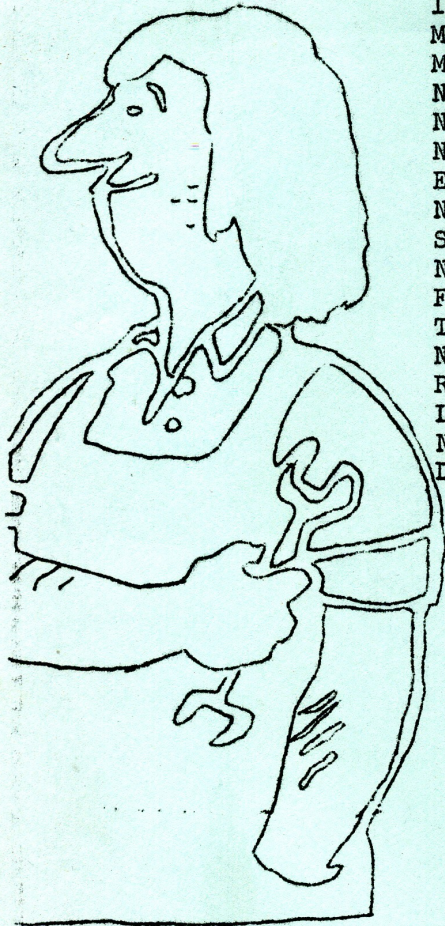


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FOR MEMBERS ONLY

Budget as passed by Labor Day NC:

Income:	Contributions:	37,500	
	Dues	: 11,000	
	Fund Drive	: 15,000	Total 63,500

Expenses			
Staff (11)	30,600		
Taxes	5,200		
Office	2,100		
Phone	2,400		
Postage	2,400		
Supplies	4,300		
Electricity	600		
Equipment	2,500		
Workers Power	1,300		
Travel	3,600		
Branch Organizers	3,300	(Cleve, Chi, LA, Seattle 1/2 time for 6 mos)	
Health Plan	3,300		
Total	71,900	Deficit	3,400

Since the NC we have secured another contribution of 3,500, deficit: 4,900

Budget for the last 3 months

Income:	Contributions:	13,360	
	Dues	: 1,355	
	Fund Drive	: 10,100	Total 25, 315

Expenses:			
Staff	9,975		
Taxes	419		
Office	525		
Phone	967.53	(for 4 months, not 3)	
Postage	443.22		
Supplies	976.58		
Electricity	157.44		
Equipment	1,509	(350 security deposit, 153 collator, 1006 new office)	
Workers Power	-----		
Travel m	1295.66		
Branch Orgs.	300		
Health Plan	-----		
Total	16,562.43		

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT TO THE NOVEMBER NC

Two and one-half months have passed since the Convention. During that period, the organization has made enormous strides forward after over a year of stagnation. Yet, we face serious problems. This report will attempt to assess our progress and problems, and indicate some of the major areas that the organization must begin to grapple with.

Since the convention, the organization has made a dramatic turn outward to external, arena work. Every branch and organizing committee has substantially increased its activity, and this is slowly beginning to pay off in the development of peripheries for the organization which are the necessary pre-condition for recruitment. Factionalism, which was still clearly present at the Convention is practically non-existent throughout the organization. Most important, there exists a commitment throughout the organization, higher than ever before to building a revolutionary working class movement and all that that entails: industrialization, sustained activity, theoretical development.

Substantial progress has been made toward developing a collective national leadership. NAC meetings now concentrate on political questions, administrative ones are taken care of by other means. The NAC has been able to give leadership on the important political events of the day: Chile, the Middle East, the government crisis. Speaking tours were organized on each of these issues by the NO. The line of the organization has been regularly carried in Workers Power, and almost every branch held forums or is planning them on these three major political events. A pamphlet on Chile has been published, and one on the Middle East and the government crisis are being written. The national leadership has clearly proven itself to be able to give political leadership to the organization on general political questions. For the future the NAC has adopted a general political perspective which will now be implemented. This will give direction to the political discussions of the organization over the next year, and help to organize the future NO's and the 1974 National Convention.

Communications have also improved substantially. Regular correspondence now takes place with most of the branches and organizing committees, and the NO is regularly in touch with all the branches. The NO has organized a number of speaking tours, including the following: 4 speakers to NYC, 2 to Cleveland, 3 to St. Louis, 2 to Bloomington, 1 to Louisville, and a tour of the three west coast branches will begin immediately after the NC. The speaking ~~xxxx~~ tours from the center to the branches and the regular correspondence are beginning to make it possible for us to function as a real national organization. Comrades in one branch for the first time can have a sense of what is happening throughout the organization.

Workers Power has greatly improved, although there is still a long way to go before we have the kind of newspaper that we need. This improvement has been reflected in the attitude of the organization toward the paper. All branches are now selling the paper, and attempting to regularize and organize distribution. Thus, sales have increased all over the country. However, distribution is still uneven, and needs national coordination and direction.

The most important national activity the organization has been involved in has been the UFW work. NYC, Bloomington, Cleveland, Chicago, Bay Area and Seattle/Northwest area are now involved, and the LA branch has just made a decision to become active in this movement. Yet this activity is very uneven, and recently coverage in Workers Power on the UFW has dropped substantially and the communication between fractions has lessened.

Another major area of work is one that has developed since the Convention. There has been a recent development of women's conferences which provide openings to us and our

perspective for building a working women's movement. Conferences have been held in NYC, St. Louis and Bowling Green, Ohio. Each of these were attended by leading women comrades in the organization. The ~~com~~ comrades involved all report that our mobilizing was very good, that we were able to ~~be~~ make a number of contacts, and that potential exists in each of these for openings to us in the form of further intervention. A number of comrades are involved in DARE in Chicago, and that work as well is progressing quite well.

Despite these strides forward, however, problems do remain, made even more stark by the progress. Although a generally high morale has existed in the organization since the convention, there is a certain fragility to that morale. After having gone through a very demoralizing and difficult year, comrades are impatient for a real change, especially growth. The organization and the branches need successes, even small ones in order to maintain the high morale. But an enormous gap exists between the objective conditions and the subjective perception of those conditions. The organization is basically doing the right things, but there has been little or no response on the part of workers, blacks, and the left. The natural frustration that comes from this has led to the development of personal problems in many of the branches. Just as earlier frustration was one cause of the faction fight, now it is ~~a~~ being expressed in this fashion. In large part we still exist in a vacuum, made all the more unreal by the developments around the world like Chile, the Middle East, the government crisis, rising inflation, the energy crisis and the almost certain coming recession. Despite the external activity, the peripheries of most branches remain small, making it difficult to recruit. Our resources are still quite thin, both financial resources, and personnel ones in the center and in the branches.

Among other things the comrades must be patient. The subjective will eventually catch up with the objective changes, and we must be ready for that so that we can take full advantage of it politically and organizationally. There are a number of things which can be done in order to be prepared. I will not deal here with the crucial areas of education and industrialization as they will be taken up by the Education and Industrial Secretaries'.

First and foremost, the organization must develop a concrete perspective toward recruitment. The center must take the lead in organizing recruitment. Recruitment is after all, the question of building a revolutionary movement. Our comrades in Britain understand the crucial necessity of building a revolutionary movement here. One remarked to me when I was in London: "It really scares me. No matter how good a job we do here, if you comrades aren't successful, we'll be doomed." And it's true. That is one of the lessons of Chile. Thus recruitment is crucial. We must become more aggressive and systematic, and again, the NO must take the lead in this.

In this light, the NAC must begin discussion on ~~xxx~~ a perspective toward the Maoist groups. This applies to both groups like the CL who are our main competitors in the midwest, and the soft Maoist collectives that are now going through political crises. ~~xxxx~~ These crises provide ~~me~~ concrete openings to us. But we can't intervene in them without a strategy about how to do that. That is one of the crucial tasks of the national leadership in the next few months. Another area in which the national leadership must concentrate is the area of working women. The recent conferences indicate that a change is taking place, one that we can and must take advantage of today. And in preparation for the coming convention on international questions, the national leadership must take the lead in preparing for those discussions, beginning with the one on the recent developments in the advanced capitalist world.

Organizationally, the National Secretary is planning to get out an organizers handbook both for organizers in the branches and for comrades in general, and to play a major role in the development of a strategy for systemized contact work and recruitment.

Finally, the National leadership and the NAC in particular must develop the ability to lead the organization in its industrial work, as it is now able to do on ~~lx~~ the general political questions.

INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

1972 and 1973 were years of defeat for the U.S. working class. Wage and benefits settlements were down in 1972 and even lower in 1973. Speed-up intensified and health and safety conditions eroded. On the other side, profits rose dramatically and unit labor costs stayed low.

1973, however, also saw the re-emergence of rank and file resistance. Strike activity rose in 1973. Wildcats and opposition to lousy settlements was up. Wildcats in Rubber forced the URW to strike Goodrich - even though they had already settled peacefully with the target company, Good-year. Summer wildcats in auto set the tone for resistance to the contracts. Disastifaction with the Steel Workers BNA grew. Yet, in the end the bureaucracy had its way in 1973. It was not yet a year of rank and file self-confidence and a victory. Only the beginnings of a new spirit of militancy have yet appeared. But they have appeared!

Our work has been conditioned by the realities of the struggle. The past year and a half has been a difficult and often un-rewarding one. TURF collapsed and the IBT settled without a fight. The 1971-72 NY Tel. strike was smashed and demoralization has eroded slowly. Norwood and Lordstown were defeated after long strikes. Only this past summer did things begin to break in a new, but uneven, direction. Jefferson was a victory. Mack was a defeat, but one that helped to strip away the facade of the UAW bureaucracy. The rejection of the Ford contract by skilled workers opened things up a little more. Once again, we face new possibilities in industries of interest to us.

In the past, our intervention has been largely local in outlook. The national leadership has failed, for many different reasons, to provide leadership and support to our industrial work.

Political leadership

The success of joint leadership will depend largely on its ability to provide sensible political leadership to our labor work. With the support of the NAC and the NC, much of the day to day work in this area falls to the Industrial Secretary. This is, in fact, one of the major goals of this Ind. Sec. But it is still a goal rather than an achievement.

In working toward this goal two problems have come up. The first is simply a matter of getting a foothold on the realities of each of the industries of interest to us. In approaching this time requires that priorities be set. In general, the sequence of present and coming events requires that the order in which the Ind. Sec. learn about and get a feeling for things is: UAW, CWA, IBT, AFT.

The second problem stems from the history of the organization. Put bluntly, it is that information still flows through the channels of the old factions and cliques. This is a matter of habit, not intent. But it is nonetheless a difficulty to be consciously fought. Comrades must attempt to consult with the Ind. Sec. as naturally as with existing "grapevines." With current information it is difficult to coordinate things or provide leadership.

IND. SEC. SECRETARY'S REPORT 2.

In consultation with active friends in the industries, the Ind. Sec. ~~will~~ plans to initiate NAC discussions on activities in two areas. First is the up-coming UAW Constitutional Convention, next is the national CWA contract (actually contracts) which expires in July. While, many of the ideas for these activities must come from those immediately involved at the local level, it is time that the national leadership play a responsible role in labor work.

