As it states, "Now and then, the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of workers."

Class struggle is a "school for communism." That is, it is on the basis of the workers' own experience in struggle that they come to see the need for socialist revolution, that they grasp the ideas of communists. Further, communists intervene in the spontaneous struggles of the working class, not as an end in itself, but to help build the unity, organization, and consciousness of that class. At first, workers engage primarily in localized, economic struggles against one boss. But the aim is to develop class-wide political struggles waged by a united working class against the entire class of capitalists. The ultimate political struggle is socialist revolution.

Second, the Manifesto points out that the proletariat grows stronger with the development of capitalism. With the development of industry, the proletariat increases in numbers, and is concentrated in large factories and in cities. These changes give it a greater sense of its own strength. In addition, the development of national industry with its fostering of national means of

communication, nationwide companies, and interdependent production on a national scale provides the basis for developing national solidarity of workers. It also further increases the power of the proletariat -- giving it, for example, the power to shut down whole industries and in some cases (e.g., coal, steel) to severely affect the whole national economy.

Third, the Manifesto shows how a section of the bourgeois intellectuals "who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole" -- the scientific socialists -- detach themselves from the ruling classes and "join the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. This group, whose understanding of scientific socialism grows out of the class struggle of the proletariat, in turn brings this theory to the working class struggle. It is this merger or fusion of scientific socialism with the class struggle of the proletariat that is the essence of building a political party of the working class -- the vanguard party -- capable of leading it to victory.

9. pp. 46-48. "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class."

Unlike the small producers such as peasants or independent craftsmen, the proletariat has no property to protect. The small producing classes are fighting a rearguard battle to prevent their extinction as classes -- to prevent their being driven into the ranks of the proletariat. Though large sections of these classes may be drawn into the proletarian cause, they do so not out of their class interests, but out of recognition that the proletariat represents the wave of the future. But as a class, they are threatened by the abolition of property, and see their liberation in preserving or extending their tenuous hold on the means of production rather than establishing social ownership.

The lumpen-proletariat is also not a revolutionary class. The lumpen are those who have adopted a criminal-parasitic existence as a way of life -- small-time gangsters, pimps, drug pushers, beggars, etc. The life style of the criminal lumpen tends to promote extreme individualism, cynicism, and ruthlessness. As a result, the lumpen has been subject historically to the ~~brilliant and blackmail~~ of the bourgeoisie, and has supplied a large portion of the informers, strikebreakers, perjurers and goons used to attack the working class movement. Nevertheless, there are also elements of the lumpen who can also become allies of the proletariat, deriving from their real oppression at the hands of society and the police -- and some (like Malcolm X) can give up the lumpen existence for a life of dedication of the peoples' cause.

Not only is the proletariat a revolutionary class, it is the first class in history which, as a ruling class, would have an interest in ruling in behalf of the whole people. Previous ruling classes only represented minorities in society -- and acquired their wealth and maintained their power at the expense of the majority. Previous ruling classes abolished earlier forms of private property, only to adopt new forms -- they did not do away with private property, and therefore with exploitation, itself. The proletariat, however, has no interests separate from those of society as a whole. Its interest is in ownership by the whole society, not in private ownership by a particular class.

10. pp. 48-49. "(The bourgeoisie's) fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

This section summarizes the historical necessity of the overthrow of cap-

italism by the proletariat. First, the bourgeoisie cannot provide for the proletariat, even within the framework of wage slavery. The advance of wealth for the few is carried on on the basis of the poverty of the many. Further, the periodic economic crises of capitalism continually throws the proletariat to the wolves, with no means of survival.

Second, not only does capitalism fail to meet the needs of the worker, it also forges workers together as a class capable of leading a revolution. It does this through the socialization of labor, the significance of which is excellently summarized by Lenin in The Development of Capitalism in Russia:

"The socialization of labor by capitalism is manifested in the following processes. Firstly, the very growth of commodity production destroys the scatteredness of small economic units ... and draws together the small local markets into an enormous national (and then world) market ... the higher capitalism is developed, the stronger becomes the contradiction between this collective character of production and the individual character of appropriation. Secondly, in place of the former scatteredness of production, capitalism creates an unprecedented concentration of it, both in agriculture and in industry ... Thirdly, capitalism ousts the forms of personal dependence that constituted an inalienable component of preceding systems of economy...

"Fourthly, capitalism necessarily creates mobility of the population, something not required by previous systems of social economy and impossible under them on anything like a large scale. Fifthly, capitalism constantly reduces the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture (where the most backward forms of social and economic relationships always prevail), and increases the number of large industrial centers. Sixthly, capitalist society increases the population's need for association, for organization ... capitalism ... splits the whole of society into large groups of persons occupying different positions in production, and gives a tremendous impetus to organization within each group. Seventhly, all the above-mentioned changes effected in the old economic system by capitalism inevitably lead also to a change in the mentality of the population. The spasmodic character of economic development, the rapid transformation of the methods of production and the enormous concentration of production, the disappearance of all forms of personal dependence and patriarchalism in relationships, the mobility of the population, the influence of the big industrial centers, etc. -- all this cannot but lead to a profound change in the very character of the producers ... "

PART II: PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS

11. pp. 49-50. "(The Communists) have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole."

This section briefly describes the relation of Communists to other sections of the working class movement. It emphasizes that the interests of Communists are the long-term interests of the working class itself. All the actions of Communists must proceed from an analysis of what best advances the class struggle of the proletariat -- the struggle for socialism and for the eventual creation of a classless society.

What does it mean to serve the long-term interests of the proletarian class struggle? First, it means that the Communists stand up for the interests of the whole working class, not just a narrow section of it. As internationalists, Communists "bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independent of nationality." The movement of the working class within a nation must be guided by proletarian internationalism -- recognition of the identity of interests of the workers and the oppressed peoples of the world. It is particularly important within the U.S. -- the main enemy of the world's people -- to build support within the working class for the liberation movements of

nations oppressed by U.S. imperialism.

In addition, within a given country such as the U.S., the Communists must struggle to overcome divisions within the working class and to build support among the more privileged sections of the working class for the most oppressed sections and for the liberation struggles of oppressed nationalities and women. As long as sections of the working class -- national or international -- are pitted against one another, the proletariat cannot achieve victory. Similarly, a solid and unbreakable tie between the working class movement and the liberation movements of oppressed peoples is critical to overthrowing imperialism. It is essential to strenuously combat any tendency toward opportunism within the proletarian movement -- to placing the narrow interests of one section ahead of the whole movement, to tail behind the prejudices that capitalism generates within the working class for the sake of short-term gain or popularity.

Second, serving the long-term interests of the proletarian class struggle means bringing a revolutionary strategy to the immediate struggles for reforms. As the Manifesto states in a later section (p. 75): "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." Communists are the most energetic fighters within the on-going struggles of the day -- but they participate in a way that raises consciousness of the ultimate goals of the movement. Communists must "never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat ..." (p. 76) However, the Communists also "do not set up any sectarian principles of their own" -- rather than the struggle for reforms being contradictory to the struggle for revolution, it is the experience of the working class in the reform struggle that prepares it for the revolutionary struggle.

12. pp. 50. "The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer."

This brief section summarizes the scientific basis of socialism. As Engels explains in Socialism: Utopian and Scientific: "... the means of eliminating the abuses (of a society) ... must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed relations of production themselves. These means are not to be invented out of one's brain, but discovered by the brain in the existing material facts of production."

Socialism is not just a nice idea. It is the result of development of material forces already existing in capitalism. First, it is a result of the contradiction between the developing productive forces and the capitalist relations of production which prevent those forces from serving the needs of humanity. Secondly, it is the result of the development of a revolutionary class -- the proletariat -- whose objective interest, whose strength, and whose participation in a socialized process of labor provides the basis not only for the overthrow of capitalism, but for the construction of socialism and ultimately a classless society. The contradictions of capitalism leading to the development of socialism exist in the real world, they do not come out of our wishes for justice. It is this that distinguishes scientific socialism, or a materialist approach to socialism, from the utopian socialists that dominated socialist thought prior to Marx and Engels.

13. pp. 50-55. "You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property."

In this section, the Manifesto takes up bourgeois objections to the abolition of private property inherent in socialism. It shows the clear class bias underlying these objections, which are still made in similar form today.

For example, the Manifesto points out that the bourgeoisie itself supports the abolition of earlier forms of private property that occurred in prior revolutions. Thus, it defends its own abolition of feudal property as part of the revolution against feudalism. Nevertheless, when it comes to the abolition of the newest form of private property -- capitalist property -- the bourgeoisie is horrified.

The Manifesto also points out that the concern expressed for "freedom" and "individuality" is actually concern for the freedom of the bourgeoisie to accumulate property and seek profits -- a "freedom" which is actually the condition for the exploitation of the working class.

Further, the Manifesto explains that the concern for the rights of property is actually a concern for the property of only a small minority, since capitalism itself has already separated the masses of people from the means of production they previously controlled as small farmers or craftsmen. And it demonstrates that establishing social ownership of bourgeois property is not taking anything that really belongs to the bourgeoisie, as this property is the product of the collective labor of the working class as a whole.

14. pp. 55-56. "The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more ... all family ties are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor."

This section takes up further bourgeois objections to communism -- in this case focussing on the family, education, and the role of women. The Manifesto demonstrates the hypocrisy of the bourgeois position. The capitalists attack communism for seeking to abolish the family and to exploit women when it is the bourgeoisie itself whose society exploits women and has torn apart the proletarian family.

Let's first take up the claim that the Communists want to abolish the family. To begin with, Communists do not seek to destroy family relations as such. In fact, they stand for strengthening the family, on the basis of relationships characterized by love and mutual respect. Communists also recognize that the family is an important seat of resistance to capitalism, helping to give the strength to the proletariat necessary to wage the class struggle. They do seek however to abolish the bourgeois family, a family characterized by male supremacy. Within the bourgeoisie itself, this male domination is based on control of property. Within the propertyless proletariat, this pure form of the bourgeois family does not exist, but there are still strong elements of male supremacy due to the influence of bourgeois ideology.

As evidence of the Communist position on abolition of the family, the bourgeoisie raises the spectre of the state taking education out of the hands of the family. It fails to point out that capitalism itself seeks to educate children on a social basis through the schools, rather than leaving education to the individual family. Further, religion seeks to educate children, according to a viewpoint that serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. So too, capitalist culture exerts its influence on the working class, training

the proletariat "to act as a machine." Socialism does not introduce social education, but rather changes its class character, placing education in the hands of the proletariat where it can be carried out in the interests of the proletariat rather than those of the bourgeoisie.

The hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie's objections to "abolition" of the family is shown by the way the proletarian family is torn apart under the conditions of capitalism. Children are forced into labor at an early age by economic necessity, suffering a miserable existence. The means of support do not exist to provide security for the family. Many cannot have families because they cannot afford dependents, or are forced by economic conditions into prostitution.

Today in the U.S., the proletarian family is still unable to function under the conditions of capitalism. Child labor may have been eliminated, but prostitution continues and the family is still not able to provide security for itself. The pressures of trying to survive on too little money drives many families apart. Increasing hours spent working outside the home to make ends meet places added pressures on the family. Public policy actually encourages the break-up of families -- for example, men unable to find work (especially Black men and other oppressed nationalities) are forced to leave home so their families can qualify for public assistance. The ideology of sexism fostered by capitalism pits family members against themselves and makes good love relationships based on mutual respect difficult to find. For all of these reasons and others, the family is falling apart under capitalism.

Meanwhile, society as a whole takes little or no responsibility for the functions of raising children, caring for the home, cooking, recreation, etc. These functions are, after all, crucial ones for society. Yet capitalism forces their entire burden to be borne by the individual family. Instead, socialism would recognize the social character of these activities and support the family with services such as free or inexpensive child care, eating halls and restaurants, house cleaning, cultural and sports activities, vacation spots, etc.

The bourgeoisie also objects to Communist morality, claiming that Communists advocate "a community of women." Again, this objection is totally hypocritical, when you consider that prostitution is an integral part of capitalist society, that the bourgeois conception of the family views women as objects for sexual enjoyment, and that the bourgeoisie takes "the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives." Furthermore, it completely distorts the Communist position, which highlights the equality of women within the family, seeks an end to prostitution, and which condemns the double standard by which monogamy (relations with one partner) is preached for all and enforced for women only to be consistently violated by men.

15. pp. 56-57. "The communists are further reproached for seeking to abolish countries and nationality."

The Manifesto answers this criticism with three basic arguments. First, capitalism itself is doing away with national differences, as described in the Manifesto (pp. 37-38). So to accuse communism of being responsible for this is hypocritical.

Second, united action by the revolutionary forces across national lines is required for the victory of the proletariat. Marx recognized that any revolutionary working class struggle in any given country of Europe would be met by the opposition not only of the bourgeoisie of that country, but from the bourgeoisie of the other countries. In the era of imperialism, such united action extends beyond the advanced capitalist countries to the nations oppressed by imperialism around the world. Success of the revolutionary struggle in any given country, whether it be the proletarian struggles of the advanced capitalist countries or the national liberation struggles of the countries oppressed by imperialism, requires international solidarity.

Third, it is a goal of communism to overcome national divisions, to en-

courage the voluntary union of nations, and eventually to create one world communist society. The proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world have no separate interests. The material basis for national differences is rather the competition by the various national bourgeoisies for supremacy, and the exploitation of one nation by another for the gain of the bourgeoisie. The development of socialism eliminates this basis for national differences, leading instead to mutual respect among nations and an end to national hostilities. On this basis, international proletarian unity can be built, eventually eliminating national barriers. These barriers will then seem as antiquated as do the local divisions of feudal times (before the formation of the great nation-states) seem today.

It should be mentioned that based on this understanding of the ultimate goals of communism and the international dimension to the struggle for socialism, Communists have always organized themselves on an international basis to whatever extent possible. The Communist Manifesto itself was originally written as a proclamation of the views of the Communist League, an organization with membership from all the European countries. Later on, the International Workingmen's Association or First International was established, lasting from 1864 to 1872. This fell apart, but a 2nd International was later constituted. This 2nd International in turn succumbed to reformism and its members supported their own bourgeoisies in the the struggle among imperialist countries for supremacy called World War I. At this point, revolutionary forces led by Lenin and the newly victorious Russian Communist Party led the establishment of the 3rd International, which was the international center of revolutionary communism until the early 1940s.

Today, there is no political basis at this time for establishing another international center of the communist movement. A prior task is to establish some viable alternatives to revisionism and ultra-leftism on a national scale. But as these Parties establish themselves and are able to build some real unity with one another, the basis will be laid for still another attempt to create an international party of the proletariat.

16. pp. 57-59. "The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class."

Here, the Manifesto examines the class basis of the various objections that have been raised against communism in the preceding sections. It presents an introduction to the historical materialist conception of the relation of ideas to production and to classes. The ideas of any epoch may be put forward as universally true, but they are actually the ideas of a particular class, reflecting the particular conditions of production existing in a society.

For example, the bourgeois idea of "free trade" was developed in relation to the restrictions on trade and production imposed by feudalism and the absolute monarchies. But while this was a revolutionary idea for that period, it becomes a reactionary idea when it is raised as the basis for defending the rights of the bourgeoisie to accumulate property and to do with it as they see fit.

Similarly, the idea that ownership should rest in the hands of private individuals grows out of the individualized forms of production existing prior to the rise of capitalism. Small farmers and craftsmen -- producing more or less independently from the rest of society -- could genuinely say, "I produced this," and claim ownership of it as a result. On the other hand, it does not make sense for any individual to claim ownership with the growth of socialized production, when no one person can say "I produced this" because of the interdependence of labor that characterizes not only a particular factory, but the entire economy.

On the other hand, the concept of social or public ownership, which had no basis for widespread support in the Middle Ages because of the domination of the small producers, now has a material basis within the working class due to the conditions of socialized production. The logical step for the worker separated from the means of production individually and producing the goods and services of society collectively is to think in terms of public ownership as the way to reestablish control of the means of production.

17. pp. 59-61. The Communist program for transforming capitalism.

This section presents the communist program for transforming capitalism. It points to the need for working class revolution to raise "the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle for democracy." It goes on to explain how this power must be used to "make despotic inroads on the rights of property," to expropriate the means of production from the capitalists.

These ideas foreshadow the development of the Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The rule by the proletariat is a dictatorship in the sense of imposing the class dictatorship of the working class on the bourgeoisie -- just as the bourgeoisie imposed its own class dictatorship over the proletariat under capitalism. On the other hand, it represents the furthest development of democracy for the proletariat itself and therefore for the whole of society -- for the first time, the large majority will rule rather than a minority.

The Manifesto goes on to briefly explain how the development of socialism will lay the basis for a classless society and therefore for the disappearance of the state as it has been known historically -- as an apparatus for the domination (dictatorship) of one class over another. As Engels explains in Karl Marx:

"This new conception of history (historical materialism) ... showed that all previous history moved in class antagonisms and class struggles, that there have always existed ruling and ruled, exploiting and exploited classes, and that the great majority of mankind has always been condemned to arduous labor and little enjoyment. Why is this? Simply because in all earlier stages of development of mankind production was so little developed that the historical development could proceed only in this antagonistic form, that historical progress as a whole was assigned to the activity of a small privileged minority, while the great mass remained condemned to producing by their labor their own meagre means of subsistence and also the increasingly rich means of the privileged. But the same investigation of history ... also leads to the realization that, in consequence of the so tremendously increased productive forces of the present time, even the last pretext has vanished for a division of mankind into rulers and ruled, exploiters and exploited, at least in the most advanced countries ..."

Communist Manifesto, Marx + Engels

I

BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS*

① The history of all hitherto existing society** is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master*** and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that

* By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labour. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

** That is, all-written history. In 1847, the pre-history of society, the social organisation existing previous to recorded history, was all but unknown. Since then, Haxthausen discovered common ownership of land in Russia, Maurer proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history, and by and by, village communities were found to be, or to have been, the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organisation of this primitive Communist society was laid bare, in its typical form, by Morgan's crowning discovery of the true nature of the gens and its relation to the tribe. With the dissolution of these primeval communities, society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes. I have attempted to retrace this process of dissolution in *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats* [The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State], 2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1886. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

*** Guild-master, that is, a full member of a guild, a master within, not a head of, a guild. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burghesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds, now no longer

sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class; division of labour between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labour in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, modern industry, the place of the industrial middle class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class.* An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the mediaeval com-

* In the German original (the 1848 edition), the words "political advance of that class" read "political advance."

mune;* here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany),** there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France);*** afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner-stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical

* "Commune" was the name taken, in France, by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters local self-government and political rights as the "third estate." Generally speaking, for the economical development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country; for its political development, France. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

This was the name given their urban communities by the townsmen of Italy and France, after they had purchased or wrested their initial rights of self-government from their feudal lords. [Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.]

** The words "(as in Italy and Germany)" are not in the German original.

*** The words "(as in France)" are not in the German original.

calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom — Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigour in the Middle Ages, which Reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former exoduses of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones.* All fixed, fast-frozen relations,

* In the German edition of 1890, the word "earlier" reads "other."

with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid* melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-

* In the German original, the word "solid" reads "privileged and established."

mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, *i.e.*, to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiosyncrasy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilised ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground — what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; * they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many

* In the German original, the sentence ends here. Then follows: "They hindered production, instead of promoting it. They became so many fetters...."

a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity — the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. And why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property;* on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more

* In the German edition of 1848, the words "development of the conditions of bourgeois property" read "development of bourgeois civilisation and the conditions of bourgeois property." In the German editions of 1872, 1883 and 1890, the words "bourgeois civilisation and" are omitted.

thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons — the modern working class — the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed — a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labour,²⁹ is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work

exacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overseer, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labour of men superseded by that of women.* Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far at an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class — the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants — all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried

* In the first German edition of February 1848, the words "superseded by that of women" read "superseded by that of women and children."

on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves;* they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage the labourers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater

* In the German original, this sentence reads: "They direct their attacks not only against the bourgeois conditions of production, but..."

masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (trades' unions)* against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

* The words "(trades' unions)" are not in the German original.

This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten-hours' bill in England was carried.

Altogether, collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education,* in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.**

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the

* In the German original, the words "elements of political and general education" read "elements of education."

** In the German original, the words "fresh elements of enlightenment and progress" read "a mass of educational elements."

ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The "dangerous class," the social scum,* that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletariat is

* In the German original, "The 'dangerous class,' the social scum" reads "The lumpen proletariat."

without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labour, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war

* The word "self-conscious," is not in the German original.

breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital;* the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bour-

* In the German original this sentence reads: "The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the accumulation of wealth in the hands of private individuals, the formation and augmentation. . . ."

geoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

II

PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians **(11)** as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian* principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-

* In the German original, the word "sectarian" reads "special."

class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Communism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical-change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.*

* In the German original, the words "the exploitation of the many by the few" read "the exploitation of some by others."

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property?

But does wage-labour create any property for the labourer? Not a bit. It creates capital, *i.e.*, that kind of property which exploits wage-labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-labour for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social, *status* in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

Let us now take wage-labour.

The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, *i.e.*, that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in Communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "brave words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom

in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the Communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labour can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolised, *i.e.*, from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital,* from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.

* The words "into capital," are not in the German original.

It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can no longer be any wage-labour when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the Communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the Communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property — historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production — this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case

Handwritten note: *Handwritten text, possibly a title or reference, written in a cursive hand.*

Main body of handwritten text in a cursive hand, appearing to be a reproduction of the printed text above.

A page from the original manuscript of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*

(The entire text is in Marx's hand, except the first two lines, which were written by his wife, Jenny Marx)

of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society, by means of schools, etc.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, *i.e.*, of prostitution both public and private. The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first

of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation,* must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

* In the German original, the words "the leading class of the nation" read "the national class."

When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the eighteenth century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death-battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.*

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, *viz.*, the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays,

* In the German edition of 1848, the word "knowledge" reads "conscience." In the German editions of 1872, 1883 and 1890, the word "knowledge" is used as in the English translation.

moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order,* and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.

* The words "necessitate further inroads upon the old social order," are not in the German original.

2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction* between town and country, by a more equitable distribution of the population over the country.**
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production,*** etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, prop-

* In the German edition of 1848, the word "distinction" reads "antithesis." In the German editions of 1872, 1883 and 1890, the word "distinction" is used as in the English translation.

** The words "by a more equitable distribution of the population over the country" are not in the German original.

*** In the German original, the words "industrial production" read "material production."

erly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally,* and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

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From Lenin, Development of Capitalism in Russia, Vol. 3, pp. 598-99

① The socialization of labor by capitalism is manifested in the following processes. Firstly, the very growth of commodity production destroys the scatteredness of small economic units, that is characteristic of natural economy, and draws together the small local markets into an enormous national (and then world) market. Production for oneself is transformed into production for the whole of society; and the higher capitalism is developed, the stronger becomes the contradiction between this collective character of production and the individual character of appropriation. Secondly, in place of the former scatteredness of production, capitalism creates an unprecedented concentration of it, both in agriculture and in industry. That is the most striking and outstanding, but not the only, manifestation of the feature of capitalism under review. Thirdly, capitalism ousts the forms of personal dependence that constituted an inalienable component of preceding systems of economy. In Russia, the progressive character of capitalism in this respect is particularly marked, since the personal dependence of the producer existed in our country (and partly continues to exist to this day) not only in agriculture but also in manufacturing industry ("factories" employing serf labor), in the mining and metallurgical industries, in the fishing industry, etc.

Compared with the labor of the dependent or bonded peasant, the labor of the freely hired worker is progressive in all branches of the national economy. Fourthly, capitalism necessarily creates mobility of the population, something not required by previous systems of social economy and impossible under them on anything like a large scale. Fifthly, capitalism constantly reduces the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture (where the most backward forms of social and economic relationships always prevail), and increases the number of large

② industrial centers. Sixthly, capitalist society increases the populations' need for association, for organization, and lends these organizations a character distinct from those of former times. While breaking down the narrow, local, social-estate associations of medieval society and creating fierce competition, capitalism at the same time splits the whole of society into large groups of persons occupying different positions in production, and gives a tremendous impetus to organization within each group. Seventhly, all the above-mentioned changes effected in the old economic system by capitalism inevitably lead also to a change in the mentality of the population. The spasmodic character of economic development, the rapid transformation of the methods of production and the enormous concentration of production, the disappearance of all forms of personal dependence and patriarchalism in relationships, the mobility of the population, the influence of the big industrial centers, etc. — all this cannot but lead to a profound change in the very character of the producers. . . .

From Lenin, Who are Friends of the People "vol. 1, Wks. pp 298-300"

(3) The political activity of the Social-Democrats lies in promoting the development and organisation of the working-class movement in Russia, in transforming this movement from its present state of sporadic attempts at protest, "riots" and strikes devoid of a guiding idea, into an organised struggle of the WHOLE Russian working CLASS directed against the bourgeois regime and working for the expropriation of the expropriators and the abolition of the social system based on the oppression of the working people. Underlying these activities is the common conviction of Marxists that the Russian worker is the sole and natural representative of Russia's entire working and exploited population.*

Natural because the exploitation of the working people in Russia is everywhere capitalist in nature, if we leave out of account the moribund remnants of serf economy; but the exploitation of the mass of producers is on a small scale, scattered and undeveloped, while the exploitation of the factory proletariat is on a large scale, socialised and concentrated. In the former case, exploitation is still enmeshed in medieval forms, various political, legal and conventional trappings, tricks and devices, which hinder the working people and their ideologists from seeing the essence of the system which oppresses the working people, from seeing where and how a way can be found out of this system. In the latter case, on the contrary, exploitation is fully developed and emerges in its pure form, without any confusing details. The worker cannot fail to see that he is oppressed by capital, that his struggle has to be waged against the bourgeois class. And this struggle, aimed at satisfying his immediate economic needs, at improving his material conditions, inevitably demands that the workers organise, and inevitably becomes a war not against individuals, but against a class, the class which oppresses and crushes the working people not only in the factories, but everywhere. That is why the factory worker is none other than the foremost representative of the entire exploited population. And in order that he may fulfil his function of representative in an organised, sustained struggle it is by no means necessary to enthrone him with "perspectives"; all that is needed is simply to make him understand his position, to make him understand the political and economic structure of the system that oppresses him, and the necessity and inevitability of class antagonisms under this system. This position of the factory worker

(4) in the general system of capitalist relations makes him the sole fighter for the emancipation of the working class, for only the higher stage of development of capitalism, large-scale machine industry, creates the material conditions and the social forces necessary for this struggle. Everywhere else, where the forms of capitalist development are low, these material conditions are absent; production is scattered among thousands of tiny enterprises (and they do not cease to be scattered enterprises even under the most equalitarian forms of communal landownership), for the most part the exploited still possess tiny enterprises, and are thus tied to the very bourgeois system they should be fighting: this retards and hinders the development of the social forces capable of overthrowing capitalism. Scattered, individual, petty exploitation ties the working people to one locality, divides them, prevents them from becoming conscious of class solidarity, prevents them from uniting once they have understood that oppression is not caused by some particular individual, but by the whole economic system. Large-scale capitalism, on the contrary, inevitably severs all the workers' ties with the old society, with a particular locality and a particular exploiter; it unites them, compels them to think and places them in conditions which enable them to commence an organised struggle. Accordingly, it is on the working class that the Social-Democrats concentrate all their attention and all their activities. When its advanced representatives have mastered the ideas of scientific socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, when these ideas become widespread, and when stable organisations are formed among the workers to transform the workers' present sporadic economic war into conscious class struggle—then the Russian worker, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT (side by side with the proletariat of ALL COUNTRIES) along the straight road of open political struggle to the VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION.

