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The General Policy Statement
And Labor Program of the
League of Revolutionary Black Workers

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The tables referred to in this document are found in the 1969 U.S. Statistical Abstract. We regret our inability to reprint these tables at this time. Thank you — Communications Report, League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS' GENERAL PROGRAM

(HERE'S WHERE WE'RE COMING FROM)

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is dedicated to waging a relentless struggle against racism, capitalism, and imperialism. We are struggling for the liberation of black people in the confines of the United States as well as to play a major revolutionary role in the liberation of all oppressed people in the world.

In U.S. society, a small class owns the basic means of production. There aren't any black people in this class, nor are the masses of whites; however, they are not in the same position as blacks.

Our black community is virtually a black working class, because of our relationship to the basic means of production. Black workers comprise the backbone of the productive process in this country. Since slavery, we have been the major producers of goods and services. In addition, we've produced goods under the most inhumane conditions. Our black community is comprised of industrial workers, social service workers, our gallant youth, and many ad hoc community groups.

The racist subordination of black people and black workers creates a privileged status for white people and white workers. While the imperialist oppression and exploitation of the world creates a privileged status for the people and workers of the U.S., the white labor movement has failed to deal with the worsening conditions of black workers and the key role of black workers in the economy and the working class. The white labor movement has turned its back on black worker problems such as less job security, speed-up, less pay, bad health (silicosis, in particular), the worst kind of jobs, and in most cases, exclusion from skilled trades.

These two systems of privilege become the basis for the aristocracy of white labor which gives white labor a huge stake in the imperialist system and renders white labor unable and unfit to lead the working class in the U.S.

United States society is racist, capitalist, and imperialist by nature. It is aggressively expansive, exploitative, and oppressive. The expansion of U.S. imperialism is primarily by means of worldwide financial penetration, backed up by a worldwide military regime. This gives a monopoly control of the resources, wealth and labor of the capitalist world to U.S. finance capital. They use the most barbarous methods of warfare and subversion to maintain its billions of dollars in profit.

U.S. imperialism supports every reactionary and fascist regime in the world by means of subversion, CIA assassinations, invasions, terror bombings, and criminal means of warfare. U.S. imperialism also resorts to nuclear blackmail, to intimidate the revolutionary peoples of the world. Imperialism faces its inevitable destruction as the national liberation struggles, currently focused in Southeast Asia, become worldwide. This involves the rest of Asia, including populous India, along with the emerging struggles in Latin America and the developing struggles in Africa. The workers and peoples of Europe are also drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle as the grip of U.S. imperialism loosens on Europe as the result of the struggles waged in the rest of the world.

The oppressive, imperialist nature of U.S. society is evidenced at home in the suppression of the black liberation struggle, workers' struggles, and anti-war struggles, in an increasingly militaristic fashion. One of the essential domestic props of U.S. imperialism is the white labor aristocracy which shares in the spoils of the plunder of the world and is based in the domestic subordination of black workers.

The white labor aristocracy collaborates with the U.S. imperialist government in its aggressive wars, its CIA subversion and supports its political line. It also colludes with monopoly corporations at home to allow speed-up and unsafe working conditions, inflation that outstrips any wage gains, leaves most workers unorganized, and supports the brutal subordination of black workers.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers emerged specifically, out of the failure of the white labor movement to address itself to the racist work conditions and to the general inhumane conditions of black people.

Our strength comes from the historical and heroic struggles of our people, our inspiration comes from the revolutionary upsurges of the international struggles, and our convictions are guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is a political organization. We relate to the total black community. Our actual practice involves us with industrial and service workers, youth, and several ad hoc groups; these categories make up the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Our duty is to plan the most feasible means to insure freedom and justice for the liberation of black people based on the concrete conditions we relate to. In addition, we have the task of training our people for leadership and other special capacities that make a viable organization. Most importantly, the direction of our organization is clear. We're not talking about dealing with a single issue as the only factor, nor are we talking about reforms in the system; but we are talking about the seizure of state power.

It is clear to us that the development of our struggle based on concrete realities, dictates the need for black peoples' liberation political party. We state, unequivocally, that this must be a black Marxist-Leninist party, designed to liberate black people, dedicated to leading the workers' struggles in this country, and resolved to wage a relentless struggle against imperialism.

The League's program for building a black Marxist-Leninist party is as follows:

- (1) Organizing of black workers on the broadest possible scale into the League and its component parts.
- (2) Politicizing and educating the masses of black people to the nature of racism, capitalism, and imperialism, to further outline the solution to these problems in League programs and documents.
- (3) Supporting the efforts of our people to develop a broad economic base within the community to aid the revolutionary struggle.
- (4) Developing a broad based self-defense organization in the community.
- (5) Carrying on unceasing struggles on behalf of black workers and the total community.
- (6) Forming principled alliances and coalitions, on the broadest possible base, with other oppressed minorities, organizations, movements, and forces, black or white, which struggle against the evils of racism, capitalism and imperialism.

Our short range objective is to secure state power with the control of the means of production in the hands of the workers under the leadership of the most advanced section of the working class, the black working class vanguard.

Our long range objective is to create a society free of race, sex, class, and national oppression, founded on the humanitarian principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

INTRODUCTION – LABOR PROGRAM

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers sees the organization of Black Workers as essential to the success of the Black liberation movement in America, and the ending of oppression of all peoples throughout the world. American capitalism is based upon the extraction of surplus value from wage-earners within this nation and the extraction of natural resources and lucrative markets and excessive surplus value internationally through the mechanism of international imperialism. Racism has historically been used to moderate class struggle in the U.S. through the creation of a stratified working class. White workers, by and large, enjoy the highest positions within the working population, receiving higher remuneration and producing less than Black Workers.

Black people were originally brought to America as slaves. Slave labor played the primary role in the creation of surplus value (i.e. capital) which led to the rapid development of modern industry. Since the demise of chattel slavery, the Black population has shifted from the position of the primary source of capital formation and industry builders as an agrarian subproletariat, to a primary source of capital formation as the most exploited section of the American industrial proletariat.

The policy of white skin privilege has placed Black Workers at the very foundation of industry. Racism has been effectively used time and time again to prevent a unified colorless proletariat from carrying on a protracted revolutionary struggle against capitalism and imperialism. Each time white and Black people have shown indications of unifying, calculated racist propoganda, legal and reactionary social campaigns have been launched by the white ruling class to turn the oppressed white population against the oppressed Blacks. The history of reconstruction and redemption is a classic example of this recurring tactic. The Populist Movement disintegrated with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Codes, universal segregation and rule-by-lynch law. Black Populists, organizationally tied to the discipline of the white leadership, were incapable of independently struggling against the ruling class and the white racists. After the Civil War there was a conscious attempt by whites to remove Blacks from any positions in the proletariat. This movement began with the expulsion of Blacks from skilled trades positions, especially in the South. But developing monopoly capitalism in the late 19th and 20th Century oftentimes required a working force capable of laboring under the hardest and most oppressive conditions, and in many occupations, such as mining, shipping, railroad building etc., the coolie labor force was found among Blacks, Chinese and other minorities and European immigrants.

Racism and white skin privilege also had its reverse effects for white laborers. In segregated industries, where whites found themselves being oppressed and exploited to the extreme that they began to organize and to carry on strikes and struggles against capitalist management, the white rulers, as policy, shipped tens of thousands of Black peasants into industrial areas to break the strikes of white workers. Through this process Black Workers gained entrance into the modern industrial proletariat.