Industrialization Program: where it stands today

Less than a quarter of the membership is currently working in one of the four priority industries. Forty-two work in jobs covered by the UAW, IBT, CWA, or AFT (not including college teachers). Behind this group is perhaps a dozen who have current applications in or a receiving training for jobs in the first three of these. The breakdown by city shows where things are strongest:

<u>Detroit</u>	<u>Cleveland</u>	<u>Seattle</u>	<u>Bay Area</u>	<u>L.A.</u>	<u>N.Y.</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Louisville</u>
UAW 13	IBT 2	IET 3	IET 3	IET 1	IBT 1	UAW 2	CWA 1
			CWA 1		CWA 2	CWA 2	
			AFT 5		AFT 5	AFT 1	

By Union the breakdown is: UAW XX 15, IBT 10, CWA 3, AFT 11.

In addition to those in priority jobs, there are a few in other significant unions, e.g., USWA, AFSCME. Also, there are some very effective labor publications, such as the "Seattle Semi" and the "Fifth Wheel." An up to date list of labor publications of immediate interest is:

"United National Caucus" - UAW	"Drivers Bus Report" - Seattle IBT
"Shifting Gears" - UAW	"Fifth Wheel" - Bay Area IET
"Strike Back" - UAW	"Network" - Cal. AFT
"United Action" - NY, CWA	"Clerks' County" - East Bay AFSCME
"Teacher Forum" - NY, AFT	"Picket Line" - L.A. general
"Seattle-Semi" - IET	"Bloomington Worker" - Bloomington, general

Additional important areas of labor activity are the UFW support campaign and women workers groups and conferences, notably DARE in Chicago.

Clearly, however, industrialization must be expanded and labor work coordination improved. A major task facing the Ind. Sec. and the organization is to aid in the construction of functional national fractions, which as yet do not exist in any area of work.

Part of this process involves improving communications between industrialized people. To this end, a good deal of the Ind. Sec.'s time will be spent on correspondence, speaking and writing for the organization. Internally, a bi-weekly mailing containing materials of interest will be sent to each branch. Just initiated is a bi-weekly compilation of re-prints and facts of use to industrialized people, called "Labor Notes." The Ind. Sec. is working with the WP staff to improve labor coverage and, over time, to make WP useful to those on the job. In Jan., as regular column by the Ind. Sec. will start. It will attempt to deal with the ideas and methods of the labor bureaucracy and counterpose our own.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS, NOVEMBER 23-5

1973

FIRST SESSION

Present: Steve Z., Rose V. for Ilene W., Mike P., Sam F., Ken S.,
Lynn J., Bill H., Kevin B.; NAC: DF, JG, J, JT, BM, MD. CW & MS absent.

Motion (KB): To drop govt. crisis session. FAILED 2-5.

Agenda Approved: 10:20 am.

1. Nat. Sec. Report
2. Industrial Sec. Report
3. Ed. Sec. Report
4. Budget: Tabled to later in NC

MOTION (KB): Agenda for Feb. NC should be:

Session I. The current state of the struggle for the world
between capitalism and stalinism covering

- a) Yalta and the division of the world
- b) Cold war period
- c) Detente

D) Polycentrism and new imperialist rivalries
China, Hapan, mideast, SE Asia

Session II. Communist Parties in the capitalist states.

TABLED TO NAC

MOTION (KB): The NC feels it is a higher priority for future industri-
alization in Detroit to be in Teamsters and Phone rather
than in auto.

TABLED TO NAC

MOTION (LW): That the education director is instructed to draw up a
national education program for new members. This is to be
seen as as high a priority as pamphlet production.

FAILS 2-7

ALL REPORTS ACCEPTED UNAN.

SESSION II WAS FARMWORKER FRACTION (Fri.)

SESSION III: BLACK LIBERATION (Fri. evening)

Absent: IW, JG. Alternates: Wendy for LJ, BW for MS.

Amendment by JW on superseniority:

P. 31, 2nd last paragraph: DELETE: We demand superseniority
for blacks to redress this situation.

THIRD SESSION, CONT.

Replace with: Where layoffs hit blacks disproportionately, we emphasize in the struggles against the layoff its racist character. We point out that the disproportionality stems from the company's traditional racist hiring policies and therefore insist that it be the company that bear the burden and price of the layoffs, -not the discriminated-against blacks, nor higher seniority white workers. This can be concretized through rotation layoffs, special and extended SUB payments. It can be concretized through demands for over-manning of positions. We always insist on permanent recall rights. We refuse to take responsibility for specific workers, black or white,, being forced to pay the price for the corporations past discriminatory hiring policies, although the demand for super-seniority is not excluded under some circumstances.

TABLED TO NAC

STRAW POLL ON JW AMENDMENT NO. 1.:

<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>ABST.</u>
MD	JT	SF
MP	EM	
WT	CH	
BH	KB	
JW	BW	
SZ	DF	
KS		

AMENDMENT by JW. No. 2:

p. 31. Move to divide reference to super-seniority in regard to layoffs and to table pending discussion.
If not tabled, submit attached motion.

MOTION: We stress the necessity of fighting for a revolutionary party incorporating both black and white revolutionaries as a prerequisite for building a revolutionary leadership capable of successfully assaulting US state power.

AMENDMENT No. 2 TABLED to NAC

STRAW POLL ON AMENDMENT No. 2:

12 FOR, 2 AGAINST (Sam F., Ken S.)

AMENDMENT byMP:

1. P. 26 Para 2. DELETE first sentence, beginning, "The Basic . . ." and REPLACE with: We press for the black workers organizations to consciously understand that they must fight for the complete destruction of the racist capitalist system/

2.p/ 26 para. 2. DELETE last sentence, beginning, "The fight against. . ." and INSERT it after para. 2 on page 27.

THIRD SESSION, CONT.

3. Add "s" to "organization" throughout so as to read, "black workers' organizations".

4. p. 25, second para.: Delete specific name of paper, "The Black Worker".

5. Add "other oppressed groups" to blacks throughout

6. P. 27, para. 4.: Delete sentence beginning, "Such a political party. . ."

MP AMENDMENTS ACCEPTED BY JT AS FRIENDLY

VOTE ON JT BLACK LIBERATION DOCUMENT:

PASSED, 10-0-4 (BH, BM, SZ, DF)

session IV Sat. a.m.

Seated Delegates: Mike S., Ilene W., Steve Z., Bill H., Barbara W. for Lynn J., Cal W., Kevin B., Ken P., Mike P., Sam F., Joel G., Jack B., Jack W., Dave F., Marilyn D., Brian M.

MOTION (MD): Speaking rights for Editorial Board. PASSED

REPORT on Workers' Power, Kit. L. 15 min.

QUESTIONS & REPORTS from branches on paper distribution.

PRESENTATION-- Rose V. Conception, Audience, Content of WP. 30 min.

COUNTER PRESENTATION -- Kevin B. 15 min.

AMENDMENTS by DF. No.s 1--3. 5 min.

5 minute speakers round.

MOTION (SZ): summaries of 5 and 5 min.

CHAIR RULE: continue with planned agenda. UPHELD, 8-6.

SUMMARIES: KEVIN B., 7 min, Rose Y., 13 min.

MOTION (JW): Table second session to ED, Board and NAC. PASSED.

AMENDMENT (friendly) (DF): Vote on DF amendment # 4; table # 5.

FOURTH SESSION, CONT.

DF motion # 4 Table to NAC: 7 FOR, 5 AGAINST
DF motion # 5 Table to NAC: 7 FOR, 5 AGAINST

Kevin B. MOTION: The NC holds the NAC responsible for the line of the major articles in MP. The NAC will read all major articles before the paper goes to print.

TABLED to NAC. 10 - 4.

MOTION: SF--Straw poll on DF # 4. FAILED.

VOTE on Rose V. document: PASSED. 14-0-2. (SM, KB.)

VOTE on Kevin B. document: FAILED. 4-9-3. FOR:MP, SZ, KB, SF. ABSTAINING: MS, BH, KP.

MOTION (SF): That the Workers' Power have a section entitled "Opinion" or "Discussion" where internal disagreements of significant numbers of members on important political questions be publically ventilated.
PASSED. 10-1-5

FOR	AGAINST	ABST.
IF SF	DF	MD
MS JG		BW
SZ JB		BH
KB JW		CW
MP BM		KP

MOTION: (KB) Take up LA motion on bulletin. 7 Min. presentation. 1-1 vote.
VOTE: 2 for, many against. FAILED.

MOTION (JG): Proposal for next session: Report on International Confernece.-
MD & KB. Budget Report--JG. LA Bulletin Motion--SF.
PASSES.

Amendment: (MS): Also, Political discussion in organization between now and next NC. Agenda for Feb. 22 NC.
PASSES. Many for, 4 against/

SESSION V., Sat. pm

Seated delegates- 3:05 pm/: Mike S., Ilene W., Steve Z., Bill H., Lynn J.,
Cal W., Kevin B., Ken P., Mike P., Sam F., Joel G., Jack B.,
Jack W., Dave F., Marilyn D., Brian M.,

LA Branch motion on internal bulletin. 7 min. presentation, SF.
Speakers: 1 for, 2 against, 3 min each.

AMENDMENT (JW): (Friendly) At the discretion of the NAC, long discussion articles may be published between separate covers rather than be included in any copy of the Bulletin. Individuals who plan to write long documents are encouraged to write them in a form usable for distribution beyond the confines of the I S.

VOTE on BA Motion on Bulletins: 5 for, 11 against, 0 abst. Voting FOR were: IR, KB, SF, SZ, JI.

FAILED.

(Note: since this was a motion to rescind a NAC decision, the NAC motion was thus UPHELD.)

BUDGET REPORT. 30 min. end at 4:05. JG PRESENTATION--15 min. 3 min discussion.

MOTION: (JB) Motion defeated by NAC (2-3) reintroduced. Phone calls longer than 5 min. must be cleared by NATSEC, except in emergencies.

TABLED to NAC. for-8, against-too few.

MOTION: (MP) : NC allows NAC to raise monthly dues enough to cover NC assessment.

PASSES. 11-3-3.

MOTION: (SF): NAC is mandated to prepare for next NC a national dues structure proposal.

PASSED. 15-0-1 (CW).

BUDGET REPORT APPROVED.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT

Presentation: MD--15 min.

KB--15 min.

Discussion 30 min. extended by vote of many for to a 3 min general discussion round no longer than 45 minutes.

AMENDMENT to NAC motion on International Report JG. International discussion should not be restricted on primarily through L.O. conferences (thrust).

WITHDRAWN

AMENDMENT (SF): Delete reference to L.O. sponsored conference as a "fetter"

MOTION: (DF): Draft letter for conferences then circulate draft among NC members.

COUNTERMOTION (SZ):

fifth session, cont.

COUNTERMOTION (SZ): Send letter critique to all NC delegates. Ask ISGB and IO to consider and arrange a conference which better meets present needs for world cooperation and consultation.

VOTING:

- 1.) SZ COUNTER MOTION--FAILS. 3 for (sz, kb, & one other not listed in original minutes.); 11 against; 2 abst. (MS, JW).
- 2.) NAC original motion--FAILS: 3 ro4 (CW, JG, DF); 12 against; 1 abst (SF).
- 3.) NAC AMENDED--PASSES 12 for, 2 against (SZ, LJ), 2 abst. (MP, CW).
- 4.) DF MOTION. PASSES 12 for, 3 against (KP, MD, CW) 1 abst. (JG).