* Russia's man of the future is the muzhik—thought the representatives of peasant socialism, the Narodniks in the broadest sense of the term. Russia's man of the future is the worker—think the Social-Democrats. That is how the Marxist view was formulated in a certain manuscript.

⑤

... the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only the use of force against the exploiters, and not even mainly the use of force. The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organisation of labour compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of the strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of communism is inevitable.

The feudal organisation of social labour rested on the discipline of the bludgeon, while the working people, robbed and tyrannised by a handful of landowners, were utterly ignorant and downtrodden. The capitalist organisation of social labour rested on the discipline of hunger, and, notwithstanding all the progress of bourgeois culture and bourgeois democracy, the vast mass of the working people in the most advanced, civilised and democratic republics remained an ignorant and downtrodden mass of wage-slaves or oppressed peasants, robbed and tyrannised by a handful of capitalists. The communist organisation of social labour, the first step towards which is socialism, rests, and will do so more and more as time goes on, on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves who have thrown off the yoke both of the landowners and capitalists.

This new discipline does not drop from the skies, nor is it born from pious wishes; it grows out of the material conditions of large-scale capitalist production, and out of them alone. Without them it is impossible. And the repository, or the vehicle, of these material conditions is a definite historical class, created, organised, united, trained, educated and hardened by large-scale capitalism. This class is the proletariat.

If we translate the Latin, scientific, historico-philosophical term "dictatorship of the proletariat" into simpler language, it means just the following:

Only a definite class, namely, the urban workers and the factory, industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people in the struggle to throw off the yoke of capital, in actually carrying it out, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, socialist social system and in the entire struggle for the complete abolition of classes.

• • • Great and inevitable as may be their petty-bourgeois vacillations and their tendency to go back to bourgeois "order", under the "wing" of the bourgeoisie, the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian mass of the working population cannot but recognise the moral and political authority of

the proletariat, who are not only overthrowing the exploiters and suppressing their resistance, but are building a new and higher social bond, a social discipline, the discipline of class-conscious and united working people, who know no yoke and no authority except the authority of their own unity, of their own, more class-conscious, bold, solid, revolutionary and steadfast vanguard.

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In order to achieve victory, in order to build and consolidate socialism, the proletariat must fulfil a twofold or dual task: first, it must, by its supreme heroism in the revolutionary struggle against capital, win over the entire mass of the working and exploited people; it must win them over, organise them and lead them in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and utterly suppress their resistance. Secondly, it must lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people, as well as all the petty-bourgeois groups, on to the road of new economic development, towards the creation of a new social bond, a new labour discipline, a new organisation of labour, which will combine the last word in science and capitalist technology with the mass association of class-conscious workers creating large-scale socialist industry.

① The Russian Social-Democratic Party declares that its aim is to assist this struggle of the Russian working class by developing the class-consciousness of the workers, by promoting their organisation, and by indicating the aims and objects of the struggle.

This is the most important, the paramount, point of the programme, because it indicates what should constitute the activity of the Party in defending the interests of the working class, the activity of all class-conscious workers. It indicates how the striving for socialism, the striving for the abolition of the age-old exploitation of man by man, should be linked up with the popular movement engendered by the living conditions created by the large-scale factories.

The Party's activity must consist in promoting the workers' class struggle. The Party's task is not to concoct some fashionable means of helping the workers, but to join up with the workers' movement, to bring light into it, to assist the workers in the struggle they themselves have already begun to wage. The Party's task is to uphold the interests of the workers and to represent those of the entire working-class movement. Now, what must this assistance to the workers in their struggle consist of?

The programme says that this assistance must consist, firstly, in developing the workers' class-consciousness. We have already spoken of how the workers' struggle against the employers becomes the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

What is meant by workers' class-consciousness follows from what we have said on the subject. The workers' class-consciousness means the workers' understanding that the only way to improve their conditions and to achieve their emancipation is to conduct a struggle against the capitalist and factory-owner class created by the big factories. Further, the workers' class-consciousness means their understanding that the interests of all the workers of any particular country are identical, that they all constitute one class, separate from all the other classes in society. Finally, the class-consciousness of the workers means the workers' understanding that to achieve their aims they have to work to influence affairs of state, just as the landlords and the capitalists did, and are continuing to do now.

By what means do the workers reach an understanding of all this? They do so by constantly gaining experience from the

② very struggle that they begin to wage against the employers and that increasingly develops, becomes sharper, and involves larger numbers of workers as big factories grow. There was a time when the workers' enmity against capital only found expression in a hazy sense of hatred of their exploiters, in a hazy consciousness of their oppression and enslavement, and in the desire to *wreak vengeance* on the capitalists. The struggle at that time found expression in isolated revolts of the workers, who wrecked buildings, smashed machines, attacked members of the factory management, etc. That was the *first*, the initial, form of the working-class movement, and it was a necessary one, because hatred of the capitalist has always and everywhere been the first impulse towards arousing in the workers the desire to defend themselves.

The Russian working-class movement has, however, already outgrown this original form. Instead of having a hazy hatred of the capitalist, the workers have already begun to understand the antagonism between the interests of the working class and of the capitalist class. Instead of having a confused sense of oppression, they have begun to distinguish the *ways and means* by which capital oppresses them, and are revolting against various forms of oppression, placing limits to capitalist oppression, and protecting themselves against the capitalist's greed. Instead of wreaking vengeance on the capitalists they are now turning to the fight for concessions, they are beginning to face the capitalist class with one demand after another, and are demanding improved working conditions, increased wages, and shorter working hours. Every strike concentrates all the attention and all the efforts of the workers on some particular aspect of the conditions under which the working class lives. Every strike gives rise to discussions about these conditions, helps the workers to appraise them, to understand what capitalist oppression consists in in the particular case, and what means can be employed to combat this oppression. Every strike enriches the experience of the entire working class. If the strike is successful it shows them what a strong force working-class unity is, and impels others to make use of their comrades' success. If it is not successful, it gives rise to discussions about the causes of the failure and to the search for better methods of struggle. This transition of the workers to the steadfast struggle for their vital needs, the fight for concessions, for improved living conditions, wages and working hours, now begun all over Russia, means that the Russian workers are making

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tremendous progress, and that is why the attention of the Social-Democratic Party and all class-conscious workers should be concentrated mainly on this struggle, on its pro-motion.

Assistance to the workers should consist in showing them those most vital needs for the satisfaction of which they should fight, should consist in analysing the factors particularly responsible for worsening the conditions of different categories of workers, in explaining factory laws and regulations the violation of which (added to the deceptive tricks of the capitalists) so often subject the workers to double robbery. Assistance should consist in giving more precise and definite expression to the workers' demands, and in making them public, in choosing the best time for resistance, in choosing the method of struggle, in discussing the position and the strength of the two opposing sides, in discussing whether a still better choice can be made of the method of fighting (a method, perhaps, like addressing a letter to the factory owner, or approaching the inspector, or the doctor, according to circumstances, where direct strike action is not advisable, etc.).

We have said that the Russian workers' transition to such struggle is indicative of the tremendous progress they have made. This struggle places (leads) the working-class movement on to the high road, and is the certain guarantee of its further success. The mass of working folk learn from this struggle, firstly, how to recognise and to examine one by one the methods of capitalist exploitation, to compare them with the law, with their living conditions, and with the interests of the capitalist class. By examining the different forms and cases of exploitation, the workers learn to understand the significance and the essence of exploitation as a whole, learn to understand the social system based on the exploitation of labour by capital. Secondly, in the process of this struggle the workers test their strength, learn to organise, learn to understand the need for and the significance of organisation. The extension of this struggle and the increasing frequency of clashes inevitably lead to a further extension of the struggle, to the development of a sense of unity, a sense of solidarity—at first among the workers of a particular locality, and then among the workers of the entire country, among the entire working class. Thirdly, this struggle develops the workers' political consciousness. The living condition of the mass of working folk places them in such a position that they do not (cannot) possess either the leisure or the opportunity to ponder over problems of state. On the other hand, the workers' struggle against the factory owners for their daily needs automatically and inevitably spurs the workers on to think of state, political questions, questions of how the Russian state is governed, how laws and regulations are issued, and whose interests they serve. Each clash in the factory necessarily brings the workers into conflict with the laws and

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representatives of state authority. In this connection the workers hear "political speeches" for the first time. At first from, say, the factory inspectors, who explain to them that the trick employed by the factory owner to defraud them is based on the exact meaning of the regulations, which have been endorsed by the appropriate authority and give the employer a free hand to defraud the workers, or that the factory owner's oppressive measures are quite lawful, since he is merely availing himself of his rights, giving effect to such and such a law, that has been endorsed by the state authority that sees to its implementation. The political explanations of Messrs, the Inspectors are occasionally supplemented by the still more beneficial "political explanations" of the minister," who reminds the workers of the feelings of "Christian love" that they owe to the factory owners for their making millions out of the workers' labour. Later, these explanations of the representatives of the state authority, and the workers' direct acquaintance with the facts showing for whose benefit this authority operates, are still further supplemented by leaflets or other explanations given by socialists, so that the workers get their political education in full from such a strike. They learn to understand not only the specific interests of the working class, but also the specific place occupied by the working class in the state.

The second type of assistance should consist, as the programme states, in promoting the organisation of the workers. The struggle we have just described necessarily requires that the workers be organised. Organisation becomes necessary for strikes, to ensure that they are conducted with great success, for collections in support of strikers, for setting up workers' mutual benefit societies, and for propaganda among the workers, the distribution among them of leaflets, announcements, manifestoes, etc. Organisation is still more necessary to enable the workers to defend themselves against persecution by the police and the gendarmerie, to conceal from them all the workers' contacts and associations and to arrange the delivery of books, pamphlets, newspapers, etc. To assist in all this—such is the Party's second task.

The third consists in indicating the real aims of the struggle, i.e., in explaining to the workers what the exploitation of labour by capital consists in, what it is based on, how the private ownership of the land and the instruments of labour leads to the poverty of the working masses, compels them to sell their labour to the capitalists and to yield up gratis the entire surplus produced by the worker's labour over and above his keep, in explaining, furthermore, how this exploitation inevitably leads to the class struggle between the workers and the capitalists, what the conditions of this struggle and its ultimate aims are—in a word, in explaining what is briefly stated in the programme.

From Lenin, On Strikes

11 In recent years, workers' strikes have become extremely frequent in Russia. There is no longer a single industrial gubernia in which there have not occurred several strikes. And in the big cities strikes never cease. It is understandable, therefore, that class-conscious workers and socialists should more and more frequently concern themselves with the question of the significance of strikes, of methods of conducting them, and of the tasks of socialists participating in them.

In the first place we must seek an explanation for the outbreak and spread of strikes. Everyone who calls to mind strikes from personal experience, from reports of others, or from the newspapers will see immediately that strikes break out and spread wherever big factories arise and grow in number. It would scarcely be possible to find a single one among the bigger factories employing hundreds (at times even thousands) of workers in which strikes have not occurred. When there were only a few big factories in Russia there were few strikes; but ever since big factories have been multiplying rapidly in both the old industrial districts and in new towns and villages, strikes have become more frequent.

Why is it that large-scale factory production always leads to strikes? It is because capitalism must necessarily lead to a struggle of the workers against the employers, and when production is on a large scale the struggle of necessity takes on the form of strikes.

Let us explain this.

Capitalism is the name given to that social system under which the land, factories, implements, etc., belong to a small number of landed proprietors and capitalists, while the mass of the people possesses no property, or very little property, and is compelled to hire itself out as workers. The landowners and factory owners hire workers and make them produce wares of this or that kind which they sell on the market. The factory owners, furthermore, pay the workers only such a wage as provides a bare subsistence for them and their families, while everything the worker produces over and above this amount goes into the factory owner's pocket, as his profit. Under capitalist economy, therefore, the people in their mass are the hired workers of others, they do not work for themselves but work for employers for wages. It is understandable that the employers always try to reduce wages; the less they give the workers, the greater their profit. The workers try to get the highest possible wage in order to provide their families with sufficient and wholesome food, to live in good homes, and to dress as other people do and not like beggars. A constant struggle is, therefore, going on between employers and workers over wages; the employer is free to hire whatever worker he thinks fit

and, therefore, seeks the cheapest. The worker is free to hire himself out to an employer of his choice, so that he seeks the dearest, the one that will pay him the most. Whether the worker works in the country or in town, whether he hires himself out to a landlord, a rich peasant, a contractor, or a factory owner, he always bargains with the employer, fights with him over the wages.

12 But is it possible for a single worker to wage a struggle by himself? The number of working people is increasing: peasants are being ruined and flee from the countryside to the town or the factory. The landlords and factory owners are introducing machines that rob the workers of their jobs. In the cities there are increasing numbers of unemployed and in the villages there are more and more beggars; those who are hungry drive wages down lower and lower. It becomes impossible for the worker to fight against the employer by himself. If the worker demands good wages or tries not to consent to a wage cut, the employer tells him to get out, that there are plenty of hungry people at the gates who would be glad to work for low wages.

When the people are ruined to such an extent that there is always a large number of unemployed in the towns and villages, when the factory owners amass huge fortunes and the small proprietors are squeezed out by the millionaires, the individual worker becomes *absolutely powerless* in face of the capitalist. It then becomes possible for the capitalist to crush the worker completely, to drive him to his death at slave labour and, indeed, not him alone, but his wife and children with him. If we take, for instance, those occupations in which the workers have not yet been able to win the protection of the law and in which they cannot offer resistance to the capitalists, we see an inordinately long working day, sometimes as long as 17-19 hours; we see children of 5 or 6 years of age overstraining themselves at work; we see a generation of permanently hungry workers who are gradually dying from starvation. Example: the workers who toil in their own homes for capitalists; besides, any worker can bring to mind a host of other examples! Even under slavery or serfdom there was never any oppression of the working people as terrible as that under capitalism when the workers cannot put up a resistance or cannot win the protection of laws that restrict the arbitrary actions of the employers.

And so, in order to stave off their reduction to such extremities, the workers begin a desperate struggle. As they see that each of them, individually, is completely powerless and that the oppression of capital threatens to crush him, the workers begin to revolt jointly against their employers. Workers' strikes begin. At first the workers often fail to realise what they are trying to achieve, lacking conscious-

ness of the *wherefore* of their action; they simply smash the machines and destroy the factories. They merely want to display their wrath to the factory owners; they are trying out their joint strength in order to get out of an unbearable situation, without yet understanding why their position is so hopeless and what they should strive for.

In all countries the wrath of the workers first took the form of isolated revolts—the police and factory owners in Russia call them "mutinies." In all countries these isolated revolts gave rise to more or less peaceful strikes, on the one hand, and to the all-sided struggle of the working class for its emancipation, on the other.

What significance have strikes (or stoppages) for the struggle of the working class? To answer this question, we must first have a fuller view of strikes. The wages of a worker are determined, as we have seen, by an agreement between the employer and the worker, and if, under these circumstances, the individual worker is completely powerless, it is obvious that workers must fight jointly for their demands, they are compelled to organise strikes either to prevent the employers from reducing wages or to obtain higher wages. It is a fact that in every country with a capitalist system there are strikes of workers. Everywhere, in all the European countries and in America, the workers feel themselves powerless when they are disarmed; they can only offer resistance to the employers jointly, either by striking or threatening to strike. As capitalism develops, as big factories are more rapidly opened, as the petty capitalists are more and more ousted by the big capitalists, the more urgent becomes the need for the joint resistance of the workers, because unemployment increases, competition sharpens between the capitalists who strive to produce their wares at the cheapest (to do which they have to pay the workers as little as possible), and the fluctuations of industry become more accentuated and crises* more acute. When industry prospers, the factory owners make big profits but do not think of sharing them with the workers; but when a crisis breaks out, the factory owners try to push the losses on to the workers. The necessity for strikes in capitalist society has been recognised to such an extent by everybody in the European countries that the law in those countries does not forbid the organisation of strikes; only in Russia barbarous laws against strikes still remain in force (we shall speak on another occasion of these laws and their application).

However, strikes, which arise out of the very nature of capitalist society, signify the beginning of the working-class struggle against that system of society. When the rich capitalists are confronted by individual, propertyless workers, this signifies the utter enslavement of the workers. But when those propertyless workers unite, the situation changes. There is no wealth that can be of benefit to the capitalists if they cannot find workers willing to apply their labour-power to the instruments and materials belonging to

the capitalists and produce new wealth. As long as workers have to deal with capitalists on an individual basis they remain veritable slaves who must work continuously to profit another in order to obtain a crust of bread, who must for ever remain docile and inarticulate hired servants. But when the workers state their demands jointly and refuse to submit to the money-bags, they cease to be slaves, they become human beings, they begin to demand that their labour should not only serve to enrich a handful of idlers, but should also enable those who work to live like human beings. The slaves begin to put forward the demand to become masters, not to work and live as the landlords and capitalists want them to, but as the working people themselves want to. Strikes, therefore, always instil fear into the capitalists, because they begin to undermine their supremacy. "All wheels stand still, if your mighty arm wills it," a German workers' song says of the working class. And so it is in reality: the factories, the landlords' land, the machines, the railways, etc., etc., are all like wheels in a giant machine—the machine that extracts various products, processes them, and delivers them to their destination. The whole of this machine is set in motion by the worker who tills the soil, extracts ores, makes commodities in the factories, builds houses, workshops, and railways. When the workers refuse to work, the entire machine threatens to stop.

Every strike reminds the capitalists that it is the workers and not they who are the real masters—the workers who are more and more loudly proclaiming their rights. Every strike reminds the workers that their position is not hopeless, that they are not alone. See what a tremendous effect strikes have both on the strikers themselves and on the workers at neighbouring or nearby factories or at factories in the same industry. In normal, peaceful times the worker does his job without a murmur, and does not contradict the employer, and does not discuss his condition. In times of strikes he states his demands in a loud voice, he reminds the employers of all their abuses, he claims his rights, he does not think of himself and his wages alone, he thinks of all his workmates who have downed tools together with him and who stand up for the workers' cause, fearing no privations. Every strike means many privations for the working people, terrible privations that can be compared only to the calamities of war—hungry families, loss of wages, often arrests, banishment from the towns where they have their homes and their employment. Despite all these sufferings, the workers despise those who desert their fellow workers and make deals with the employers. Despite all these sufferings, brought on by strikes, the workers of neighbouring factories gain renewed courage when they see that their comrades have engaged themselves in struggle. "People who endure so much to bend one single bourgeois will be able to break the power of the whole bourgeoisie,"

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said one great teacher of socialism, Engels, speaking of the strikes of the English workers. It is often enough for one factory to strike, for strikes to begin immediately in a large number of factories. What a great moral influence strikes have, how they affect workers who see that their comrades have ceased to be slaves and, if only for the time being, have become people on an equal footing with the rich! Every strike brings thoughts of socialism very forcibly to the worker's mind, thoughts of the struggle of the entire working class for emancipation from the oppression of capital. It has often happened that before a big strike the workers of a certain factory or a certain branch of industry or of a certain town knew hardly anything and scarcely ever thought about socialism; but after the strike, study circles and associations become much more widespread among them and more and more workers become socialists.

A strike teaches workers to understand what the strength of the employers and what the strength of the workers consists in; it teaches them not to think of their own employer alone and not of their own immediate workmates alone but of all the employers, the whole class of capitalists and the whole class of workers. When a factory owner who has amassed millions from the toil of several generations of workers refuses to grant a modest increase in wages or even tries to reduce wages to a still lower level and, if the workers offer resistance, throws thousands of hungry families out into the street, it becomes quite clear to the workers that the capitalist class as a whole is the enemy of the whole working class and that the workers can depend only on themselves and their united action. It often happens that a factory owner does his best to deceive the workers, to pose as a benefactor, and conceal his exploitation of the workers by some petty sops or lying promises. A strike always demolishes this deception at one blow by showing the workers that their "benefactor" is a wolf in sheep's clothing.

A strike, moreover, opens the eyes of the workers to the nature, not only of the capitalists, but of the government and the laws as well. Just as the factory owners try to pose as benefactors of the workers, the government officials and their lackeys try to assure the workers that the tsar and the tsarist government are equally solicitous of both the factory owners and the workers, as justice requires. The worker does not know the laws, he has no contact with government officials, especially with those in the higher posts, and, as a consequence, often believes all this. Then comes a strike. The public prosecutor, the factory inspector, the police, and frequently troops, appear at the factory. The workers learn that they have violated the law: the employers are permitted by law to assemble and openly discuss ways of reducing workers' wages, but workers are declared criminals if they come to a joint agreement! Workers are driven out of their homes; the police close the shops from which the workers might ob-

tain food on credit, an effort is made to incite the soldiers against the workers even when the workers conduct themselves quietly and peacefully. Soldiers are even ordered to fire on the workers and when they kill unarmed workers by shooting the fleeing crowd in the back, the tsar himself sends the troops an expression of his gratitude (in this way the tsar thanked the troops who had killed striking workers in Yaroslavl in 1895). It becomes clear to every worker that the tsarist government is his worst enemy, since it defends the capitalists and binds the workers hand and foot. The workers begin to understand that laws are made in the interests of the rich alone; that government officials protect those interests; that the working people are gagged and not allowed to make known their needs; that the working class must win for itself the right to strike, the right to publish workers' newspapers, the right to participate in a national assembly that enacts laws and supervises their fulfilment. The government itself knows full well that strikes open the eyes of the workers and for this reason it has such a fear of strikes and does everything to stop them as quickly as possible. One German Minister of the Interior, one who was notorious for the persistent persecution of socialists and class-conscious workers, not without reason, stated before the people's representatives: "Behind every strike lurks the Hydra [monster] of revolution." Every strike strengthens and develops in the workers the understanding that the government is their enemy and that the working class must prepare itself to struggle against the government for the people's rights.

Strikes, therefore, teach the workers to unite; they show them that they can struggle against the capitalists only when they are united; strikes teach the workers to think of the struggle of the whole working class against the whole class of factory owners and against the arbitrary, police government. This is the reason that socialists call strikes "a school of war," a school in which the workers learn to make war on their enemies for the liberation of the whole people, of all who labour, from the yoke of government officials and from the yoke of capital.

"A school of war" is, however, not war itself. When strikes are widespread among the workers, some of the workers (including some socialists) begin to believe that the working class can confine itself to strikes, strike funds, or strike associations alone; that by strikes alone the working class can achieve a considerable improvement in its conditions or even its emancipation. When they see what power there is in a united working class and even in small strikes, some think that the working class has only to organise a general strike throughout the whole country for the workers to get everything they want from the capitalists and the government. This idea was also expressed by the workers of other countries when the working-class movement was in its early stages and the workers were still very inexperienced.

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"A school of war" is, however, not war itself. When strikes are widespread among the workers, some of the workers (including some socialists) begin to believe that the working class can confine itself to strikes, strike funds, or strike associations alone; that by strikes alone the working class can achieve a considerable improvement in its conditions or even its emancipation. When they see what power there is in a united working class and even in small strikes, some think that the working class has only to organise a general strike throughout the whole country for the workers to get everything they want from the capitalists and the government. This idea was also expressed by the workers of other countries when the working-class movement was in its early stages and the workers were still very inexperienced.

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It is a mistaken idea. Strikes are one of the ways in which the working class struggles for its emancipation, but they are not the only way; and if the workers do not turn their attention to other means of conducting the struggle, they will slow down the growth and the successes of the working class. It is true that funds are needed to maintain the workers during strikes, if strikes are to be successful. Such workers' funds (usually funds of workers in separate branches of industry, separate trades or workshops) are maintained in all countries; but here in Russia this is especially difficult, because the police keep track of them, seize the money, and arrest the workers. The workers, of course, are able to hide from the police; naturally, the organisation of such funds is valuable, and we do not want to advise workers against setting them up. But it must not be supposed that workers' funds, when prohibited by law, will attract large numbers of contributors, and so long as the membership in such organisations is small, workers' funds will not prove of great use. Furthermore, even in those countries where workers' unions exist openly and have huge funds at their disposal, the working class can still not confine itself to strikes as a means of struggle. All that is necessary is a hitch in the affairs of industry (a crisis, such as the one that is approaching in Russia today) and the factory owners will even deliberately cause strikes, because it is to their advantage to cease work for a time and to deplete the workers' funds. The workers, therefore, cannot, under any circumstances, confine themselves to strike actions and strike associations. Secondly, strikes can only be successful where workers are sufficiently class-conscious, where they are able to select an opportune moment for striking, where they know how to put forward their demands, and where they have connections with socialists and are able to procure

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leaflets and pamphlets through them. There are still very few such workers in Russia, and every effort must be exerted to increase their number in order to make the working-class cause known to the masses of workers and to acquaint them with socialism and the working-class struggle. This is a task that the socialists and class-conscious workers must undertake jointly by organising a socialist working-class party for this purpose. Thirdly, strikes, as we have seen, show the workers that the government is their enemy and that a struggle against the government must be carried on. Actually, it is strikes that have gradually taught the working class of all countries to struggle against the governments for workers' rights and for the rights of the people as a whole. As we have said, only a socialist workers' party can carry on this struggle by spreading among the workers a true conception of the government and of the working-class cause.

From individual strikes the workers can and must go over, as indeed they are actually doing in all countries, to a struggle of the entire working class for the emancipation of all who labour. When all class-conscious workers become socialists, i.e., when they strive for this emancipation, when they unite throughout the whole country in order to spread socialism among the workers, in order to teach the workers all the means of struggle against their enemies, when they build up a socialist workers' party that struggles for the emancipation of the people as a whole from government oppression and for the emancipation of all working people from the yoke of capital—only then will the working class become an integral part of that great movement of the workers of all countries that unites all workers and raises the red banner inscribed with the words: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

DRAFT AND EXPLANATION
OF A PROGRAMME
FOR THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC
PARTY

Wess, vol 2, pp 95, 98-104

DRAFT PROGRAMME

- (19) A. 1. Big factories are developing in Russia with ever-growing rapidity, ruining the small handicraftsmen and peasants, turning them into propertyless workers, and driving ever-increasing numbers of the people to the cities, factory and industrial villages and townlets.
2. This growth of capitalism signifies an enormous growth of wealth and luxury among a handful of factory owners, merchants and landowners, and a still more rapid growth of the poverty and oppression of the workers. The improvements in production and the machinery introduced in the big factories, while facilitating a rise in the productivity of social labour, serve to strengthen the power of the capitalists over the workers, to increase unemployment and with it to accentuate the defenceless position of the workers.
3. But while carrying the oppression of labour by capital to the highest pitch, the big factories are creating a special class of workers which is enabled to wage a struggle against capital, because their very conditions of life are destroying all their ties with their own petty production, and, by uniting the workers through their common labour and transferring them from factory to factory, are welding masses of working folk together. The workers are beginning a struggle against the capitalists, and an intense urge for unity is appearing among them. Out of the isolated revolts of the workers is growing the struggle of the Russian working class.