Eventually, the union movement was forced to reach an unstable accommodation with Black labor. With the sections ruling class switching its position from incipient fascism to racial "liberalism" (favoring equal employment) the white unionists finally understood that no significant organization of workers into unions could take place without the inclusion of Black Workers. As late as 1940 the U.A.W. was forced to include Blacks in the unionization drive when Black Workers at the huge Ford Rouge complex broke the picket lines of striking white unionists. The accommodation was the institutionalization of white skin privilege within the working class and within the union. Under this de facto settlement, union leadership remained firmly in the hands of whites. Blacks were relegated permanently to the lowest paying, most unsafe jobs (production and foundry) while white workers held cleaner, better paying positions and monopolized the skilled trades.

Under this agreement, it was the Black laborer who was hardest hit by the excesses of management, constantly facing speed-up, industrial disease, accidents and threatened by lay-offs etc. But simultaneously, Black Workers were shifted to the most productive sectors of industry where the formation of finished goods was literally the fusion of sweat, blood, muscles, life and raw materials and the transformation of these elements into finished products. Being located at primary points of production, Blacks have become increasingly essential to continuation of American industry far out of proportion to the Black percentage of the population.

As the most exploited and productive sector of the proletariat beset by all the other contradictions of a racist society, Black workers have become the first to recognize the oppressive nature of capitalism, and the leading force for opposing this unnatural deadly system.

Though both the unions and the companies have used innumerable tricks to prevent the organization of Blacks into independent groups, hundreds of Black caucuses have spontaneously risen within industry over the past decade. These caucuses have attempted to struggle along class lines and against racism using every conceivable tactic and strategy, from internal reformist unionist tactics to undirected Black cultural nationalism to anarchistic sabotage movements.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers and its affiliates represents the highest level which the conscious insurgent movement of Black labor has reached. In the League there is a substantial base in the Black proletariat established which is organized and guided by the principles of Marxist-Leninism. There is total independence from the established union bureaucracy and an affirmed unity with all elements of the society which are struggling for freedom, justice and equality. It is only through the mechanism of just such a disciplined organization following the correct analytical and organizational principles through which the most advanced section of the proletariat will be organized to assume its proper position as the vanguard which will guide the proletariat and all progressive sectors of society in the successful struggle to overthrow and forever eradicate the evils of racism, capitalism and imperialism.

OVERALL POSITION OF BLACK WORKERS

Tables

No. 308 employed

No. 310 unemployed

What is the overall position of Black Workers in the economy? The tables above are found in the 1969 U. S. Statistical Abstract based on the findings of the 1960 U.S. Census. We recognize the degree of error in these statistics, but even based on the governmental statistics, the position of the Black Worker in the Labor force is clear. In 1970 the total civilian labor force is approximately 84,617,000 with a total Black labor force of approximately 9,560,000 or 10.1 percent of the total labor force. The total labor force represents a 59% participation rate by the entire white population and a 62.4% participation rate by the total Black population.

Unemployed statistics show that there are 2,214,000 or 3.1% of the white labor force out of work as compared to 532,000 or 6.1% of the Black labor force out of work.

In concluding the findings of these tables we state that Black workers make up significant section of the reserve army of the unemployed and that the rate of unemployment among Black Workers is twice as high as that amongst whites. The labor participation rate percentages categorically demonstrate that Blacks as a people are more of an integral part of the proletariat than whites and would even have a greater labor participation rate if jobs were not so hard for Black Workers to find.

Tables further indicate that Black Workers are disproportionately located in blue collar and service worker positions. In blue collar positions Black Workers are mainly operatives and laborers working on the hottest, dirtiest and most dangerous jobs. In this category Black Workers comprise 23% or nearly 1/4 of all positions. Figures fail to present an adequate picture in the operatives and laborers sector for in many industries and key plants such as auto, steel and rubber industries and plants like Dodge Main, Eldon Avenue, Ford Rouge, etc., Black Workers make up 70 to 85% of the work force and have the ability to bring all production to a halt, by methods of closing down the hot dirty foundries, steel mills and production plants. Whites working in the operatives and laborer category are able to gain the fruits of their white skinned privileged positions by being placed in the easiest jobs such as stockchasing, transportation and light assembly positions, leaving Black workers in a decisive position at the point of production. Black workers make up only 3.1% of all apprenticeship positions which is directly related to the lack of upward mobility from the operative blue collar sector.

In the skilled trades sector Black Workers once again are heavily concentrated in dirty, hard positions. They comprise 12.3% of all masons, tilers and stonecutters. 22.8 Percent of all plasterers, lathers and cement finishers placing them at the bottom of the building trades. Black Workers make up 23.8% of all furnacemen, smelters and pourers and 25% of all metal molders all found in the smog and polluted air of the foundries.

To the contrary, the percentage of white craftsmen and foremen is double that of Blacks and a definite product of the white skinned privilege white degrades Black workers, especially in the area of promotions.

One half of the white working force is employed in white collar positions, as compared to one quarter of the Black working population. But even in these categories Black workers perform the hard and steady physical work. 11.8 percent of Black workers in this sector are tied to low clerical positions categorized by low pay and constant physical work. Black Workers are employed to such a degree in the clerical sector that once again, they are essential to many industries and have the power also to bring all work to a standstill. The table on government employment below depicts the essentialness of Black Workers there.

Table

No. 573

In the service sector Black Workers are employed three times to the degree of whites and have a near monopoly in household services. Whites working in the service sector enjoy the luxuries of the homes of the ruling class barons; and earn lucrative salaries for their services, mainly the management and overseeing of Black service workers.

In the farm worker sector, Black Workers perform mainly the migrate employment categorized by next to slave wages and subhuman living conditions by the families of those involved. While whites in this sector are mainly owners of the land and the farm products being produced.

The tables finally show that Black Workers are systematically excluded from all decision-making positions-judges, lawyers and administrators - and are left virtually in a powerless position not only in industry on the job, but also at home in the Black community. Black Workers find themselves as paupers as the the white skinned privilege outside the places of work takes the form of white racist domination in order to maintain the resolute privileged position occupied by white workers. Black Workers therefore become the victims of racist and anti-Black and backward administrators who only carry out those policies which are in opposition to the interests of blacks.

Tables

No. 335

No. 447

No. 484

ECONOMIC SITUATION OF BLACK WORKERS

Categories in which white workers are heavily concentrated are areas of highest pay and power.

Professional positions, categories in which whites are employed—employed heavily, represents the areas of highest pay scales.

Management and skilled positions in which whites are employed up to five times the degree of Blacks also, are the recipients of high pay scales.

In comparison, the economic position of Black Workers in their areas of highest concentration, blue collar service, lower clerical and farm labor, represents the lowest position on the wage scale. The combination of the dual oppression of Black Workers of the hardest, dirtiest jobs and at the same time receiving the lowest pay has had the effect of raising their political consciousness more and more to the point of open class war at the point of production. The struggle of Black Workers has been systematically stifled by the overall political economy of poverty. The ruling class has systematically dressed up the realities under which Black Workers live. Through constant streams of propaganda in the form of advertisements, they have been able to some degree, foster false hopes and dreams in the minds of Black Workers. The educational system has perpetuated false notions in terms of understanding the fundamental characteristics of life under Monopoly Capitalism.

Both the unions and the companies have denied Blacks the knowledge of the fundamentals of organizing techniques and propaganda skills which has fostered strong feelings of individualism and personal gain.

