



In trade union work, DSA's task is not only to defend and build unions but also to ensure that they are rank-and-file led (the work of *Labor Notes* and comrades in the Marxist organization Solidarity, for example, are models for this). A revived labor movement would engage not only in campaigning for left candidates but promote what used to be called "industrial action," including strikes, slow downs and "work-to-rule," without necessary regard for the timing or even the needs of the electoral cycle. Workers' control and developing cadres of workplace militants are as much a part of a radical heritage as is electoral work, and so are workers' cooperatives (with all the dangers inherent in workers prizing their own enterprise over other similar operations) a step in empowering the powerless.

So too are people's assemblies, a modern analogue to soviets (the workers, peasants and soldiers councils of revolutionary Russia and Germany in 1918-19).

These and others are the institutions in which racism and sexism can be effectively combatted and turned back. The creation of centers of "dual power" is as much our goal as is radical electoral reform. In an advanced capitalist country like the U.S. they can work in tandem. They *must* work in tandem. Intersectionality, or the ability to have politics reflect the complete panoply of personal experience and everyday life, can't be reduced to electioneering and legislative reform. The endgame can't be the singular goal of growing the clutch of radical politicians. Our mandate is broader than that. Strong radical movements are also a hedge against reformism and political opportunism.

DSA doesn't yet use the term "socialism from below," but it should, not to adopt it only as rhetoric or to make our educational work shine but because, in the words of the *Internationale*, "We want no condescending saviors to rule us from their judgment halls...let each consult for all." It is the essence of socialism that working-class people liberate ourselves. It also is the essence of what we need to bring to our educational work. DSA is wise enough to understand that electoral politics is a key instrument for building a socialist current in U.S. politics and everyday life, but it's not a first among equals.

As the poet Shelley wrote in the coda to his "Masque of Anarchy," a commemoration of the 1819 massacre by the British government of a Manchester workers' rally whose public manifestation was for radical reform of parliament and the overturning of the Corn Laws (which exploded the cost of food stuffs and lead to mass starvation): "And these words shall then become, Like oppression's thundered doom, Ringing through each heart and brain, Heard again—again—again— 'Rise like Lions after slumber, In unvanquishable number—Shake your chains to earth like dew, Which in sleep had fallen on you—Ye are many—they are few.'"

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