EXPLANATION OF THE PROGRAMME

The programme is divided into three main parts. Part one sets forth all the tenets from which the remaining parts of the programme follow. This part indicates the position occupied by the working class in contemporary society, the meaning and significance of their struggle against the employers and the political position of the working class in the Russian state.

Part two sets forth the Party's aim, and indicates the Party's relation to other political trends in Russia. It deals with what should be the activity of the Party and of all class-conscious workers, and what should be their

attitude to the interests and strivings of the other classes in Russian society.

Part three contains the Party's practical demands. This part is divided into three sections. The first section contains demands for nation-wide reforms. The second section states the demands and programme of the working class. The third section contains demands in the interests of the peasants. Some preliminary explanations of the sections are given below, before proceeding to the practical part of the programme.

A 1. The programme deals first of all with the rapid growth of big factories, because this is the main thing in contemporary Russia that is completely changing all the old conditions of life, particularly the living conditions of the labouring class. Under the old conditions practically all the country's wealth was produced by petty proprietors, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. The population lived an immobile life in the villages, the greater part of their produce being either for their own consumption, or for the small market of neighbouring villages which had little contact with other nearby markets. These very same petty proprietors worked for the landlords, who compelled them to produce mainly for their consumption. Domestic produce was handed over for processing to artisans, who also lived in the villages or travelled in the neighbouring areas to get work.

But after the peasants were emancipated, these living conditions of the mass of the people underwent a complete change: the small artisan establishments began to be replaced by big factories, which grew with extraordinary rapidity; they ousted the petty proprietors, turning them into wage-workers, and compelled hundreds and thousands of workers to work together, producing tremendous quantities of goods that are being sold all over Russia.

The emancipation of the peasants destroyed the immobility of the population and placed the peasants in conditions under which they could no longer get a livelihood from the patches of land that remained in their possession. Masses of people left home to seek a livelihood, making for the factories or for jobs on the construction of the railways which connect the different corners of Russia and carry the output

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21 of the big factories everywhere. Masses of people went to jobs in the towns, took part in building factory and commercial premises, in delivering fuel to factories, and in preparing raw materials for them. Finally, many people were occupied at home, doing jobs for merchants and factory owners who could not expand their establishments fast enough. Similar changes took place in agriculture; the landlords began to produce grain for sale, big cultivators from among the peasants and merchants came on the scene, and grain in hundreds of millions of poods began to be sold abroad. Production required wage-workers, and hundreds of thousands and millions of peasants, giving up their tiny allotments, went to work as regular or day labourers for the new masters engaged in producing grain for sale. Now it is these changes in the old way of life that are described by the programme, which says that the big factories are ruining the small handicraftsmen and peasants, turning them into wage-workers. Small-scale production is being replaced everywhere by large-scale, and in this large-scale production the masses of the workers are just hirelings employed for wages by the capitalist, who possesses enormous capital, builds enormous workshops, buys up huge quantities of materials and fills his pockets with all the profit from this mass-scale production by the combined workers. Production has become capitalist, and it exerts merciless and ruthless pressure on all the petty proprietors, destroying their immobile life in the villages, compelling them to travel from one end of the country to the other as ordinary unskilled labourers, selling their labour-power to capital. An ever-increasing part of the population is being separated once and for all from the countryside and from agriculture, and is concentrating in the towns, factory and industrial villages and townlets, forming a special propertyless class of people, a class of hired proletarian workers, who live only by the sale of their labour-power.

These are what constitute the tremendous changes in the country's life brought about by the big factories—small-scale production is being replaced by large-scale, the petty proprietors are turning into wage-workers. **What, then, does this change mean for the whole of the work-**

ing population, and where is it leading? This is dealt with further in the programme.

22 A 2. Accompanying the replacement of small- by large-scale production is the replacement of small financial resources in the hands of the individual proprietor by enormous sums employed as capital, the replacement of small, insignificant profits by profits running into millions. That is why the growth of capitalism is leading everywhere to the growth of luxury and riches. A whole class of big financial magnates, factory owners, railway owners, merchants, and bankers has arisen in Russia, a whole class of people who live off income derived from money capital loaned on interest to industrialists has arisen; the big landowners have become enriched, drawing large sums from the peasants by way of land redemption payments, taking advantage of their need of land to raise the price of the land leased to them, and setting up large beet-sugar refineries and distilleries on their estates. The luxury and extravagance of all these wealthy classes have reached unparalleled dimensions, and the main streets of the big cities are lined with their princely mansions and luxurious palaces. But as capitalism grew, the workers' conditions became steadily worse. If earnings increased in some places following the peasants' emancipation, they did so very slightly and not for long, because the mass of hungry people swarming in from the villages forced rates down, while the cost of food-stuffs and necessities continued to go up, so that even with their increased wages the workers got fewer means of subsistence; it became increasingly difficult to find jobs, and side by side with the luxurious mansions of the rich (or on city outskirts) there grew up the slums where the workers were forced to live in cellars, in overcrowded, damp and cold dwellings, and even in dug-outs near the new industrial establishments. As capital grew bigger it increased its pressure on the workers, turning them into paupers, compelling them to devote all their time to the factory, and forcing the workers' wives and children to go to work. This, therefore, is the first change towards which the growth of capitalism is leading: tremendous wealth is accumulating in the coffers of a small handful of capitalists, while the masses of the people are being turned into paupers.

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The second change consists in the fact that the replacement of small- by large-scale production has led to many improvements in production. First of all, work done singly, separately in each little workshop, in each isolated little household, has been replaced by the work of combined labourers working together at one factory, for one landowner, for one contractor. Joint labour is far more effective (productive) than individual, and renders it possible to produce goods with far greater ease and rapidity. But all these improvements are enjoyed by the capitalist alone, who pays the workers next to nothing and appropriates all the profit deriving from the workers' combined labour. The capitalist gets still stronger and the worker gets still weaker because he becomes accustomed to doing some one kind of work and it is more difficult for him to transfer to another job, to change his occupation.

Another, far more important, improvement in production is the introduction of *machines* by the capitalist. The effectiveness of labour is increased manifold by the use of machines; but the capitalist turns all this benefit against the worker: taking advantage of the fact that machines require less physical labour, he assigns women and children to them, and pays them less. Taking advantage of the fact that where machines are used far fewer workers are wanted, he throws them out of the factory in masses and then takes advantage of this unemployment to enslave the worker still further, to increase the working day, to deprive the worker of his night's rest and to turn him into a simple appendage to the machine. Unemployment, created by machinery and constantly on the increase, now makes the worker utterly defenceless. His skill loses its worth, he is easily replaced by a plain unskilled labourer, who quickly becomes accustomed to the machine and gladly undertakes the job for lower wages. Any attempt to resist increased oppression by the capitalist leads to dismissal. On his own the worker is quite helpless against capital, and the machine threatens to crush him.

A 3. In explaining the previous point, we showed that on his own the worker is helpless and defenceless against the capitalist who introduces machines. The worker has at all costs to seek means of resisting the capitalist, in order

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to defend himself. And he finds such means in *organisation*. Helpless on his own, the worker becomes a force when organised with his comrades, and is enabled to fight the capitalist and resist his onslaught.

Organisation becomes a necessity for the worker, now faced by big capital. But is it possible to organise a motley mass of people who are strangers to one another, even if they work in one factory? The programme indicates the conditions that prepare the workers for unity and develop in them the capacity and ability to organise. These conditions are as follows: 1) the large factory, with machine production that requires regular work the whole year round, completely breaks the tie between the worker and the land and his own farm, turning him into an absolute proletarian. The fact of each farming for himself on a patch of land divided the workers and gave each one of them a certain specific interest, separate from that of his fellow worker, and was thus an obstacle to organisation. The worker's break with the land destroys these obstacles. 2) Further, the joint work of hundreds and thousands of workers in itself accustoms the workers to discuss their needs jointly, to take joint action, and clearly shows them the identity of the position and interests of the entire mass of workers. 3) Finally, constant transfers of workers from factory to factory accustom them to compare the conditions and practices in the different factories and enable them to convince themselves of the identical nature of the exploitation in all factories, to acquire the experience of other workers in their clashes with the capitalist, and thus enhance the solidarity of the workers. Now it is because of these conditions, taken together, that the appearance of big factories has given rise to the organisation of the workers. Among the Russian workers unity is expressed mainly and most frequently in strikes (we shall deal further with the reason why organisation in the shape of unions or mutual benefit societies is beyond the reach of our workers). The more the big factories develop, the more frequent, powerful and stubborn become the workers' strikes; the greater the oppression of capitalism and the greater the need for joint resistance by the workers. Strikes and isolated revolts of the workers, as the programme states, now constitute the

most widespread phenomenon in Russian factories. But, with the further growth of capitalism and the increasing frequency of strikes, they prove inadequate. The employers take joint action against them: they conclude agreements among themselves, bring in workers from other areas, and turn for assistance to those who run the machinery of state, who help them crush the workers' resistance. Instead of being faced by the one individual owner of each separate factory, the workers are now faced by the *entire capitalist class* and the government that assists it. The *entire capitalist class* undertakes a struggle against the *entire working class*; it devises common measures against the strikes, presses the government to adopt anti-working-class legislation, transfers factories to more out-of-the-way localities, and resorts to the distribution of jobs among people working at home and to a thousand and one other ruses and devices against the workers. The organisation of the workers of a separate factory, even of a separate industry, proves inadequate for resisting the *entire capitalist class*, and joint action by the *entire working class* becomes absolutely necessary. Thus, out of the isolated revolts of the workers grows the struggle of the *entire working class*. The struggle of the workers against the employers turns into a *class struggle*. All the employers are united by the one interest of keeping the workers in a state of subordination and of paying them the minimum wages possible. And the employers see that the only way they can safeguard their interests is by joint action on the part of the *entire employing class*, by acquiring influence over the machinery of state. The workers are likewise bound together by a common interest, that of preventing themselves being crushed by capital, of upholding their right to life and to a human existence. And the workers likewise become convinced that they, too, need unity, joint action by the *entire class*, the *working class*, and that to that end they must secure influence over the machinery of state.

From Lenin, Tasks of Russian Social-Democrats

(Works, vol 2, pp 330-31)

29 Our work is primarily and mainly directed to the factory, urban workers. Russian Social-Democracy must not dissipate its forces; it must concentrate its activities on the industrial proletariat, who are most susceptible to Social-Democratic ideas, most developed intellectually and politically, and most important by virtue of their numbers and concentration in the country's large political centres. The creation of a durable revolutionary organisation among the factory, urban workers is therefore the first and most urgent task confronting Social-Democracy, one from which it would be highly unwise to let ourselves be diverted at the present time.

But, while recognising the necessity of concentrating our forces on the factory workers and opposing the dissipation of our forces, we do not in the least wish to suggest that the Russian Social-Democrats should ignore other strata of the Russian proletariat and working class. Nothing of the kind. The very conditions of life of the Russian factory workers very often compel them to enter into the closest relations with the handicraftsmen, the industrial proletariat scattered outside the factory in towns and villages, and whose conditions are infinitely worse. The Russian factory worker also comes into direct contact with the rural population (very often the factory worker's family live in the country) and, consequently, he cannot but come into close contact with the rural proletariat, with the many millions of regular farm workers and day labourers, and also with those ruined peasants who, while clinging to their miserable plots of land, have to work off their debts and take on all sorts of "casual jobs," i.e., are also wage-labourers. The Russian

27 Social-Democrats think it inopportune to send their forces among the handicraftsmen and rural labourers, but they do not in the least intend to ignore them; they will try to enlighten the advanced workers also on questions affecting the lives of the handicraftsmen and rural labourers, so that when these workers come into contact with the more backward strata of the proletariat, they will imbue them with the ideas of the class struggle, socialism and the political tasks of Russian democracy in general and of the Russian proletariat in particular.

It is impractical to send agitators among the handicraftsmen and rural labourers when there is still so much work to be done among the factory, urban workers, but in numerous cases the socialist worker comes willy-nilly into contact with these people and must be able to take advantage of these opportunities and understand the general tasks of Social-Democracy in Russia. Hence, those who accuse the Russian Social-Democrats of being narrow-minded, of trying to ignore the mass of the labouring population for the sake of the factory workers, are profoundly mistaken. On the contrary, agitation among the advanced sections of the proletariat is the surest and the only way to rouse (as the movement expands) the entire Russian proletariat. The dissemination of socialism and of the idea of the class struggle among the urban workers will inevitably cause these ideas to flow in the smaller and more scattered channels. This requires that these ideas take deeper root among the better prepared elements and spread throughout the vanguard of the Russian working-class movement and of the Russian revolution.

THE PRIORITY OF THE LARGE SOCIALIZED WORKPLACE FOR COMMUNIST WORK

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I. IMPORTANCE OF THE LARGE, SOCIALIZED WORKPLACE.

What sections of those oppressed by capitalism will lead the struggle for socialist revolution? Marx and Lenin after him looked first of all at the class interests of working people. They emphasized that the proletariat was a thoroughly revolutionary class, while other working people (for example peasants) were allies of the proletariat but were not consistently revolutionary.

The difference stems from the different relation to the means of production of the two classes. On the one hand, peasants still hold on to their small plot of land. So despite having a stake in the overthrow of capitalism as oppressed working people, their opposition to capitalism is compromised by the property they hold and the petty bourgeois consciousness this creates. Peasants are little capitalists with a perceived interest in the private property system, with hopes of getting additional land for individual production as the means of solving their problems. In contrast, the proletariat has no stake in private property, and therefore can look to socialism as the answer.

However, even within the proletariat itself, not all sectors have the same potential for engaging in struggle and developing class consciousness. All have an objective interest in revolution. All are exploited and oppressed by capitalism in a variety of different ways. But not all these forms of oppression or exploitation can give rise equally to collective struggle, mass organization, and the development of revolutionary consciousness. Capitalism itself must provide a material basis for the development of struggle, organization and consciousness.

In analyzing this material basis, Marxism-Leninism pinpoints the socialization of production as the key factor that makes possible the development of an organized and conscious workers movement. In Classes and Class Struggle in the U.S., the FWOOC summarizes the changes in capitalism that brought about this socialization of labor;

"...as the factory owners accumulated more and more wealth, two important changes took place in the character of the productive process. First, in order to establish a more efficient production and to produce on a greater scale for an expanding market, production is concentrated. Instead of plants with ten or twenty workers, factories are set up that employ thousands of people. Secondly, the division of labor is extended. Rather than produce a complete product under a single roof, factories are organized to produce one part that will eventually be used in the final product assembled at a completely different location. The division of labor is also applied to the activity of the workers. Specialization reduces the workers task to a single and monotonous operation. These two changes in the division of labor are called the socialization of production.

"The development of large-scale production and the socialization of production are of profound importance to the workers movement. If a strike would take place in a plant employing ten workers, it would be fairly easy for the factory owner to fire all of them and hire ten unemployed workers off the street. Large scale production changes this, thereby strengthening the position of the workers. In a plant employing 10,000 workers or in industries like auto, electrical, and steel which employ tens of thousands, it is virtually impossible for the capitalist to resist working class organization and struggle. This is proved by the fact that trade unions in the U.S. and in most other countries are organized for the most part in large industries, while in small shops unions are rare.

"The socialization of production also strengthens the fighting capacity of the working class. In the early days of capitalism a strike at a single plant would have little effect on the overall operation of the economy. Today, however, a strike in a single plant, one that produces materials or parts for many other factories, can cripple an entire industry or even the whole system of production. Imagine the effect of a long strike in the steel industry, for example."

This then explains some of the reasons for the greater potential for militancy and organization on the part of workers in large scale, socialized production. There are other reasons too. As Lenin explains:

"...on his own the worker is helpless and defenceless against the capitalist... The worker has at all costs to seek means of resisting the capitalist, in order to defend himself. And he finds such means in organization. Helpless on his own, the worker becomes a force when organized with his comrades, and is enabled to fight the capitalist and resist his onslaught.

"Organization becomes a necessity for the worker, now faced by big capital. But is it possible to organize a motley mass of people who are strangers to one another, even if they work in one factory? (These are) the conditions that prepare the workers for unity and develop in them the capacity and ability to organize...: 1) the large factory...completely breaks the tie between the worker and the land and his own farm, burning him into an absolute proletarian. The fact of each farming for himself on a patch of land divided the workers and gave each one of them a certain specific interest, separate from that of his fellow worker, and was thus an obstacle to organization. The worker's break with the land destroys these obstacles.

"2) Further, the joint work of hundreds and thousands of workers in itself accustoms the workers to discuss their needs jointly, to take joint action, and clearly shows them the identity of the position and interests of the entire mass of workers. 3) Finally, constant transfers of workers from factory to factory accustom them to compare the conditions and practices in the different factories and enable them to convince themselves of the identical nature of the exploitation in all factories, to acquire the experience of other workers in their clashes with the capitalist, and thus enhance the solidarity of the workers." (Draft Program and Explanation)

Another important factor favoring the large workplace is that the class relations of capitalism are most clearly revealed there, rather than being hidden. The impersonal nature of the exploitation of the worker is clearer in the large workplace than the small one where it's easy to blame the particular boss. Paternalistic relations ("the boss is a nice guy") are more easily established and maintained in the small workplace. The wealth of the large capitalist also makes a lie of company claims that "we can't afford it," while often this seems to be a legitimate claim in a small company.

Another aspect that should be mentioned here is the strategic nature of

the large workplace as a result of the socialization of production. As mentioned before, the shutting down of one plant or one industry can in many cases have a decisive effect on the entire economy. The ability to shut down production, to shut off the flow of profits to the capitalist, and to cause the entire economy to grind to a halt is a crucial lever of power in the hands of the working class.

As a result of all the reasons mentioned, Communists should concentrate their forces on the large, socialized workplace as a major priority.

(Note: In discussing the large, socialized workplace, we are referring not only to factories, but also to large hospitals, offices, etc. In Lenin's time, the main form of socialized production was the factory. Since that time, there has been a major development of clerical and service sectors in the advanced capitalist countries, parts of which are increasingly organized in a socialized form. There are good arguments to be made that the production sector is still the leading sector of the working class, but the importance of the newer sectors is rising and should not be neglected. For more on this, see Hill, Class Analysis: United States in the 1970s.)

II. THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Let's get more specific about the process by which workers in the large, socialized workplace develop class consciousness. At the initial stages, these workers do not have an understanding of being part of a class whose historic mission it is to overthrow capitalism. Rather, they are first drawn in to struggles around their own immediate needs, without having a class-wide understanding. However, the experiences of these struggles provides the basis for developing greater class consciousness. As Lenin explains:

"Every strike reminds the workers that their position is not hopeless, that they are not alone...In normal, peaceful times the worker does his job without a murmur, does not contradict the employer, and does not discuss his condition. In times of strikes he states his demands in a loud voice, he reminds the employers of all their abuses, he claims his rights, he does not think of himself and his wages alone, he thinks of all his workmates who have downed tools together with him and who stand up for the workers' cause, fearing no privations. Every strike means many privations for the working people...Despite all these sufferings, the workers despise those who desert their fellow workers and make deals with the employers. Despite all these sufferings, brought on by strikes, the workers of neighboring factories gain renewed courage when they see that their comrades have engaged themselves in struggle. "People who endure so much to bend one single bourgeois will be able to break the power of the whole bourgeoisie", said...Engels...

"What a great moral influence strikes have, how they affect workers who see that their comrades have ceased to be slaves and, if only for the time being, have become people on an equal footing with the rich!...It has often happened that before a big strike the workers of a certain factory...knew hardly anything and scarcely ever thought about socialism; but after the strike, study circles and associations become much more widespread among them and more and more workers become socialists.

"A strike teaches workers to understand what the strength of the employers and what the strength of the workers consists in; it teaches them not to think of their own employer alone and not of their own immediate workmates alone...It often happens that a factory owner does his best to deceive the workers, to pose as a benefactor, and conceal his exploitation of the workers by some petty sops or lying promises. A strike always demolishes this deception at one blow by showing the workers that their "benefactor" is a wolf in sheep's clothing.

"A strike, moreover, opens the eyes of the workers to the nature, not only of the capitalists, but of the government and the laws as well. Just as the factory owners try to pose as benefactors of the workers, the government officials and their lackeys try to assure the workers that the ... government (is) equally solicitous of both the factory owners and the workers, as justice requires. The worker does not know the laws, he has no contact with government officials, especially with those in the higher posts, and, as a consequence, believes all of this.

"Then comes a strike. The public prosecutor, the factory inspector, the police, and frequently the troops appear at the factory. The workers learn that they have violated the law: the employers are permitted by law to assemble and openly discuss ways of reducing workers' wages, but workers are declared criminals if they come to a joint agreement!...It becomes clear to every worker that the ... government is his worst enemy, since it defends the capitalists and binds the workers hand and foot...Every strike strengthens and develops in the workers the understanding that the government is their enemy and that the working class must prepare itself to struggle against the government for the peoples' rights." (From On Strikes)

Of course, this is describing the experience of Russian workers at a particular time of history, and there are some differences with our own situation. Only some strikes today have this kind of explosive character. Also, the obstacles to acquiring socialist consciousness out of the experience of strikes and contact with Communists are greater in the U.S. today than in Russia in 1900 -- bourgeois ideology is much stronger in our working class, reformist political and trade union channels are available as alternatives to the U.S. workers, and our communist movement is less developed than in Russia.

Nevertheless, the basic point being made (that workers learn from and become open to new ideas from the experience of mass struggle) is a universal one. And even many of the specifics apply to today. From militant collective struggle, workers do learn about their own power; they do develop a certain degree of class solidarity (at least with fellow workers in the same shop) in the course of the struggle; some do become more open to or interested in socialism if socialists play an important role in the struggle; they do learn the true nature of the capitalist if there was any question about that before; they do learn the role of the government in supporting the employer, which therefore opens up minds to the need for the working class to influence affairs of state.

A successful struggle can overcome peoples' sense of powerlessness ("you can't fight city hall") and apathy by showing that if people stick together and fight back, they can win. Being involved in a struggle together can also help people to overcome the petty differences and isolation they feel with one another. It can sometimes even play a role in combatting racism, sexism, or other forms of chauvinism as people come to see the necessity of reaching out to build the unity needed to defeat a common enemy. Also, challenging authority helps people to overcome the timidity and deference to authority that is an aspect of most peoples' consciousness.

In the course of struggle, natural leaders emerge who are most committed to pushing the struggle forward, and are generally most open to the various lessons that can be drawn from the struggle. These leaders can become the active core of the mass movement needed to give that movement staying power. They are the people who take the struggle most seriously, and therefore, the workers who will generally be most open to political lessons drawn from the struggle -- about the need for class unity; the nature of the government; the role of communists; who are our allies and who are our enemies (for example, what newspaper supports the struggle and what newspaper opposes it); etc.

It should be mentioned that the lessons learned from economic struggle are

not automatic ones. Spontaneously, there is only so much that people will learn on their own. The economic struggle provides the necessary experiences for learning, but it is up to Communists and the more advanced sections of the working class to draw the lessons out, to build on that experience.

Also, the leap in consciousness that occurs during the peak of struggle among the mass of workers is not fully retained during the lull period that often follows. It is the most advanced who generally will internalize the new consciousness to the greatest extent, and even they will tend to slip back into cynicism. However, the lessons of the experience will not be lost if Communists consciously draw out these lessons and work closely with workers to help consolidate as much of the class consciousness gained as possible.

One point that should be stressed here is the importance of serious communist participation in mass struggles as a way of winning the respect and trust of the people. The great majority of workers -- advanced as well as average -- will not be attracted to communism on the basis of ideas alone. Rather, they will be attracted by communism in action. If communists can play a leading role in the struggles of the working class, can establish themselves as the most energetic fighters for the needs of the people, and can help move the struggle forward, they will win respect and prestige among the workers. Among the average workers, this positive experience with the role of communists will help break down deeply ingrained anti-communism and mistrust, leading to their viewing communists as playing an important role in the movement. Among the advanced workers, this positive experience will be a source of attraction to communism -- they will develop an interest in the organization and ideas behind all of this great practice.

It should also be added that the experience of participating in and leading struggles is an educational process for the party (or revolutionary organization) and its cadres. As the Communist International put it in 1921: "It is only by this daily detailed work, by constant devoted participation in all the struggles of the proletariat that the communist party can develop into a communist party...The conscious and devoted participation of the entire mass of the party membership in the school of the daily struggles and disputes of the exploited against the exploiters is... indispensable...It is only leadership of the working masses in the unending small wars against the onslaughts of capital that will enable communist parties to become the vanguard of the working class, learning in practice how to lead the proletariat..."

In describing the development of the workers' movement from a lower to higher level, Lenin employed the concepts economic and political struggle. Economic struggle generally refers to a group of workers struggling to defend their immediate economic interests against a single capitalist or group of capitalists. Examples would be workers in a shop struggling for higher pay or better conditions.

In contrast, political struggle is the struggle of workers against the capitalist class and its government to meet the needs of the working class as a whole. Rather than being a local or sectional struggle that is mainly of concern to a particular group of workers, this is a struggle of significance to the entire working class.

Let's look at a concrete example to contrast economic and political struggle. The struggle of one union for a shorter workweek in their industry is an economic struggle. The union strikes for something that will benefit its own members. However, let's say a national rank and file caucus in that union got together with other caucuses, progressive locals, and progressive unions to launch a struggle against the government for a 6 hour day for all workers. This would be a political struggle. Workers as a class are fighting the government -- the representative of the capitalist class -- for their class interests.

This is an example of an economic struggle being raised to a higher level political struggle. However, most political struggles do not center around economic reforms at the workplace. Other kinds of political struggles include: the fight to preserve affirmative action; the struggle for a good national health insurance plan; the movement to stop nuclear power; the struggle against the U.S. role in Southern Africa; and many more.

Political struggle is generally a more conscious form of struggle than economic struggle. At first, it is usually the most advanced workers who will participate in political struggles. However, over the long run, the working class movement as a whole must become a class conscious movement opposed to the capitalist class, fighting for the most significant needs of the working class. Ultimately, this means fighting to overthrow capitalism and the bourgeois state, replacing these with socialism and a state of the working class -- the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our task as communists is to transform what is now a movement of workers around immediate economic needs (and not a very developed movement at that) into a movement of the working class around significant political issues. We want to transform a relatively spontaneous, unconscious movement into an increasingly class conscious one. Taking up political struggles will both be an expression of higher consciousness and a factor in developing such consciousness, since struggles around broader political issues usually afford more opportunities for learning class lessons, establishing class solidarity among different sections of the working class, etc. than narrower economic struggles.