The ruling class has acted as though it was seriously addressing itself to the problems of Black Workers by extending its rolls of non-productive employees in order to have more troops to dupe the already confused and unorganized Black Workers. The companies have created hard core programs and backed certain community organizations and propagandized heavily about them via the mass media. They have mixed repressive techniques with soft-lined measures in order to crush and stifle rebellion simultaneously. Many reform groups and civil rights organizations have attempted to gain purely economic reformism without addressing the importance of the political economy of poverty. The monopoly capitalist class has to maintain a system of strict poverty domestically. It cannot afford to spend billions of dollars thrown away annually on Imperialist wars here at home for fear of it changing the objective power relationships between itself and the proletariat. During a few lucrative months during 1966, before the

rising inflationary prices and high taxes had begun to deplete the wage gains of workers, it became necessary for many companies to stop paying afternoon shift workers on Thursday, which had been a long ago established standard, because over half of the workers would not come to work the following Friday. Once Black Workers had earned enough to meet their immediate objective necessities, the extra day gave them time to explore organizing methods or hire organizations or buy guns which they in turn could use in their struggles against the ruling class.

The Monopoly corporations have placed great emphasis on the political aspect of the economy of poverty. They have done everything possible except, slow down the level of production and raise the economic level of workers which is the reality which has sparked class struggle amongst Black Workers inside basic industry.

So that reality still exists. Black Workers are the main producers in this society. It is the bare hands of Black Workers which turn raw materials into finished products. They are transforming those raw materials far out of proportion to what statistics show; they are producing in increasingly greater numbers as production becomes harder and faster. Black Workers are toiling under more and more severe working conditions while Black children and wives go hungry because of the low wages, inflationary prices and increased taxes. They exist as the most oppressed and exploited section of the proletariat and have the power to bring all of industry to a screeching halt. Their only hope can be seen through open class war and the potential of carrying out a Black General Strike which would bring the entire U.S. productive capacity and its Monopoly Capitalist owners to their demise.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH BLACK PEOPLE WORK

Black workers, caught in the most oppressive sector of the proletariat, find themselves working in the fastest, hardest and most exhausting jobs with the worst safety conditions and the most hazardous occupations to the workers' overall health.

In the United States, any person, black or white, who joins the labor force is literally risking his life. The U.S. Labor "Department has estimated that three-fourths of all workers suffer disabling injuries on the job sometime before retirement. Each year 15,000 workers lose their lives in industrial accidents. 1,700,000 workers suffer impaired or lost hearing due to excess noise levels in plants. More coal miners have accidentally died in the last 60 years than all the casualties in the Korean and Vietnam conflicts. In automobile stamping plants around Detroit, an estimated 25% of the workers have lost fingers, arms or other limbs due to accidents.

Industrial diseases take a tremendous toll among workers. Black lung disease, silicosis, pneumoconiosis, all twenty year lung ailments, have killed millions in the mines and foundries of America. In Pennsylvania alone, 2000 workers die each year of Black lung. Most workers in Detroit auto foundries have silicosis after five years' exposure to the dust-ridden foundry air. Metal miners contract bladder cancer from long exposure to radioactive dust. Many workers are subjected to intense toxic fumes from chemicals used in metal plating and processing; sulphuric acid, nitric acid, sulphur dioxide, carbon monoxide, dyes and chemicals causing bladder cancer, ozone from heat welding, dirt and oil in the air all entering and destroying the bodies and internal organs of healthy workers.

The struggle to control conditions is intense. The financial interests of the companies are always opposed to the welfare of the workers. In some plants it is impossible to get a pair of gloves or safety glasses from the foreman who, being primarily interested in receiving a large bonus, refuses to spend any money on minimal safety measures.

Those workers who miraculously escape physical damage suffer nervous tensions, mental illness up to psychosis, extreme fatigue from speed-up, anxiety over job security. The character of factory work its strenuous nature, the unending repetition, the immense boredom, the noise, the nagging foremen, all lead to total alienation of the worker from his environment. Alcoholism and drug addiction often are the escape routes used to flee the living hell of industrial production.

In other industries, such as service work, blacks are faced with the same dangerous unhealthy conditions, paying low wages and deviating from the dangers of heavy industry only in accordance with the particular character of the industry.

Black workers find themselves located in the most dangerous, yet most productive and important jobs within the industrial network. Faced with the most devastating conditions and constant on the job struggle, they are developing into the most highly conscious and militant section of the proletariat.

The labor bureaucrats attempt to moderate the struggle of black workers by emphasizing the economic demands over working conditions. The reason is that capitalism extracts a greater amount of surplus value through the use of speed-up than it loses from the minimal economic demands of 3.4% or 4%. Many black workers see the "next job on the line" eliminated through time study projects and are forced to double their own production. The company pockets the entire year's salary of the eliminated job, while the worker finds himself working twice as hard for not one dime of extra pay.

The conditions of the plant are continuously becoming more and more regimented to the tune of the company. The line is sped up, break time is often shortened clandestinely, foremen refuse to allow workers to go to the lavatory, workers are severely disciplined for tardiness or absenteeism, overtime is compulsory, while grievances are hung up for months and years on end by union and company bureaucrats and never resolved in favor of the worker. The unions, within the context of the factory, clearly operate to prevent militant, immediate action by workers to improve the conditions of labor.

The struggle of black workers in industry over working conditions, organized and consciously led, or unorganized and undirected is primarily the struggle to control the process of production. It is the responsibility of the revolutionary workers movement to provide leadership to this struggle and to clearly demonstrate to the masses of workers that to control and improve conditions, to control the process of production, we must control the instruments of production themselves. It is the transformation of the struggle against the excesses of production into a movement to seize control of these instruments which will lead to the organized, consciously led struggle of all people to own and control all instruments of power in this society up to and including the State.

Because of the conditions of black workers at the seat of the contradiction of capital, enduring the most incredibly dangerous and inhuman conditions, in an environment of total regimentation and alienation, black workers are forced to struggle, to resist, to fight and sometimes to die for their own survival. This process of struggle, in conjunction with the overall contradictions of a racist, imperialist society, has created amongst black workers the highest level of consciousness and the most experienced in struggle of all elements in American society.

THE POSITION OF BLACK WORKERS IN ORGANIZED LABOR

Organized labor is totally corrupt and racist. Union leaders have become the pimps of labor, with a history of collaborating with the owners and operators of the means of production to insure that workers make no real or significant gains in their struggle for decent wages and better working conditions. During the years of World War II, labor leaders worked with management and members of the ruling class to institute such measures as the no-strike clause. These "leaders" served on war production boards where edicts were handed down such as no Sunday overtime pay, wage freezes, all at a time when prices were steadily climbing and everyone was suffering from "equality of sacrifice". All of these measures were imposed on workers in collaboration with the ruling class. Reactionary labor leaders used the anti-communist movement of the late forties and early fifties to get rid of the progressive opposition in the union who were in favor of fighting for better working conditions and putting an end to racism in industry and unions.

Black workers began to fight for more representation in the auto union in 1943. At the 1943 convention the push to have a Black man put on the executive board of the International met strong opposition and was defeated by the racist delegates at the convention. It should be noted that Walter Reuther was the leader of the opposition. It was 19 years later that a black man was elected to the executive board. The steel workers' union was organized in 1942, to this day there is not one Black man in the policy-making body of that union in which 30% of the membership is Black. Blacks have been systematically denied entrance into the skilled trades. Unions have never made any attempt to break the racist discriminatory practices of companies and skilled tradesmen in their attempt to keep the skilled trades lily-white. For years black workers have tried to break the racist policies and unions by appealing to their so-called basic goodness. The struggles of blacks waged against the evils of racism have been ineffective because they were dependent on the goodwill of unions and companies.