MOTION: JW: TABLED to next itme on agenda.

POLITICAL DISCUSSION IN ORGANIZATION BETWEEN THIS NC AND NEXT NC. (Feb. 22).
Presentation by Marilyn D.

SESSION NO. VI. Sunday am.

SEATED DELEGATES: Mike S., Ilene W., Steve Z., Bill H., LJ, Cal W., Kevin b., Ken P., Mike P., Sam F., Joel G., Jack B., Jack W., Dave F., Marilyn D., Brian M.

WATERGATE AND AMERICAN POLITICS. Joel G. Presentation.

Four minute discussion round.

MOTION (MP): Workers' Power should not base our distinctive contribution on Watergate around the flat prediction that Nixon will resign. More emphasis should be placed on changes in the Democratic Party, Ervin, the counter-reforms, the Jackson wing, the role of the AFL-CIO, etc. This motion should not be taken to mean a retraction of our point of view that we expect Nixon to do so.

MOTION: (SZ)--There should be in Workers' Power a popular exposition of our view of the wources of Watergate along lines of Joe's analysés.

Motion: (JG)-- We recommend WP Editorial Borad consier discussion in WP on the Uankee and Cowboy theory solicitying both an ~~xxx~~ article putting this forward and counterposing to it a majority position based on Joel's documents.

MOTION: (KB) WP should pose the question of Nixon's resignation as a strong possibility, not as a certainty, as a way of introducing the underlying forces. More emphasis should be placed on Changes in Democratic Party, Ervin, the counter-reforms, the Jackson wing, the role of the AFL-CIO etc.

FAILED

For: 3 (KB, BP, SZ) AGAINST: 13 (JW, KP, MS, IW, JT, BM, JG, SF, DF, CW, MP, MD.)

Abst: 0

MOTION (JW) We ask some IS member to go over types of discussion documents already written and translate into popular pamphlets in tabloid format. Propose to table back to NAC.

MOTION (KB): Move another round. PASSES 7-4.

MOTION (JT): The endorses analysis put forward by Joel and endorsed by NAC.

MOTIONS (JT): 1) We should plan a continuing analysis of Watergate and what is going on, including expalinations. 2) We should plan a long-term overall program, with at least one educational ~~xxxxxx~~ article per issue during Watergate. Further, we should plan to integrate and expose what is going on in American domestic and imperialist policy with the broader Watergate meaning.

MOTION: (SZ): Table all other motions to NAC.

MOTION (IW): To table favorably.

PASSED. For: 13, Against: 3 (JW, JT, MP)

NAC MOTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY.

NC's And Future Political Discussions.

MOTION (IW): That at the national convention part of the labor section be specifically devoted to women.

TABLED TO NAC.

MOTION: (MP)--Documents for the political sessions should be submitted ~~in~~ as pamphletx drafts.

PASSED 9-6.

SZ MOTION: Women's industrialization at the next NC.

TABLED TO NAC (13--1-1)

MOTION (KB): Drop UFW

TABLED TO NAC 10-2-1

MOTION (DF) All motions on the convention tabled to NAC.

SIXTH SESSION, CONT

MOTION (JT): The NAC be instructed to look to continuing political discussions on American Politics at NC's.
PASSED, 13-1-1

MOTION (SF): That a much larger organizational discussion be held at the next NC. Such organizational discussions would include matters such as branch reports (discussion thereof) recruitment targets, etc.

MOTION (SF): That the NAC be much stricter and stingy in time allocations for people giving presentations. Presentations should not be made if they are not going to add anything to what has already been written by the presentation giver.
FAILED, 5-7-3

MOTION:(MS): It is the responsibility of the NAC to send out or assign supplemental materials (other than documents being considered) to NC members to prepare the political discussion.
PASSED 11-0-3

MOTION: DF--The NAC is instructed to modify the NC agendas. If this is politically motivated by the emergence of major developments (eg sharp economic downturn) which require NC intervention as a fundamental policy making body.
PASSED UNANIMOUSLY

MOTION (KB) a) Stalinist-capitalist rivalry since YALTA.
B)- Communist Parties in capitalist countries
c) Interrelationship between a & b.
FAILED: ~~XXXXXX~~ 2-12-2

MOTION(IW): Report on contacts with other groups in western hemisphere.
PASSED 5-3-8

There was a 30- minute discussion round on the agenda of the next NC.

MOTION (MP) That the NSC determine a focus for the discussion on Stalinism such as MAOism and China.
WITHDRAWN

MOTION (JT): That teoretical discussions for the next two NC's be: a) China and Maoism b) declône of American imperialism and increasing capitalist rivalry c) Rivalry between Capitalism and Stalinism d) drop Latin America
FAILED, 6-8.

SIXTH SESSION, CONT.

Amendment (MØ): Delete rivalry between Stalinism and Capitalism.
Add Stalinist Parties and Latin America.

FAILED, 6-6-2

MOTION: To table proposed NC discussion on unions to NAC.

PASSED

MOTION (IW): That discussion on Stalinist be focussed on
China and Maoism.

FAILED, 6-6-4

MOTION: (SZ)--Discussion on Black Movement. That every branch be directed
to choose a Black College to direct WP sales, sell WP at black
meetings and absolute priority be givne to a black pamphlet.

TABLED TO NAC 10-4-2

ADJOURNMENT

MEMO

December 3, 1973

TO: ALL BRANCHES AND ORGANIZING COMMITTEES
FROM: NATIONAL SECRETARY for the NAC

1. National Dues: The Thanksgiving National Committee meeting passed a motion enabling the NAC to raise national dues to cover travel for NC meetings, thus removing the necessity for assessments for each NC meeting. The NAC carried this out at its November 28 meeting and voted unanimously to raise national dues to \$6.50/month beginning in January. Please announce this at the branch meetings, and notify all members so they will be prepared in January for the new rate. Unfortunately this does not include funding for the last NC meeting, and there will have to be an assessment of \$6.00/member for that one. This last assessment is not due until January to allow for the completion of the fund drive.

2. Workers Power : Distribution and response to Workers Power have significantly improved with the changes in the paper. However, this must be systematized and regularized. In order to build an audience for our ideas ~~xxxx~~ regular selling of the paper is important, and sporadic selling will not fill the bill. As part of the process of systematizing and regularizing distribution, the NAC is requesting regular reports on the distribution ~~xxxx~~ of and response to Workers Power per issue. Distribution should include how many papers are sold, how many are distributed by other means, and where sales and distribution take place. Responses should include feedback from members and contacts on the paper. This feedback both in terms of sales and specific response is crucial to changing the paper, and shaping it into an organizer for our politics and activity.

The general mechanics of this should be the following: Each branch/CC should have someone in charge of WP distribution. Regular reports should be made for each issue to the exec. These reports could then be part of the exec minutes, which would save writing an extra report to the NC.

Thanks,

Marilyn

NAC MINUTES 11/20-21

PRESENT: ALL

1. MEMBERSHIP. Reports on: Correspondence with close contact in Lansing.
Resignation of MAL in North Carolina.
Application from Madison ACCEPTED ALL FOR.
Discussion of contacts made at National Lawyers Guild conference TABLED for one week.

2. DETROIT BRANCH. Presentation by JW/ on problems of branch.
Proposal: The NAC will form a commission to develop a program for re-organizing and coordinating the activities of the branch and N.O. JW and MD to have responsibility for recruiting comrades to the commission, whose composition will be subject to approval by both the NAC and the Detroit branch exec. The commission will begin meeting Jan. 1 and report by Jan. 15. PASSED 4-0-2 (JG, DF abstain).

3. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. Report by MD. General discussion of international conferences and their failure.
MOTION(JG): That we draw up a political critique of the international conference for circulation to I.S. groups (ISGB, SWM, SWAG, SAG, Danish IS). That we ask that conferences be established by IS groups that may be able to stand on a fairly common platform, and which would attempt to influence and collaborate with more diverse groups internationally -- stressing the necessity of IS intervention in the developing revolutionary movement internationally, particularly while there is still an openness and fluidity in the international movement.
ALL FOR.

4. WOMEN'S INDUSTRIALIZATION. Motion by RV, submitted to NAC at previous meeting, was PASSED 5-0-1 (JW abstain), none of the requested communications on the question having been received at the time of the NAC meeting. (NOTE: JW abstained on vote because he was absent for previous discussion).

5. THEORETICAL JOURNAL. Discussion on JT document on TJ.
MOTION(JW): JT draft (except for projected dates) be accepted as basis for amendment. PASSED 5-1 (JG).
MOTION(DF): JT to develop implementation motion. TABLED by general agreement to Jan. 8, at which time the scope of JT's overall responsibilities will be clearer.

6. UFW. Preparation for UFW discussion at NC.
MOTION(JT): Our UFW perspective is a long-term one, in which we expect to be engaged for a long time. The NAC should bring this viewpoint to the fraction meeting. ALL FOR.
MOTION(MD): KB and MP to be told to be prepared for discussion at UFW fraction meeting on our mode of functioning in UFW, relation to teamster work, raising political ideas, and recruitment. The documents previously requested by NAC must be submitted by Jan. 15. ALL FOR.

The remainder of the meeting was spent in lengthy preparation for the NC discussions - agenda, organizational reports, and WP.

NAC MINUTES 11/28/73

Absent: JG, JW.

1. Arrangements to cover UMW convention for WP.
2. NATSEC REPORT. Assessment of NC.
3. MOTIONS TABLED TO NAC FROM NC. (see next page)

FUTURE NC AGENDAS. This entire question was tabled back to NAC after all motions were defeated by the NC.

MOTION(BM): To hold political discussions with perspectives documents on UAW in February, and CWA in May. The CWA discussion will focus specifically around the upcoming 1974 contract. ALL FOR.

MOTION(MD): The NAC will make decisions on UFW policy (dropping UFW from NC agenda). Documents solicited must be submitted to NAC for discussion in January. ALL FOR.

MOTION(DF): NAC will make decision on question of women's industrialization based on documents received subsequent to previous meeting. This topic not to be on NC agenda. ALL FOR.

In addition, it was decided that international organizing report will be given as part of organizational reports, and that JT will prepare educational materials on major discussions coming up for the NC.

WP motions tabled from the NC were disposed as follows:

The Kevin Bradley motion was divided into two parts. (1) The NC holds the NAC responsible for the political line ~~of~~ of all major WP articles. PASSED 4-0. (2) The NAC is to read all major articles before ~~WP~~ WP goes to press. FAILED 0-4.

DF Amendments to RV document. Amendment ~~#4~~ #4 (which begins "it is not our ~~priority~~ top priority to move toward weekly publication as rapidly as possible") FAILED 2-2 (BM, JT against). Amendment #5 (delete proposal to reduce price to 10¢) PASSED ALL FOR. MOTION(JT): We advise branches to sell the paper for 10¢ at factory gates if this will increase sales. ALL FOR.

The NC enabled the NAC to set higher national dues to cover NC expenses, eliminating all special assessments for NCs. MOTION(MD): Beginning in January, national dues will be raised to \$6.50/mo. to cover this. MOTION(DF): National dues will be raised in January to \$6/mo. to cover two-thirds of NC travel expenses. MD motion PASSED 3-0-1 (DF); DF motion FAILED ~~2-2~~ 1-3.