So political struggles are a higher form of struggle, and our strategic goal is to raise economic struggles to the level of political struggle. However, this does not mean we can ignore the economic struggle. Especially at this stage, the economic struggle is essential for activating the mass of workers. The average worker needs the experience of economic struggle as a foundation for making the leap to mass political struggle.

Lenin summarized it this way: "For the socialist, the economic struggle serves as a basis for the organization of the workers into a revolutionary party, for the strengthening and development of their class struggle against the whole capitalist system." And he continues: "(If) the economic struggle is taken as something complete in itself, there will be nothing socialist in it . . ."

In Lenin's various writings on the economic struggle, he emphasizes both of these aspects. For example, in On Strikes (cited earlier), Lenin writes about how strikes around economic demands are a "school of war," and he details the lessons workers can learn from the experience of strikes. In other words, strikes provide a great opportunity for developing workers' class consciousness. On the other hand, he also writes that "a school of war is not the war itself." Every strike may build workers' consciousness and may result in improved conditions, but the basic problems of the working class will only be solved by developing a political movement, led by a political party composed of class conscious workers, which will fight for workers as a class and ultimately for the overthrow of capitalism.

III. THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIONS.

In analyzing the priority forms of struggle for Communists to engage in, we need to look at what kinds of mass organizations are most important for that struggle. Chief among the mass organizations where workers can be found in struggle are the trade unions.

The reasons for the importance of unions for the working class struggle are as follows. First, unions are mass organizations composed entirely of workers,

in contrast to mixed-class based organizations. As such, every member of a union has an objective interest in building a class struggle union and in fighting for socialist revolution.

Second, unions are rooted in large-scale production, where class struggle is inevitable. The objective contradictions of capitalist vs. worker compel workers to struggle, and their basic situation allows them to fight back. There is no other mass organization that is rooted in a situation where class struggle is so necessary, possible and inevitable.

Third, unions are the mass organizations where we will find the greatest numbers of advanced workers -- workers who are leaders in the class struggle and who are attracted to Communism. As explained earlier, the conditions of large-scale, socialized production and of the class struggle that results from these conditions lead to the development of a greater level of class consciousness. It should be stressed here that Black workers are particularly concentrated in large-scale, socialized, and unionized production -- the steel and auto industries being 2 prime examples.

Fourth, unions are the largest and most powerful mass struggle organization. There are far more members of unions than any other struggle organization. The large membership paying regular dues brings tremendous amounts of funds into unions -- funds to pay organizers, legal and research staff, negotiators, lobbyists, etc., as well as financing strike funds and political campaigns.

Unions are in a position to influence the ideas of large numbers of people -- not only millions of union members, but also the public through their contact with union members and union education efforts. Their members can be mobilized to go out into the community to campaign for issues or candidates. Even with the present mistrust of union leaders on the part of union members and the public, unions today still have a lot of public influence.

Unions have the unique position of being rooted in the workplace, which means they have the power of shutting down production. A large industrial union in an industry like steel or mining can have an enormous public impact. The ability to shut down production gives unions a method of putting enormous pressure on the companies. Short of full shut-downs of production, slow-downs, overtime refusals, putting out low-quality production, not cooperating and other methods can also be used by unions to wield power.

For all of these reasons, if we are looking to participate in a stable, large, and potentially powerful mass organization, where the opportunities for class struggle and developing class consciousness are most likely, then unions are our best bet.

These arguments summarize more than a century of experience with the working class movement both internationally and in the U.S. Unions are practically a universal form internationally. Wherever industry has developed, unions have followed. Despite tremendous opposition by the bourgeoisie -- including use of armed violence -- unions have been able to become a recognized fact of life in almost all capitalist countries.

The strength of the impulse toward unionism can be seen in our own history. Massive strikes to unionize the working class were beaten down again and again, through a combination of violence, racial and ethnic divisions, starving people out, etc. Workers may have reverted back to inactivity after these defeats, but they always came back that much stronger. Finally, the sit-down strikes of the 1930s broke the back of basic industry.

In these struggles, the Communists played a crucial role. They had recognized in the 1920s, even while the class struggle was generally at a low ebb, that it was essential to focus work on the shops. As a result, the Communist Party accumulated much practical experience, and rooted itself in many of the most significant workplaces. Then, in the industrial upsurges of the 30s, the Communists played key roles both as union organizers and as workers within the shops. Known CP members were hired as union organizers by even anti-communist union leaders, because they were the ones who had acquired the most organizing experience, the most contacts nationally and the most knowledge as a result of their years of hard work in the shops through thick and thin. At the same time, CP shop concentrations that the Party had built over the years played an important role in a number of organizing drives. A good example is the key role played by CP and CP affiliated workers in the Flint, Michigan sit-down strike that broke the back of General Motors.

Not only are unions a universal form under capitalism, Communist Parties have almost always been able to gain a foothold in the organized sections of the working class. The labor movement internationally is almost everywhere a socialist movement and in many places a Communist-led movement -- countries like the U.S. where Communists are a relatively minor factor are more the exception than the rule. Even in the U.S., the Communist Party made significant gains in developing influence within the working class as a result of its work in the 1930s. It would have gained far more had the Party not hidden its own role in the struggle, generally downplaying the work of building support for itself and for Communist ideas in favor of almost exclusive emphasis on building support for the unions.

Right now, unions fight mainly for the narrow economic interests of their members. To the extent they enter the political arena, it is to back one variety or another of capitalist politician. They play a weak or often backward role in the struggle for class unity, for overcoming divisions between black and white, men and women, etc.

But our strategy for unions would transform them into real class struggle institutions. Not only would they fight consistently for the interests of their own members against the company, not only would they provide the conditions for union democracy. They would take up the struggle for the whole working class. They would give support to the movements of minorities and women for equality. They would declare solidarity with working people all of the world, recognizing the identity of interests between 3rd world peoples fighting against U.S. imperialism and workers in this country. At some stage, they would not only take up many of the political issues facing the working class as a whole, but would support the struggle for socialism itself. Communists would have to play a key role in this transformation.

Class struggle unions could in turn play a key role in developing the whole movement against imperialism. First of all, unions could become organizing centers for the entire working class and for all oppressed peoples. The enormous resources at the command of unions (people, money, ideological influence) could be utilized to organize political struggles of significance to the people as a whole. At the same time, it could lend its support to the movements of oppressed national minorities, of women, and to community struggles.

The economic and political struggles waged by unions in the course of their development as class struggle institutions will train large numbers of worker-activists and professional organizers. Both groups could supply much of the necessary backbone of experienced organizers and agitators to conduct campaigns not only within the shops but outside the shops. In the course of such campaigns, unions would also be able to conduct widespread public education

around the issues -- both among its massive membership, and within the population at large. Unions would support left newspapers to carry out such purposes, as well as their own internal union newspapers.

Not only would unions be organizing centers for the working class. They would also be political centers. Along with the Black Liberation Movement, they would be the backbone of a mass political party of the working class and oppressed peoples -- a Peoples Party. This party would represent a real alternative to the capitalist parties within the electoral arena.

It should be pointed out that this crucial role for the unions does not do away with the need for a Communist Party. The unions will still be mass organizations, even after their political transformation. Members will not be required to be Communists, or to subscribe to socialism. The commitment required for a Communist cadre would not be required of the union member.

The Communist Party is still required to provide direction for what are still mass organizations -- the unions. Communists within the unions have to join together to organize their independent communist work (work that is in advance of the political unity of the united front as a whole). They need to develop plans of action based on applying Marxist-Leninist theory. They need to work together to train themselves as Communists. Communists and their close allies will provide the core of the class struggle union. Without their leadership, the many pressures on any mass organization under capitalism to accommodate itself to that system or to backward ideas will be too much to resist.

Also, at the time of the revolution, or during pre-revolutionary explosions of the working class, other revolutionary mass organizations will develop -- workers' councils (or "soviets") -- that comprise the entire oppressed masses of a given locality. Their tasks are to take control of the production, distribution, and government in a given area, and are viewed by the people as their government or authority. Unlike unions, workers' councils are not limited to people in a given industry or occupation. They are set up in times of revolutionary upheaval, while unions are produced in non-revolutionary periods. However, without long experience in the development of class struggle unions, the working class will not be able to create soviets at all. To quote the IWOC Trade Union Question:

"There can be no question of viable soviets except on the basis of a class conscious and revolutionary proletariat, steeled in the class struggle. The proletariat cannot develop to the higher levels of the class struggle without participating and learning from the lower levels. The proletariat cannot construct soviets without first transforming the trade unions into revolutionary class struggle organizations..."

In short, communists see enormous potential in unions, not only to lead workers in the fight against their own company or industry, but to lead the entire working class and oppressed in the fight against capitalism itself. Because of this political potential and the resources unions can command, our strategic approach to building the mass movement should be to place a particular priority on developing a class struggle union movement.

IV. OTHER REASONS FOR THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WORKPLACE.

1. A crucial reason for rooting the party in the workplaces in the necessity of having a deep understanding of the moods and consciousness of the workers. Only the closest contact with working class life can give us the intimate understanding of the opinions and desires of the working class, constantly changing, that is required to developing correct strategy and tactics.

This is why the Communist International placed such an emphasis on establishing factory cells (units of the party made up of workers concentrating work on a particular factory) as the organizational foundation of the party. To quote a 1924 Resolution of the Communist International on the organization of factory cells:

"The final goal of our party is the overthrow of bourgeois rule...the attainment of communism. It's immediate task is to win over the majority of the working class by active participation in the daily struggle of the working masses and the leadership of that struggle. This can be accomplished only by the closest association of our party organization with the working masses in the factories.

"With this in mind, the third world congress of the Communist International decided that factory cells were to be the foundation of the Communist Party.

"The experience of the Germany revolution (defeated with insufficient popular support in 1923) has...shown clearly that, in the absence of cells based on the factories and of close connections with the working masses, the latter cannot be drawn into the struggle and led, their moods cannot be rightly appraised, and the moment most favorable to us cannot be exploited, nor victory won over the bourgeoisie."

It should be added that there is little comparison between the level of contact and knowledge that is possible working side-by-side with fellow workers 40 hours a week or more, and that which can be developed by participation in a mass community-based organization. We can get to know people in a much more all-sided way, to understand their inner contradictions, to see people in action in a great variety of situations, etc.

2. Another reason for rooting the party in the workplaces is to help establish the party's proletarian class stand -- its commitment to the ^{interests} of the working class. Like any other institution under capitalism, the party is subject to many bourgeois influences. There are many pressures to stray from the correct revolutionary path, to sacrifice the long-term revolutionary needs of the working class for short term gain and popularity (right opportunism), or for the sake of revolutionary purity (left opportunism). Many methods exist for best insuring that the party will take the correct path. None by themselves are guarantees, but each increases the chances of success. And one of these methods is rooting the party in the shops and workplaces.

Having a proletarian class stand means seeing things from the point of view of the working class, putting the interests of the working class and revolution first, seeing to transform ourselves to better serve the revolution. Locating ourselves within the workplaces will help ground us in working class realities, and give us common ground and experiences so that we can view things from the point of view of being inside the working class rather than outside.

3. Third, the only way to win the trust of the working class is to share its life situation, and to work alongside of people every day. If factory workers only see communists as something outside of the shop, the amount of trust they will develop will have its limits. It's important that workers see communists among their fellow workers, who they can get to know at a personal level and see in action on a daily basis. This is necessary to break down many anti-communist myths that are deeply ingrained, myths that are part and parcel of general anti-leadership feelings that people have developed from being misled by countless politicians, labor bureaucrats, etc.

If workers are going to join the party in significant numbers -- something that is critical to the party's success -- these personal ties and direct experiences

with communists will even be more important. It's important that workers see that the Party is made up of "people like me," that someone with a full-time job, family responsibilities, etc. can be a communist activist, and so on. The communist workers in the shop are also a bridge between the rank and file worker and the full-time leadership of the party -- the trust the communist workers have for that leadership will help to build the trust of their fellow workers.

4. Fourth, the workplace cell (if proper security precautions are taken) can be a permanent link to the working class, even in times of repression. In a number of fascist countries, communists have been able to continue work (of course, to a more limited extent) by imbedding themselves in the shops, while activity outside of the shop (leafletting, etc.) was next to impossible. As FWOOC points out, "the training in secure methods of leadership and concrete mass struggle against the capitalists prepares the Party cadre for periods of illegality and repression."

5. Fifth, the workplace focus is helpful both for the recruitment of new cadres and the training of old ones. Within the workplace, it is possible to have day-to-day contact, to see people in action on a daily basis, and to give useful and knowledgeable feedback and criticism as a result. And because of the opportunities for developing class struggle, the workplace provides extensive opportunities for practical work and struggle on the part of communists. We can get to know people better than we can in many community-based mass organizations, which will improve our recruitment work.

6. Sixth, focus on the workplace helps to insure the best possible class composition of the Party. Obviously, we will tend to recruit people from the struggles and mass organizations that we choose to get involved in. In the workplace, we are most likely to find class conscious workers playing a leading role in the class struggle. These are the most important people to recruit -- our priority. They have a special role to play in development of a revolutionary working class movement -- they are the road to reaching the rest of the working class. These workers also have an important role to play in helping to establish the proletarian class stand of the party, for the same reasons that rooting ourselves in the working class is important.

V. ORGANIZING OUTSIDE THE WORKPLACE.

Workplace-based struggles are not the only important struggles for Communists to engage in. To focus solely on the workplace would lead to economism -- neglect of the political struggle. And it would be objectively racist and sexist, neglecting the importance of building the Black Liberation and Womens' Liberation movements which have their base in the community as well as in the shops.

As indicated earlier, Communists seek to build the political, class-wide struggle of the working class, culminating in socialist revolution. This struggle is organized outside the workplaces, as well as inside. In fact, struggle -- political struggles around the most significant issues facing the working class are largely centered outside the shops. Despite this, Communists must engage in these struggles, seeking to build the leadership of the working class within them, while always bringing them into the workers' movement to whatever extent possible. Otherwise, Communists would be neglecting its task of taking up the most pressing questions facing the working class, of defending the class interests of the proletariat, and in so doing would be falling behind the momentary consciousness of the working class while failing to care for the future of that movement.

In addition, it is critical for communists to place a major focus on building the liberation movements of oppressed national minorities and women and to generally take the lead in the struggle against racism and sexism within the working class. The movements of oppressed nationalities have a key role to play in the U.S. revolution. Without a solid alliance between the working class movement and the movements of oppressed nationalities, there will be no revolution in the U.S. The Womens' Liberation movement also has a crucial role to play in the U.S. revolution. Similarly, the divisions within the working class on the basis of race (especially) and also of sex are the central obstacles to the development of the working class movement, and must be overcome before a socialist revolution is possible.

Yet, the liberation movements of oppressed national minorities and women and the struggles against racism and sexism cannot be built solely through work in the shops. Struggles in the community around issues vital to national minorities and women (housing, police, education, welfare, etc.) are critical to developing these movements. In general, many of the key struggles against racism or sexism take place within the broader society, and are not limited to a particular shop, union or industry. For communists to focus their work entirely in the shops would therefore severely compromise the task of building the movements of oppressed nationalities and women. And by not contributing to the struggles of these movements that take place outside the shops and fighting for working class leadership within them, communists would be compromising their ability to build support within the workers movement for the full range of anti-racist and anti-sexist issues in capitalist society.

THE PROLETARIAT OR WORKING CLASS

ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

This paper divides America into four basic classes. They are

- I Bourgeois Class
- II Petit-Bourgeois Class
- III Proletariat
- IV Small Farmer Class

These four basic classes are defined by their relationship to the means-of-production. Each of these classes is broken down into two or more sectors on the basis of relationship to the means-of-production and other factors. The classes and sectors are

- I Bourgeois Class
 - Monopoly Sector
 - Lieutenant Sector
- II Petit-Bourgeois Class
 - Business Sector
 - Managerial Sector
 - Professional Sector
- III Proletariat*
 - Semi-Professional Sector
 - Office Sector
 - Service Sector
 - Production Sector
 - Aged Sector
 - Excluded Sector
- IV Small Farmer Class
 - Freeholder Sector
 - Tenant Sector

The proletariat is composed of those people who do not own or control the means of production and thus have to sell their laborpower to those who do own the means of production. Furthermore, members of the working class are exploited. If they are workers involved in the production of commodities, the wealth they receive in the form of wages is less than the wealth they create by their labor. If they are engaged in providing services for a private employer, the wages that they receive are less than the amount their employer received from his customer for the workers' services.

As can be seen in Tables 11 and 12, the great majority of the laborforce in America are members of the proletariat (80.2%).

The only system which can successfully replace capitalism is socialism (social ownership of the means of production). The foundation of this system has already been built in that the means of production are already largely socialized, that is, cooperative and social as opposed to individual. Thus the proletariat, whose labor is already socialized, is the only class that can provide the base and leadership for the transformation of society into a socialist society. While this does not exclude portions of other classes from allying with the working class, it must be clear that only the working class can provide the leadership

(Go to next page)

-----NOTE ON THE INCOME STATISTICS USED IN THE PAPER-----

Throughout the paper (except for the bourgeois class) the discussion of income, and to some extent the definition of sectors, will refer to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) "budgets at three levels." Every year the BLS publishes the amount necessary to live at three standards of living. Although they don't say so explicitly, the fact is that their "LOWER" budget represents the true definition of poverty. In other words, anyone living on or under a BLS "LOWER" budget is living in poverty. Likewise their "HIGHER" budget marks the minimum necessary for what is commonly thought of as a "Middle Class" life style. That is, if your earnings equal or exceed the BLS "HIGHER" budget, then you can afford a comfortable, secure, "American dream" life style. The BLS "INTERMEDIATE" budget represents a life style half way between poverty and security. These budget levels are updated every year on the basis of changes in prices for the goods and services necessary for these standards of living.

The three standards of living for this type of family in the fall of 1973 were "LOWER"--\$8,181; "INTERMEDIATE"--\$12,626; "HIGHER"--\$18,201. These figures are a national average. Different urban areas varied. The most expensive urban area in the continental United States was the Boston area, and the least expensive was Austin, Texas.

This paper divides the working class into three strata: 1) The labor aristocracy stratum, defined as those workers who earn above the B.L.S. "HIGHER" standard of living. 2) The middle stratum, defined as those workers who earn between the B.L.S. "HIGHER" and "LOWER" standards of living. 3) The bottom stratum, defined as those who earn less than the B.L.S. "LOWER" standard of living. Table 41 shows the relative size of each stratum.

in overthrowing the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and in instituting a socialist society. Within the working class, however, there are differences among the various sectors that affect their relative potential for leadership and commitment to overthrow of the bourgeoisie. These will be examined in the following pages.

The chapters on the different sectors focus on the difference between sectors in spontaneous consciousness. On how their conditions of work shape their consciousness. The emphasis on this aspect is not meant to imply that the spontaneous consciousness of even the most advanced sector can be a substitute for conscious Marxist-Leninists organized into a revolutionary party. Naturally, it is such a party that will be the most advanced element, the leading element, of the class. It is the conscious, organized, revolutionaries who scientifically study and systematize the experiences of the class, and particularly the class's most advanced sector--industrial production workers. It is the conscious revolutionaries who bring socialist ideology to the working class, and inject it into the spontaneous struggles of the class.

When the paper refers to different sectors developing ideology, or leading in consciousness, what is meant is the degree of spontaneous development, the potential for understanding and accepting the science of Marxism-Leninism, and the degree to which that sector's conditions provide the basis for the ideological development of the revolutionary party.

THE SEMI-PROFESSIONAL SECTOR

Definition

Of all the sectors, this is the one that is most difficult to define. It consists of several types of workers. First are those engaged in maintenance of the social system-- school teachers, probation officers, social

workers, some poverty agency workers, police, religious workers, etc. These jobs usually require college degrees (but not professional degrees) and have clearly higher status and pay than the jobs of members of the office sector of the working class, yet clearly lower status and pay than the jobs of members of the professional sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. Many of these jobs represent occupations that in the past would have been considered petit-bourgeois, but the march of monopoly capitalism has forced these occupations downward in a trend of proletarianization.

The second type are technicians--electronic, dental, health, tool programmers, radio operators, draftsmen, nurses, etc. Like the first category, these occupations lie between the office or production sectors below and the petit-bourgeois professional sector above in status and wages. They generally represent new occupations, created by increased technology, that have emerged out of the other sectors of the working class or the professional sector.

Third are those writers, entertainers, athletes, artists, musicians, dancers, etc., whose conditions of work, status, and wages place them in the ranks of the working class. For example, most newspaper reporters, chorus girls, commercial artists, and others in a similar situation. It is hard to pin down a precise line dividing the semi-professional (exploited) artist from the petit-bourgeois professional (non-exploited) artist. For example, Elizabeth Taylor, Joe Namath, Leon Uris, Walter Cronkite and others are clearly not exploited and are members of the professional sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. Just as clearly, the young reporter working for \$600/month, the artist in a giant architectural design company grinding out pictures of homes for \$700/month, the dancer in the chorus line of the local nightspot, and hundreds of thousands of other low-paid entertainers, writers, etc., are exploited and thus are members of the working class semi-professional sector.

TABLE 48 Proletariat by Sectors 1969

	% of whole Proletariat	% of the white members Proletariat	% of the TW members Proletariat	% of the male members Proletariat	% of the female members Proletariat
Semi-Professional	13.3%	14.5%	7.6%	11.9%	15.1%
Office	27.6%	29.6%	17.9%	14.7%	44.3%
Service	21.9%	19.5%	33.7%	21.0%	23.1%
Production	37.2%	36.5%	40.7%	52.3%	17.6%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note--These figures are calculated on the basis of laborforce members only. Members of the Working Class who are not members of the laborforce are not included.

Exactly where to draw the line is not clear. For the purpose of this paper, all those who earned over BLS "HIGHER" were considered petit-bourgeois professionals. All those who earned less than BLS "HIGHER" were considered semi-professionals. Eighty-one percent of all male writers, artists, and entertainers and 96% of all females in the same occupations earned less than "HIGHER" and were thus counted as semi-professionals.

The fourth type of semi-professional worker is in the sales field. The label "sales" covers a broad range of income/status/working conditions. At the bottom of the sales range are jobs like counter clerk in Macy's, grocery checker, door-to-door peddling, and telephone soliciting. These jobs are part of the office sector of the working class. At the top range of sales are the big shot salesmen who wine and dine the bourgeoisie, selling billions of dollars of wheat, whole factories, copper futures, etc. These corporate salesmen are in the petit-bourgeois professional or business sector. Between the petit-bourgeoisie and the office sector lies a mid-range of sales work: real estate agents, manufacturers' representatives, insurance salesmen, and others. This middle range is in the semi-professional sector. It is difficult to draw a sharp line separating the three sales sectors, but clearly there are three such groups.

The fifth type of semi-professional are low-level bureaucrats in big companies. Some of them supervise assistants, secretaries, and clerks, but they are not primarily supervisors. Examples of some of these occupations would be credit men, buyers, and purchasing agents.

In essence, then, the definition of this sector is that it is composed of workers who are exploited, but because of their extensive training, high salary, conditions of work, authority, social role, or other factors are clearly not in the same sector as workers below them. In other words, this is a sort of catch-all sector for those who are not petit-bourgeois but are definitely "above" the average office or blue collar worker.

Social Situation

It is very difficult to analyze the social situation of the semi-professional sector: First, because this is a fast-

growing sector and a relatively new one. Second, many of the occupations in it are going through swift changes in the nature of their work, their relative wage scale, and their social status. For example, many of the jobs in this sector are occupations that have been pushed downward from the petit-bourgeoisie. One hundred years ago school teachers' social status, relative pay scales, and relative working conditions were clearly much higher than they are now. At that time teachers were petit-bourgeois. Since then, the relative pay scale and social status of teachers have been forced downward.

Equally important, where once the teacher controlled the classroom in terms of what and how to teach, discipline, working conditions, etc, now the teacher has lost practically all control over her working conditions, subject matter, and discipline. Thus teachers have undergone a process of proletarianization of their work. Of course, this does not mean that teachers have become carriers of proletarian ideology, which is a different matter.

For other occupations the more onerous, repetitious, unpleasant, less skilled aspects of the work have been split off from the profession and assigned to a semi-professional worker. An example of this would be the dental technician, oral hygienist, denture maker, and X-ray technician who now do much of the work that once was part of the occupation of the dentist.

Since the social situation of the five types of occupations in this sector is different they will be looked at separately.

Social maintenance workers are primarily employed by government (or private charity). Their conditions of work have been steadily deteriorating as money for social services becomes scarcer at the very time that social problems and social unrest is growing. Thus conditions for these workers have been going downhill and probably will continue to do so. This has sparked a growing movement among these workers, particularly in the three major areas of health, education and social work. The big exception to this, of course, is the police.

At this time things are not too bad (relatively speaking) for the technicians. Because they possess vital skills needed by their employers, and the need for their services is on a long-term rise, they are in a (relatively) good position. Like the crafts-

men and artisans in the early days of the industrial revolution, their skills allow them to force a degree of control over their working conditions. In general, this group, being relatively better off than the rest of the working class, is not likely to join the struggles of the other workers.

A main exception to this are the women technicians in the health field who have to work under a very chauvinistic relationship with the doctors and dentists, a relationship in which the technician (nurse, dental assistant, hygienist, x-ray technician, etc.) is expected to play worshipper to the doctor's role of god.

The situation among the writers, artists, entertainers, and athletes, is very contradictory. Almost all of them harbor dreams of making the big time, but few ever do so. Yet this dream tends to keep them from challenging the system. On the other hand, the nature of their work often leads them into creative channels of thought, and intellectual rebellion.

Semi-professionals who are engaged in sales work tend to identify with the company and petit-bourgeois ideology. This is reinforced by the fact that sales work often allows a semi-professional to rise into the petit-bourgeoisie if he is able to sell enough.

Those semi-professionals who work as low-level bureaucrats are also closely tied to the company. The young ones see a chance to rise into the petit-bourgeois management sector, and the older ones were promoted into their jobs after faithfully proving their company loyalty.

A big contradiction within this sector is between objective reality and the false consciousness that has been instilled in the semi-professional workers. Objectively speaking, it is clear that the working conditions of this sector are better than those of other sectors of the working class, except possibly for the labor aristocracy. Wages are higher than in the office sector, and higher or about equal to those of most production workers. Semi-professionals, however, are--like the rest of the working class--exploited. That is, they produce surplus value for their employer if they work in the private sector of the economy.

