

WORKSHEET ON TSE
BY THE "FACTION" THAT LEFT IN 1991
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This worksheet was written by a group of cadre after an extended period of individual and collective reflection, summary and discussion. Several of these concepts have been presented previously to R., either as direct criticisms of his practice, or as general observations and summary of E practice over the last two years.

There was either no response to these discussions, or the response was to recommend that the cadre look at their own internal contradictions, or the response was to withdraw from and isolate the cadre involved.

We believe that this paper describes an objective contradiction in the E's development that each cadre is in a position to verify by reviewing and summarizing their experience of the last several years.

The worksheet focuses on R's practice because R is leadership and sets conditions for the E. The focus is on R precisely because the contradiction is based on personalization of leadership. This is not a personal attack on R. The significant role he played in the development of the E. and in the personal development of many of us is not in question. Cadre must also bear responsibility for the development of the contradiction and must look at how they have held back the development of the E.

This is a statement of an objective stage of development of the E. Our intent is to move the E forward to the next stage, where we can begin to apply and realize in a material way the development that has been gained over a long period of time.

It is not our intent to destroy the E, to factionalize or to organize a split. We have no intention of struggling for control over the material assets of the E. We are serious about bringing this struggle in a principled way and in the spirit of unity / struggle / unity.

We have a deep respect for the contribution made by the E to development of revolutionary theory (the ITP). Each of us has gained a great deal of ideological development from being a part of this process for the last 10 - 17 years. These and other strengths are a strong foundation which we do not deny. But neither does the existence of a strong foundation mean that there are no contradictions internal to the E. This worksheet's aim is to strengthen that foundation by conscious development of these contradictions.

What is our basis of unity in presenting this worksheet?

1. To be part of an organization committed to using the tools of Dialectical Historical Materialism and Criticism/Self-Criticism based on the ITP in order to move human development towards scientific socialism.

2. To have clearly stated goals and objectives based on DHM analysis of local, national and international contradictions.
3. Accountable and collective leadership. That is, leadership must be accountable to the stated goals and objectives and to the base. Central leadership must be composed of a group, not a single individual and practice criticism/self-criticism.
4. Accountable and disciplined cadre who take individual initiative and responsibility to develop and implement unit and organizational goals and objectives. Cadre are accountable to the base and to leadership and must practice criticism/self-criticism based on the ITP.
5. The organization must engage in practice and programs, derived from a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, to develop the aims of the organization in accordance with the C of K. The organization must begin to interpermeate with the working class through such programs in order to revitalise, and also to expand.

If R and other cadre are not willing or able to take on the struggle to address the criticisms presented here, then we will proceed as a group to move beyond the limits of the current stage. Regardless of the outcome of this struggle, we are committed to implementing the MOC's described, in order to review and assess the method by which we can contribute to the revolutionary struggle. The correctness or incorrectness of this struggle will have to be proven out in practice.

Should the DA, in its current form, be unable to make the transition to the new, we invite those cadre who see their experience reflected in this worksheet to join us in discussions as to future direction.

"Criticism and self-criticism that strives to consolidate a unity of will and to transform incorrect habits and ways of action is the most valuable weapon that a revolutionary organization possesses and it must be cultivated as a tender young rose among a field of weeds."

"Leadership, especially, must set the style and tone of criticism and self-criticism. It must constantly evaluate its actions and infuse this spirit in others."

James Forman. Twenty Enemies.

References:

Twenty Enemies
 Combat Liberalism
 On Contradiction/ On Practice
 On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

Universality: Development of a cadre/MLO organization.

Particularity: TJE, focus on apx. last 10 years.

The contradiction in each form of motion of matter

	Form A (DA)		Form B (SA)
706	Cadre development of middle class lifestyles & associations	/vs/	Material working class stand & interactions
806	Lack of political(mass)programs	/vs/	Advanced political & ideological theory
806	Inactivity, lack of organizational activity, waste of resources	/vs/	20 advanced & skilled cadre
805	Non-definition/confusion of FOO purpose (business/political forms)	/vs/	Development of business forms & methods
708	Excessive dependence on R. for direction	/vs/	Personal development of individual cadre
807	Personalization of organization (loyalty)	/vs/	Strength of understanding of organization's functional purpose, class stand
704	Action, lack of overview & concrete plan	/vs/	DHM tools, PS01, understanding of S&T
709	Unsummarized programmatic practice. Lack of building on prior summaries.	/vs/	Completion of C of K
1001	Lack of organizational accomplishment & achievement (reflected in material programs)	/vs/	Middle aged, adult cadre: self-confidence, skills, families, homes
809	No organizational discussion, study or analysis	/vs/	Crisis in worldwide proletarian movement
806	No organizational direction, response or connection	/vs/	Intensification of class struggle, mass movement: recession, Jackson & Wellstone campaigns, Stop th Violence
808	Absolute centralization	/vs/	Democracy, unit structure, individual responsibility to develop organization.

806	Constant shrinkage of the E.	/vs/	Necessity of quantity & quality to effect change
907	Discrediting of subjective	/vs/	ITP validates internal as basis for change, 2 sides to everything

Perceptual PC:

Unquestioning personification of organization in R.