JG to be instructed to draw up national dues structure proposal as mandated by NC.

Black liberation. Joel J. amendments to Trautman document TABLED because 2 of the 4 supporters of the JT document were absent. The motion submitted by Steve Z. was also TABLED, along with the following motion by JT: We ask branches to sell WP regularly at some location or event in the black community. Each branch will also be requested to hold some public forums in the black community. (It was generally agreed that more careful discussion was needed to make these ideas concrete).

International discussions. SEE NEXT PAGE.

4. WOMEN'S COMMISSION. The Commission unanimously recommends to the NAC that Celia E. be named women's commissioner to replace RV, freeing RV for other N.O. work and strengthening the commission. The commission to consist of CE, RV and MD. PASSED ALL FOR.

FUTURE NC DISCUSSIONS: INTERNATIONAL

The NAC re-discussed the whole question of international topics for the February and May NC meetings. After lengthy discussion general agreement was reached on the following proposal:

- (1) To (reluctantly) drop Latin America from the NC agenda.
- (2) For February NC, to devote a full day (2 major sessions) to the advanced capitalist world: the decline of American imperialism and increasing capitalist rivalry (with the postwar boom and the permanent arms economy as background).
- (3) For the May NC, to devote a full day (2 Or 3 sessions) to the developments in Stalinism as a world system, plus an additional discussion on China and Maoism since the Cultural Revolution.

A request to be made to MP to produce document on contemporary Stalinism.

The following AMENDMENT was introduced by DF: The China discussion is to be scheduled only if the full discussion on world Stalinism can be held as well, ~~The discussion on China does not cause us to take time away from the general discussion. In other words, we do not see the discussion of Stalinism today taking the form of a discussion of China.~~
 i.e. if the discussion on China does not cause us to take time away from the general discussion. In other words, we do not see the discussion of Stalinism today taking the form of a discussion of China.
 FAILED 2-2 (DF, BM for).

Since the amendment failed on a tie vote with only 4 members present, it will be re-discussed by the full NAC.

1. NC assessment

In general, the Thanksgiving NC showed that the national leadership was attempting for the first time to come to grips with the problems of the organization collectively. The meeting was in many ways a working meeting as opposed to a convention type meeting as in the past. This indicates again a new level of maturity in the organization. The meetings in general were more business like, the sessions actually started on time, both indications of a much more serious attitude toward the work of the organization.

We are beginning to come to grips with the role of the NC in the organization. This has really not been understood in the past. This NC showed that the NC is attempting to become a leadership body in the organization that fights for its leadership in the organization, that is, that the delegates return to their branches and fight to carry out the line of the NC in the organization. At this stage we are only beginning this process, and it will take time to weld the NC into such a body. But this NC clearly began that process, and that is a giant step forward.

The problems of the NC were due mainly to the nature of NC discussions which had been mandated by ~~the~~ the national convention: black liberation and Workers Power. The discussion of blacks was more or less pro-forma, and ~~indicated~~ indicated above all our isolation from the black movement, the need for reasearch and knowledge of recent developments in the black community, and a strategy for beginning to change ~~in~~ the NC from an all white organization.

The Workers Power discussion was only fair. What was important was that the discussion showed the commitment of the organization to changing the paper along the lines that the staff has already begun. The ~~ideas~~ ideas and differences on the nature of the paper were not clarified as indicated by the fact that many delegates voted for both the Veviaka and Bradley documents, but in reality those differences will only be clarified in the process of changing the paper. The ~~purpose~~ purpose of the discussion was to receive a mandate from the national leadership for change, and that was accomplished, and all to the good.

The other topics taken up including the reports to the NC, discussion of the international conferences and our attitude toward them, the government crisis and the discussion on future NC agendas were much more fruitful. The discussion of the organizational reports to the delegates should be better prepared by having the reports out earlier and by organizing that session better. The beginning discussion by the NC on our relations to other groups internationally was a good step forward, and indicated that the national leadership has begun to take the question of developing and building our ties with ~~international~~ groups close to us in other countries seriously for the first time. Likewise the discussion on NC agendas and what political discussions the organization as a whole should be having ~~also~~ also showed that the NC was attempting to become an effective leadership body and actually lead the organization in this realm. The discussion on Watergate was by far the best discussion. For the first time in the organization the national leadership began to take ~~up~~ up a question of American politics, discuss it seriously, develop a line and a method for our intervention, including guidelines for WP coverage, etc. It was a good beginning at real national political collaboration by the leadership of the organization.

In order to build this process, the following suggestions were made to the NAC and generally agreed upon for future NC's:

- a. To get the organizational reports out in advance, and better organize that session.
- b. To prepare for the political sessions in the form of getting out educational and background material relevant to the discussion, and to get out the specific documents well in advance of the NC.

2. The ~~Women's~~ Women's Commission

The Women's Commission unanimously recommended to the NAC, and the IAC passed the following changes in the composition in the women's commission; That Celia Emerson become women's commissioner, and that the women's commission consist of Marilyn, Rose V. and Celia E.

Motivation: The motivation for this change is two-fold: Primarily, Rose felt that she would not have the time available to do the job of women's ~~commissioner~~ commissioner adequately with all of her other responsibilities on Workers Power. Celia, on the other hand, has more time, and is quite interested in and has many ideas on developing the Women's Commission and giving guidance to women in the organization, and guidance to the organization as a whole on the fight for women's liberation. The current arrangement is that Celia will come to Detroit approximately every two weeks for a women's commission meeting, and will keep in close touch with Rose and myself in the intervening times. Specifically in the next few weeks she will come and meet with the IAC to discuss perspectives for the women's commission and how to carry those out.

NEWS FLASH FROM EDUCATION DIRECTOR***NEWS FLASH FROM EDUCATION DIRECTOR***NEWS FLASH

There are now available three new publications from the education department. They are the first two reprints in our new educational series, The Socialist Experience. They are: No. 1, "War and the Middle East" (75¢) and No. 2, "The Popular Front of the 1930's" (35¢). Additionally, we have reprinted under separate cover the Mike P. document: "Revolutionary Method: Program and Leadership" (15¢).

Those in The Socialist Experience series are useful both for the education of our own members and for use with contacts. They will be useful for quite some time. Branches are urged to put in their orders immediately. You should be reminded that these have been done in a limited edition of only 300. That does not mean that there will never be any more: we have the plates and can print more, but doing so will require sufficient demand to justify the expense and labor effort that will be involved. To be sure that you will have enough for awhile you should plan to order more than the number of members that you currently have.

Of course, the usual 20% discount is available for orders of 10 or more. Members should know that the prices have been set on the basis of a (small) anticipated demand. If the demand regularly exceeds expectations we will be able to lower the per page prices somewhat.

The Mike P. document, which was written during the faction fight and is unfortunately all cluttered with references to the RT is nonetheless quite valuable ~~for~~ for use with contacts: it is an excellent statement of our position on the inter-relationship of class struggle, consciousness, revolutionary leadership and program. Once again, it has been done in a limited edition of only 200.

EDUCATION DIRECTOR'S PROPOSAL TO THE NAC CONCERNING NCs (Passed 5-0)

The disappearance of the factional stew in the IS means a certain circus-like excitement has disappeared also from the NCs. While turning them from side-shows into business meetings may make some people less interested in them it also has the advantage of allowing the IS to proceed with serious work for the first time virtually since it has been in existence. What is necessary now that we are proceeding with the important political discussions that have been for so long neglected is to assure that they are carried out in an educational manner so that our membership is able fully to understand the positions we adopt, able to articulate them and aggressively advance and defend them, including against well-presented points of view with which we disagree. To that end the following is presented as the beginning of an educational proposal in order to carry out that task.

1) The NAC will plan to discuss regularly at its weekly meetings important articles and books bearing on the NC topics. For each of these meetings a reporter will be assigned to make a presentation. That reporter will be responsible for writing up his or her comments (which will be a presentation and a critique of the material), possibly incorporating other material based on the NAC discussion to be sent out to the branches.

2) The NC delegates are, of course, expected to following the reading and the commentary on it provided by the NAC. So are the branches. It is very important that the branches hold these discussions as the NC topics are the major theoretical discussions being held inside the organization. They will be finalized in documents for the convention and these discussions can thus be seen as pre-convention discussions. I reiterate and underline: the branches are expected to hold these discussions.

3) The Educational Director will attempt to provide the membership with reading lists, consisting of our own material, other informative material and some of the most important and articulate opponent material.

4) The Educational Director will prepare materials for our reprint series which will be germane to the topics under discussion. For the May NC, which is taking up Bureaucratic Collectivism and China two reprints are already being planned: one on the Chinese Revolution and one on Russia, Stalinism and possibly Eastern Europe. Also, the planned pamphlet on China, consisting of reprints of the articles that appeared in the British IS journal, will be placed on the top of the list for publication. The reprint for the February NC for which the topic is: The advanced Capitalist World: The Decline of American Imperialism and Increasing Capitalist Rivalry (with the post-war boom and the Permanent Arms Economy as background) is currently under consideration.

5) The first readings to be considered by the NAC (and thus by the NC delegates and the branches are:

Lenin, Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, Marilyn Danton
Bukharin, Imperialism and World Economy, Jack Trautman
Kidron, articles in IS 61, also Mike Stewart critique in
internal bulletin #46, also Richard Kuper critique in IS
#45, Brian Mackenzie
Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism, Joel Geier

NAC MINUTES 12/5/73

Present: All except JW

0. NATSEC REPORT. Approved All For. MOTION(JG): The NAC will continue to use ISGB journal as our theoretical magazine. FAILED 1-4

1. MEMBERSHIP. Report on communication with close contact in L.C.

2. ENERGY CRISIS. Presentation by LF and discussion (an outline will be either attached to these minutes or sent in next mailing). The NAC has assigned JG and LF to keep on top of ongoing developments in the fuel shortage crisis and develop an immediate political line in connection with the work they are already doing on Watergate and the Middle East crisis. For purposes of developing fuller background information and research, Mike B. will be requested to begin keeping a file and doing background work.

~~3. COMMUNICATIONS~~

3. MOTIONS TABLED TO NAC FROM NC.

(1) Kevin Bradley motion on that CWA and IBT rather than UAV be top priorities for future Detroit industrialization FAILED 1-4 (BM for).

(2) JW amendment to black liberation, deleting call for superseniority to protect position of ~~blacks~~ blacks in industries from which they have been excluded FAILED 1-4 (ML for). Since the NC straw poll indicated a 7-6-1 majority for this amendment, it will be brought back to the next NC.

(3) JW amendment on black liberation, calling for a revolutionary party of both black and white workers, is considered to be consistent with the discussion already in the document. JT to come back to NAC with a final wording to integrate the substance of the amendment.

4. PREPARATION FOR NC'S - EDUCATION. Report by JT on material to be prepared to educate the organization on basic questions of advanced capitalism and Stalinism to be discussed by the next two NC meetings. The NAC will also prepare for these discussions, in particular by beginning background reading and discussion on the theoretical questions of advanced capitalism. ML to organize discussion on Lenin's IMPERIALISM, JT on Bukharin's IMPERIALISM AND WORLD ECONOMY, BM on Kidron's major articles and JG on Magdoff. Comments will be written up to help organize branch discussions.

5. ORGANIZATIONAL MOTIONS TO NAC BY SAM F. For the text of these motions see pp. 11-12 of Sam F. document in NATIONAL REPORT #2, vol. 2.