Not until the development of DRUM, ELRUM, and FRUM with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the concept of independent action, did the unions and corporations take a different approach to the handling of black workers. The unions' response to the black unionists was to label their independent actions as reverse racism, causing the union to split along racial lines. Labor leaders and corporations used threats and acts of violence and stated that they would not represent anyone who attempted to "divide" an already divided union.

The independent struggle led by the revolutionary workers took the struggle of black workers to a new level. Black workers began to understand the total roles that unions play in the Black community as a whole. In seeking community support for their struggle, black workers began to run into union stooges in every corner of the black community. The influence that the unions had on the political, economic and social life of the Black community became very apparent. Black union hacks were everywhere, defending the racist, corrupt union. The fact that the unions were using the dues that had come from the blood and tears shed by black workers on the assembly lines and in the foundries to finance the campaigns of racist reactionary politicians who have never worked in the interests of the black community, was also revealed.

Percentage-wise, blacks don't seem to have any power in the industrial unions. But due to the concentration of blacks in certain areas of industry, Blacks make up the majority in many key locals. These are the locals that send large delegate bodies to conventions. In order to keep the revolutionary black workers from taking over in these locals, the union will and does resort to any tactic to keep racists and black stooges in control positions. Retirees are allowed to vote in the local union elections when they have no idea of what the conditions are like inside the plants. The retirees are loyal to the old line racist union leadership and are a key and deciding factor in seeing that this kind of leadership is continuously elected to office.

The DRUM type of organization is feared by the unions because of its independent stance. This does not give unions any chance to influence the policy or actions of the organization. This has also led to the thought that black workers do have the strength and organizational ability to build independent labor organizations that will address and deal with the problems of racism, speed-up, unsafe working conditions, health hazards and all-the other problems of workers in this capitalist system.

UNORGANIZED BLACK WORKERS

Bad as conditions are in organized labor, millions of black workers still have not been organized into labor unions. Most of these workers are employed outside the confines of modern monopolies of giant industry. They are located in the smaller shops and plants where conditions are as bad as organized industry and wages are lower. The unorganized are laboring in service industries, small shops and foundries, hospitals, restaurants, municipal and government occupations, department stores, day labor agencies, agricultural labor and clerical positions. These workers not only suffer deplorable working conditions and low wages, but often witness the inadequacies of service agencies in providing service to the public in general and the black community specifically.

American industry has always been unsafe, and conditions worsen as management increases speed-up, "niggermentation" and automation. As black workers, over the past two years, were more and more heavily employed in manufacturing, the accident rate has steadily risen. It is almost symptomatic of increasing "numbers" of black employees. In 1958 there were 10.8 disabling injuries per 1,000,000 man hours worked. In 1966 this figure had risen to 13.2 per 1,000,000 man hours - 27,000 injuries daily, 60000 of these disabling, 250 permanently disabling and 55 deaths each day.

The employers, understanding that whites are unwilling to fight vigorously for the rights of black workers, often begin the speed-up process by employing blacks under "equal" opportunity programs. The blacks were given work standards never permitted when the jobs were all white. The whites either see the super-exploitation of the blacks as affirmation of the white skin privilege, or hope that blacks will quit because of overwork, leaving a lily-white work force. Within 10 years of the introduction of blacks in the Detroit newspaper industry, teamsters found themselves delivering four times as much tonnage as they had before. (The labor force also shrunk considerably.) The auto industry produced over twice the number of vehicles, loaded with modern accessories and options, with the same labor force of twenty years ago.

In hospitals black attendants and nurses carry such caseloads that patient care and safety is often jeopardized while the workers exhaust themselves attempting to meet the needs of the most seriously ill.

Increasing production standards is a concrete form of class war in American industry, complete with pitched battles and mounting casualties. Speed-up brings unsafe working conditions. Workers resist deteriorating conditions by filing grievances, striking, slow downs, attacking foremen, sabotage etc. Companies retaliate with disciplinary measures including job transfers, disciplinary suspensions, firings and sometimes use of legal or physical coercion.

Higher profits are related to higher production. Companies are willing to invest money in new production methods, but rarely invest in the health or safety of their employees. As a result, industrial conditions worsen, workers are forced to struggle for their very survival and in this process of struggle, working-class consciousness is heightened. At the Eldon Avenue Assembly Plant, the home of ELRUM, with an 85% Black work force, there were four strikes, which included numerous safety demands, in the period of one month. One short investigation of the plant by a League safety expert turned up 19 safety violations in two departments. There were pools of oil all over the plant making it difficult for workers carrying heavy, dangerous equipment such as gear-cutters, to maintain their balance. Hooks on assembly lines were badly bent. Machinery was worn and often caught other equipment and snapped violently out of control. Hot kerosene from machines splashed into workers' faces.

At the same plant, a black woman worker was hit by a jitney that was improperly loaded so that the driver did not have a clear field of vision. She suffered a serious leg injury, but was forced to return to the job. Blood poisoning set in but the company doctor did not recognize the symptoms. The woman died.

The contradictions between labor and capital can hardly be more clear. With 260 deaths attributed to civil disorders since 1965 the ruling class screams for law and order. With 255 deaths every week from industrial accidents the ruling class is strangely silent. With 24,000,000 man hours lost due to strikes in 1966 the capitalists screamed for anti-strike legislation. In the same year 255 million man hours were lost due to accidents but the capitalists lost their voices in the call for better industrial safety legislation.

Outright accidents are only the beginning. As a worker grows older, under the industrial capitalists press for higher profits, his working conditions grow more strenuous, rather than less. For every worker who dies of an industrial accident, it is estimated that fifty die from heart attacks on the job.

Historically, the labor bureaucrats have avoided serious organizational campaigns with these workers because of the tacit "status quo" agreement with the corporate owners. But unorganized labor has been as restive as industrial workers as indicated by the Memphis and Atlantic garbage strikes and the New York and Charlotte N. C. hospital organizing drives.

The 70 million workers unorganized, represent a potent force of potentially revolutionary strength to which the attention of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers will be directed in the attempt to create a new and militant organization of laborers.

BLACK WOMEN WORKERS

Black women at large have been viciously discriminated against in the labor market. Only 7.2% of all employed Black women are in executive or professional capacities. 26% are employed in positions such as lower clerical or clerks. Household worker categories find that black women make up 54% of all employees.

The majority of these women are in non-union shops and even those in unions are viciously discriminated against. It is common practice in a health facility, to force a nurse's aide to pay union dues during a 90 day probationary period. If on the 89th day of employment she is fired or suspended, the union does not bargain for her. If she chooses to struggle it is likely that she will find herself forced on to public relief in order to survive. Those working women involved in efforts at unionization led by labor bureaucrats often find that after the union is voted in, their only "gain" is the financial loss of their union dues.

Black women are a significant section of the reserve labor force. During a war, she is inducted into industry as a factory worker. Black women are fired in plants because of labor shortages. They have been subjected to harrassment by white racist foremen and supervisors and it is not uncommon for them to be forced to be sexually submissive to keep their jobs. Besides being a reserve labor force herself, black women also physically reproduces the future labor force.

BLACK WOMEN IN LABOR

In heavier industry like automobile or aviation plants, Black women especially, have been used viciously to increase production. They have been forced to produce and perform jobs identical to those of men. ADC mothers have been hired in some instances, on jobs refused by men. If summarily fired from their jobs, these ADC mothers are in danger of no further assistance. Black women with children or who are pregnant are penalized by their employers. Despite the fact that their children are a reserve labor force, the implication is that their children are a burden to society. A Black pregnant woman receives neither disability or unemployment compensation. In many places, if she is a menial or domestic worker, she receives no hospitalization either. A woman known to have small children may be forced to work overtime. Her supervisor or foreman is usually well aware of the fact that he is asking her to leave helpless children unattended. Another common practice is to disallow wages to a Black woman if she has to stay home with a sick child. The government along with production, plays its part in discriminating against Black working women by making it impossible for these working women to qualify for any child care plan or maternity plan. An example is the recent refusal of the Michigan Health Department to distribute surplus food to pregnant women and their preschool children because there was "no warehouse from which distribution could be made."