Objectively, it is clear that semi-professionals are part of the working class, yet a false consciousness has been instilled that says they are part of the "middle class" and "better" than the workers. For the jobs forced down from the petit-bourgeoisie, the only thing that they have

retained (while losing wages, status, and working conditions) is the petit-bourgeois ideology. The myth has been perpetuated that white collar work (paperwork) is somehow nobler or better than manual work, but it can be just as tedious, boring, nerve-racking, and unpleasant. Technicians' working conditions are better than those of production or service workers and this has been used to convince them that they are petit-bourgeois and "better" than assembly-line workers, ditch diggers, waitresses, and orderlies. All of this false consciousness works, in the long run, against the interests of the semi-professional and the working class as a whole.

The relatively higher wages and the campaign to instill petit-bourgeois ideology within this sector is not an accident. It constitutes an attempt to bribe this elite sector into loyalty to the ruling class. The rulers do this because members of this sector are in very key locations in the economy and if they were to rebel they could create much damage. For example, technicians often are entrusted with the care and operation of equipment costing millions of dollars. In general, technicians occupy critical jobs that are key to the productive process; if they were to strike, they would have a powerful effect.

Those engaged in social maintenance are also in a critical key spot, and if their loyalties were to shift from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat, they could wreak havoc on the system of social control and repression that maintains the capitalist system. Thus the bourgeoisie is willing to pay them higher wages in order to insure their loyalty. Of course, the rulers don't go so far as to lose any money in this process. Those semi-professionals who work for private enterprise still produce more in wealth than is returned to them in their relatively higher salaries and those who work in the government sector are paid by taxes on the working class.

Role in Class Struggle

The class interests of the semi-professional sector clearly lie with the rest of the proletariat. As exploited labor the only long-term solution to the problems they face, in common with all workers, is to seize the means of production and reorganize the social/economic system under the control and for the benefit of the entire working class. Furthermore, any class struggle in the United States will strongly need the technical, cultural, and intellectual skills possessed by parts of this sector (the high-powered salesmen we can do without).

TABLE 53 Composition of the Office Sector of the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	17,690,000 (100.0%)	15,750,000 (89.0%)	1,940,000 (11.0%)
Male	5,349,000 (30.2%)	4,691,000 (26.5%)	658,000 (3.7%)
Female	12,341,000 (69.8%)	11,059,000 (62.5%)	1,282,000 (7.2%)

TABLE 54 In 1969 the Office Sector made up:

22.1% of the TOTAL laborforce	23.1% of the total white laborforce	16.5% of the total TW laborforce
10.8% of all males in the laborforce	11.0% of all white males in the laborforce	9.7% of all TW males in the laborforce
40.6% of all females in the laborforce	43.4% of all white females in the laborforce	25.7% of all TW females in the laborforce

Particularly important are technical skills in health, communications, computers, electronics, and other fields. Equally important are the cultural skills of writers, singers, actors, etc.

Unfortunately the false, petit-bourgeois consciousness that has been ingrained in this sector is very strong. The bourgeoisie has done its best to condition all sectors of society with their consciousness, and to some extent they have succeeded. Petit-bourgeois consciousness has taken root much more strongly (and is much harder to combat) in sectors where there is a material base to support it. This is the case with the semi-professional sector, which is an elite part of the working class. In a certain sense, the ruling class has bribed this sector with money, social status, and better working conditions. Although they are still exploited, their conditions are a far cry from those suffered by the great majority of the working population. Of course, the petit-bourgeois consciousness that exists within this sector is nowhere near so strong as it is within the petit-bourgeoisie itself. The petit-bourgeoisie and their ideology defend their class interests. Petit-bourgeois consciousness among the semi-professionals (or other workers) is a false consciousness and there is a constant struggle between petit-bourgeois consciousness and objectively correct proletarian consciousness.

As a whole, this sector is a potential ally of the rest of the proletariat. As part of the working class they can play an important role in socialist revolution. However, because of the mixture of false and true consciousness, it is probable that this sector will be disunited and fundamentally split into pro-bourgeoisie, neutral or confused, and pro-working class segments. It is important that the pro-working class segment be as large as possible. Intense ideological struggle will rage in this sector and it is important that the proletarian class forces fight hard and that they are strongly supported by all progressive forces.

It must be clear, though, that while this sector is part of the proletariat, it is not a leading element; in fact, it is one of the most backward elements. As an elite sector of the working class, with strong elements of privilege and petit-bourgeois consciousness, they cannot play a leading role. This sector's conditions are very different from those of the less privileged workers, and the semi-professional sector should not be in a position where they are the spokespeople or leaders of the proletariat as a whole.

OFFICE SECTOR

This sector contains those members of the proletariat who are engaged in sales, communications, or information handling, but excluding those in the semi-professional sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. For example, bookkeepers, typists, stenographers, telephone operators, mail carriers, file clerks, receptionists, secretaries, bill collectors, cashiers, sales clerks, etc.

Composition

In terms of occupational categories, this sector is made up of the sales and clerical categories.

Almost one-half of all working women are in this sector, as shown in Table 54. Furthermore, most of the occupations in this sector are sex-typed. Few women are in occupations such as letter carrier, shipping clerk, meter reader, and non-retail sale. Women make up almost all the workers in such occupations as file clerk, receptionist, typist, secretary, general merchandise retail sale, bank teller, bookkeeper, cashier, keypunch operators, and telephone operators. In the last couple of years, under pressure from women's organizations, some of these sex-typed jobs are lowering their sex barriers, particularly in civil service. But so far these changes have been minimal and achieved only after struggle.

TABLE 55 Office Sector by economic strata 1969 (estimated)

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Aristocracy	1%	2%	-	5%	-
Middle	24%	24%	24%	50%	10%
Bottom	75%	74%	76%	45%	90%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-these figures include both full and part-time workers.

Third World people are under-represented in this sector. This is a reflection once again of the racist hiring patterns in America, particularly the racist ideology that bars Third World people from "brainwork" type jobs. Furthermore, most of the Third World people in this sector are either in civil service or in jobs where they are not seen by the public (stock work, filing, office machine operator, keypunch, phone operators, etc.). Third World women make up about 10% of the total number of women in the office sector, but only 6% of the secretaries, 7% of the receptionists and sales clerks.

Income

As can be seen from Table 55, the most obvious difference is between men and women, with only 10% of office sector women earning above "LOWER," compared to 55% of office men. In absolute numbers, the difference is even greater because women outnumber men more than two to one in the office sector. Thus 11 million office women earn less than "LOWER," as compared to 2½ million men.

Mobility, Evolution, and Organization

This is an expanding sector, both as a percentage of the labor force and in absolute numbers. In 1869 office workers (clerical and sales) were roughly 2% of the laborforce (mostly in sales). In 1969 the office sector comprised 22.1% of the laborforce (the majority as clericals).

Most of its new members enter it young and are the children of working class or small farmer class families. There is little cross-over to or from this sector and the other sectors of the working class. There is little upward mobility into the semi-professional sector or the petit-bourgeoisie.

Roughly 11% of this sector is organized into unions, about 16% of the men and 9% of the women. To prevent organization, the supervisors use the mythology that office workers are "above" the blue-collar workers and thus do not need such things as unions. Women office workers are kept unorganized by

chauvinism and intimidation, by propaganda that unions are "unfeminine" and the claim that since women are not the "breadwinner" of the family they do not need high-paying jobs as much as men do. These propaganda devices fool some women, but more important they undermine support for women office workers among other sectors of society, especially husbands. This bolsters the positions and rationalizations of management. Male office workers are kept in line by threats to give their jobs to women at lower pay, and the that if men and women unite it would mean that the salaries of men would be reduced to the level of womens.

In addition to the subjective factors of sexism, propaganda, etc., there are other reasons for the difficulty of organizing office workers. First is that most office work is less socialized than production work, thus giving less training in unity and cooperation. Second, a majority of office workers are in small (2-20 worker) offices. Third, a large portion of office workers are located in widely scattered offices far from concentrations of other office workers.

Social Situation

This sector has been hard hit by inflation and rising taxes. They have been hurt relatively more than the better organized production sector of the working class because they don't have even the minimal protection of unions, contracts, and "cost of living" clauses.

The tremendous expansion of the office sector has been an inevitable result of monopoly capitalism's drive to maximize profits. First, as management forcibly divorced the individual production worker from the skill, knowledge, experience, and creativity necessary to plan and carry out the work, it caused a corresponding increase in the number of clerical employees. Secondly, the economic advantage gained by long-range and widespread planning of production also requires ever-increasing office staffs. Thirdly, the vast expansion of markets (both in terms of new territory and in terms of creating new commercial markets for goods and services once done on a non-commercial

basis by individuals for themselves) and the concurrent expansion of credit and billing systems has also called into being new armies of clerical workers.

At the same time as production workers were being stripped of their humanity and broken down to the status of machines, the same process was taking place among office workers. Historically, there was a time (pre-industrial captial) when clerks were essentially petit-bourgeois. They functioned, actually, as part of management. They assisted the owner, helped in planning, supervised workers, created new ideas and processes, had a reasonable hope of rising up in the business into partnership or even ownership, and they were paid much better than production workers. These clerks have, today, evolved into the petit-bourgeois managerial sector. With the rise of industrial and then monopoly capital, a new type of office force was brought into being: a low-paid mass of workers whose jobs are routinized and uncreative; in fact, jobs quite similar to production work, except that what they produce is marks on pieces of paper, rather than physical commodities.

With the advent of office machinery (typewriters, keypunch, calculators, etc.), some office jobs became even more similar to production work. For all office workers, the degree of standardization, socialization, compartmentalization, and speed-up is steadily increasing, while wages are (relatively) falling, working conditions are declining, and oppression worsening.

However, the subjective consciousness of office workers has not kept pace with their fast-changing objective conditions. The tradition of the office as a place of "brainwork" (as opposed to animal-like "musclework") still has an effect on office workers. There is still the holdover of petit-bourgeois consciousness long after the objective, material conditions to sustain such consciousness have gone. This lagging of consciousness is, of course, no accident. The bourgeoisie carefully nurtures and fosters it.

Fortunately, their ability to promote a false consciousness is limited. It is clear that the petit-bourgeois hold-over consciousness is disappearing at an ever-faster rate. What is on the upsurge is a more and more class-conscious office worker sector. Although this is just beginning, and is only on a small scale at the present time, it is clearly the wave of the future.

The importance of this sector to the smooth functioning of the capitalist system should not be downplayed. As monopoly capitalism is forced to become more and more complex and integrated, the importance of information-handling jobs becomes greater. In addition to office work directly related to production, a large part of the work done by the office sector is concerned with the vital encumbrances of capitalism (advertising, profit accounting, credit, insurance, etc.). The fact that this work (advertising, etc.) produces no socially useful value doesn't mean that it isn't necessary to capitalism. Disruption or deterioration of information- and money- handling functions can have a serious and damaging effect on the capitalist system as a whole.

While much of the work now done by this sector will not be necessary under a socialist economy, office workers have an important role to play in a socialist society. For example, instituting and efficiently running a planned economy will require a skilled office workforce.

Role in Class Struggle

As a large, and heavily oppressed, sector of the proletariat, office workers are an important segment of the class struggle. Although they are not in a position to seize the means of production, they are in a position to strike heavy blows against the bourgeoisie. With over 40% of all women workers, and a large number of men as well, the office sector is a great potential reservoir of strength and determination to destroy the oppressive capitalist system. This sector will be a staunch ally of the production sector. However, this sector will play somewhat less of a leadership role than that of production workers. There are four reasons for this. First, the conditions of work of this sector do not provide as much socialization and training in co-operation as the conditions in large-scale production do. In other words, the conditions of office workers do not as clearly lead workers towards socialism as do the conditions of some other parts of the proletariat. Second, there is still a remnant of petit-bourgeois ideology among "white collar" workers that confuses them as to their true positions as oppressed members of the working class, and hinders the development of class solidarity with the rest of the proletariat. Of course, this petit-bourgeois ideology is nowhere near so strong among this sector as it is among the semi-professional sector. Third, because of the first two points, and the

fact that a large portion of this sector is scattered among thousands of small (2-20 person) offices, this sector is difficult to organize. Fourth, office and sales work is not as central to the economy as is production/transportation/energy. Thus the office sector is not as strategically located as the production sector.

This sector will be a vital part of the class struggle, but secondary to the production sector. However, in comparison with other classes and the semi-professional sector, the office workers will play a leadership role.

While the above holds true for office workers in general, special attention should be paid to the situation of the workers in large-scale office operations such as insurance headquarters. Somewhere around 2,000,000 office workers (overwhelmingly women) work in highly-concentrated large-scale offices. Often several hundred women work in a single room, with thousands in a single building and tens or even hundreds of thousands in a downtown area. This type of office work is much more socialized than the rest of office work, and the potential of these office workers for a leading role in class struggle is much higher than that of other office workers. Certainly, the leading force among office workers will be those employed in the highly concentrated and socialized large-scale offices.

SERVICE SECTOR

Definition

This sector is composed of those workers who provide non-office type services to the production system or to individuals. Some provide services to individuals; for example, restaurant, hospital, and private household workers. Some provide services to both individuals and to the general productive system; for example, gas station attendants, road repair crews, firemen, and sewer workers. Others provide services to the production system; for example, janitorial services, security guards, and grounds-keeping companies.

A distinction must be made between workers who service the production system in general (service sector), and those who work at a service-type occupation at a particular place of production (production sector). An

example will make this clear. Take the occupation mechanic, which can either be in the service or production sectors. An automobile mechanic who repairs cars owned by individuals is in the service sector, while a mechanic who repairs production machinery at a particular factory (and who is employed by that factory) is, like other workers of the factory, part of the production sector. A janitor employed by a hospital, public building, apartment house, hotel, business office, etc., is part of the service sector. A janitor employed by a factory is part of the production sector, but a janitor employed by a cleaning service company that services a route of several factories is part of the service sector even though she or he is engaged in cleaning means of production.

Transportation workers are divided among the production and service sectors. Those workers engaged (wholly or in large part) in the transportation of raw materials, partly finished products, or finished goods from factory to distribution center are considered to be part of the productive process; for example, railroad workers, longshoremen, long-haul truckers, etc. Those transportation workers engaged primarily in moving people, distribution of products from distribution center to retail store, or the delivery of purchased goods to the customer are considered to be part of the service sector because their function is not a direct part of production. Examples of these occupations would be bus driver, cab driver, deliveryman, etc.

In addition to the types of workers mentioned above, the sector also includes such people as theatre workers, stewardesses, barbers, laundry workers, repairmen, sign painters, phone installers, chainmen, ironers, wrappers (retail), parking attendants, garbage men, car washers, and others.

Composition

As can be seen from Table 57, the proportion of Third World workers to white workers is more than double (153 per 1,000 white versus 310 per 1,000 Third World). Almost 40% of all Third World women are in this low-paid, low-status sector. Furthermore, Third World workers are not distributed evenly throughout the sector. Rather they are concentrated in the worst paid, most oppressive, most dehumanizing jobs and occupations, particularly those of a personal service nature. For example, there are practically no Third World firemen or steward-

TABLE 56 Composition of the Service Sector or the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	14,050,000 (100.0%)	10,405,000 (74.0%)	3,645,000 (25.9%)
Male	7,620,000 (54.2%)	5,949,000 (42.3%)	1,671,000 (11.9%)
Female	6,430,000 (45.8%)	4,456,000 (31.7%)	1,974,000 (14.0%)

TABLE 57 In 1969 the Service Sector made up:

17.5% of the TOTAL laborforce	15.3% of the total white laborforce	31.0% of the total TW laborforce
15.4% of all males in the laborforce	13.9% of all white males in the laborforce	24.7% of all TW males in the laborforce
21.1% of all females in the laborforce	17.5% of all white females in the laborforce	39.6% of all TW females in the laborforce

esses, but 58% of all private household workers are Third World. This a clear example of the racism and national chauvinism of the bourgeoisie, petit-bourgeoisie, and their labor union lackeys.

This sector also presents strong evidence of the discrimination against women workers. Not only are a higher proportion of women workers in this sector than the proportion of men workers, but the occupations are heavily sex-typed, with the women's jobs at the bottom. For example, few women are in the better-paying (and higher status) occupations of mechanic, fireman, bus driver, and garbage collector. Most women are concentrated in the fields of cleaning, cooking, serving food, health care, etc.

In terms of occupational categories, most members of the service sector are in either the service or private household categories. There are a few craftsmen (mostly the different types of mechanics and repairmen), a few operatives (gas station attendants), a few laborers (garbagemen), some transportation workers (bus drivers, parking attendants, conductors, etc.), and no farm laborers.

Income

Table 58 clearly shows that this is a very low-paid sector, roughly the equivalent of the office sector. If it were not for the inclusion of around 2 million mechanics, firemen, and a few other relatively high-paid occupations, this sector would clearly be below the office sector in income.

TABLE 58 Service Sector by economic strata 1969 (estimate)

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Aristocracy	1%	2%	-	2%	-
Middle	26%	29%	13%	41%	4%
Bottom	73%	69%	87%	57%	96%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-these figures include both full and part-time workers.

Mobility and Evolution

This is a growing sector, both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the laborforce. In 1869 roughly 8% of the laborforce were service workers. By 1969 the service sector was 17.5% of the workforce. However, none of this increase was in the private household category. Servants, both live-in and live-out (for example cleaning women), have steadily declined. In 1869 about 8% of the laborforce were servants of one sort or another. In 1969 they had declined to 1.5% of the laborforce.

Many production workers thrown out of work by increased mechanization and run-away industries find jobs in the service sector. So do large numbers of farm laborers and former members of the small farmer class--both of these groups being on the decline because of the monopolization/mechanization of agriculture. Furthermore, a larger and larger proportion of young workers entering the job market are unable to find producer work and thus become service workers.

Organization

Roughly 9% of service workers are organized into unions, about 19% of the men and around 5% of the women. There are a number of reasons for the low level of unionization. The racism and sexism of both unions and employers which has been used to keep Third World people and women unorganized is a major factor. There are also other reasons.

Service work is most often done by small groups of workers, and in many cases the employees of a company are spread out over many locations. Thus it is difficult to organize any large segment of this sector. Because this sector performs a secondary (service) role in the economy, the unions that have been organized are not able to apply the economic pressure that unions composed of production workers can. Thus organizations of service workers tend to be much weaker than organizations of production workers. There are some exceptions to this general situation, such as the recent organizing drives among hospital workers, but in general the service sector has been largely unsuccessful in organizing itself.

Social Situation

Most of the members of this sector work for companies owned by the petit-bourgeoisie. Their capitalization is low. Their profits arise from the difference between the wages they pay the service workers and the fees for that service paid by the customer. Usually these are highly competitive businesses with price the most important factor. The result is that the petit-bourgeois owners keep wages as low as possible. Thus the service proletariat is very poorly paid and is oppressed. Each owner tries to force the most work possible from his employees. Often the workers are required to work 9, 10, or even 11 hour shifts. Some have to work split shifts. Little attention is paid by the owner to safety. Service work in general is not as dangerous as production work, yet there are some safety problems; for example, burns in restaurant cooking or disease among hospital workers.

For the most part the service workers are employed singly or in small groups, the main exception being large hospitals. The nature of their work tends to be less socialized, compartmentalized, and co-operative--and more individual--than that of production workers. However, it is no less boring, repetitive, and alienating. Although service workers don't have to suffer the tyranny of the assembly line, many do have to take personal abuse from their boss.

Generally, most service workers labor in close contact with the owner of the business. It is usually the owner who supervises and oppresses the worker, without the buffer roles of foreman and supervisor found in production. Racial and sexual chauvinism is very strong in this situation. The res-

ult is that on the whole, service workers have a lot of antagonism towards their boss. Sometimes, however, the very closeness of that contact causes the hatred to be on a personal instead of a class basis. Sometimes the closeness of contact between boss and worker causes the worker to develop a sense of identification with the employer and a petit-bourgeois class outlook. An example of this would be a worker who desires to become a partner in the business he or she is employed by, or to save enough money to start his own business.

In general, the low pay, poor working conditions, and general oppression of the service sector generates anger, bitterness, and hostility towards the owners. But because of the lower level of socialization and mutual cooperation among these workers, and because of their indirect relationship to the means of production which makes the fundamental contradiction between capital and labor more difficult to see, service workers have less potential for development of their hatred into socialist consciousness than do production workers.

Role in Class Struggle

Like the office sector, this is a heavily oppressed and exploited sector of the working class, and as such it will play an important role in revolutionary class struggle. This sector will be a staunch and vital ally of the production sector. Yet it will not play as leading a role as the production sector for 3 basic reasons: First, its lower degree of socialization of labor gives it a lower potential for the understanding/acceptance/development of socialist consciousness than the production sector. Second, its small scale and scattered nature make it more difficult to organize. Third, service work is not as central to the economy as is production. Thus the service sector is not as strategically located as the production sector.

However, the role played by the service sector will probably be more advanced than that of the office sector, for two reasons. First, because the office sector is somewhat hampered by remnants of petit-bourgeois ideology, while the service sector has much less of such consciousness. Second, because of the very high percentage of Third World workers in this sector compared to the office sector (the percentage of Third World workers in the office sector is 11%, in the service sector, 26%). On the other hand,

TABLE 59 Composition of the Production Sector of the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	23,884,000 (100.0%)	19,482,000 (81.6%)	4,402,000 (18.4%)
Male	18,980,000 (79.4%)	15,603,000 (65.3%)	3,377,000 (14.1%)
Female	4,904,000 (20.5%)	3,879,000 (16.2%)	1,025,000 (4.2%)

TABLE 60 In 1969 the Production Sector made up;

29.9% of the TOTAL laborforce	28.6% of the total white laborforce	37.5% of the total TW laborforce
38.3% of all males in the laborforce	36.5% of all white males in the laborforce	49.9% of all TW males in the laborforce
16.1% of all females in the laborforce	15.2% of all white females in the laborforce	20.6% of all TW females in the laborforce

office work is, in general, more socialized, and becoming socialized faster, than service work,

work does not. Also, the level of socialization among typical sales and service jobs is lower than among typical clerical jobs.

In discussing the degree of leadership among the different sectors of the working class, it must be remembered that what is being analyzed are relatively small differences between sectors of a basic class, that the basic and most fundamental divisions are class divisions, that the fundamental struggle is a struggle between classes, and in that struggle the working class as a whole is in historic combat with the bourgeois class.

In that struggle the different sectors of the working class, particularly the three key sectors (office, service, and production), stand shoulder to shoulder, and the differences among the sectors as to degree of consciousness and leadership are slight when compared to the fundamental divisions between the classes. Furthermore, the concept of leadership is being used in a long-term overall sense. It does not mean that individual workers from any sector may not emerge in leading roles. Nor does it mean that in all times, places, and circumstances only the production workers will lead. Not at all. At certain times and places, other sectors or portions of sectors will be playing the leading role. For example, during much of the civil rights movement of the early 1960's, Black service workers (particularly women) were a leading group

THE PRODUCTION SECTOR

Definition

The production sector is composed of those wage workers who are engaged in the production of commodities, the extraction of natural resources, production of food, operation of the transportation network that services production, construction industry, and the maintenance of the energy and communications networks. As can be seen, production workers provide most of the essential goods and services of civilization. Furthermore, within this sector are all of the workers who produce the wealth that can be used to increase the means of production. Not included in this sector are those workers who produce immediately consumed commodities, such as a cook in a restaurant.

Composition

As can be seen from Tables 59 and 60, this is the largest sector of the working class. Like the service sector, the proportion of Third World workers in the production sector is higher than that of white workers (375 per 1,000 versus 286 per 1,000). One-half of all Third World men are production workers (499 per 1,000).

Unlike the service and office sectors, the production sector has a much higher proportion of men and women, more than double (383 per 1,000 versus 161 per 1,000). Most of the male production workers are in the occupational categories of craftsmen and operatives, with lesser numbers in the categories of transportation operative, laborer, and farm laborer. Practically all of the

Controversy

Some comrades felt that the service sector should include sales workers whom the paper counts as members of the office sector. They felt that the nature of sales work was much closer to that of typical service work than to clerical work, particularly in that most service work and sales work deals directly with the public, while most clerical

TABLE 61 Production Sector by economic strata 1969 (estimate)

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Aristocracy	2%	3%	-	3%	-
Middle	44%	47%	29%	53%	10%
Bottom	54%	50%	71%	44%	90%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.

women are in the operative category, with only a handful in the others.

Income

Table 61 shows that although this sector is somewhat better off than the office and service sectors, it is still, basically, a low-paid sector. Only 2% of the production sector is paid enough to achieve the so-called "middle class" life style. Furthermore, this 2% is almost entirely composed of white males. Women and Third World production workers are, as in all other sectors, much lower-paid--once again a reflection of the racism, national chauvinism, and sexism of the bourgeoisie and the labor union leadership.

Mobility and Evolution

As a percentage of the laborforce, the production sector is steadily declining. In 1869 this sector was roughly 50% of the laborforce; by 1969 it had declined to 27.7%. Most of this shrinkage has been among the rural sub-sector, that is, among farm laborers. In 1869 roughly 29% of the workforce were farm laborers; in 1969 only 2.2% were. The situation among urban production workers is less simple. In 1869, non-farm production workers were somewhere around 22% of the laborforce. This percentage rose over the years, reaching a high of about 36% around 1950. Since that time, non-farm production workers have begun to decline as a percentage of the laborforce. As of 1969 urban production workers have declined to 25.5% of the laborforce.

This has not, obviously, meant a decline in the number, variety, or amount of material commodities produced. Far from it. As we can see, the shrinking production sector has been steadily increasing its production. In fact, the great increases in productivity are the prime causes of the steady decline in the relative size of the sector. Since fewer workers can produce more goods due to increased mechanization, socialization, speed-up, rationalization, etc., the profit-minded capitalists are constantly trimming back the number of production workers.

There is also another important reason for the relative decline in the production sector: run-away industry. As a response to the struggle by production workers for better working conditions, higher pay, etc., many industries are closing down their plants in the U.S. and moving them to countries where labor is cheaper. Primarily these are Third World nations, ruled by corrupt dictatorships propped up by U.S. imperialism; for example, South Korea, Taiwan, Philippines, Chile, Brazil, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, etc. Under the benevolent eye of the local puppet regime, the capitalists are able to exploit and oppress their new workers without mercy, and with the confidence that any attempt of the workers to organize and resist will be suppressed by the local government. Further, they can count on the U.S. government to come to the aid of any corporation or client state threatened by revolutionary or nationalist movements.

For example, while many of the textile plants of New England have been abandoned by their owners, large plants have been built in Thailand. Although Thailand does not have (at the moment) as fascist a government as many of the "free world" neo-colonies, a recent survey found the following conditions among Thai textile workers: Factories were unventilated and uncooled; workers had to breathe in lint, dust, and steam; they worked 8-10 hours per day in heat often over 120°; there are no safety precautions--one factory of over 200 workers has only two exit doors. That factory is made of wood and the weaving machines are so close together only one person can pass between them at a time. Most of the buildings are semi-dark, with only dim lights. The textile workers are paid an average of 8 Baht per day (40 cents). In a ten-hour day they earn the equivalent of \$.50 US. The workers have to live crammed into small dirty rooms in company dormitories. An average of 24 to 39 workers (spread over three shifts on the "hot bed" system) share each room of 6 by 8 meters (20' by 26'). One bathroom is shared by an average of 34 workers. Most workers are young women who are burned-out, diseased, or crippled by the time they are 30. There is no pension, workmen's compensation, or any other provision for the cast-off, used-up

workers.