(1) on recruitment targets PASSEL 5-0 (ML to begin setting this up).

(2) on internal bulletin and local minutes FAILED 0-5. SUBSTITUTE MOTION(ML): Each branch instructed to send 2 copies of local minutes and leaflets to each other branch - one copy for ~~exec~~ exec, the other to be kept on file available to all members. PASSEL 4-1 (JT against on grounds that 5 copies, not 3x 2, should be sent to make sure everyone has easy access to them.

(3) Already voted down by NC.

(4) Already passed by NC.

(5) This is generally agreed and has already begun to be implemented.

(6) First sentence (without argumentation) PASSED 5-0. A defense of our allocations and perspectives will be drawn up in connection with upcoming discussions on future relocations.

(7) TABLED to JT as education director for purpose of finding out more information on availability of writer.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT ~~12/5/73~~ 12/5/73

1. General: Comrades, we have passed our first test since the convention. We have begun to build a real national organization: the national leadership (NAC and NC) has begun to give leadership and direction to the organization, communication lines have opened and comrades in one area now have at least a sense about what is happening elsewhere. Moreover, most branches are involved in significant outside activity. But we cannot rest on any laurels. There is still quite a long way to go, and no one is more aware of this than the national leadership. What must happen now is an aggressive campaign to build the IS, to build our periphery and to recruit. We here in Detroit will take the leadership and guide on this, but the branches must follow through if such a campaign is to be successful. So, in the future, this report will not only include reports on what is happening around the country, and in the national office, but also suggestions, directives, and even possibly criticisms to branches on activity and political direction, etc. - all to aid in this crucial task of building the IS.

2. Membership: Bloomington has recruited two more comrades - making it a full fledged branch. Madison has recruited one comrade, making them an Organizing Committee, and Chicago has increased its membership by one.

3. Government Crisis tour: Joel G. just completed a tour of the east coast and midwest branches, speaking on Watergate and the government crisis. He spoke in NYC, Cleveland, Pittsburg, St. Louis, Chicago, Madison and Detroit. He also visited Champaign-Urbana. The forums were quite successful and in each place gained us new contacts. Joel and CL (Cleveland) are working on a pamphlet on the government crisis which should be out by the end of January.

4. NAC: The NAC will begin having discussions on the developing crisis in international capitalism in preparation for the February NC. Jack T. is preparing a reading list for background material. The NAC discussions will be written up and should be used in the branch discussions on this topic. All of this should be seen as part of educating the membership on these questions and in preparation for the national convention which will take up international questions, focusing on the advanced capitalist world and the Stalinist world. It is crucial that the execs schedule these educational discussions as part of fulfilling the task of educating the membership

and making possible real discussions at the NC and convention. Jack will be making a concrete proposal to the NAC on the specific discussions (see Proposal of the Educational Director ~~xxxxxx~~ attached to these minutes) In addition the NAC will also begin immediately after Christmas a discussion of the Maoist groups, ranging from the hard stalinist ones to the soft Maoist ~~groups~~ collectives/milieu. These discussions will lay the basis for the absolutely necessary ideological offensive which we must begin against Maoism and the Maoists - our main competitors in the left and in the working class. The NAC will also be initiating discussions on women's trade unionism and our perspective for how we should be intervening with the development of the changing consciousness among women workers which is beginning to make concrete our ~~own~~ perspective for building a working women's liberation movement. The NAC will also be holding ongoing discussions on three areas of labor work: a campaign in auto to "dump Woodcock", the CWA 1974 Contract, and the last year of the UMW. These discussions, especially the ones on the Maoist groups and women must be taken into the branches if they are to provide a basis for our political development and our intervention. All branches should also follow the discussions for our intervention in the CWA and UAW, especially where comrades are involved in that work, and will be participating in the campaigns. NAC discussions without discussions throughout the organization simply will not do the trick.

5. The detroit Branch is now getting involved in the UFW struggle; a fraction has been set up, and regular picketing has begun.
6. The West Coast is having an educational Conference in the Bay Area December 29-30, topics to include the trade unions, Maoism and Watergate. KB of Chicago, JW, EE, JF from Detroit and LA of San Diego will be making presentations. The Bay Area is also beginning an economic study group.

(The following notes are based on the presentation to the NAC meeting of 12/5, along with some of the ideas that emerged in the discussion).

1. The so-called "energy crisis" - actually a serious economic dislocation based on a shortage of fuel for heating, transport and production - is a product of three main factors. First, and by far more important than the rest, is the fantastic manipulations carried out by the oil companies. For a number of years, the oil companies deliberately held down crude oil production and refinery capacity in this country. By monopolizing not only the oil refining capability, which enabled them to maintain artificially low capacity and artificially high prices, but also all sources of information on actual oil and natural gas reserves (which are consistently understated) and the actual price of recovering them (consistently overstated), the oil companies have been able to chalk up fabulous profits without significant investment in higher capacity. (I believe it is also true, although I don't have hard facts, that the oil companies also control a large percentage of the research and development on other energy sources, so that these can be retarded if they represent any threat to oil profits). Thus the oil companies have successfully cushioned themselves against a threat of recession, and have avoided what they anticipated would become an "overproduction crisis" - i.e. an abundant quantity of clean fuel at low prices - if they were to increase refinery capacity. For this reason, there would have been a fuel shortage (which was already beginning to be felt last summer) even without the Middle East war, whose effects have yet to be felt directly in this country in any event.

2. The second factor in the crisis is, of course, is the cutoff of oil to the U.S. and the cutbacks in production of crude oil in the Middle East, resulting from the war. The embargo/cutbacks by the Arab states have not created the problem, but they have intensified and internationalized it in the sense described below. Because of the uncertainty flowing from the cutbacks, the economic situation here and especially in Europe could become exceptionally volatile.

3. This, naturally, links up with the third factor involved - the fact that the fuel shortage coincides ~~with the beginning of a recession~~ with (and in part, begins to signal) the beginning of a recession. Until the fuel crisis became public emergency, a mild recession (possibly even a "growth recession" rather than a real recession) was being predicted for the U.S. in ~~the~~ 1974. It is now certain, however, that fuel and transport problems will cause at least some layoffs in heavy industry and at they very least several points rise in the unemployment rate. The drastic rise in basic fuel prices also insures that the recession will be a severely inflationary one. None of this contradicts any of our general predictions about the economic downturn so far as I can see, but it does mean that all the effects will be sharpened. (It also means that the politicizing effect of the recession will be much more rapid, as outlined further below)/.

It is also evident that, especially given the much more drastic effects of Arab oil cutbacks in Europe and Japan, that the recession will be world wide. We must be clear that it is not the fuel crisis which will produce the recession nor even its more or less worldwide character - the recession would have come about in any case. However, the fuel crisis internationalizes the recession in the sense that it will set various sectors of the capitalist world at each other's throats over the question of oil supplies. The recession and its severity are thus linked directly to the breakup of the old imperialist alignments and the resurgence of national economic competition. At the same time, it is well-known that if one of the major economies, say Britain or Japan, should suffer real catastrophe it would drag down all the rest with it. These prospects are made more unstable by the fact that the ~~U.S.~~ U.S. government remains semi-paralyzed and unable to formulate a definite policy internally or externally, and by the fact that the capitalist powers are dealing with a problem whose

exact dimensions are literally unknown and which has never arisen in precisely this form before - i.e. an organized cutoff of a critical raw material by non-industrialized states - at least in peacetime. If much of our own assessment of the probable effects of the shortage remains a question mark at this point, the same is true of the ruling classes of the U.S. and Europe.

4. A brief side point: in a more general context, it is interesting to note that some theories of modern imperialism argue that imperialist powers and the U.S. in particular tend to be vulnerable and least self-sufficient precisely in raw materials - because these can be secured at much lower prices from underdeveloped areas than through investment in domestic production. Under most circumstances, of course, this works to the disadvantage of the underdeveloped countries and aggravates their ruinous dependence on the imperialist world. Nixon's sharp reaction to the current shortage and his promise to achieve "self-sufficiency" by 1980 - by what methods we will soon see - indicates, however, that their vulnerability at least in oil has been brought home to the U.S. capitalists. At any rate, this is a question which clearly deserves further study.

5. Back to the main discussion: in discussing the underlying long-term causes of oil shortages and recession, of course, we must point not only to the monopolistic intrigues of the oil companies but also the effects of the permanent arms economy. It is well-known, especially since the Pentagon just requisitioned for its own use about 15% of the oil that would have gone into gasoline for consumers' cars this winter - that an enormous percentage of the oil produced goes for military and arms spending. (This pertains not only to oil for fuel, of course, but also petroleum for almost of other products). This creates obvious permanent inflationary pressures on the price of fuel along with everything else. It also means that we can point out that perhaps 10-15% of available fuel supplies are literally thrown down the drain because of the waste character of arms spending. This is especially true since many workers are responding with real anger to the most obvious manifestations of this - the Pentagon requisitioning of oil and the shipment of large oil supplies to Cambodia and Vietnam where it gets blown up by the Viet Cong.

6. While perhaps only general projections about the depth of the oil crisis and the coming recession are possible at this time, we need much greater precision and clarity in our line so far as the political consequences and social unrest resulting from the crisis are concerned. In the first place, all the debates going on in the U.S. over a response to the energy crisis are conditioned by the fact that the crisis is an international one and by America's relations to European capitalism and the Middle East war. All the debates over gasoline rationing, for example, involve the efforts of the U.S. to regain decisive superiority among the capitalist powers.

Let's look at one instructive example. The whole ruling class is (at least for now) going whole hog for Nixon's self-sufficiency-by-1980 program. This may be a dangerous utopian illusion for U.S. capitalism and an ominous threat to Europeans who may be left out in the cold, but it's a natural response at the moment even aside from the bonanza it promises for oil interests. For the WALL STREET JOURNAL, one of the most enthusiastic anti-rationing, pro-self-sufficiency organs, a major motivation is the potential opened up for the U.S. economy to make good its recent reverses at the hands of Europe. While Japanese balance of payments surplus is going down the drain, the U.S. dollar is back in good shape. It is at least clear that heavy industry in the U.S. won't be crippled, while no such guarantee is possible for Europe and Japan. Despite the appalling costs to American workers and consumers, especially if the NSJ program is adopted, American capitalism stands to come out of the crisis in great shape relative to the economies of Europe - barring some general collapse. To sum it up concisely: the American capitalists, even though they don't like the prospects of a recession, can't help but see a unique opportunity to recover their international economic supremacy ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ at the expense of their own workers, through a planned drastic inflationary increase in gas prices while basic heavy industry remains protected. Even NEP never presented this opportunity on such a grand scale. Hence their

unrestrained chorus of enthusiasm around calls for "national unity and sacrifice".