Black women in office or business employment are also subjected to outright racism. This occurs in discriminatory hiring, promotion policies, job security and job placement. A woman can be fired for relating to any organization relating to revolutionary change. She is usually not hired after a pregnancy. Many potential office workers are not hired at all if they have small children. Nor is it unusual for a secretary or clerk to spend one-half or one-third of her wage for child care.

Black girls in school are usually placed in curriculums totally alien to surviving in a complex industrial society. Those girls who oppose this are usually channeled into a business or pre-professional curriculum. While most Black women understand the inequities within the society, few are able to move as a group to change it, because of social and psychological factors.

Their social problems revolve around the contradicting myths in this society. Many working class Black women are infatuated with the "Middle Class Ideal." Despite the fact that they are slaving at home and on the job, they believe their lives can be structured like the Madison Avenue consumer they see on television or read about. They put a tremendous amount of pressure on Black men to purchase the material toys of the white middle class. Some even brainwash their children to worship the "American way of life."

By and large the Black working woman's overt reaction to the society is dissimilar to her subconscious reaction. She too hates her employer and the system, but she has not learned how to struggle to change it.

The League's involvement with organizing Black working women has been slow. The lives of Black working women are structured to make it very difficult to engage in struggle or organizing. This organizing must be increased, using the resources of the League and the community around the League's overall program. Care must be taken to encourage the women to innovate methods to deal with their own problems collectively. Also, care would have to be taken to see their efforts are not co-opted. This could be achieved by meeting women's practical needs. Among these needs would be child care, health facilities, educational facilities for children and parents. Most important would be on-going political and development classes. Finally, there has to be formed within the League, a woman's department to organize affiliates to the League and the Independent American Workers Union, and to address the problems of the Black working women.

CONDITIONS OF THE ECONOMY

The situation of black workers within the economic structure of American capitalism has always been precarious. Slight fluctuations in the GNP have resulted in hundreds of thousands of black workers being thrown out of work. What white America describes as a "recession" is essentially a disastrous depression for blacks, such as the 1956-63 period.

During the last nine years the economy has "spiraled" uncontrollably under the impetus of the Vietnam War. Even this racist war however, has not been able to alter the basic contradiction of capitalist production, "over production", for an underpaid working class market, over extended credit, crisis in the balance of payments and gold reserves, galloping inflation etc. American imperialism found itself in an economic crisis at the end of the decade of the sixties.

In an attempt to avoid disaster the Nixon administration began to institute economic policies designed to further oppress the working class in the interests of "national economic health." Government austerity programs are throwing hundreds of thousands of laborers out of work, and the administration's high rate policy has slowed down investment and production, throwing hundreds of thousands more into the street. The ruling class, operating almost with panic reaction, juggles various economic institutions and policies to prevent a total collapse of the economy. Stock market policies such as manipulation, the lowering of marginal buying rates to prevent a stock market crash, was a recent example of this juggling.

Even with the unemployment hike, however, speed-up and "niggermation" continue. While thousands of black workers are being laid off in Detroit in 1970, workers at Hamtramck Assembly are forced to work 56 hours a week under the usual inhuman conditions.

It is clear, that whatever the state of the economy, black workers suffer the most.

BLACKS IN AUTO

The UAW needs an internal revolution. It needs profound changes in its leadership, its tactics, strategy and overall goals. A special convention should address itself to the pressing needs of the black production worker and the black community. Any so-called union which does not, should be attacked and attacked vigorously by the Black community and the black working class. The time has come for people to put a permanent halt to the sell-out, power made games played by Woodcock bureaucrats at our expense.

THE UAW MUST END ALL RACIST PRACTICES WITHIN THE UNION AND FIGHT RACISM IN THE COMPANY. Leonard Woodcock and his henchmen are a bunch of phony bigots. Woodcock shed alligator tears when Martin Luther King was assassinated and piously marched in Selma and Atlanta for "Negro Rights". Yet how many times has he cried over the bodies of black workers who have died in industrial accidents in Detroit auto plants, how many times has he marched for the rights of Black workers in his own backyard. The Woodcock concern for civil rights is a cheap facade designed to prevent Black UAW members from seeing clearly the deplorable record of the UAW in establishing and maintaining racism in its own shops.

END HARRASSMENT OF BLACK WORKERS AND BLACK REVOLUTIONISTS

As if the record wasn't bad enough, the Woodcock gang cannot leave the black worker to his miserable job. Black people are constantly harrassed and intimidated by the company with the full cooperation of their union representatives. Brothers are forced to contribute money to the white controlled United Foundation for instance. If they refuse they are usually punished by some petty unofficial form of discipline. Black men who wear beards, dashikis, tikis, naturals, or other symbols of black pride are often intimidated by their supervisors. This harrassment must end, and the union must quit siding with the company, or must be recognized and destroyed as an agent of the company and replaced by a viable organization representing the most progressive sector of the labor movement.

UNEMPLOYED BLACK WORKERS

Unemployed statistics as mentioned earlier are approximately 2,214,000 or 3.1% of the white work force and 532,000 or 6.1% of the total black work force. It was at the same time a total of 3.5% of all workers. The statistics for unemployed are based upon figures of those who have looked for employment in the last four weeks.

Further statistics indicate that under tables entitled *Persons Not in the Labor Force* based upon all persons 16 years and older who are not a part of the civilian labor force and not in military service, the total is 53 million with blacks making up 10% of the total or 5.3 million.

TABLE 10

	Whites	Blacks
In school	28%	32.2%
Ill health	15%	28%
Home responsibilities	1.4%	1.4%
Retirement, old age	42.7%	22.5%
Want no job at present	9.3%	10.9%
Think cannot get work	1.5%	3.3%
All other persons	1.3%	1.6%

The table indicates that twice as many blacks are out of work because of ill health and disabilities which are directly related to the dangerous and hazardous places they occupy in industry. It further indicates that the percentage rate of whites under retirement is twice the rate of blacks which also speaks to the fact that hard working conditions have led directly to an early death amongst older black workers.

But even here again, statistics do not depict the harsh reality of employment amongst blacks being as high as 40% in the core area of many large cities.

Unemployment has risen significantly with the disastrous economic policies of Nixon's administration. 1970 was ushered in with thousands of auto workers laid off and hundreds more on short work weeks. The month of March saw the unemployment rate soar to 4.4% as compared to 3.4% in March 1969. The rise marks the increase of 1% or at least one million more workers listed as full time unemployed. Defense cutbacks will mean the loss of 1,300,000 jobs by 1971. Nixon's plans of a 75% cutback in Federal construction spending will mean a 25% cutback in production of building materials. Though there will be fluctuations in the future, by and large great sections of the black working class face permanent pauperism under American Capitalism. Because of this fluctuation, workers in auto-steel and most other industries which employ large numbers of blacks are threatened with prospects of being fired, suspended or laid-off with heightening of class war and disastrous economic policies. The seniority system in the plants, as currently organized, is oppressive and discriminatory against black workers. The seniority system gives security to white workers (first hired) who enjoy white skin privileges, and exploits the already oppressed and impoverished black worker (last hired).