Thus because of U.S. imperialism, the part of the world's production workers living within the borders of the U.S. is shrinking, while the oppression of Third World producers increases. Table 62 shows the shrinkage of the U.S. production sector.

Since the workforce increased from 59,229,000 in the 1950 Census to 80,071,000 in the 1970 Census (an increase of 35%), any occupation that increased less than 35% suffered a relative decline. The table above shows absolute increases or decreases. Thus occupations that show a decline on the table above suffered a much more severe relative decline.

As can be seen in Table 62, the production sector shows a mixture of increasing and decreasing occupations. In comparison, the other sectors all show increases. As a proportion of the laborforce, the other sectors are increasing, while the production sector

is shrinking.

There are three important shifts in the composition of the production sector. The first has already been discussed, namely the overall decline in relative size. The second important shift is a relative decline in the number of highly-skilled jobs and an increase in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. As a result of automation and mechanization caused by the drive for profit, the number of skilled, and thus higher-paid, jobs has shrunk very fast. Skilled craftsmen are replaced with a machine operated by an unskilled or semi-skilled worker. The first result, obviously, is a decline in wages for production workers. The second result is an increase in the oppressiveness of the jobs, because capitalism's goal is to divorce the worker from any creative input to his or her work, to reduce the job to a few simple repetitive motions, and to regiment the worker to perform the work as swiftly and unvaryingly as the machine he or she tends.

TABLE 62 Increase or decrease of sample occupations 1949-1969		
	Men	Women
Production Sector		
Misc. Operatives, Manf.	-42%	-46%
Assemblers	117%	232%
Bakers	-29%	59%
Machinists	-28%	92%
Miners	-73%	-56%
Primary Metal Operatives	-30%	68%
Farm Laborers	-52%	8%
Longshoremen	-31%	-38%
Warehousemen	44%	-82%
Service Sector		
Cooks (Excpt Pvt House)	53%	117%
Bartenders	-20%	50%
Janitors	155%	80%
Firemen	59%	378%
Pvt. Watchmen	25%	63%
Office Sector		
Sales Clerks	72%	34%
Bank Tellers	-1%	658%
Bookkeepers	34%	130%
Shipping Clerks	32%	234%
Stock Clerks	72%	412%
Cashiers	90%	247%
Mail Carriers	45%	183%
Semi-Professional Sector		
Teachers	182%	133%
Social Workers	375%	205%
Police	100%	130%
Electronics Tech.	1192%	320%
Draftsmen	117%	104%

The third shift in the composition of the production sector grows from the second. As the work is reorganized to become more oppressive, boring, regimented, and lower-paid, an increasing number of Third World workers and women are hired. There are several reasons for this. First, it helps split the sector by fostering racism and sexism in the older workers; second, by bringing in new people to fill "new" jobs, it makes it easier to lower wages; third, since the work represents a slight increase in pay and status from service work (which is the only other work open to most Third World workers and "blue collar" women), they are less likely to become troublemakers than the older workers whose jobs have been degraded.

Organization

As a sector, this is the best organized part of the working class. However, this does not mean that all production workers are members of unions. In fact, only about 40% of production workers are organized, about 44% of the men and about 28% of the women production workers. Of those who are organized, most are in unions over which they have no control and small influence. For some, the union is an added arm of management, concerned with controlling instead of defending the worker and making the member pay for this "service" out of wages. Large segments of the sector are not organized at all. There will be more discussion of organization in the analysis of the production sub-sectors below.

Social Situation

Like the rest of the working class, production workers suffer from inflation, which in a sense is a disguised form of cutting wages. However, those segments organized into unions are less injured by inflation than the unorganized workers, because of the weak protection that the unions are able to provide. Thus, as a whole, the production sector is less affected by inflation than are the office and service sectors (taken as a whole). Still, the majority of the sector is not organized, and even those that are in unions are being pushed downward by inflation.

The stagnation of growth in the production sector due to mechanization and runaway industry has already been described. The effect of this stagnation is that it is harder and harder for workers to find jobs

in production occupations. Former production workers fired or laid off from their old jobs find themselves forced to take jobs in the service sector at lower pay and under worse conditions. Young workers entering the labor force are more and more finding it impossible to get the better-paying production jobs.

In a general sense, inflation is a method of cutting the wages of the working class. The diversion of masses of workers into the low-paid office and service sectors is another method of driving the wages and working conditions of the working class downward. With the upsurge of the CIO movement in the 1930's, the general conditions of American workers rose. The momentum of that movement, coupled with the economic effects of World War II and then the expansion of U.S. imperialism, carried the American working class upward through the 50's and into the 60's. Now, the trend appears to have reversed, and the bourgeoisie is pushing the proletariat backward. At present, the main forms of this attack on the working class are indirect (inflation; unemployment, and run-away industry). However, as the crisis of imperialism deepens with the growing strength of the Third World liberation movements, and as the fundamental contradictions of capitalism become more and more evident, the attacks on the proletariat will become more severe and more direct (union-busting, violent repression of strikes, wage cuts, etc etc).

Role in Class Struggle

Revolution will only come about through class struggle. In capitalist society, particularly monopoly capitalist society, the fundamental conflict is between the working class and the bourgeois class. Within that class struggle, the working class can win the support of elements of other classes. Within the working class, the base, core, center, and leadership of the struggle will be a firm alliance of three sectors: production, office, and service. Within this basic unity of the three sectors, the production sector will be the leading element. There are a number of reasons for the production sector to be the most advanced element. While some of these reasons apply to other sectors as well, taken as a whole they point to the leading role of production workers.

- 1) The production sector is in the most strategic position to overthrow the bour-

geoisie. The fundamental foundation of capitalism is the network of industries that extract the natural resources, manufacture and distribute commodities. It is the production sector that operates this network. Thus production workers have the potential to disrupt, paralyze, and seize the heart of the bourgeoisie's power. The office, sales, state and service sectors of the economy are, of course, very important to the capitalists, but they are not the center.

2) A revolution is more than overthrowing the bourgeoisie. A revolution requires replacing a system, not just replacing individual people. The only system that, at this stage of historical development, can replace capitalism is socialism. The essence of socialism is the social ownership and operation of the means of production. Thus for the task of seizing, reorganizing, and operating in a socialist manner the means of production, this sector is key. Of course, the other sectors of the economy will have to be reorganized and operated on a socialist basis also, but the production/transportation system is key. Furthermore, large portions of the office, state, and service sectors of the economy will not be necessary or desirable under socialism. The labor freed from these jobs will be needed for the expansion of production.

3) Of the three core sectors, the production sector is the one with the most highly socialized working conditions. It is the sector with the largest concentrations of workers. Its general level of cooperative labor is the highest. It has a low level of petit-bourgeois consciousness. It represents that most advanced element of the economy, that is, the historical vanguard of the productive process. It can best understand the inherent inefficiency of the capitalist mode of production and the vast potential of socialist production for supplying the world's needs. The forms of productive work develop in the proletariat a sense of discipline and organization. Thus its potential for the acceptance/development of socialist and revolutionary class consciousness is the highest. The phrase "proletarian ideology," meaning the ideology of the most advanced element of the laboring population, refers to the workers in large-scale production. Thus the production workers will play an important leading role in the development of the class consciousness of the class as a whole.

4) The production sector has a very high proportion of Third World workers. Third World workers, of every sector, will

play a leading role, because of the dual nature (class and national) of their oppression.

5) The production sector is the easiest to organize of the various sectors.

6) The production sector is the largest of the various sectors. The four labor-force sectors of the working class are the following percentages of the class:

<u>Sector</u>	<u>% of working class</u>
Production	37%
Office	28%
Service	22%
Semi-prof	13%
Total	100%

The non-laborforce sectors of the working class (aged and excluded) are difficult to compare in size to the four sectors above. Their size will be discussed later in the paper.

While production workers have a leading role within the class, this does not in any way downplay the important role of office and service sectors. The description of the production workers as being in the advance of the other sectors is a general principle. However, at particular times and places, and in particular circumstances, the other sectors will play a leadership role. It must also be kept in mind that the office and service sectors are growing while the production sector is not. Also, that the office sector, composed overwhelmingly of women, and the service sector, composed of a high proportion of women and Third World workers, have important roles to play in the struggle against racism and sexism and the struggle for national liberation.

THREE SUB-SECTORS OF THE PRODUCTION SECTOR

This analysis has broken the sector down into three sub-sectors--industrial, small scale, and rural--which will be examined in more detail.

INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIAT (SUB-SECTOR)

Definition

This sub-sector contains those who work in the large-scale, important, industrial plants. For the sake of an arbitrary figure, "large" is defined as more than 250

TABLE 63 Composition of the Industrial Proletariat Sub-Sector 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	10,767,000 (100.0%)	8,853,000 (82.2%)	1,914,000 (17.8%)
Male	8,524,000 (79.1)	7,064,000 (65.6%)	1,460,000 (13.6%)
Female	2,243,000 (20.9%)	1,789,000 (16.6%)	454,000 (4.2%)

TABLE 64 In 1969 the Industrial Proletariat made up:

13.5% of the TOTAL laborforce	13.0% of the total white laborforce	16.3% of the total TW laborforce
17.2% of all males in the laborforce	16.5% of all white males in the laborforce	21.6% of all TW males in the laborforce
7.4% of all females in the laborforce	7.0% of all white females in the laborforce	9.1% of all TW females in the laborforce

blue-collar employees. "Important" is defined in respect to the economy. These definitions are in terms of plants, mines, mills, etc., not in terms of companies. For example, a G.E. factory with only 100 workers would not be in this sub-sector, but a GE plant with 400 would be. The figure 250 is just a rough guideline. Size and importance must be taken together. For example, a small plant of 50 workers producing all of the world's supply of left-handed blivets (key to the entire framistan industry) would be included as basic industry, while a plant of 350 making hula hoops would not be. Generally, importance and size run hand in hand, particularly in the most important areas of production--steel, auto, electric, rubber, petroleum, aero-space, machinery, instruments, shipyards, appliances, etc.

Also in the basic industry sector are those companies whose operations provide direct support to the means of production as a whole. These are the large and important transportation, communications, and energy networks. Although the workers in these industries do not themselves produce material wealth, they provide absolutely essential services to those that do. Again, the emphasis is on large and important operations.

It should be noted here that the statistics in Tables 63 to 66 dividing urban production workers into industrial and small-scale sub-sectors are not as accurate as the statistics presented for other classes, sectors, and sub-sectors. This is because the only statistics discovered that broke down the laborforce by size of plant were not very detailed, and they only covered the total number of workers with no breakdown as to sex or nationality. Thus the statistics for the national and sexual composition of the two urban sub-sectors given in this paper are figured on the assumption that Third World, white, male and female workers are distributed evenly between the two sub-sectors.

This sub-sector is mainly composed of craftsmen (machinists, mechanics, linemen, crane-men, railroad engineers, die makers, pipefitters, etc.), transport operatives (railroad workers, truck drivers, bus drivers, forklift operators, etc.), operatives (assemblers, checkers, cutters, punch press, sailors, welders, polishers, miners, mixers, packers, machine operators, etc.), and laborers (longshoremen, lumpers, warehousemen, haulers, wipers, etc.).

Most of the full-time basic industrial workers have a standard of living in the middle stratum. It was not possible to find statistics that broke the income figures of the production sector as a whole into the urban sub-sectors. However, in general it can be said that the majority of the full-time workers in this sub-sector have incomes between the BLS "LOWER" and "HIGHER" levels. In other words, the middle stratum.

It would be safe to say that the majority of the companies whose plants and operations are in the industrial sub-sector are owned by members of the bourgeoisie. Of course, not all plants owned by giant companies are in this sector, just those that are large and important. Generally speaking, the wages of this sector are higher than the other sub-sectors. This is not due to the benevolence of the bourgeoisie, but to two main factors. The first, and most important, is that the workers of basic industry have been able to form unions and wage fierce, bitter struggles for improved wages and conditions. The second is that the bourgeoisie is able to afford a high degree of mechanization and automation. This means that, through the use of machinery, workers in these large plants can produce much more than workers whose employers have less-developed or sophisticated means of production.

Although their wages are relatively high, workers in basic industry are the

most exploited of all sectors. exploitation is the difference between the amount of wealth produced by a worker and the amount of wealth returned to him or her as wages. As an abstract theoretical example, a worker who produces \$30 worth of goods or services per hour and is paid \$7 per hour is more exploited than a worker who produces \$10 worth of goods or services per hour and is paid \$3.50 per hour. However, while the workers of basic industry are the most exploited, they are not the most oppressed.

Oppression relates to the wages paid, the difficulty of the work, and the conditions under which the work is done. To go back to the previous example, the worker producing \$10 worth of goods per hour is probably physically working harder and faster, in more dangerous or unpleasant conditions, with more harassment from the boss, longer hours, and with greater job insecurity--all for half the wages and fewer benefits (if any).

Even though most of the members of this sub-sector are in the middle stratum, this does not mean that they are well-paid. The middle stratum is still below the amount necessary for a secure and comfortable standard of living.

Organization

This is the best organized part of the working class. Most of the members of the industrial proletariat sub-sector belong to unions. This does not, of course, mean that they are able to successfully defend their rights. Often the unions are an added oppression on the back of the workers. In many cases the union is a great hindrance to the organization of the workers into groups that will fight for their interests. Thus the key question is not whether the workers are organized into a union, but whether they are organized into a union that will fight for them rather than against them. On this basis, it must be said that the industrial proletariat (and for that matter the entire working class) is very poorly organized.

Social Situation

Basic industry workplaces are large: large in space--often several square miles--and large in numbers of workers--some employing thousands in a single factory complex. Generally, most of the work is highly socialized, with each worker doing a few specialized tasks over and over again in

close cooperation with other workers. For most of the workers the job is boring and repetitive. In assembly-line situations the worker is forced to function like a machine, at high speed, which causes great tension and strain. Often the plant is dirty, noisy, dangerous, poorly ventilated, cold or very hot, filled with disease-causing agents, and inadequately lighted. Work in the massive factories is extremely alienating and divorced from any sense of creativity.

Even more oppressive than the nature of the work is the constant speed-up. The corporate bosses strive every minute to squeeze more and more work from each employee. New machines are introduced to cut the number of workers but increase production. Machines are run faster and faster, compelling the workers to keep up and increase the pace. Furthermore, the worker himself is forced to function as a machine. Each motion of the worker's fingers, hands, body, feet, head is carefully calculated and measured by the time-motion study experts. Every move of the worker is as regulated and regimented as the motions of the machines.

Because the work is highly socialized and integrated, it trains the industrial proletariat into patterns of discipline, cooperation, and mutual dependence: First, because the job is designed to be accomplished by many workers operating together; second, because the industrial proletariat must depend on each other for things like safety, relief, and training.

The industrial proletariat are the most important producers of material wealth. Yet little wealth is returned to them. The contradiction between those who own the means of production (capitalists) and those who operate those means (labor) is clear to see within this sector. The result of the high degree of socialization and this direct relationship to the means of production is that this sub-sector is the most likely to develop and accept the principles of socialism. It is easiest for the industrial blue-collar workers to understand the interdependence of all aspects of the economy, the value of cooperative labor, and the necessity of seizing and running the means of production on a socialist basis.

The owners of the large industrial plants are never seen or talked to by the workers in this sector. Even the hired plant managers and other upper-echelon supervisors are remote and distant from the workers. It is practically impossible for a blue-collar worker to be promoted up into

TABLE 65 Composition of the Small Scale Production Sub-Sector 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	11,388,000 (100.0%)	9,363,000 (82.2%)	2,025,000 (17.8%)
Male	9,016,000 (79.1%)	7,471,000 (65.6%)	1,545,000 (13.6%)
Female	2,372,000 (20.8%)	1,892,000 (16.6%)	480,000 (4.2%)

TABLE 66 In 1969 the Small Scale Production Sub-Sector made up:

14.2% of the TOTAL laborforce	13.7% of the total white laborforce	17.2% of the total TW laborforce
18.2% of all males in the laborforce	17.5% of all white males in the laborforce	22.8% of all TW males in the laborforce
7.8% of all females in the laborforce	7.4% of all white females in the laborforce	9.6% of all TW females in the laborforce

the management. Thus the industrial proletariat is not likely to identify with the management or to aspire to or think of promotion beyond foreman. Since it costs millions or billions of dollars to set up these factories, industrial blue-collar workers are not likely to dream of using their skills to set up their own business. As a result, the industrial proletariat is less influenced by petit-bourgeois ideology, particularly the "Horatio Alger" myths, than are other sectors.

Because of the large numbers of workers together, a feeling of solidarity, power, and pride may be generated --a feeling of being part of a great endeavor. For example, at shift change when the thousands of fellow proletarians are together and visible. Of course the bourgeoisie are aware of this and do their best to destroy feelings of unity by creating race, sex, status and income divisions which they then inflame into antagonisms.

Role in Class Struggle

Because there are many workers concentrated in a single location, suffering from the same oppression, used to mutual cooperation, and with a sense of unity stemming from their participation in daily activity together, the industrial proletariat has been the easiest to organize. Even so, the struggle to organize this sub-sector was long, hard, bloody, and bitter.

Furthermore, their position in the basic industrial plants of the economy gives them powerful strategic leverage. First, because they have the power to affect the economy as a whole. For example, if there is a strike in steel, or coal, or rubber, it affects hundreds of other industries. A strike in transportation, communications, or energy can affect the entire nation.

Second, the industrial proletariat is experienced in operating the most important units of the economy. In a socialist revolution, the industrial proletariat's ability to seize, and operate, basic industry is of decisive importance. In any socialist revolution the industrial proletariat, because of its strategic location, ideological development, and mass character will play the leading role.

SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION (SUB-SECTOR)

This sub-sector contains blue collar workers employed in the small-scale and less important places of production or transportation. This includes the small plants of big companies. The size of these firms would run roughly from 1 to 300 production workers. Also in this sub-sector are construction workers (even if they are working on a big project) because they do not have a permanent relationship to any particular job, but rather do their task and then move on to another site. Other factors, such as socialization of work, also make them closer to the small-scale sub-sector than to the industrial proletariat sub-sector.

As was explained in the section dealing with the industrial proletariat, the national and sexual figures given in Tables 65 and 66 are calculated on the assumption that the different types of workers are distributed evenly between the two sub-sectors. This assumption is probably not correct, however. It is probable that due to the lower wages, poorer working conditions, racist union practices, and racist policies of the bourgeoisie that Third World and women production workers have a higher proportion of their numbers in the small-scale sub-sector. And, of course, if that's true, then white male urban production workers have a higher

proportion of their numbers in the industrial sub-sector.

This sub-sector is composed of craftsmen (bakers, cabinetmakers, construction craftsmen, mechanics, printers, tool and die makers, etc.), transport operatives (truck drivers, etc.), operatives (assemblers, checkers, cutters, machine workers, packers, textile workers, etc.), laborers (construction laborer, freight handlers, warehousemen, lumpers, etc.):

Income

While accurate statistics were not found that broke down the urban workers' income by sub-sectors, it is almost certain that the income of the small-scale sub-sector is lower than that of the industrial sub-sector. Probably most of the members of this sub-sector are in the bottom stratum.

Social Situation and Organization

The companies whose plants comprise this sub-sector are owned by a mixture of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie, most of them the latter. The petit-bourgeoisie is not able to compete with the bourgeoisie in developing their means of production, so their factories are not as highly developed or sophisticated as those of the ruling class. The result is that workers employed by the petit-bourgeoisie do not have as high a level of production as those employed by the bourgeoisie. Yet the petit-bourgeois owner has to compete in the market place with other petit-bourgeois businessmen and the bourgeoisie. Since they cannot obtain as high a productivity from their workers, the petit-bourgeois businessmen have to cut costs by paying lower wages, forcing the workers to labor as hard as possible, spending a minimum of money for safety, ventilation, lights, etc. The result is that workers in the small-scale sub-sector are, on the whole, more oppressed than workers in the industrial proletariat. The major exceptions to this are those who work in small plants owned by the large monopolies, whose working conditions are affected by the organized strength of the industrial proletariat in the firm's larger plants. Also, construction workers are not, in general, as oppressed as most other small-scale sub-sector production workers.

Like the industrial proletariat, this sub-sector's relation to the means of production and the socialized nature of its

work creates fertile ground for socialist consciousness. But there are some factors that make this sub-sector's potential for organization, action, and consciousness weaker than that of the industrial proletariat.

Because these workplaces are small, it is harder to develop a sense of power and solidarity. Strikes are harder to win because picket lines are weaker, the workers have less savings to fall back on, and their strikes do not have as much impact on the whole economy. As a result, this sub-sector is not as well organized as the industrial proletariat sub-sector. On the other hand, they are in general better organized than the office and service sectors or the rural proletariat sub-sector.

Most of the owners and managers of companies in this sub-sector are much closer to the workers in terms of visibility, communication, and class status (petit-bourgeois instead of bourgeois). The opportunity for promotion or advancement through pleasing the boss is greater in this sub-sector than in the industrial sub-sector, where promotion to better blue-collar jobs is usually on the basis of seniority, and supervisory jobs are given to college graduates, management trainees, or other people who are not from the shop floor. Since workers in this sub-sector are less protected by unions, the workers have a greater fear of being fired if they displease the boss. Thus through fear or desire for advancement, there is a somewhat greater tendency for these workers to try to please (or give the appearance of pleasing) the boss. Of course, the higher oppression, closer contact with the owner, and lower wages move some members of this group toward a deeper and more bitter hatred of the boss than is usual with the industrial proletariat. In other words, there is a greater range of attitudes towards the owners than is found within the industrial proletariat.

On the other hand, the smaller nature of these businesses makes it easier to understand and perceive exploitation. This is because, with fewer workers involved in production, it is easier for them to get together, calculate how much labor they contributed to the product, how much they are paid, cost of materials and equipment, and then compare that total with the price of the commodity.

In some cases the capitalization of the businesses in this sector is small enough that an aggressive, upwardly mobile, blue-collar worker (particularly a skilled crafts-

man) can dream of forming a partnership, floating a loan, and going into business for himself using the skills learned, and contacts made, on the job. The fact that only a tiny handful ever actually accomplish this does not deter the dreamers from dreaming. This is another factor that tends to increase petit-bourgeois influence among this sector, as compared to the industrial sub-sector. Of course, this only means that there is more likelihood of opportunist elements within this sub-sector, for the great majority of small scale sub-sector proletarians have no illusions about becoming businessmen, do not toady to the boss, do not identify with the owner, and have a deep hatred of their oppressors.

This sub-sector, and the service sector, contain a large number of undocumented immigrant workers, the so-called "illegal aliens". These workers are uncounted and do not show up in statistics, but their numbers run into the millions. While some of them labor in agriculture, most are employed in urban areas. In small scale production and service, and to a lesser extent in large-scale production. These workers suffer all of the oppression that other Third World workers suffer as national minorities and as workers. In addition they suffer special oppression from the government, the media, and the bosses.

When the economy is "up" they are recruited by the capitalists to come to the U.S. and work in the lowest paying, most oppressive jobs. When the economy turns "down" the bourgeoisie, and their state, launch a campaign to round-up and deport these workers. Capitalists like to employ undocumented workers because their position outside the law prevents them from exercising any of the democratic rights that have been won by other parts of the working class in bitter struggle. Keeping these workers in an "illegal" status prevents them from resisting the vicious exploitation of the employers and is a not-so-subtle form of undercutting the gains won by the proletariat in the past. Further it is one more opportunity for the bourgeoisie to divide the working class and trick different parts of the proletariat into fighting each other, instead of the real enemy. The result of this situation is that the undocumented worker is forced to work at wages far below those paid to the rest of the proletariat, to work longer hours, under worse conditions, and is often the victim of special atrocities from the boss.

The marking of some members of the proletariat as "illegals" is an artificial and false concept promoted by the bourgeoisie for

their foul purposes. Undocumented workers are part of the working class like all the rest of us. They sweat to create wealth, they are exploited, and they work side-by-side with us. In the final analysis, all of the American proletariat, with the exception of Native Americans, are immigrant workers. The singling out of a few of our number as "illegal" is a cruel hoax used by the bourgeoisie to split and oppress all workers.

Role in Class Struggle

Compared to the industrial sub-sector, the small-scale sub-sector is not as strategically located. It will play a less important role in taking over the economy and building socialism. Once again, this is a relative comparison between the industrial and small-scale sub-sectors. Overall, the small-scale sub-sector will play a vital and leading role. In addition, because of the higher level of oppression, higher level of economic suffering, and greater percentage of Third World workers and women workers, this sub-sector will in some periods and locations surpass even the industrial sub-sector in development of consciousness, militancy, fierceness in struggle, and development of leadership.

RURAL PROLETARIAT (SUB-SECTOR)

Definition

This sub-sector contains those who work for wages in farming, stock-raising, dairy, fishing, and logging.

The statistics in Tables 67 to 69 should be taken with a large grain of salt. Although they are the best that could be found, they are not too accurate. First of all, the Census tends to undercount working class people as a whole. Second, working class women are undercounted to an even greater degree. Third, farm workers are undercounted to a greater degree than any other sector of the class. Fourth, Third World workers (and especially Third World farm laborers) are consistently undercounted to a greater degree than white workers. And last, there are large numbers of undocumented farm workers who are not counted at all.

Thus it is probable that the total number of farm workers is greater than the statistics above would indicate. This is par-

TABLE 67 Composition of the Rural Proletariat Sub-Sector 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	1,729,000 (100.0%)	1,266,000 (73.2%)	463,000 (26.8%)
Male	1,440,000 (83.3%)	1,068,000 (61.8%)	372,000 (21.5%)
Female	289,000 (16.7%)	198,000 (11.6%)	91,000 (5.3%)

TABLE 68 In 1969 the Rural Proletariat Sub-Sector made up:

2.2% of the TOTAL laborforce	1.9% of the total white laborforce	4.0% of the total TW laborforce
2.9% of all males in the laborforce	2.5% of all white males in the laborforce	5.5% of all TW males in the laborforce
.9% of all females in the laborforce	.8% of all white females in the laborforce	1.8% of all TW females in the laborforce

ticularly true for women because farm workers often work as a family unit with only the family head showing up in statistics.

As can be easily seen in Table 69, this is the lowest-paid part of the working class, except for the private household occupational category.

Organization

This has been a difficult group to organize. As will be discussed later, the level of socialization is low. The very low wages of rural proletarians do not allow them to build up the financial reserves necessary to carry on protracted struggles on their own resources. Because rural areas are far from the centers of the working class population, farm workers have to face bourgeois anti-organization repression without the working class support that can be generated in urban areas. This is particularly important because strikes in the fields have to be won in short periods of time (harvest season). Thus, the difficulty of mobilizing large numbers of class-conscious workers to defend a picket line from scab or police attack weakens rural proletarians' ability to win strikes.