7. The debate over the question of rationing also has its own domestic dynamic. By and large, the liberals are demanding that Nixon organize full-scale rationing of gasoline, while the WALL STREET JOURNAL and other economic organs are dead set against it. Nixon, his government ~~xxxxxxx~~ in shambles, is trying to improvise some kind of middle course. The political question debated on the surface, of course, is whether rationing is the only "equitable" way to spread the consumer shortages around while insuring that basic production is adequately supplied. The real debate, though, which is carried on in the pages of the economic journals, is whether rationing must be opposed because it would retard the massive increase in oil company profits which are considered critical to the success of the self-sufficiency program. The WSJ, chiding the oil companies for being overly apologetic about its monstrous third-quarter profits, counseled that annual increases in oil profits should be doubled to 16% from their present 8%. Profits, says the JOURNAL, should be seen "not as a reward for virtue but as the best way of making the system work". At least they know what century they're living in! This proposal is a simple one: let prices rise till demand meets supply. The liberals call for rationing and an excess-profit tax on oil companies; but reluctant to take any serious responsibility for this proposal, they have done next to nothing to build any popular support for it. For this reason, the AFL-CIO tails behind them calling feebly for "equality of sacrifice", but putting forward no aggressive program because the liberals have provided nothing to latch onto. Nixon is currently toying with the idea of avoiding the political dangers resulting from unrestricted price increases by the oil companies by instead imposing monstrous federal excise taxes on gasoline purchases (creating largely the same economic effect).

8. Current expectations on the part of the capitalists are that the Arab embargo/cutback will end within six months, after a projected Mideast peace settlement is achieved. If this fails to materialize, contingency plans are being drawn up to threaten an invasion of the Persian Gulf or to topple the regimes of Arab states which continue "unreasonable pressure" (Kissinger). The dangers of this course are enormous, but that it is contemplated is unquestionable as a last resort. This dimension, however, is better treated in a separate document I am writing on the consequences of the Mideast war.

9. The character of the popular response to the energy crisis is already emerging: while the notion of "sacrifice" has widespread currency, there is tremendous volatility - as shown by anger over shipping of oil to Southeast Asia, the blocking of highways by truckers and owner-drivers, bitterness over the prospect of a winter without heat. Everyone connects the energy crisis to the bankruptcy and corruption of Nixon's government. The pressure to get rid of him will leap with Ford's imminent confirmation. Inside the labor movement, we can expect an acceleration of the politicization taking place around the economy and the government crisis. We can expect growing sentiment for rationing inside the working class, because of the desire for equality and a social response to the economic crisis. In the coming months we have to develop concrete program and ideas which speak to this sentiment and direct toward class consciousness and a class response. To begin with, we must expose the "equality of sacrifice" myth, intensify the demand for independent labor action to topple Nixon and destroy Ford's legitimacy as his successor, call for a full opening of the oil companies' books and educationally pose the demand that if they won't produce for our needs then they should be taken over by the workers to do so. Above all, we have to show that what is involved is not really a shortage of fuel at all but rather a crisis of capitalist relations.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT 12/12/73

1. General: Comrades please note the change in national dues from \$5.00 to 6.50 beginning in January, and remember to send in regular reports on WP distribution and feedback. Secondly, all branches and organizing committees are expected to hold the discussions that the NAC will be holding on international capitalism (see last NAC minutes, 12/4/73). This does not mean that ~~every~~ every individual discussion must be held, but the material must be covered, ~~xxxx~~ otherwise this program of education and preparation for NC's and the convention ~~xxx~~ will be meaningless. The discussions can be held at branch meetings or at classes, but they must be held.
2. NAC: The NAC will be holding regular discussions with updates on the energy crisis[!], the recession, the state of the economy. Comrades should be regularly reading the reports in the minutes and WP coverage so they can be informed of our position and line. Comrades on the key list especially should read these reports and regularly report on these discussions to execs and branch meetings, since the National Report with the minutes only goes out to the membership once a month.
3. Membership: We now have a comrade in Washington DC, who has a number of friends that are close to us politically.
4. Education: The first two numbers in the internal reprint series are out (on the Middle East War and the Popular Front). Branches should put their orders in as soon as possible.
5. Louisville trip: MD gave a successful forum on teachers and the political crisis for a group of teachers in Louisville set up by the Organizing Committee.
6. United Mine Workers Convention: The Industrial Secretary has been overseeing coverage of the Miners' Convention in Pittsburgh. Last Week CW, CE, SK (Cleveland) attended and this week, BM, LJ (Detroit) attended. Reports will be written up for the membership, and coverage will be included in WP.
7. Fund Drive: WE MADE IT. Super-congratulations to all comrades for making this fund drive. Whereas we are only 2/3 the size we were last year, we made and even went over a little the amount of the '72 drive. The targets for each branch were quite high, having been raised by the NC following the convention. This required additional commitment from the comrades in each of the branches, and they made that commitment. This is only one more indication of the high level of commitment and seriousness with which we view the crucial importance of building the IS. However, it is also true that we have exhausted the amount we can raise in an annual fund drive for our size. Any increase in the future must come because we have a larger membership. The only branch that did not make its quota was Bloomington. We expect the comrades in Bloomington to pledge and pay its quota even through the drive has officially ended. Again all comrades should consider that they did the job well. Special thanks to the fund drive coordinators in each of the branches for their hard work, and to Karen for coordinating the national drive.

NAC MINUTES 12/12

Present: All except JW

1. NATSEC REPORT (attached). MOTION(JG): MD and JW to be NAC representatives at I.S. West Coast conference. ALL FOR.
 2. FUND DRIVE REPORT. For the third straight year the fund drive is a success. The ~~mm~~ total now stands at \$15,393, of which \$14,700 is in hand and the rest has been pledged. Every branch has made its quota except for Bloomington; Seattle reached 114%. We feel it is regrettable that the Bloomington branch did not make its quota and will request that they do so following the end of the drive. Special thanks to Karen Kaye who coordinated the fund drive/ and to all local directors. MD to write additional statement.
 3. MEMBERSHIP. Application from D.C. accepted ALL FOR.
(Note deleted from last week's minutes: the Bloomington I.S. has been reconstituted as a branch and Madison is now a full-fledged organizing committee based on recent recruitment).
 4. WOMEN'S COMMISSION REPORT BY CE. Presentation and discussion; report to be written up for further discussion to be held 1/22. (Meetings with CE have to be planned well in advance; communications from commission to the organization will continue on a regular basis).
- MOTION(JT): Full job descriptions of the jobs of nat'l chairman, NATSEC, and industrial sec'y to be written up for NAC discussion by the end of January. PASSED 4-0-1 (DF abstain).
5. EQUIPMENT. Presentation by RV and Doug P. on projected purchases of equipment for WP and N.O., including auction to be held in Cleveland later this week.
 6. REPORT ON UMW CONVENTION. Report by Brian M. and questions. (A full report will be written up and sent out).
 7. ENERGY CRISIS AND THE ECONOMY. Presentation by DF and discussion.
MOTION(MD): We will orient toward a major campaign around the energy crisis and the economy, involving production of literature, speaking tours, classes, etc. to begin in January. MD to begin coordinating plans for this. PASSED 5-0
MOTIONS ON WP (MD): 1) Editorial board is instructed to come up with a short, hard-hitting headline on the energy crisis article for WP #88. PASSED 4-1 (DF).
2) The editorial board should assign a series of educational articles on the economy. PASSED 4-0-1 (DF abstain).
 8. EDUCATION DIRECTOR REPORT. Report by JT on a series of pamphlets going into production over Christmas to be available in January.
 9. MIDDLE EAST? CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR. Presentation by DF and brief discussion. (A document evaluating the politics of the war and how our line was proven correct in every detail is being written over Christmas. A second discussion is suggested by D on the question of the Middle East war and the revolutionary left.)
 10. SPECIAL POINT. Report and discussion pertaining to developments in the RSL. Report to be written up by MD for the NAC and sent out.

FOR MEMBERS ONLY

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FOR MEMBERS ONLY

Comrades, the following information is for members only. It should be treated in serious political fashion, and not in our usual gossip, rumor mongering way. We have matured in many ways since the convention. Let's see if we can also handle this in a mature political way.

A little over two weeks ago, the RSL expelled Don Cane, member of their Political Committee and Coordinator of their Black and Latin work. He was expelled ostensibly for breaking discipline by having a discussion with a couple of members of the Workers League. The RSL does not permit discussions by its members with members of other sects, and encourages as an organizational stance, an attitude of "studied hostility" toward them. However, in actuality, there was more to the expulsion than simply breaking discipline by talking to Workers Leaguers. At that time the RSL was involved in doing entry work into the Young Socialists, the youth group of the Workers League, supposedly to try to understand how they functioned and brought around them a large number of black and working class youth, and also because they were interested in the International Committee of the Fourth International (The WL FI group).

After being involved in this venture for a short time, there was a discussion of the Young Socialists where Don was less critical of their approach than were other members of the RSL. He characterized their criticisms as not being serious and as being sectarian. The discussion of the RSL attitude toward the Workers League and the Young Socialists was only in the beginning stages when this happened.

When it came to the attention of other members of the Political Committee of the RSL that Don had had a discussion with members of WL, he was brought up on charges, and at first he offered to resign from the organization. He was turned down, and then expelled, being charged with in addition to breaking discipline, being petty bourgeois and adaptationist.

Shortly after this meeting, he was approached by Ron T., Organizational Secretary, and urged to reapply for membership and to state in writing that he admitted to breaking discipline and that he agreed to a year's candidacy membership period in the RSL. Don agreed to reapply and wrote up the statement for a joint meeting of the Detroit Exec and the Political Committee. Ron told Don that he did not agree with the other charges raised against Don.

Shortly afterward the meeting was held, where Don was again charged with being petty bourgeois, adaptationist, in addition to breaking discipline, not being serious, etc. Ron did not participate in these charges, but did not defend Don either. Don's statement, not yet totally completed was taken from him and he left. He was told in the process of the proceedings that he not only had to agree to admit to breaking discipline and the year's candidacy, but also to recant his political positions and views of the Workers League and the Young Socialists. This of course he refused to do, and he was expelled. A little later he received a note from Ron and Bruce L requesting a meeting, but he did not respond. He now is in the process of breaking all of his ties with the RSL.

His political plans as yet are not totally clear. He is working with the Young Socialists regularly, and in discussions with members of the Workers League. He's moving in the direction of the WL on all important questions, including the Russian question.

The above are the facts, as best we know them, and as told to one of us by Don as a friend. A number of things should be brought out that flow from these, and following that another incidental fact.

1. The RSL: The RSL has the same form of "democratic centralism" as does the SWP, that is, there is not right for minorities to express a minority view outside of the organization, something which, incidentally, Don still defends as being necessary. Secondly, the RSL in the proceedings, not only raised the charges of discipline, but also that Don had to drop his political position even internally on the Workers League, which goes far beyond even the SWP on such questions. It is not too strong to say that this is clearly a Stalinist direction, not Stalinist politics, but they draw the same organizational conclusions as the other Orthodox Trotskyist sects do, which is part of their capitulation to Stalinism. Thirdly, it is also clear that the RSL is quite scared on any political discussion with other groups because it fears that any dialogue will threaten their organization. What the RSL in fact feared was that Don would organize inside the RSL for his position and might even end up joining the WL and do entry work for them inside the RSL. Moreover, it is quite incredible that the RSL decided to do this entry work and investigate the WL, IC, YS without a full discussion of their attitude toward those organizations, and expell one of their leaders for taking a position, when that discussion was only beginning. Again, that can only be explained in light of their fear of the lack of solidity politically of their own organization and membership, and that they might lose some of their people to the WL. What they had to do was to insulate the organization by ~~xxx~~ expelling Don and keeping other members away from the WL except under organized circumstances. What this reflects, as we pointed out during the faction fight, is that the RSL was a group without a theory and without a perspective.