S. U. B. payments and unemployment insurance scarcely meet the needs of workers who are unemployed for any significant length of time. Unemployment insurance rates have risen only \$10 in the past 15 years, while inflation has risen to the point that even wages are consumed by prices, let alone Workmen's Compensation. Recently more and more black workers are losing their jobs because of militant activities in the plants. More and more will meet the same feat as class war becomes more open and vicious.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers calls for the total elimination of unemployment and underemployment through the shortening of the work week and elimination of production for profit rather than need as the basis of industrial productivity. The League of Revolutionary Black Workers with its unemployed committees must fight unemployment through the following means.

Early in the history of the UAW racism was an established fact. In Chrysler and G.M. plants blacks were often denied employment in all fields except janitorial service. Henry Ford recognized the labor value of the "big black buck" and hired thousands of Black men to work in his sweatshops before the UAW was organized. When the UAW first tried to organize Ford Rouge under the leadership of Reuther and others of his ilk, one of the white unionists' demands was that all black men be excluded from employment. It wasn't until the black workers made it clear that if they were to be excluded there would never be a UAW, that the Reuther clique relented and allowed integration of the hardest, dirtiest and lowest paying jobs. The racist union leadership only made this concession after black workers broke picket lines set up by racist white union organizers. After the UAW gangsters promised equality inside the union black workers joined, fought and died to win the struggle for unionization.

The union's promise of equality was, of course, a hollow one. The bigshots first bought out a few of the weak-kneed black labor leaders. "Buddy" Battles, president of the foundry unit at Local 600, once led black workers through UAW picket lines as a protest against union racism; but today "Buddy" Battles is a paid agent of Woodcock, active in stifling militant black action in and out of the plants. Once a few colored "brothers" had sold out, the rest of the black workers were set up as easy prey for the company. "Token" integration of the union leadership didn't allow blacks the political power to effectively demand equality. Even today, with 45% to 50% of the UAW membership black, only two of 26 international representatives are black. The few blacks in the hierarchy understand that their jobs depend upon their jumping in rhythm with Woodcock's tune. They are the most conservative element in the leadership of the Black community, and the least independent.

Under control of Woodcock's racist machine, the black worker has fared no better inside the plant than he has in the union. Racism has been the calling card. Blacks are first of all, systematically excluded from the skilled trades, white collar jobs, and all but the lowest level of management. Blacks are employed under the most dangerous conditions. In the foundries, for instance, 95% of the workers suffer from silicosis and other lung diseases and have their life expectancy cut 15 to 20 years short. Black workers are found in great numbers in the stamping plants where fingers and toes are severed almost daily. Black workers are found in the trim shops, the body shops, spot welding on final production lines, and anywhere else where men drop dead from exhaustion fighting never ending, constantly accelerating production lines.

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY

The UAW collects over \$10 million every month from its membership. This money, the bulk of it from the pockets of black workers, is used to provide salaries, staff and facilities for the UAW sell-out leadership. Millions of dollars are used by Woodcock and his bunch for their pet projects and for investment purposes. The projects, however, are never designed to benefit the black community. Millions are squandered on political campaigns for special conferences and conventions and do nothing for recreation and reform programs in the inner-city as well as the suburban areas. But the money (our money) is rarely used to support black candidates (except for known UAW flunkies) or invested for black economic development, or for independent community organizations in the ghetto. Millions of dollars which black Detroit area workers pour into the union coffers every year could be used to build new homes, schools, universities, libraries, recreation and social centers, rifle ranges, food co-ops, small industries, etc. Instead Woodcock supports further blackmail of the black workers by social faggots like the United Foundation. We pay enough in union dues to provide 10 black controlled United Foundations. The money now taken from black workers and administrated by the UAW must be turned back into the hands and control of rank and file black UAW members. We have already spent too much money in supporting the needs of white America and we want the white ruling class, also Woodcock and the auto barons, to keep out of the business of the black community.

THE UNION AS A POLITICAL FORCE

A union of workers is power. They can, if they so decide, control the economy of a country as large and powerful as the U.S.A. simply by calling a general strike. When workers are abused by a racist, capitalist government, they can respond by closing down the economical heart of the nation. Black workers are drafted, have incredibly high income taxes, state taxes etc. We are brutalized by the police, and robbed by corrupt politicians, but because of the Woodcock leadership we cannot use our natural powers to strike for political reasons. As a result, the war goes on, taxes increase, inflation spirals, cops shoot our children, our schools are undereducating our children and our community rots in decay. Yet, Woodcock does nothing more than preach his "love" for "civil rights". Black workers make up 35% of the industrial labor force as represented by production workers. Our hands actually create the wealth of America, and without us the nation could not continue in existence. This is power, real power in the very hands of black labor. Because Leonard Woodcock and his henchmen

hold the leadership of "our" union with the sweethearts of GM, Ford and Chrysler, we have been unable to join together to use our power in our own interests.

The time however, is coming near. The UAW will either respond to the needs of black folk, or we will move independent of the official unions to exercise the power for our own benefit rather than for the auto bosses and their friends.

This is the crux of the matter. Black UAW members are overworked, underpaid, abused, misused and usually refused when they ask for redress.

Under the Woodcock machine black men 50 years old are tied to the production lines while 20 year old white boys get jobs as clerks in the stock department or in transportation; and the white youngsters are soon promoted to supervisory or white collar jobs. For the black worker the pressure of production never ceases. In fact, because of the super-exploitation of black labor, profits in autos soar. A process called "niggermation" is more pervasive than automation. Often new black workers are forced to do the work of two white men. An investigation by members of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers uncovered a typical case at the Ford engine plant where a young brother was producing over 120 units an hour on a job previously worked by two men at a pace of 70 units an hour; the previous men had exercised seniority to get off the job because it was too strenuous.

Black workers earn billions of dollars of excess profit for the white racist corporations because of UAW sanctioned and enforced racist practices. As long as the official representatives of black workers perpetuate their continued enslavement we can make no progress; therefore we must use whatever pressure and force we can bring to bear to end all racist practices in the union and demand that the union movement fight to the end against racist practices of the company.

THE UNION MUST FIGHT SPEED-UP AND WIN BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS

The fault of the UAW doesn't end with racism. Even privileged white workers suffer because of the neglect of duty of the Woodcock gang. Speed up, safety hazards and unhealthy working conditions have become regular fare for all auto workers. Through cooperation with the company in increasing production, Reuther and his gang made millions for the auto barons at the expense of the worker. In 1947, the auto industry produced 4,800,000 cars with a production labor force of 626,000. In 1966 the industry produced 10,560,000 cars and trucks with a production labor force of 668,400. Moreover, the late model cars are bigger and have more accessories and options than any time before in our history. So black workers are now producing at least twice as much as auto workers twenty years ago.

On the sweat and muscle of black workers the auto companies have doubled and tripled their size. In 1946 Chrysler was worth 283 million dollars, today it is worth over \$2 billion, and only 10% of this rise came from the sale of stock. The rest was squeezed from the backs of black workers. GM rose in capital worth from \$1.4 billion to \$8.7 billion with less than 10% new investments; and Ford increased its value from \$771 million to \$4.8 billion with less than one-half of one percent in new money. Since 1960 average wages have increased about 25% for black workers; during the same period profits for the white owned and controlled corporations rose 77%, dividends rose 60%, personal interest income rose 80.6% and undistributed corporate profits rose 93%. While wages rose to an average of \$3.50 an hour, inflation wiped out any real rise in our income and we are often forced to work overtime for extra jobs simply to make ends meet. So speed up has reaped untold fortunes for the white auto capitalists while we barely manage to survive. Whose interests do the Woodcock gang really represent?