/vs/

Strength of organizational functional purpose, class stand & knowledge of ITP

708 /vs/ 806

The Contradiction in Each of It's Processes of Development

DA - FOS

- The DA is R, the institutionalization of his closed idealist form i the structure of the organization, and personal loyalty to and reliance on R by individual cadre.
- The strength of the DA is R's historical credibility - both from SNCC & other assumed national connections, as well as individual cadre's experience and development in the last ~16 years of the E. The strength of the DA also resides in the material accomplishments of the E: the theory and practice of the ITP, the development of cadre, and the E's durability over an extended period of time.
- R. has a highly developed grasp of DHM and an ability to teach DHM through application to individuals. He has a commitment and an ability to develop DHM cadre. He has clarity of political line and an ability to see the broad picture, stage of development, and to target a path to take. He lacks implementation skills.
- Organizational structure has been personalized. In recent years there has been personal direction by R. of all organizational processes and abandonment of the unit FOO. R. has not provided strategic direction, but hands-on, tactical direction. This change from earlier stages of the E. Interaction between cadre has been limited.
- Mistakes by R. are not exposed or summarized by himself or cadre. R. has not engaged in self-criticism, although, of course, there have been many mistakes made by him. Criticism of R. is discouraged and seen as anti-organizational. R. does not have a peer level relationship with anyone in the E. and it does not seem that he is getting struggle from outside the E. (with the exception of struggl from mass people.)
- Reliance on R. for direction has been internalized by other members of the E. Cadre have responded to the lack of direction in recent years by wondering "what is the plan", "what are we supposed to be learning in this stage", "what have I done wrong that I am not getting any direction"? Questioning of direction of the E. is self censored, to be without R's leadership leaves a vacuum - who would lead? The alternative, that each member of the E. must take responsibility to develop the revolutionary struggle and the E., is frightening and incomprehensible. Cadre have a level of comfort, c reliance on the E for structuring their lives, which they are unwilling to risk by engaging in struggle. The result is passivity and liberalism in the face of organizational contradictions.
- The ITP has been misdirected to maintain the closed idealist character and "purity" of the E. When conflicts with this FOM come to the fore, cadre are directed to examine their internal

contradictions only, and accused of externalization if questions of the DA are raised. Two-sided examination of a problem is discouraged. Re-assessment of cadre is used tactically to elicit a reaction. When cadre have questioned R's leadership, conditions are set to elicit a reaction/withdrawal from the E., thus discrediting and eliminating both principled criticism and any perceived potential opposition.

- R has organized and developed cadre on a very personal level, while at the same time denying those personal relationships.
- Security has been used as a tool to constrain interconnection, rather than solely as a means to protect revolutionary organization.

SA - FOS

- The SA is internal to each cadre, and also strongly supported by the political and economic changes in the world (US economic instability, socialist world collapse, war)..
- The strength of the SA is the developed understanding of DHM, the ITP and of the necessity of organization to achieve revolutionary change. Clearly, the development of individuals is a result of their position in history; the knowledge and development gained is not personal or even organizational capital, but belongs to the class.
- The realization of wasted resources, both financial and ideological has been key to the development of the SA. Many thousands of dollars and untold hours have been invested with very little concrete return to the development of revolutionary organization or programs. The realization of ideological decay; loss of self confidence or sense of worth, loss of capability to plan, actual or imagined incompetence to develop mass programs. Cadre are asking the question - 10 years ago, what did I think I would contribute to the revolutionary struggle in 10 years, and what have I contributed? Asking - what can I contribute in the next 10 years, and what must be done to enable that?
- In contrast to this has been the development of individual professional skills, the experience of construction and home ownership, and the development of business skills & tools. On an individual level, the development of successful businesses.
- The process of aging, of maturity and the realization of mortality have developed the SA. Raising children and gaining more in-depth understanding of bourgeois ideology and the necessity of the ITP. Again, the realization of the wasting of resources, the shortness of a generation, the ability to lose collective history if it is not fostered.
- Acknowledgement of the importance of the subjective, that internal contradictions are not bad, but indicative of concrete struggle. That "transformation" does not mean getting rid of one's bourgeois side, but knowledge of what that is, how to control it, what the warning signs are, how to compensate for weaknesses.
- Realization that R. has a bourgeois side, that he is not perfect. Through that process, clarification of the constraints and results of that idealization of R., that unquestioning personal loyalty.
- The strength of the developed class stand of cadre.

- The SA is a result of R's success in developing cadre able to apply the DHM tools. The current struggle is inevitable because of the contradiction between developing cadre to independently apply the tools and dependency on one individual for all dignificant decisions. As surely as a child must attain equivalency with its parent, cadre must reach teh point of making an independent contribution to the development of the E and the revolutionary movement.

Rational PC:

Institutionalized closed idealist male form, comfort of reliance on the leader

/vs/

Individual responsibility to use the tools of DHM to develop organizational functional purpose

The Summary of the Process of Development and Conflict of the Leading Opposite

Necessity:

- o Organizational restructuring.
- o Structural equivalency between R. and other cadre.
- o Confrontation of personification of the E in R thru criticism/self-criticism.
- o Planned and summarized practice.

Possibilities:

- Max S.A. - Moving the E. beyond the limits of the closed idealist male form to contribute to the development of the revolutionary struggle.
- Min S.A. - Utilizing the strength of the highly developed cadre of the E. to contribute to the development of the revolutionary struggle. Struggle to prevent individual demoralization and individual resignations.

Conditions:

- o The E. is not R. (commutative law) R. is not the E.
- o "If not you, who? If not now, when?"
- o "Who does it serve?"

MOC's:

1. A group of cadre to meet with R to discuss these contradictions, and in particular to raise criticisms of his practice.
2. Organization-wide discussion of this contradiction, including self-criticism by cadre on their roles in the development of the contradiction. This will include study of 20 Enemies.
3. Organizational restructuring; implementation of collective and accountable leadership. Reinstitution of unit structure.

4. Begin a period of study and review to reassess the role of the E:
 - A. Complete the already prepared economic study within study units.
 - B. Study and discuss world events of recent years.
 - C. Within the context of the above study, summarize the practice of the E over the last 16 years, including our current understanding of the ITP and the development of the current stage.
 - D. Based on the above, formulate aims and tactics for the E. Engage in practice based on the stated aims and tactics.