Moreover, Don had begun to raise at least individually criticisms of the RSL and of their orientation toward what he called the radical middle class left, as opposed to the working class and working class youth. From this, we presume the orientation toward other sects and sectlets, and campus work. His other criticisms were along the line of little or ever changing direction from the national leadership, first toward one or another sect, then toward the government crisis, and back again, none of which were very well thought through. Personal cliqueism still remains a large problem, and he also criticized the RSL for not in general being serious enough about active work in trying to bring workers and youth around the organization. In fact, he characterized the RSL, the Spartacist League and the IS as all having this same problem.

2. Orthodox Trotskyism: Among other things this development raises some of what the NAC believes to be the contradictions of orthodox trotskyism. Either one must believe that really nothing has changed since 1938, and thus that everything that Trotsky said was literally true and remains true including his position on Russia, as the Workers League does, which is the position that Don is moving towards, or one must break from it totally. There really is no middle road, something that the RSL will likely find out as it loses many of its other better members to one or another of the really hard orthodox Trotskyist sects like the WL, the SL, etc. This also will be reflected in the evolution of the RSL itself, as it continually looks around for one of these sects to imitate.

3. The International Conference: One other interesting thing that we found out was that Lutte Ouvriere specifically invited and paid the way for Sy and Margaret to attend the International Conference, at least partly because, LO said, that they were going to lead a fight against the ISGB at the conference and wanted as many "real Trotskyist" groupings there to help in the fight as possible. We plan to inform the British comrades of this. It clears up any doubts on the NAC as to how LO views us, the ISGB and the conferences, and how LO wishes to use the conferences.

This development has been written up and distributed to the membership so that the comrades can be informed as to ~~xxx~~ what is going on in the RSL and related events. It was written up in full, so as to insure that comrades at the facts, and thus hopefully keep rumors and tales to a minimum. It should, again, be taken in a political manner, and not splashed around the left as a topic of gossip. Some of us hope to remain friends with Don, and wild rumors and ~~gossip~~ gossip will make that impossible.

Marilyn Danton, for the NAC

THE WOMEN'S COMMISSION

Celia Emerson

The job of the women's Commission is outlined below. The chairwoman of the commission is responsible for seeing that the work is carried out.

1) WOMEN'S INDUSTRIALIZATION:

a) Prepare convention perspectives on women's industrialization and women's liberation. The women's commission will present to the NAC the women's document on women's work in industry for the next convention. The document will discuss women and labor, in particular: 1) women's work in our priority industries, what is going on among women, what is going on among the bureaucracy. 2) Further discussion, with perspectives on our rank and file work. 3) perspectives on women's trade unionism in our priority, as well as other industries where there are large concentration of working women, where rank and file groups exist, or where there have been significant strikes or other forms of militancy. 4) discussion of the problems of racism in our shop floor work. 5) Working women's groups, where they exist, how we can intervene, and in that way can we link up these groups. 6) Rank and file women's newspapers, where do they exist, can/should we intervene, help these newspapers develop into rank and file groups.

b) The Commission will be asking a number of comrades to do research on our priority unions which can be used as discussion documents or supplement to the women's perspective.

c) At the Thanksgiving NC, it was passed that all convention (or other major documents) be produced in such a way that they can be used for pamphlet purposes. The document on women and labor should be published immediately after the convention for external use.

2) THEORY

a) The women's commission will supervise the education of the membership on the woman question. By January 22, it will submit to the NAC a proposal for a 3 part class series on Marxism and the Woman Question. Other class series, i.e. women workers, Black women, etc. will also be proposed.

b) The women's commission will supervise pamphlet production. Laurie Landy's Women and the Chinese Revolution is being reprinted; we have a speech on International Woman's Day, by Alexandra Kollontai, edited with an introduction by Celia Emerson to be made into a pamphlet over Christmas; Revolutionary Feminism will be completed also by X-Mas; Celia Emerson will also be drafting a pamphlet on women's liberation directed at working women; a full women's liberation bibliography will be published also.

c) The women's commission will also ensure that political discussions on the woman question, i.e. women and China, or Maoism on the woman question, the ERA, women and the trade unions (The woman and labor issue of Radical America, for example) are put on branch agendas.

d) Debates within the women's movement, or within the radical collectives on the woman question should be taken up in Workers Power. For example, a review of the RA women and labor issue should be reviewed.

e) The women's commission will discuss the possibility of putting out a working women's magazine, similar to ISGB's Women's Voice. This is only at the discussion stage, and nothing written will be presented.

3) INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S DAY

There will be a fuller presentation given to the NAC regarding the specifics of IWD. The general proposal is that the NAC and the WC coordinate national activities by the IS on IWD. IWD falls on Friday, March 8th, and all branches will be asked to put on some type of public forum. WP will have a centerspread (not centerfold) on women workers, and we will be using WP to build our IWD activities. The NO will send around speakers and give guidance for the branches. A more detailed written proposal will be submitted within ten days.

4) Women's Conferences.

a) The WC will begin discussions regarding our involvement in the various women's conferences, in particular, conferences directed at working women. So far, the recent conferences in NYC, Bowling Green and other places indicate that the IS can play a good role in terms of its women's liberation and labor perspectives. The NAC will be having a full discussion on that subject.

b) The WC will explore the possibilities of the IS having weekend or day school on the subject of women workers or women and revolution.

5) Black and Latin women.

Our national priority is the recruitment of Blacks and Latins to the IS. The WC must begin discussion concerning Black and Latin women, i.e., problems of racism in our industrial work, building rank and file or women's caucuses in which Black and Latin women play a leading role;

6) The Book service.

The WC should ensure that the IS Bookservice has relevant literature on women, especially on Black, Latin and working women.

COMRADES PLEASE NOTE!!!
PLEASE ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING WOMEN'S WORK TO:
Celia Emerson
2176 Briarwood Road,
Cleveland Heights, OH, 44118
216-932-5478.

PLEASE SEND A CARBON OF YOUR LETTER TO THE NO

Thank you.

NAC MINUTES 12/19

Absent: JW

0. NATSEC REPORT (attached). APPROVED.

1. ECONOMY/ENERGY CRISIS. Brief follow-up discussion. A future discussion will take up the question of a concrete response to the growing crisis of unemployment.

2. LENIN'S IMPERIALISM. Presentation by MD and discussion. This is the first of a series of discussions on theories of imperialism to be carried out by the NAC in preparation for discussion at the next NC meeting. Discussion focussed on (the validity, in Lenin's time as compared to today, of: (1) Lenin's view of finance capital as dominating industrial capital in the context of the growing interpenetration of the two; (2) Lenin's view of the dominant role of raw materials and capital export markets in less developed countries as the key to the struggle to redivide the world; (3) Lenin's view of the necessity of imperialism flowing out of the inability of the advanced countries to invest capital in modernization of agriculture; (4) imperialism as a new stage in capitalism which opened up the period of its growing instability and tendency to collapse.

3. ECONOMY DOCUMENT FOR FEBRUARY NC. Presentation by JT and discussion on outline draft submitted by MS for document in preparation on the decline of U.S. imperialism. A summary of the outline and motions on amendments to it is attached to the minutes.

4. DUMP WOODCOCK CAMPAIGN. Presentation by BM and preliminary discussion. Report was APPROVED ALL FOR, and a preliminary perspective will be sent out by BM. Focus of campaign to be development of a periphery for the I.S, around our view of how to fight inside the UAW and the labor movement, not just a single-issue campaign, although the behavior of the Woodcock gang in the recent period will obviously make this a cutting edge.

5. NATSEC JOB DESCRIPTION. As specified in motion to previous meeting, MD gave presentation on her responsibilities. Brief discussion. APPROVED ALL FOR.

6. WORKERS POWER: PROGRAM IN BRIEF. This point was raised because the statement of purpose has been deleted from several issues of the paper because of space.

MOTION(JT): The regular "what we stand for" statement should appear regularly in WP and should only be left out rarely and under pressing circumstances.

FAILED 1-3-1 (JT for, BM abstain)

MOTION(DF): The "short form" statement printed in WP #88 should be revised and adapted to be run in every issue. FAILED 2-2-1 (DF, MD for; BM abstain)

MOTION(BM): NAC to take responsibility for the drafting of a new statement, adequate for our present needs, by the end of January. PASSED 5-0.
DF to prepare draft.

THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND THE GROWING WORLD CONFLICT (draft by MS)

- A. Prospects for the post-war world -- the WORKERS PARTY perspectives and their failure
- B. Structure of the post-war world
 1. US hegemony over capitalist world
 2. Permanent Arms Economy as basis for prolonged stability
- C. The PAE and imperialism
 1. Lenin and capital export as key to imperialism
 2. The Permanent Arms Economy (cont'd next page)

The NAC voted 5-0 to approve the draft outline as the basis for writing the document, with certain amendments. Proposed amendments and their disposition were as follows:

MOTION(JG): The discussion of the decline of American imperialism should be placed in the context of (1) the three-cornered struggle for the world, (2) the permanent war economy as a stage of capitalism when US acts as supreme arbiter of world capital; the relationship of the state to economy under PWE, and the contradictions which develop when inter-capitalist rivalry revives; (3) the defeat in Vietnam as part of the PWE and its contradictions, and the consequences of this defeat for both.

(NB: Roughly speaking, this motion was put forward in opposition to a discussion focussed around the economic aspects of the post-war world economy and PAE).

FAILED 1-4 (JG for).

MOTION(JT): To add to the outline for the document the following -1 to C3, the international anarchy of the market, continuing struggle for re-division, inevitability of imperialist war as US hegemony weakens.

- 2. To D3, an explanation of why direct colonial control is unnecessary
- 3. To E3, a discussion of the Cold War, McCarthyism and the CP discrediting itself.

AMENDMENT (MD): We expect that the above points will be taken up in the context of the document as a whole, not necessarily added as separate sections. ACCEPTED Parts 1 and 2 PASSED 4-0-1 (JG abstain); part 3 FAILED 1-3-1 (JT for, MD abstain).

MOTIONS(DF): (1) To add a point C2c: The PAE in the struggle between capitalism and Stalinism. PASSED 3-1-1 (BM against, JT abstain). (2) To add a point H5:

The American defeat in Vietnam and its impact. PASSED 5-0.

(3) The discussion of the PAE should include a clear (if concise) statement of the basic premises of the theory, including the relation of the PAE to the falling rate of profit, where we share Kidron's theory and where we differ with it, etc., because of the controversy surrounding the PAE theory inside the IS. PASSED 5-0.

(4) At the same time this discussion should attempt to be concrete, in the sense that it at least touches on the relation of the post-war world economy to the current oil crisis and the coming recession. PASSED 4-0-1 (JT).

NOTE: We do not mean that the document should have a whole section added on the coming recession! Rather, some of the issues which this recession is raising

should be touched on so that comrades are confident that the theory we have can be used as an analytical tool to deal with the actual reality around us instead of just consisting of descriptive generalities. The topics raised in DF motions (1) and (2) also do not have to have separate ~~sections~~ sections if they are taken up elsewhere in the document.

STATEMENTS: I voted "no" on JG's motion because it would make the document a document on everything, which is impossible. It must have a focus. JT (supported by MD and BM).