- A. By exposing the state and federal employment services and other similar agencies as agents of the ruling class designed to hinder not help unemployed workers.
- B. Protesting and opposing organizationally, company practices of firing workers after 89 days of employment to prevent them from gaining union seniority.
- C. Opposing the operation of any factories on an overtime basis, especially when workers are unemployed. This is a cross industry demand.
- D. Demanding that social welfare agencies provide unemployed workers with full pay and make resolute attempts to seek out new areas of employment.

We must develop committees of the unemployed, affiliated with the League to fight for the rights and demands of the unemployed labor. In all League plants all black workers should be registered so that in the event of unemployment workers can be directed into the unemployed committees and can receive aid and assistance from the League and the Black community.

**REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION IN ORGANIZED INDUSTRY
(The DRUM Experience)**

In industries organized by reformist led unions, the objective contradictions of production and the despicable conditions previously described have led to constant class struggle in the plants. In the past ten years the number of strikes have risen steadily:

YEAR	NUMBER OF STRIKES
1960	3,333
1963	3,362
1964	3,655
1965	3,963
1966	4,115
1967	4,595
1968	5,045

The struggle of black workers against racism and the company has led to an increasing class consciousness in our ranks. This rising consciousness often expressed itself in the development of numerous black and militant caucuses. These caucuses have often dissolved because of the ineffectiveness as groups "loyal" to the union and its racist leadership, and in the case of integrated movements, because of the inability of the whites to discard their racist attitudes and forego white skin privilege.

The failure of strict caucuses to transform the union movement led to the development of independently organized revolutionary black groups capable of waging uncompromising protracted struggle against the unions and corporations. DRUM, ELRUM, FRUM, MARUM, UNIRUM and other groups in the plants were united with other elements in the community to form the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

The struggles for DRUM type organizations have had significant successes and failures. These experiences are combined and collectivised in the League to provide us with direction in our future struggles.

The DRUM experience showed that black workers can be unified and organized at the point of production. Through the use of meetings, literature, intra and extra plant activity workers are easily educated to the nature of the oppression which they face, and prepared for concrete actions against the company. Strikes have been successfully organized resulting in the alleviation of some of the more overt racist conditions the workers face. The union leadership has been effectively challenged by the black vanguard in numerous instances, and forced to expose its basic racist, class collaborationist nature in the most open and brutal fashion to the masses of Black workers.

While the new struggle of the revolutionary groups has not, however, eliminated racism and exploitation in the plants, it has indicated, through its successes and setbacks the road we must follow in the future. The basic lessons we have learned are incorporated in our labor as follows:

1. In-plant organizations must be well organized and disciplined. We must have a division of labor within the organization. Decisions of the organization must be carried out in accordance with the rules of the League. Leadership must become familiar with the particular characteristics of the plant, inter-union politics of the local, labor laws etc., in order to lead the masses of workers to victory in any particular struggle. The organization must hold its loyalty to the League particularly and black workers in general, and must be free from political and financial ties to the union hierarchy which prevents independent action on the part of the rank and file.
2. Isolation of workers in a single plant is a major cause of failure of strike or other actions on a local level. The struggle is not an individual struggle for higher wages and better working conditions for workers in a particular plant; it is a class struggle to free all workers. This point must be clearly understood because it is impossible to carry on a protracted struggle without the broad support of workers from other industries and the community. When workers engage a corporation in a struggle for power, the ruling class inevitably brings in outside forces such as the police and courts to repress the workers' struggle. In such instances, we must be able to meet increasing force with equal or greater power. This may mean expanding the struggle to other plants, eventually to the point of general strike. It may mean gathering food and money from the community to help support the families of striking workers. It may mean calling on community people to man picket lines to prevent firings. It may mean securing doctors and lawyers, or a whole host of other resources not immediately available in the confines of a single plant.
3. To prevent isolation and solidify the black working class, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers must be developed as a broadly based labor organization. The League must unite Black workers from all plants and in the common struggle to overcome the drawbacks of isolation, lack of skilled organizers and resources. Through the discipline and unity of the League the strength to win can be provided in any particular struggle where the corporations and sweetheart unionists bring in outside forces. Thus, any member of the League, must aid and defend the struggles of any other member or any other organization when called upon to do so. The survival and growth of the League against overwhelming odds under adverse conditions has clearly indicated the generally correct character of this type of organization.

4. The League must increase its capacity to educate, organize and lead workers in industries where we are already active, and must develop new DRUM type movement throughout the ranks of organized labor. The development of DRUM, ELRUM, FRUM, etc., stimulated and inspired black workers in many industries. These workers often came to the League for advice and support in organizing revolutionary union movements. Because of the lack of experience and resources, the League was not capable at that time, of coordinating the activities of its own expanding internal apparatus so as to efficiently meet all the demands of and needs for organizing aid. Our activities were often ad-hoc in character, and we lacked a proper educational department, research, discipline, planning, fund raising apparatus and clear political direction in the ranks. Through a general understanding of the nature of the struggle, and sheer fortitude, our successes outnumbered our failures, but we were not able to keep pace with the objective cry of struggle of thousands of workers. As a result, we had to forego valuable organizational opportunities to take care of immediate priorities, and League organizations actually became dissipated of strength and dissolved (i.e., the cases of JRUM, LRUM and NEWRUM.) These workers are still ready to be organized as the machinery developed to support ongoing organizing drives and protracted struggle in the plants.

The organization of workers is not a one shot affair as many people seem to think. It requires fortitude, determination, planning, discipline, correct political direction, sophisticated administration, material resources and capable, unselfish, educated and experienced leadership. These qualities can only come from a thoroughly organized base within the black working class itself.

The League must become more professional in its work, develop efficient organizers, gather more resources to expand our initial bases in order to organize broadly within the ranks of black workers.

5. The DRUM experience indicates the necessity of engaging workers inside the plants in constant struggle with the company and union leadership. Struggle is necessary to increase the unity, strength and level of consciousness of the workers. The process of struggle itself unites workers as a powerful force against their enemies.

Workers international unions... on the local level...

We must fight the plant against all standard grievances, against white skin privilege and racism in promotions, skilled trades, job placement, etc. We must push and explain the League program, organize workers into groups within the plant, constantly train and educate leadership, increasingly expose the treachery of the company and union through the use of regular local level publications such as DRUM, mass communications (Inner-City Voice, Chronicle etc.) meetings, speeches, classes, films, etc.

The involvement of workers in protracted struggles inevitable leads to serious mass action such as wildcat strikes. The DRUM experience shows that we must protect and provide for workers engaged in open conflict with the company. We must be able to help support the families of striking workers, to provide for workers who are fired, lawyers when necessary, etc.

To provide the supportive base for struggles in which workers face economic or legal reprisal, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers must develop the National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund. Workers and the community will be asked to contribute to the LSDF through well planned and organized fund raising drives inside and outside the plants.

7. To win struggles, leaders must be familiar with labor laws, union contracts, history of blacks in labor, the internal policies of the union, history of union leadership, union procedure, etc. - for instance, few workers in organized labor know that safety strikes are legal.

8. Attempts to seize control of unions at the local level are concrete means of engaging workers in struggle against local union tyrants. It is theoretically possible, in many cases, to win local elections. Often victory is lost only when union bureaucrats are willing to totally and openly expose the corrupt and undemocratic nature of the union to its rank and file.

The DRUM experience shows that even when elections are stolen, the bureaucrats still lose. The consciousness of the workers is raised, their aggressiveness is heightened and their determination to join DRUM type organizations and resolutely fight the union pirates is strengthened.