The result is that farm workers have to depend on indirect working class support in the form of donations, boycotts, political pressure, and occasional mobilizations. While this indirect support is, of course, helpful and important, it is not as powerful as the broad class support that the industrial proletariat could call upon in the

bitter organizing battles of the 1930's, such as the San Francisco General Strike in support of the longshoremen and seamen, and other less dramatic instances of broad class support for particular strikes.

In addition to the general problems that face all farm workers, large sections of the rural proletariat face special problems in organizing. Migrant workers, roaming from field to field, crop to crop, state to state, have great difficulty in forming an organization with a solid base and continuity. Furthermore, having only a temporary relationship to each different workplace makes it difficult to organize and wage a long-term struggle.

A large section of the rural proletariat is forced to live and work in semi-feudal conditions. The Black farm laborers of the South and the Chicano farm workers of the Southwest often live as semi-serfs, under the despotic control of the plantation owner. This is true for both wage workers (rural proletarians) and sharecroppers (small farmer class). The tremendous power that the landlord holds over the workers, based on economic control, racism, historical custom, laws, and naked force, is used to rule both their working and non-working lives.

There is another large section of the rural proletariat that, because of the particular nature of their work, has built up strong traditions peculiar to their industry. This is true for occupations such as lumberman, fisherman, cowboy, shepherd, etc. These traditions are progressive in the sense that

TABLE 69 Rural Proletariat by economic strata 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Aristocracy	1%	1%	-	1%	-
Middle	12%	15%	4%	13%	4%
Bottom	87%	84%	96%	86%	96%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.

they develop a strong sense of solidarity and group cohesion. But they are reactionary in the sense that they have tended (under the careful encouragement of the bourgeoisie) to emphasize individualism, competition, and chauvinism.

In spite of all the difficulties the last decade has seen the most successful and sustained union organizing drive in US agricultural history. Basing itself in the oppressed Chicano/Mexicano and Philippine national minorities, and including workers of all nationalities, the UFW has scored significant gains in organizing a portion of this sub-sector. However, the problems they face are serious and difficult. After 10 years of bitter struggle, the union is still fighting for its life and its survival is seriously threatened: first by the intrinsic difficulties of organizing the rural proletariat and second (and more importantly) by the massive resistance being put up by agribusiness and the tremendous repression from the state and reactionary trade union misleaders.

Evolution

This is a shrinking sector. Every year there are fewer jobs available. The farms, ranches, and dairies are mechanizing, replacing many workers with each machine. The timber industry in many parts of the country is dying out. The fishing industry is both mechanizing and running away to Third World countries with anti-union dictators. The result is that there are always a large number of unemployed rural proletarians drifting around looking for jobs. This competition for jobs and insecurity is another difficulty in the way of organizing this sub-sector. Unemployed rural proletarians are forced into the urban areas to find jobs, usually in the lowest-paying levels of the production or service sector. The entire historical trend, since the onslaught of monopoly capitalism, is for this group to be forced off the land and into the factories. It is possible to foresee a not too distant future in which this sector will be all but eliminated, with only a tiny remnant working as machine operators on mechanized farms.

Social Situation

The farms, fleets, ranches, and logging camps where this sector works are owned by a mixture of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie, with a small number of workers employed by the small farmer class. The

trend has been for these businesses to be consolidated and taken over by the bourgeoisie. Within a short time, all significant means of agricultural production will be owned by the bourgeoisie.

The exploitation and oppression of the rural proletariat is very high. Agricultural products are America's biggest export, bringing in billions of dollars to the bourgeoisie. But agricultural workers are one of the lowest-paid groups in the country. As agri-business (in this paper the term "agri-business" will also include the fishing, timber, dairy, and stock-raising industries) takes over smaller operations, it usually introduces advanced and sophisticated means of production, such as harvesting machinery, planters, automatic milkers, seagoing fish processing factories, and helicopters to herd animals. The fast pace of mechanization in agriculture has resulted in a steady decline in the number of rural proletarians; at the same time, the nature of the work has become more like that of the urban proletariat. Still, at this time, agricultural work is not as highly socialized as other production work. In fact, much agricultural work is still done by hand, and agricultural workers have to be skilled at all phases of food production. In other words, the division of labor has not progressed nearly as far in agriculture as it has in other areas of production.

The rural proletariat is terribly oppressed, particularly migratory workers and Black farm hands in the South whose conditions are semi-feudal: starvation wages, unheated waterless shacks, often wages paid in credit at the boss's store, children having to work instead of going to school, endangered by pesticides, no health care, and no protection of their legal rights. Conditions are almost as bad for the non-migratory and non-Black agricultural workers. Almost all rural proletarians have to work 10-12 hour days for lousy pay, and in poor conditions.

The size of the workplace and the nature of the work varies widely. Some farms employ only 1 or 2 workers, others hundreds or even thousands at harvest or planting season. Some of the work is highly mechanized, some is almost completely unmechanized. On the whole, agricultural work tends to be less socialized than industrial work. The majority of rural proletarians' labor is more or less on an individual basis, with little compartmentalization of tasks. In harvesting crops, where the pay is based on a piece rate, the rural proletarians are

TABLE 70 Total number of Government workers 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	10,615,000 (100.0%)	8,802,000 (82.9%)	1,813,000 (17.1%)
Male	5,379,000 (50.7%)	4,460,000 (42.0%)	919,000 (8.7%)
Female	5,236,000 (49.3%)	4,342,000 (40.9%)	894,000 (8.4%)

Note- These figures only include members of the Working Class who are employed by the government. Government employees who are Petit-Bourgeois are not included.

TABLE 71 In 1969 Government workers made up:

13.3% of the TOTAL laborforce	12.9% of the total white laborforce	15.4% of the total TW laborforce
10.9% of all males in the laborforce	10.3% of all white males in the laborforce	13.4% of all TW males in the laborforce
17.2% of all females in the laborforce	17.0% of all white females in the laborforce	17.9% of all TW females in the laborforce

often in competition with each other. The result is that the nature of the work does not build as strong a sense of cooperation and unity as does the work of the industrial proletariat.

Role in Class Struggle

Agriculture in the U.S. is a vital and key area of the economy. But because of its spread-out nature, covering millions of square miles, and the inherent difficulties of organizing the rural proletariat, it is unlikely that workers of this sub-sector will play as leading a role in socialist revolution as the urban proletariat. However, the struggles of the rural proletariat have already played a vital role in awakening the consciousness of the national minority peoples and the class as a whole. The civil rights struggles of the Black rural population in the 1960's were the cry that awoke the Black workers of the cities and shook the entire nation. The current leading role played by Black workers is directly traceable to the movement in the Black rural South. The same holds true for the Chicano/Mexicano national minority. The farmworkers' fight is still the leading struggle of the Chicano/Mexicano people, and its influence is being felt among the large Chicano/Mexican-urban proletariat. While the leadership and example of the rural proletariat will continue to be felt, in the final analysis the center of class struggle in the U.S. will be in the urban areas.

GOVERNMENT WORKERS

In all of the sectors of the working class the majority of people are employed by

private enterprise. However, in each sector there are some people who are government workers. By government workers the paper means employees of all types of government (federal, state, etc.) who by the nature of their work are members of the working class. (Petit-bourgeois government employees are not included.) To a degree government workers have in common some social/political/economic aspects regardless of which sector they are part of. The question is, should government workers constitute a separate sector of the working class. This paper takes the position that they should not, that a government office worker has more in common with an office worker in private enterprise than with a government production worker. Nevertheless, there are some things which government workers hold in common and these should be analyzed.

Members of all four working class sectors are employed by government. Table 72 below gives the number of workers in each sector employed by government. Table 73 gives the percentage of each sector in government service.

Government workers are not exploited in the same sense as workers for private enterprise. No single individual or group of stockholders make direct profit from the labor of government workers. Those in positions of power over the government workers do not derive material benefit from the labor of those under them; thus they do not have the same kind of material incentive for speed-up, increased production, short-changing on safety equipment, or other practices, as does private business. The result is that the fundamental contradiction between labor and capital is less apparent for the government workers than for the rest of the working class.

TABLE 72 Government workers by sector.

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Semi-Professional	3,830,000	3,420,000	410,000	1,731,000	2,099,000
Office	3,030,000	2,523,000	507,000	971,000	2,059,000
Service	2,416,000	1,819,000	597,000	1,463,000	953,000
Production	1,339,000	1,040,000	299,000	1,214,000	125,000

Note-These figures do not include employees of private companies who are working on government contracts.

TABLE 73 Percentage of each sector that is employed by the government 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Semi-Professional	44%	44%	50%	40%	50%
Office	17%	16%	26%	18%	17%
Service	17%	17%	16%	19%	15%
Production	6%	5%	7%	6%	3%

How to interpret this table: 44% of all Semi-Professionals are employed by the government, 44% of all white Semi-Professionals are employed by the government, etc.

On the other hand, the wages of government workers are generally set to match the prevailing wages among private-enterprise workers doing similar jobs. The result is that government employees' incomes are no higher than those of workers who are directly exploited.

Government workers service the production system as a whole. For example, maintaining the road network, ports, airfields, etc., providing basic education to future workers, conducting research that will be used by industry, collecting taxes, etc. Hence, since the government proletariat is paid the same as directly exploited workers in private enterprise, and since the labor they perform is used by business to make profits, publicly employed workers are, in a sense, indirectly exploited.

Because they are not employed directly by the capitalists and some of their services are needed by both business AND the public, their role in social struggle becomes less clear than that of employees of private enterprise. For example, a strike by municipal bus drivers or snow-removal workers makes it more difficult for stores to get customers and factories to get their full workforce. This hurts business. But the strike also hurts workers, who lose pay or even their jobs. It also hurts people who depend on public transportation or clear streets to take care of necessary activities. The result of this duality is that there is greater opposition among the people to public employees' strikes. Laws have been passed restricting the rights of public employees to organize or strike. Government workers realize that the people at large in some cases depend on them and so are caught in a bind when conditions warrant strike ac-

tion. These factors hinder the organization and struggle of government workers.

Two contradictory factors influence consciousness of public employees. The indirect relationship to the means-of-production weakens class consciousness (the concept of belonging to a working class engaged in historical and inevitable struggle with the owners of the means-of-production) and may lead some to see their enemy as the "public" (either taxpayers in general, or those whom the government worker directly serves, such as customers at post office windows). It may lead some to see their enemy as limited only to the politicians in office. It may cause some to see their oppression in strictly racial or sexual terms.

On the other hand the fact that government jobs are less discriminatory towards national minority people and women has meant that the government workforce has over the past forty years grown to include a high percentage of those workers. Furthermore, the limited protection of civil service has allowed government workers and particularly Third World and women workers to develop a consciousness of resistance and rebellion with less fear of being fired than those in private enterprise. Thus the potential for leadership from Third World and women workers is very high among the government segment.

While their position as public employees makes the fundamental contradiction between capital and labor somewhat less clear for government workers, their position allows them to understand the role of the state much more clearly. Since any struggle, even for minimal economic demands, throws these workers into conflict with the state,

they tend to develop a very clear consciousness of the role of the state as an agency of the rulers and an enemy of the workers.

The Non-Laborforce Sectors of the Working Class

The last two sectors of the proletariat contain people who are no longer members of the laborforce. In other words, people who no longer work, and receive less than half of their income from ownership of stocks, bonds, shares of a business, and rents. A non-working person who receives more than half of his or her income from these sources is considered to be part of the petit-bourgeoisie.

It proved practically impossible to obtain good statistical data for these two sectors. Accordingly, the figures presented are rough estimates. There was not enough data to even make an estimate on the national composition of the two sectors. Since the members of these sectors are not part of the laborforce, there is no percentage comparison between these two sectors and other sectors and classes.

THE AGED SECTOR

Definition

This sector contains those people who are unable to be part of the laborforce because of a physical reason. For most members this physical reason is age; for others it is injury, disease, blindness, mental illness, or low intelligence. It is important to note that who falls under this definition is a very relative question. In this case we are talking about the situation in 1970 America. The great majority of the members of this sector could perform useful productive work if given the opportunity. Because, under capitalism in 1970, these workers are not as profitable as younger or healthier workers, they are denied the opportunity to lead (or continue to lead) productive lives. However, if there arose a shortage of labor, such as that of World War II, many of these workers would not be considered too old or disabled to find employment. Under a social/economic system designed along socialist lines for the benefit of the people instead of just the capitalists, most of these people would have the opportunity to lead productive lives if they desired to do so.

Almost all of the members of this sector obtain the majority of their income from one or more of the following sources: retirement or pensions from private enterprise, social security, welfare, contributions from relatives, insurance, and savings. Not included in this sector are those aged or disabled people who get over half their income from stocks, bonds, rents, annuities, royalties, or profits from business. They would be members of the petit-bourgeoisie. Not in this sector or class are those who are living with and primarily supported by members of other classes. That is, if a retired or disabled person is living with family and more than half of his or her real income (cash plus free services such as food, clothing, housing, etc.) is supplied by those he or she is living with, then such a person is a direct dependent and considered a member of the class his or her provider belongs to.

Composition

Rough estimate of composition of Aged Sector 1969

TOTAL	18,000,000
Male	6,500,000
Female	11,500,000

The majority of the members of this sector are in it because of age (about 16 million). The proportion of Third World people in this sector (compared to their numbers in the population as a whole) is probably a little higher than the proportion of whites.

Income

Practically all of those in this sector are poor. With few exceptions all of them are either below the BLS "LOWER" standard of living, or just barely above it. In 1971 the "LOWER" budget for a retired couple was \$3,176 and for a single retired person \$1,747.

Evolution

This sector is growing steadily, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the population. This is primarily a result of the policies of the bourgeoisie, who steadily eliminate older workers and replace them with machines and younger workers.

Organization

There is practically no organization among this sector. Since the ruling classes can no longer exploit any profit from these ex-workers, they have no further use for them and no desire to continue contributing to their survival through taxes and retirement. Thus the bourgeoisie opposes any sort of organization among the members of the aged sector to prevent struggle for better living conditions, higher pensions, higher social security and welfare, or anything else that would better or prolong their lives. Without any relation to the means-of-production they can generate little economic power. Injured, ill, disabled, and worn out, the members of this sector have not been able to successfully overcome the rulers' opposition to organization in the way that some areas of the laborforce have been able to. The most significant organizations affecting the aged are labor unions who include demands for increased pensions in their struggles. However, such unions cover only a fraction of the sector, and only indirectly involve or work for the aged.

Social Situation

The economic position of this sector is very bad. Never very high, the fixed income of the aged sector is being beaten down rapidly by the forces of inflation. It is very difficult for this sector to get any increase in the amount of their income. Their former employers, of course, have no desire to raise pensions and the retired workers are not able to affect production by striking. The government is actually trying to reduce the amount spent on caring for the members of this sector (and the excluded sector) and the lack of organization among the aged prevents them from developing enough power to win significant increases. In this way inflation has had, and continues to have, a devastating effect on the members of this sector. One of the most obvious symptoms of this is the sharp increase in the number of elderly shoplifters being caught by supermarket store detectives.

There are three types of living situations for members of this sector: living with relatives (usually children), living alone (or with husband or wife if still alive), or living in institutions. Each of these situations has special problems.

Under the influence of the bourgeoisie, our culture has emphasized the nuclear fam-

ily (husband, wife, and children)--as opposed to the multi-generation or extended family--as the proper and desired way of life. A nuclear family culture requires the purchase of more homes, refrigerators, TV's, cars, food, and other consumer goods than does a culture of larger family groupings sharing a house, refrigerators, etc. A nuclear family is less stable, economically weaker, and consequently is less able to engage in social struggle, than a multi-generation, extended family. These are two of the reasons the ruling class has shaped our culture toward nuclear families, through economic pressure, humor, advertising, media, literature, and other techniques. The result is that the only cultural role for an old person living with their children's family is a negative or undesirable one. Instead of being the honored head of the family with a useful and fulfilling role to play within the family, they are usually considered hangers-on, fifth wheels, and meddlers. Since the bourgeoisie does its best to shift the economic load of caring for the old onto the shoulders of the children, the aged are seen and felt as a burden. Thus the lives of the aged living with relatives are full of tension, boredom, frustration, and bitterness.

The situation is no better for those who live alone. On their small fixed income, the aged and disabled are only able to afford small run-down apartments. Because of ill health and lack of money, they are forced to spend most of their time in these dismal apartments. They become cut off from human contact; loneliness and boredom sap their strength. As they become older and weaker, they are less able to care for themselves and keep their apartment clean. All of this emphasizes their rejection by bourgeois society. They begin to live lives of waiting to die. And under these circumstances, cut off from the support of other people, with nothing to look forward to, they fade away. If they are too strong to die, but too weak physically to give society the illusion of being able to take care of themselves, they are sent to institutions.

Like everything else in society, institutions for the care of the old and disabled are reflections of class rule. Some institutions serve only the bourgeoisie or upper-echelon of the petit-bourgeoisie. Most institutions serve a mixture of petit-bourgeois "private patients" and members of the aged sector. However, the treatment for the aged sector is much poorer than that of the private patients, in terms of

living conditions, types of medical care given, food, personal care, and other factors.

For the aged sector these institutions are in effect concentration points where they are gathered to await death. Because most of them are run by petit-bourgeois businessmen or professionals, their function is to produce profit, not to provide care. The result is that the owners charge as high as possible and provide as little as possible. They hire as few workers as they can (at as low wages as they can get away with). These workers, with far too many patients to care for, are hurried and harried and unable to provide adequate care. The owners, of course, also spend as little as possible on food, clothing, furnishings, recreation, and everything else. The result is that most of these "homes" are hell holes, more conducive to death than to life, which is as the bourgeoisie desires. They shape the culture that forces the aged into these homes where they are out of sight and out of mind. There, the sooner they die, the sooner the ruling class can stop paying pensions and taxes for their care.

A large number of the members of this sector are forced out of the productive process against their will. Many workers over the age of 65 are still healthy enough to lead useful productive lives. They do not want to be thrown out. There are two basic reasons for this. The first is that they know the problems faced by the aged sector and they want to avoid, or at least postpone, joining their suffering.

The second reason is that most human beings have a desire to be useful and productive. The problem of capitalism is not that people have to work, but that they are exploited, oppressed, and alienated from their work. The desire for a life of idleness and play is a product of bourgeois thought. Most workers have no dream of living a life of total ease. Most workers take pride in the fact that they are useful and productive and they look with contempt at those (such as the petit-bourgeois hippies) who do not do their share of the work necessary to maintain society. Of course, they do want more time for themselves and their families, longer vacations, shorter hours, and better working conditions. In any case most workers do not like the idea of being treated like a worn-out pencil and tossed into the trash as soon as they can't make enough profit for the boss.

Role in Class Struggle

The aged sector is an oppressed and unhappy group. Yet, they will not, as a group, play much of a role in social struggle. There are two main reasons for this. The first is that, for most, age, ill-health, and economic weakness prevents them from taking an active role in class struggle. Second, it's generally true that the older a person becomes the more ingrained are the old ideas. It is difficult for older people to accept new ideas. While both these reasons are true for the aged sector as a group, it should be noted that there are many individual members of this sector who can and will play important and valuable roles in class struggle. Some old or disabled people retain their ability to accept new ideas and have not had their courage beaten down by long years under capitalism. These old workers can bring to class struggle a vast wealth of experience, courage, wisdom, and proletarian consciousness gained from half a century of work and struggle. Their wisdom should be studied and learned from and their courage taken as an example. Those members of the aged sector who are able to be politically active can perform an important leadership role. Further, portions of this sector will be able to organize and engage in struggle, as a group.

THE EXCLUDED SECTOR

Definition

This sector contains those who are prevented from becoming part of the labor force, because of social, political or economic reasons. It would include those who can find no jobs because of their race, sex, or residence in an economically depressed area. Also, those who cannot seek work because they have no way to take care of their children. And finally, those who are unable to find work because of their past--for example, ex-prisoners. All of the members of this sector are physically able to work. This sector includes only those whose exclusion from the laborforce is extended over a period of years. People temporarily out of work are members of the sector of their last job.

The precise definition of this sector is the same as that of the aged sector (except that the reason for being out of the laborforce is social, not physical). That is, less than one-half of their income is from stocks, bonds, dividends, profits, rent, royalties, family (husbands, wives, parents,

children), alimony, wages, or another source directly stemming from the means-of-production. If over one-half of their income is from retirement, social security old-age benefits, or some form of disability, then they would be in the aged sector.

Income and Composition

Rough Estimate of the Composition of the Excluded Sector 1969

TOTAL	5,000,000
Male	500,000
Female	4,500,000

These figures are for adults only. Dependent children are not included.

As you can see, the great majority of the sector are women. This reflects the fact that when couples break up, it is almost always the women who are left with the children. Also it reflects various other sexist social roles forced on men and women by bourgeois society. The percentage of Third World people in this sector is very much higher than their representation in the general population.

Income

The income of this sector is extremely low. Practically all of its members live below, or just above, the BLS "LOWER" standard of living.

Mobility and Evolution

This sector is not nearly as stable as most sectors. Depending on circumstances, there is a lot of mobility in and out of it. For example, once-prosperous areas slide into economic stagnation or depression, while other areas sometimes climb out of long-term slumps. The nation as a whole also follows a cycle of boom and depression. A woman with children, living on welfare, may marry or find a job if child care becomes available. Thus frequent changes in individual circumstances and the local or national economy cause a great deal of mobility into and out of this sector. Of course, while many members remain in the excluded sector for only a few years, many others are never able to leave, particularly Third World women with several children. Eventually, of course, old age will bring all excluded sector members into

the aged sector.

Under the inevitable trends of monopoly/imperialist capitalism this sector will grow larger and larger. This is because modern production methods (e.g. automation) require a smaller and smaller percentage of the population to be engaged in production of useful goods and services. As the number of necessary worker-hours needed to produce the goods and service required by society drops, the unneeded workers must be accounted for. Some are shifted to the production of useless goods or services (war materiel, electric toothbrushes, advertising, etc.). However, the increase in worker-hours devoted to socially useless activity is not enough to absorb all of the surplus worker-hours. Hence, the excluded sector grows. This situation is worsened by the rapid increase in "runaway" shops. That is, the transfer of production jobs to Third World countries where wages are kept low through the power of US imperialism.

Organization

This sector is poorly organized. In the last decade there have been many attempts to organize this sector, most notably the Welfare Rights Organization. These efforts have had some success at certain times and locations, but no long-term large-scale organization has been built. Organizing this sector is difficult. Most excluded workers have so little money that all of their energy is spent on the struggle to survive; they have neither the time nor the resources to sustain long-term social struggle. Because they are removed from the means-of-production, the power that they are able to apply, even if they are organized, is small. The result is that, when organizations are formed, they have not been able to do as much for their members as it was hoped they would. This has resulted in people falling away from them. As inflation and increased state spending on military and police reduce still further the standard of living of this sector, there will be more attempts to organize in defense of their rights and lives. These attempts will succeed, for short times in certain places, in uniting and mobilizing the members of the sector and dramatizing their desperate situation. However, it is unlikely that these organizations will be able to survive and grow over a sustained period of time unless they are linked to, and supported by, working-class organizations with the power to affect the means-of-production.

Social Situation

There has been a great deal written about the people in this sector, about their oppression, their poverty, and their struggles. This paper won't try to duplicate this body of material. However, some points should be emphasized.

The bourgeoisie needs to maintain a large pool of unemployed potential workers. This reserve laborforce can be used in the case of a sudden labor shortage due to war or other factors. It also is used to keep the wages of the workers low, by threatening to replace them with those currently excluded from the laborforce. This sector is one of the three major pools of reserve potential labor that the bourgeoisie has at various times drawn upon: the excluded sector, non-working married women, and foreign workers. Also the bourgeoisie needs people who can be the source of sales without having to be paid wages. Thus this sector is very useful to the ruling class and it is in their interest to maintain it, expand it, and deepen its oppression.

It is becoming more and more difficult for people to leave this sector. For example, the children of welfare mothers find it much harder to locate a job than the children of other sectors and classes do. People who have been out of work for several years find it more and more difficult to land a job in competition with younger or more experienced workers.

A large portion (though not a majority) of this sector is composed of Third World people. They suffer racial and national oppression in addition to the economic oppression suffered by the entire sector. As part of its efforts to split the working class along color lines, the bourgeoisie has emphasized and distorted the Third World make-up of this sector. First, they force a disproportionate number of Third World people into the sector by racist hiring and educational practices, and then they claim that Third World people are lazy and do not want to work. The bourgeoisie has given the impression that the great majority of the excluded sector are Third World and that the high taxes paid by the rest of the population are in order to support Third World people in idleness and luxury. This line accomplishes many things. It causes white people to view Third World people as parasites (instead of the bourgeoisie); it hides the fact that most Third World people are members of the laborforce; it blames high taxes on the excluded sector in gener-

al (and Third World people in particular) instead of on the bourgeoisie, military spending, corporate rip-offs, imperialism, etc.

This whole sector suffers humiliation and oppression above and beyond economic oppression. It is a natural human desire to be useful, productive, active, and needed. Those who are prevented by the bourgeoisie from leading productive lives suffer from frustration, guilt, and humiliation. The bourgeoisie adds to this by laying the blame for idleness on the individual rather than the economic system and those who rule it. The bourgeoisie goes even further. In order to insure that the excluded sector will be willing, eager, even desperate, to take any job opportunity offered if the ruling class finds it necessary to call up some of their labor reserves, and in order to maximize the workers' fear of being forced into the excluded sector by loss of job, it is the rulers' policy that members of the sector suffer every possible humiliation and oppression that the bureaucracy can devise. This ranges from the treatment in long waiting lines to midnight Gestapo-like home searches to pry into women's personal lives.

Role in Class Struggle

This sector will play an important role in class struggle. Their high level of oppression gives them a strong motive for revolutionary struggle, much stronger than that of the semi-professional sector or the labor aristocracy stratum. The large number of Third World people (particularly women) in the sector, who suffer intensified oppression as national minorities (and as women), forms a militant and highly conscious core for the sector. Although the members of this sector are not working, they have close ties to the rest of the working class. Many of them are former members of the laborforce, and many will be returning to the laborforce. Thus they are not completely isolated from the historical lessons and influences of the socialized productive process.

However, this sector will not play the same leadership role that the office, service, and production sectors will play. First, because the conditions of their lives do not provide the training in unity and cooperation that socialized labor does. Second, because their exclusion from the means-of-production makes them harder to organize than those members of the class who are at a workplace. Third, because the fundamental contradiction between producers and exploit-

ers, and the consequent historical role of productive labor, is less clear to those not involved in the labor process. Fourth, because their separation from the means-of-production puts them in a much weaker strategic location than that of the laborforce (particularly the production sector and its most advanced sub-sector, the industrial proletariat).

Thus the excluded sector will play an important role as a key ally of the production, office, and service sectors.