Where international unions refuse to allow revolutionaries on the local level from holding union office by putting the local under receivership (or other con-man tactics) the League is prepared to lead petition campaigns for decertification so that the local may join the Independent American Workers Union.

9. The League will struggle to win rank and file union positions of stewards, committeemen, convention delegates, etc. Where union cheating prevents assumption of such positions, we will use every available method to increase our power to struggle (i.e., appointment of blue ribbon stewards.)
10. The League and its membership shall struggle against union leadership at union conventions, conferences and meetings.
11. The League will regularly hold local, regional, and national level conferences, conventions and congresses for the purpose of expansion of the organization of black workers.
12. The League organizers shall use public denunciation and demonstrations against racist union bureaucrats and corporation, using community and student support in these efforts.
13. The League will use the courts, NLBR, and other "legal" devices as offensive tools of struggle wherever possible. This is "legal" struggle against election cheating, violations of workers' rights under NLRB, etc.
14. The League will oppose the influence of the racist labor bureaucrats and corporations in the black community.
15. The League organization will organize workers for self-defense against the white racist corporations and unions.
16. The League organization will conduct social and cultural activities for the recreation of black workers as respite from the total alienation of work (i.e., rallies, raffles, cabarets, dances, picnics, parties, etc.).
17. League organizations will develop programmatic demands based on the general League program and the specific problems of local workers. These demands must relate in such a manner as to rally the support of black workers in terms of their general and specific characteristics.

GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF UNORGANIZED BLACK LABOR

Where they are, Black unorganized workers are found mostly outside of basic industry. They are in such categories as service workers, small industrial shops, laundry and dry cleaning industries, low clerical positions, household workers, hospital employees and farm workers. These unorganized workers labor under worst conditions than organized black workers and are recipients of even lower pay and more harrassment.

Unions, because of their collaborationist character, consciously refuse to organize these unorganized black workers. In many instances, especially in the area of safety, unions in collaboration with companies are able to force many of their dangerous jobs out of the hands of large industrial complexes into small shops who employ non-union workers.

The large, established unions do not represent the interest of their own black membership, let alone the black workers outside of their membership rolls.

These factors show the overwhelming necessity for the organization of unorganized black workers into independent DRUM type organizations that can represent their own interest as black workers and black people, simultaneously.

ORGANIZING CAMPAIGNS

The necessity exists for the formation of an independent union for the unorganized under the leadership of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. This union will be the Independent American Workers Union and shall be legally chartered and will organize workers regardless of race, creed or color. This organizing campaign will have two general characteristics. One is the establishment of a sophisticated organizing department within the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. The second characteristic shall be the launching of such a campaign struggling generally for:

1. A minimum wage based on the median wage scale of 1969 of \$6,600 annually.
2. Improved working conditions.
3. Establishment of minimum government safety standards.
4. Total job security, recognition of job seniority and permanent unemployment compensation.

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5. Elimination of all racial discrimination in job placements, promotions etc.
6. Thirty-five hour week and paid lunch hours.
7. Retirement with full pay at thirty years.

These campaigns should involve the entire black community in the organization of the unorganized. We should solicit the aid of community groups and students in these campaigns as we move to organize all black workers in every sector of the work force.

These campaigns should be carried out with military precision. They should be carefully organized and planned in advance, using communication resources such as, Inner City Voice, Michigan Chronicle, etc., and be led by skilled organizers in the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the community in general.

These campaigns should prepare to conduct protracted struggles by:

1. Keying us in on specific issues.
2. Developing relevant slogans.
3. Building a solid membership base with competent leadership and administration at local levels.
4. Engaging the workers in continual organization, agitation and struggle.

Once a base for the Independent American Workers Union is established firmly in the Detroit area, the same techniques of program and organizing will be used to organize the oppressed of other areas of the country until all black workers are organized.

THE SPECIFIC GOALS OF THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS

We must provide constitutions, organizational guidelines, programmatic demands, collect dues and correlate specific campaigns for each plant group. Each plant group must build membership through well organized membership drives, establish well organized meetings, issue membership cards for different levels of membership. Blue ribbon stewards must be established and campaigns around safety issues organized. In each open campaign slogans which are carefully developed and politically considered and relevant to black workers must be employed.

These affiliated organizations must be organized as components of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. The education of the leadership must be consciously developed as a priority. In particular industries, districts and higher, organizations must be formulated. In the auto industry the regional guidelines of the U.A.W. structure should be employed.

It is the policy of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers to capture unions whenever possible. It has been our practice that well organized campaigns can capture unions with community and student support. It is also the policy of the League that whenever the above is not possible, there must be a push for decertification drives and an effort to affiliate those workers with the I.A.W.U.

The Labor Strike and Defense Fund must be built with a solid administrative base, with well publicized campaigns, local committees to establish fund raising drives throughout the community and to take regular contributions.

Black workers must be educated and prepared ahead of time to the nature and purpose of specific strikes. Strikes must be well organized, encompassing strike kitchens, funds, legal aid and health insurance under the Labor Strike and Defense Fund. Plant publications must be built in each plant or district of the immediate higher level organizations. These publications must address themselves to the specific problems of labor and political and social problems in the community. They should inform the workers of the specific activities

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of the local organizations and the League and deal with the unfair policies and racist exploitative deeds of the Company and Union. Local groups should strive to train workers in writing and propaganda skills so as to be able to write for local publications. These publications must be distributed efficiently and thoroughly in the plant regularly, on a weekly or bi-monthly basis - without fail. The distribution network is our primary method of disseminating information about the organization and the struggle in the plants and is the skeletal network around which the mass is constructed. The plant membership and especially the leadership must be familiar with the League Program and its programmatic demands. Local organizations must insure that articles on in-plant activity are submitted to the Inner-City Voice - in case of specific problems wider publication should be turned over to other League publications and Black Star Press. The distribution of pamphlets, books, etc. is essential in the plant for discussion.

The League must carry on a relentless struggle in the plant against the racist UAW and expand upon the programmatic demands of the League.

We must constantly prepare to engage in struggle by preparing ahead of time to win stewardships, committeemen, trustees and convention delegates and to coordinate intra-plant efforts constantly, seeking out new leadership to oppose the bureaucracy.

The League must challenge Union and Corporate influence in the black community, educating and familiarizing the membership with the interlocking connections between the different boards of directors for corporations and unions. We must oppose candidates of these groupings in elections.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers must educate and politicize black workers to the nature of U.S. society on a consistent and determined basis. We must advance the line that black workers are the vanguard sector of the proletariat and the only social sector capable of leading a social revolution in this country.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers must seek out principal alliances with other revolutionary and progressive organizations, groups and caucuses both black and white, over specific issues and programs.

OUR THING IS DRUM

Deep in the gloom
of the firefilled pit
Where the Dodge rolls down the line,
We challenge the doom
of dying in shit
While strangled by a swine. . . .
. . . For hours and years
we've sweated tears
Trying to break our chain--
But we broke our backs
and died in packs
To find our manhood slain. . . .
But now we stand ; -
For DRUM's at hand
To lead our Freedom fight,
and from now til then
we'll unite like men--
For now we know our might--
and damn the plantation
and the whole Dodge nation
For DRUM has dried our tears. . . .
and now as we die
we've a different cry --
For now we hold our spears!
U.A.W. is scum- - - -
OUR THING IS DRUM!!!!!!

Dare to Fight, Dare to Win
Fight, Fail; Fight Again, Fail Again;
Fight on to victory!

Long Live the League of Revolutionary Black Workers!

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