Controversy Over the Proletariat

There were two inter-related struggles around the proletariat. First, whether the proletariat is synonymous with the working class, and second, over which part of the class is the leading element.

First was a long struggle over whether the word "proletariat" should mean the whole working class or only production workers. All of the major Marxist theoreticians have consistently used the word "proletariat" to mean the entire working class. However, a number of comrades felt that the composition of the working class has changed significantly since the classics were written. With the emergence of monopoly capitalism/imperialism, large numbers of service & office workers have been added to the class. It is only under monopoly capitalism/imperialism that sections of the old petit-bourgeoisie (such as public school teachers) have been forced down into the working class, combining with new jobs in technical and social maintenance fields to form a semi-professional sector. At the times and places that the classics were written, this process had not begun, or was in its infancy. Thus, when the classics were written, the great majority of wage workers were producers of commodities and thus "producers" and "proletarians" were practically synonymous.

All Marxists have pointed to the leading role of production workers, and particularly workers in large scale industry. There are many reasons for this. Like all workers, they own no means-of-production and have only their labor power to sell in order to survive; thus they are oppressed and exploited. Like all workers, they have no stake in the maintenance of capitalism and the capitalist class. Production workers are associated with the most advanced form, or element, of the economy (modern production). Modern production methods organize workers

into large units and trains them in discipline, unity, & co-operation. Modern production concentrates large numbers of workers at a single location giving them the best opportunity for political organization and for engaging in economic struggle to develop consciousness and train and temper leadership. It is the workers of production/transportation/communications/energy (basically the production sector as defined by this paper) who have the power to paralyze the economy, and thus the bourgeoisie's foundation of power, through general strikes and seizure of the means-of-production. It is these workers who will have the key role in building a socialist economy and society.

Thus, since production workers are the leading element of the working class, many comrades felt that they, and they alone, should be called the "proletariat" in order to indicate their leading role.

While agreeing wholeheartedly that production workers are the leading sector of the class, the paper takes the position that the word "proletariat" must apply to the whole working class. There is no question that the working class has gone through significant changes in the past 100 years, but the changes have not been so great as to alter the meaning of "proletariat". While production workers may have formed the majority of the working class a hundred years ago, this does not mean that the analysis of the social/political role of the proletariat as outlined by Marx and developed by later theoreticians applied only to production workers. In fact, at that time there were large portions of the working class who were not production workers and the word "proletariat" was meant to include them.

Hence, for us now, to define "proletariat" as consisting only of those placed by this paper in the production sector would be to give a completely new definition to the word. It would make the reading of all past Marxist-Leninist literature extremely confusing and difficult to understand. For example, it would change the meaning of the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" from dictatorship of the working class as a whole over the bourgeoisie to dictatorship of one part of the working class over everyone else.

There were a few people who advanced a different argument against defining the proletariat as only those in the production sector. Their argument challenged the basic premise that production workers are the leading element of the class. They pointed

out: 1) that production workers are generally higher paid than are service and office workers; 2) that the production sector of the economy is stagnating in terms of growth (numbers of workers), while the semi-professional office, & service sectors are mushrooming; 3) that Third World workers are a higher proportion of the service sector (25.9%) than they are of the production sector (18.4%); 4) that most women workers are in the office and service sectors, not in the production sector.

They argued that service and office workers, particularly because of their large proportion of Third World and women workers, more oppressed than are production workers. They felt that under monopoly capitalism/imperialism the working conditions of large numbers of office and service workers are as highly socialized as those of most production workers and that the degree of socialization among office workers is growing very fast. Thus office and service workers have as much potential to develop a proletarian consciousness as do production workers.

They held that the leading element of the working class will be the most oppressed elements: Third World and women workers. That Third World and women workers will play the leading role irrespective of what sector they are in. Thus, it would be incorrect to identify production workers as the leading element by labeling them, and them alone, as the proletariat.

In regards to this argument, the paper takes the position that Third World and women workers are clearly more oppressed than white and male workers, and that within each, sector, work place, union, etc; they will play a leading role. But this does not alter the relationships between the sectors. For all of the reasons discussed in the previous pages, the leading role among the sectors will be played by the production sector.

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CLASS AND IDEOLOGY

The motive force of revolution is class struggle. Revolutions take many forms and speak to many issues, but the roots of all revolutions lay in the contradiction between classes of people whose relationships to the means-of-production throw them into inevitable conflict. However, some revolutionary activists have lost sight of this fundamental basis of revolution, and have put forward theories of revolution that see the motive forces as non class groupings of oppressed peoples.

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An example of one of these erroneous theories is put forward by the Weather Underground Organization in their political statement Prairie Fire. They see the motive force of revolution as oppressed peoples, consisting primarily of Third World people, women, and youth. They see the primary focus of the revolution as against U.S. imperialism (domination of Third World nations), racism, sexism, and the problems of youth. While Prairie Fire uses the terminology of class struggle, the three groupings that they put forward as the motive force of the revolution are not classes. There is practically no mention made by Prairie Fire of the proletariat and much of what is said about the proletariat is hostile, for example, they fall for the bourgeois trick of identifying most of the white male proletariat with the labor aristocracy stratum. Prairie Fire makes no mention of recent heroic struggles waged by the working class; even of ones led by Third World and women workers such as the Farah and Oneida strikes. This compares to the strong emphasis they place on various manifestations of feminism and "youth culture".

Similarly the historic mission of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and institute socialism is mentioned and dismissed (as merely a supportive role) in two and a half sentences, while great emphasis is placed on the role and activities of the non-class groupings. There is no mention at all of organizing the proletariat at the workplace, of building class consciousness, of preparing the working class to see itself and fight for itself as a class.

Ideologies are systems of social/economic/political thought in the service of a particular class. Thus all ideologies reflect a particular class outlook. The dominant ideology of any given period is the ideology of the ruling class (in our case the bourgeoisie), and it serves to reinforce that class's rule. Because the dominant ideology is constantly forced upon us, as well as surrounding us in a million subtle forms, it is necessary to consciously struggle against it. Since all ideologies are reflections of a particular class stand, the only way that bourgeois ideology can be successfully combated is by adopting, and fighting for, the ideology of a class that stands in historical opposition to the bourgeoisie, the proletariat.

The ideology expressed in Prairie Fire fails to do this. Rather it tries to root itself in a collection of multi-class social groupings (Third World people, women, youth). Prairie Fire's ideology tries to combat some

manifestations of bourgeois ideology--national chauvinism, racism, sexism, etc--but it fails to confront the heart of bourgeois ideology which is centered on the contradiction between social production and private appropriation. In other words the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie.

The fact that the majority of Third World people, women, and youth are members of the working class does not mean that Prairie Fire's ideology reflects a proletarian class stand. First, because those social groupings are a mixture of people from many classes; second, because in the absence of a conscious adoption of a particular class outlook and stand, the ideology that arises spontaneously is inevitably permeated by the dominant ideology in the environment (bourgeois ideology); third, because Prairie Fire ignores, or is hostile to, large segments of the proletariat as a whole; fourth, and most importantly, because it fails to deal adequately with the central contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat--exploitation.

By failing to adopt a proletarian class stand, by failing to root their ideology in the consciousness/outlook/needs and historical direction of the only part of the population that can successfully overthrow the bourgeoisie--the proletariat, the Weather Underground Organization leaves itself open to bourgeois ideology. Thus they will be unable to successfully combat those manifestations of bourgeois rule that they see as central to the revolutionary struggle--national chauvinism, racism, sexism, etc.

National Chauvinism, racism, sexism, exploitation, and all other manifestations of bourgeois rule can only be eradicated by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and instituting socialism under the rule of the proletariat. In order to achieve this all manifestations of bourgeois ideology must be confronted, smashed, and replaced with a new ideology. Since all ideology reflects the outlook and needs of a particular class, the only ideology that can successfully challenge and supplant the hegemony of bourgeois ideology is an ideology that explicitly roots itself the proletariat.

CLASS AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The function of a class analysis is to enable a revolutionary to examine large segments of society and draw generalizations

about those segments' reaction to historical, economic, and social trends, and those segments' role in social struggle. Another function of class analysis is to provide a tool for analyzing ideology, from the standpoint of what class of society that ideology represents and serves. There are difficulties, however, in applying class analysis to individuals.

The first difficulty is in placing an individual in a class. For some, of course, it's easy--all you have to do is look at their class position. The Rockefellers are clearly ruling class (monopoly sector); the son of a doctor who becomes a lawyer is clearly petit-bourgeois (professional sector); the daughter of a longshoreman who marries an auto worker is clearly working class (in the production sector). But the consciousness of one class/sector lingers on for an indefinite time after a change in class/sector position is made. In other words, class background also influences consciousness. For example, what of the son of an architect (class background) who three months ago dropped out of college and got a job as a laborer (class position), the welfare mother who gets a job in a garment factory, the tenant farmer forced off his land and into the city as a garbage man, or the typist who married a middle class businessman?

Another problem is that some people's lives are a mixture of different relationships to the means-of-production or different economic lifestyles. For example, a truck driver who owns an apartment building, the wife of a lawyer who works as a file clerk, a middle stratum proletarian and his wife who is a semi-professional worker with a combined income of \$30,000 per year, the daughter of a small farmer married to a college professor working as a waitress while studying to be a dental technician, or a bus driver who owns and runs a bar at night.

Even if class position and class background are clear and similar, it only indicates the probability of attitudes. The general thrust of a class/sector's attitudes is the composite of the attitudes of millions of individuals, but each given individual may vary widely from the statistical center. That is, most members of a particular class/sector will be influenced in somewhat similar ways by their class situation. But some individuals will have completely different attitudes from the rest of their fellow class/sector members, and all class/sector members will be influen-

ced by their class position to different degrees and in different ways. For example, most members of the bourgeoisie will strongly oppose an anti-capitalist pro-socialist movement, but they will oppose it to different degrees and in different ways, and a few may even support it.

Thus the prime function of a class analysis is to generalize about large groups of people and to analyze ideology. It is difficult to make clear-cut, absolute, predictions about in individual's attitudes or actions based on class. It would be wrong to classify individuals as friend or enemy solely on their class position or background. However, this does not mean that ideas, ideologies and actions of individuals cannot be analyzed on a class basis. All ideas and social actions are rooted in class (although influenced by other factors) and in the final analysis are in the service of a particular class. Class analysis is an extremely helpful tool in understanding and criticizing an individual's ideas and social practice. Often a person is unaware of the class basis of what he or she thinks and does, but by analyzing the class basis of actions and ideas their roots can be exposed and understood

Thus a person is a member of a class, but also is an individual. As a member of a class, his or her ideas and actions will be heavily influenced by class background and position, and these influences are deep, subtle, and in part uncounscious. As an individual, a person is also influenced by many other factors--intellectual, emotional, historical, cultural, and political--conscious and unconscious. It would be incorrect to relate to a person solely on the basis of class. It would be even more incorrect to ignore class factors in the social, political, and cultural actions and ideas of a person.

Lastly, it must be remembered that neither the consciousness of classes nor the consciousness of individuals is a static thing. Both change. In particular the consciousness of both classes and individuals is affected by class struggle.

TABLE A Numerical composition of classes and sectors, by laborforce members 1969.
All figures in thousands (000)

	TOTAL	male	female	white	TW	white male	white female	TW male	TW female
<u>PETIT-BOURGOIS</u>	14,524	12,030	2,494	13,658	866	11,368	2,290	662	204
Business	5,077	3,982	1,095	4,679	398	3,672	1,007	310	88
Managerial	4,523	3,713	810	4,320	203	3,577	743	136	67
Professional	4,924	4,335	589	4,659	265	4,119	540	216	49
<u>PROLETARIAT</u>	64,171	36,285	27,886	53,358	10,813	30,242	23,116	6,043	4,770
Sales	4,466	2,385	2,081	4,147	319	2,227	1,920	158	161
Clerical	13,874	3,588	10,286	12,235	1,639	3,070	9,165	518	1,121
Crafts	10,134	9,622	512	8,982	1,152	8,550	432	1,072	80
Operative	11,021	6,655	4,366	8,768	2,253	5,359	3,409	1,296	957
Transport	2,916	2,782	134	2,351	565	2,233	118	549	16
Laborer	3,590	3,295	295	2,587	1,003	2,365	222	930	73
Farm Laborer	1,019	839	180	670	349	562	108	277	72
Service	8,541	3,769	4,772	6,478	2,063	2,829	3,649	940	1,123
Pvt. Household	1,215	37	1,178	510	705	17	493	20	685
Aristocracy	1,203	1,113	90	1,150	53	1,067	83	46	7
Middle	23,112	18,849	4,262	20,491	2,621	16,736	3,755	2,113	508
Bottom	39,856	16,323	23,533	31,716	8,140	12,438	19,278	3,885	4,255
Semi-Prof.	8,547	4,336	4,211	7,723	824	4,001	3,722	335	489
Office	17,690	5,349	12,341	15,750	1,940	4,691	11,059	658	1,282
Service	14,050	7,620	6,430	10,405	3,645	5,949	4,456	1,671	1,974
Production	23,884	18,980	4,904	19,482	4,402	15,603	3,879	3,377	1,025
(Aged)*	(18,000)	(6,500)	(11,500)						
(Excluded)*	(5,000)	(500)	(4,500)						
<u>SMALL FARMER</u>	1,273	1,203	70	1,209	64	1,146	63	57	7
Freeholder	1,094	1,033	61	1,042	52	987	55	46	6
Tenant	179	170	9	167	12	159	8	11	1
<u>TOTAL LABORFORCE</u>	79,968	49,518	30,450	68,225	11,743	42,756	25,469	6,762	4,981

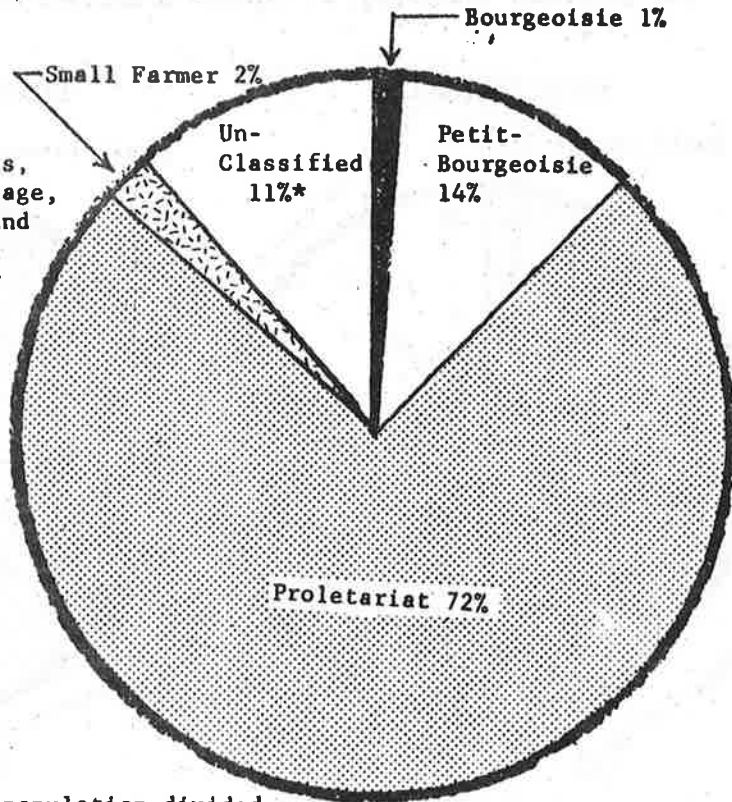
*Note- All of the above figures, except for the Aged and Excluded Sectors, were for laborforce members only. Since the members of the Aged and Excluded Sectors are not members of the laborforce they were shown in parenthesis. The total shown for the Proletariat does not include the members of the Aged and Excluded Sectors. The totals shown for all the classes do not include non-working members (housewives, children etc).

TABLE C The Laborforce broken down into Classes & Sectors 1969

	TOTAL labor force	male labor force	female labor force	white labor force	TW labor force	white males	white females	TW males	TW females
<u>PETIT-BOURG.</u>	<u>18.2%</u>	<u>24.3%</u>	<u>8.2%</u>	<u>20.0%</u>	<u>7.4%</u>	<u>26.0%</u>	<u>9.0%</u>	<u>9.8%</u>	<u>4.1%</u>
Business	6.3%	8.0%	3.6%	6.9%	3.4%	8.6%	4.0%	4.6%	1.8%
Managerial	5.7%	7.5%	2.7%	6.8%	1.7%	8.4%	2.9%	2.0%	1.3%
Professional	6.2%	8.8%	1.9%	6.8%	2.3%	9.6%	2.1%	3.2%	1.0%
<u>PROLETARIAT</u>	<u>80.2%</u>	<u>73.3%</u>	<u>91.6%</u>	<u>78.2%</u>	<u>92.1%</u>	<u>70.7%</u>	<u>90.8%</u>	<u>89.4%</u>	<u>95.8%</u>
Sales	5.6%	4.2%	6.8%	6.1%	2.7%	5.2%	7.5%	2.3%	3.2%
Clerical	17.3%	7.2%	33.8%	17.9%	14.0%	7.2%	36.0%	7.7%	22.5%
Crafts	12.7%	19.4%	1.7%	13.2%	9.8%	20.0%	1.7%	15.9%	1.6%
Operative	13.8%	13.4%	14.3%	12.9%	19.2%	12.5%	13.4%	19.2%	19.2%
Transport	3.6%	5.6%	.4%	3.4%	4.8%	5.2%	.5%	8.1%	.3%
Laborer	4.5%	6.7%	1.0%	3.8%	8.5%	5.5%	.9%	13.8%	1.5%
Farm Labor	1.3%	1.7%	.6%	1.0%	3.0%	1.3%	.4%	4.1%	1.5%
Service	10.7%	7.6%	15.7%	9.5%	17.6%	6.6%	14.3%	13.9%	22.5%
Pvt. House	1.5%	.1%	3.9%	.7%	6.0%	-	1.9%	.3%	13.8%
Aristocracy	1.5%	2.2%	.3%	1.7%	.5%	2.5%	.3%	.7%	.1%
Middle	28.9%	38.1%	14.0%	30.0%	22.3%	39.1%	14.8%	31.2%	10.2%
Bottom	49.8%	33.0%	77.3%	46.5%	69.3%	29.1%	75.7%	57.5%	85.4%
Semi-Prof.	10.7%	8.8%	13.8%	11.3%	7.0%	9.4%	14.6%	5.0%	9.8%
Office	22.1%	10.8%	40.6%	23.1%	16.5%	11.0%	43.4%	9.7%	25.7%
Service	17.5%	15.4%	21.1%	15.3%	31.0%	13.9%	17.5%	24.7%	39.6%
Production	29.9%	38.3%	16.1%	28.6%	37.5%	36.5%	15.2%	49.9%	20.6%
<u>SMALL FARMER</u>	<u>1.6%</u>	<u>2.4%</u>	<u>.2%</u>	<u>1.8%</u>	<u>.5%</u>	<u>2.7%</u>	<u>.2%</u>	<u>.8%</u>	<u>.1%</u>
Freeholder	1.4%	2.1%	.2%	1.5%	.4%	2.3%	.2%	.7%	.1%
Tenant	.2%	.3%	-	.3%	.1%	.4%	-	.1%	-
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

THE ADULT POPULATION 1969

*Un-classified includes members of the Armed Forces, students over 16 years of age, inmates of institutions, and those who could not be accounted for in any other statistical category.

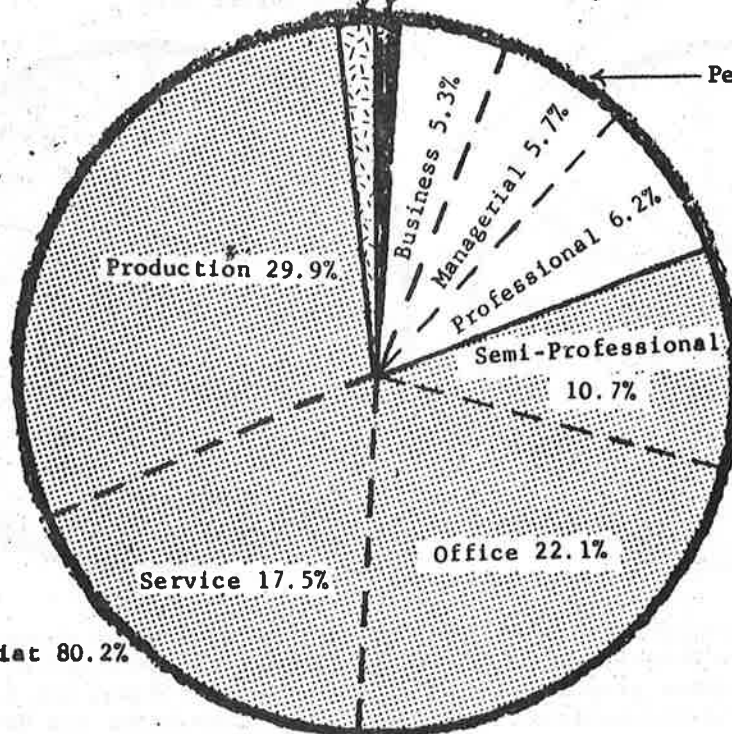


This graph show the adult population divided into classes. The figures are estimates and they include non-working adults.

THE LABORFORCE -CLASSES & SECTORS 1969 corresponds to Table C

Small Farmer Class 1.6%

Bourgeoisie @1%

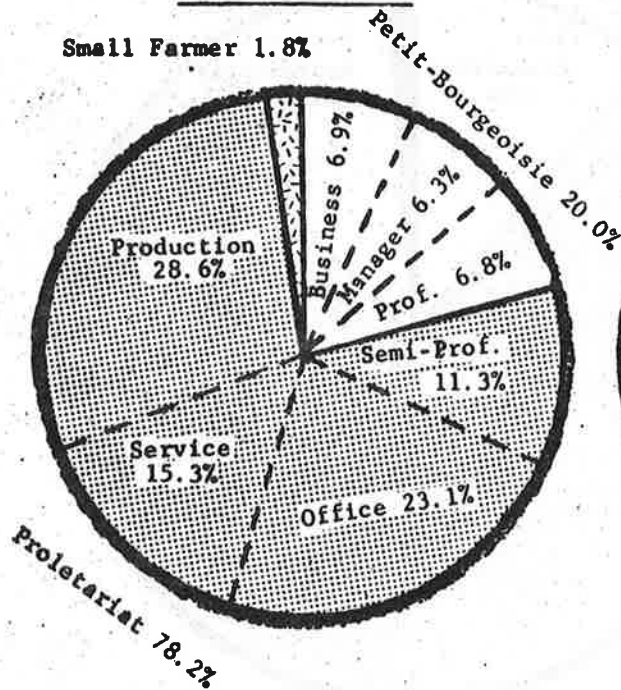


Proletariat 80.2%

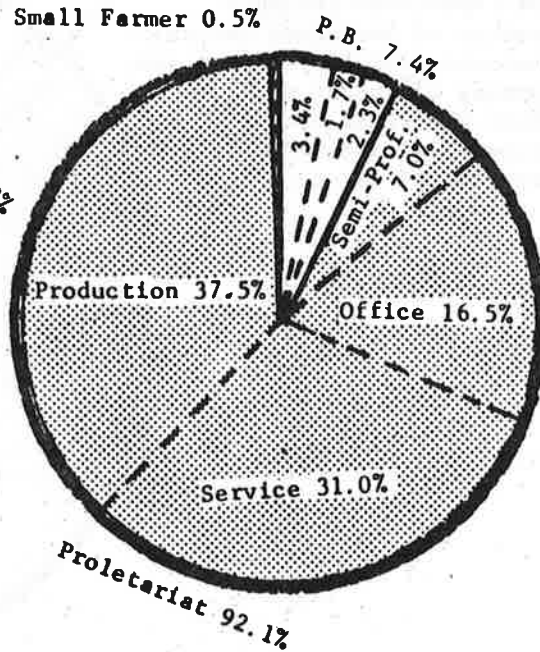
The above graph show how the laborforce is divided into classes and sectors. People who are not in the laborforce, such as non-working family members, and the Aged & Excluded Sectors of the Working Class are not shown.

THE DIFFERENT LABORFORCE BY CLASSES & SECTORS 1969 Corresponds to Table C

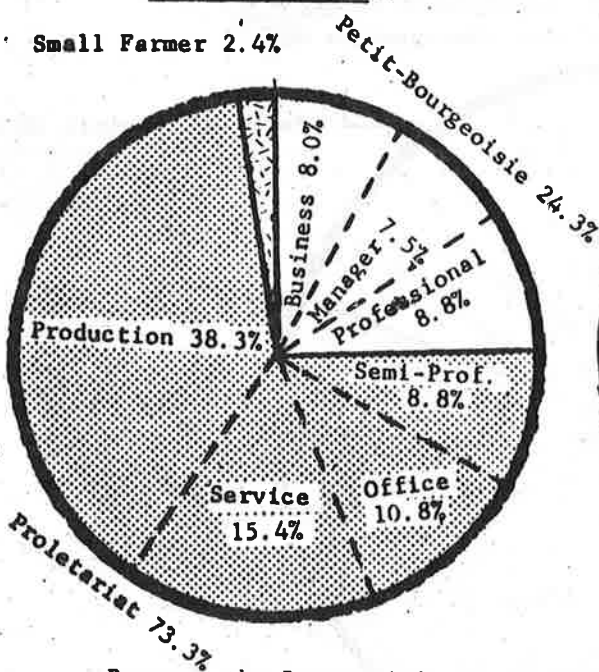
white laborforce



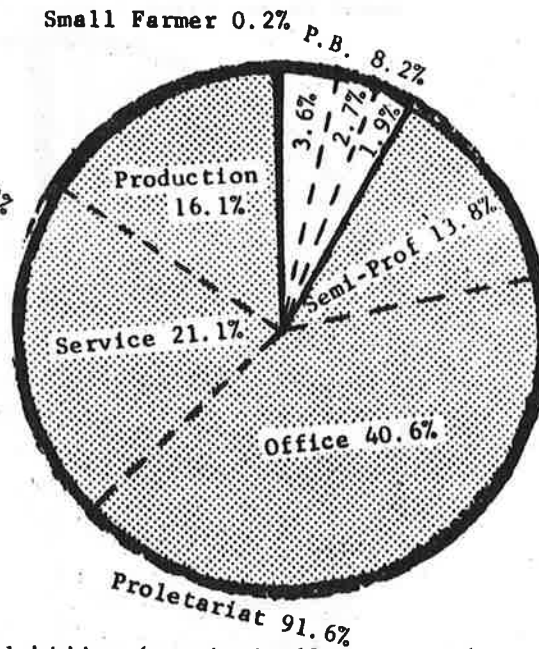
Third World laborforce



male laborforce



female laborforce



Because the Bourgeoisie is so well hidden (statistically speaking) it is impossible to accurately measure them in terms of the laborforce. Thus they are not shown on these graphs. Some of them are counted among the Business Sector of the Petit-Bourgeoisie, and others are hidden among the Managerial Sector.