My motion was not to have a document on everything - but precisely to give it a focus, i.e. to place the PWE in a political context, without which it cannot be explained. Five minutes later the NAC then voted ad seriatim to place all of my amendments into the document! JG.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT 12.19/73

1. General: Branches and Organizing Committees with the exception of the San Francisco Branch have not sent in reports on the distribution of WP 87. Issue No. 88 is going out this week. Branch execs and organizers are responsible for seeing that this is carried out regularly. The NO and the Editorial Board must have this information so that we can ~~oversee~~ oversee the progress on the paper. Secondly, there should be a brief national report at each branch meeting to keep the membership informed of what is happening nationally.
2. NAC: The Industrial Secretary gave a full report on the UMW Convention at the last NAC meeting. It is being written up and will be sent out in the key list mailing. We made a number of contacts among young militant miners, and plan to aggressively follow-up on these.
3. New York: Two comrades attended a Philadelphia Trade Union Women's Conference, which ~~was~~ was a planning meeting for a national conference to be held in March in Chicago, all of which appears to be an attempt of women TU bureaucrats to form a national organization. We made 3 contacts, two in teaching. Two comrades were hired into one of our priority industries.
4. Cleveland: Comrades sold 32 copies of WP No. 87 (all they had) at the Twinsburg Ohio Chrysler Stamping Plant.

Out line of "Dump the Woodcock Gagg" campaign

Brian M.

(Note this is just a preliminary outline of the campaign. Brian will be coming in with a full perspective for the NAC to discuss)

The purpose of the campaign is to provide and focus activity for both ourselves and the militants in the UAW. We do not expect a victory over Woodcock, nor do we think a mass movement is likely right now. Nevertheless, the level of anger and frustration in auto is high and real possibilities for action and organization exist. Whether the movement becomes large or not, it will certainly provide us an opportunity in which to expand auto contacts, locally and nationally, and to educate some of these contacts to our view of class struggle unionism.

While this campaign opens possibilities for many types of activity, including direct action, its focus is toward the Constitutional Convention and the delegate elections before it. We want to build, fight for, push others into, and in any way aid in the development of delegations committed to dumping the Woodcock gang and replacing them with a militant fighting leadership.

The basis of initiating the campaign is opposition to Woodcock, et al, because of their sell-out bargaining. The issues to focus on are production standards, overtime, wages, racism, layoffs and above all- the proven inability of Woodcock & Co. to win any of these things.

We should make it clear that we are not for a personality campaign. That is, we want to see a movement that can remake the UAW, not just an electoral campaign around this or that candidate. To those who argue you need a candidate to counterpose to Woodcock, we reply that it is the movement that counts and that the movement can pick its candidates at the convention. Our conception of "Dump Woodcock" is to throw out the entire UAW leadership and rebuild the union, not just to fill the International Exec. Board seats with new faces.

As the campaign unfolds, between now and March, we will push more ~~ix~~ issues, and push them harder. Racism, sexism, political action can be pushed harder as time goes on. We can concretize these by the actual slate we push within the dump Woodcock movement. For example, while at the beginning we should push the need for an anti-UAW leadership movement, we will not put forth any particular slate. Candidates for delegates elections should be urged to pledge themselves simply to a militant anti-Woodcock slate at the Con. in March. As time goes on, however, and we wish to up the political ante, we will want to put forth a slate counterposed to the opportunist and chicken-shit elements that are sure to be present in this movement. To demonstrate the type of ideas we want to push, we might fight for a Sims-Kelley slate. This slate would embody both our conception of a black production workers led movement and the actual motion in the skilled trades right now.

Two Level Campaign:

We want a national campaign. That means that we must use the only nationally recognized opposition group available, the UNC. Furthermore, the very situation that makes a dump Woodcock movement possible on any scale now is the motion in the skilled trades, that is organizationally embodied by the UNC. Outside of Detroit, the UNC is at least known, in skilled trades and production units. And it is known as an opposition that has "fought" for years. So, we can use this fact to ~~con~~ conduct the national level of this campaign through the UNC. This will maximize our ability to make contacts outside of Detroit, and it will provide a national focus for the dump Woodcock movement. We should not worry about determining the exact line of the UNC. There is no reason why we cannot support a militant anti-leadership campaign even if ~~ix~~ it does not have our precise position on important questions. We will present ~~our~~ ~~ideas~~ ideas and make proposals in the UNC, but will not spend our time in a "faction fight" with the leaders or ranks of the UNC.

For most of our members in Detroit, the local level of the campaign will be of more immediate importance. In those locals where we are able to function or have influence, we should work to construct dump woodcock slates on a more aggressive and advanced basis. That is, the more control over the ~~ix~~ situation we have, the more we can, and should push for. We do not, of course want IS slates for delegates. We want to work with others. In fact, one of the major ~~ix~~ purposes ~~at~~ at both levels of the campaign should be to bring ~~ix~~ militants around us, work with them, educate them, and weld them into a more or less solid periphery over time. Our particular role at the local level is to show what we mean, by building slates that will fight for our views of class struggle unionism - whether or not we use that term.

In so far as we are able to build aggressive, militant slates on the local level, we will have ~~ix~~ clout to effect the national level. Furthermore, we should not view our local work in isolation from the national campaign. Our slates should see themselves as a part of the same movement as the UNC, whether or not they are affiliates of the UNC and regardless of to what degree they are critical of the UNC leadership. We want to fight against parochial views, go it alone thinking, or feelings that they are just doing their own thing. At the same time, our local work should not be dependent on the UNC ~~ix~~ campaign for its program or success.

Part of the campaign should involve regular coverage in WP of the progress and direction of the anti-Woodcock movement. We should report campaigns in locals as well as the overall campaign.

Some Immediate steps to be taken.

1. Submit to the UNC a draft of a national Dump the Woodcock gang brochure urging the creation of anti-Woodcock slates on the kind of minimal basis discussed above.
2. Urge the UNC to organize a "cabaret" to raise money for an aggressive national campaign.
3. Run x articles in local shop bulletins we are friendly to, calling for anti-Woodcock slates on the basis of the hottest issues in their plants, including racism, inability of the bureaucracy to fight, etc. and industry (sell-out contact, strike breaking goon squads, etc.)

(This draft was inspired by a discussion with Bill H., John W., and Jack T. and includes some suggestions and ideas put forth by them, through they may not agree with all of the above.)

Job Description of the National Secretary

This job is in some ~~xxx~~ ways the most difficult to describe, as it is in fact one of overseeing and taking responsibility overall for the function of the organization nationally. I have attempted to lay out the specific responsibilities that I have. Some are the weekly NAC meetings, others are daily, as the ones dealing with administration and correspondence with the branches. In addition to what I have outlined x below, there are the myriad of conferences, not to mention time for political education and reading.

I see the most important part of the job of national secretary as that of directing politically the organization itself, and seeing that that direction is carried out in the branches and throughout the organization. It is that conception of the job that makes x it a totality, and not just a list of administrative, organizational and political duties. Thus, attempting to insure that the NAC discusses the important political questions of the day, and those which our membership needs guidance on, and perspectives for, in addition to the political perspectives for the year (International questions) which ~~xxxx~~ include the major ~~xxx~~ discussions of the NCs and Convention, and seeing that those are followed through on the branch level is the central focus of my job, and what takes the most time. The outline below should be seen in this context.

1. NAC meetings: Preparing for meetings (agendas, NS report, making sure others prepared), attending the meetings themselves and chairing them, and ~~follow~~ follow-up (seeing that NAC members carry out responsibilities taken at the NAC meetings.)
2. Organizing: Administering the NO, Preparing for NCs and the Convention, including political preparation through the NAC.
3. Organizing, Branches, Organizing Committees and MALs: Communication (keeping in ~~xxx~~ regular touch with all branches, OCs and MAL in general) and Direction (providing organizational and political direction generally to the branches on x major activities that the organization is carrying out; seeing that the branches follow through on the discussions, suggestions, directives from the NAC, and in general being the transmission belt from the NAC and NO to the branches and vice versa.
4. Communication with national contacts, or overseeing others doing it.
5. International correspondence, primarily with the ISGB
6. Detroit Branch - providing assistance to the Detroit branch as national organizer, and dealing with problems between the functioning of the branch and the NO.
7. General political: Sharing and overseeing the responsibility of the NAC to function as a national collaborative leadership body, and taking a share of the political load of the NAC in an effort to x give real national x leadership and guidance to the organization.

REPORT ON THE UMW CONVENTION

by Brian Mackenzie

Background

The United Mine Workers has about 207,000 members in the US. and Canada. This is up from about 150,000 a few years ago as new mines have been opening. There are still about 50,000 working miners not in the UMW. This is partly the result of John L. Lewis' policy of dropping "unprofitable" mines and partly due to the organized state of newer strip mines.

The union is organized into 22 Districts, mostly determined by geography. Some Districts, however, covers several large states, like Districts 15, 22, and 14 in the far and mid-west, but are small in membership, while heavy mining areas like West Virginia have two or more Districts with large memberships, like Districts 17, 31, and 29. The vast majority of miners are in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and Illinois.

Of the UMW's 207,000 members nearly 81,000 are retired miners. They are organized into separate retiree locals. Boyle maintained his tight control over the union largely by a combination of trusteeships over the Districts (14 out of 22) and the manipulation of the retiree vote. Thus the future of the Districts and the retiree question are viewed as important in terms of union democracy.

The new leadership, Arnold Miller (Pres.), Mike Trbovich (V-P) and Harry Patrick (Sec.-Treas.) took office last December. This convention was their first and they will not negotiate a contract until 1974. The contract expires Nov. , 1974. All three were local presidents at one time or another, but never anything higher. Miller, retired in 1970 due to black lung and was active in the Black Lung Association in West Virginia. Trbovich from western Penna. and Patrick from W. Va. were both supporters of Yablonski in 1969. Patrick is generally regarded as the leader of the 1971 strikes against the Pay Board and is said to have a more militant and younger base than Trbovich - who is from a moribund anthracite district.

The atmosphere and mood of the Convention.

The title of the slick "Officers' Report", the slogan on the stage and every other speech by UMW officials proclaimed 1973 "The Year of the Rank and File." Indeed, by current labor standards, the UMW convention was quite democratic. Unlike most union conventions it was also a working convention with heavy rank and file representation. By all accounts the number of pork choppers on the floor was small. Collegiate looking staffers were there, but had no vote. One fairly knowledgeable observer said that many of the delegates had been at the District Conventions earlier this year. That means that they were the activists in the union. Most were probably local officers, but still working miners.

The average delegate was in his early 40's, but there were many young miners there. This included new young leaders with less than three years in the mines after returning from Vietnam. They are the backbone of the militant wing of what used to be MFD. There were some

blacks, but probably less than 5%. There was one women delegate, a nurse and a leading MFD militant.

The mood of the delgates was basically serious. There was much less "monkey business" than at most union conventions. Delegates cheered when someone said that any delegate who didn't show up for a busoness session shouldn't get his expenses for that day. A lot of delegates expressed both excitement and apprehension about the idea of running their own union. Most important, the mood was a fighting one. Virtually everyone their sensed that they were in for a real fight with the bosses in 1974.

How Democratic was the Convention?

To understand the extent of democracy at the convention - and in the coming year - you must have an idea of the relationship of the Miller leadership to the ranks and secondary leaders.

Miller, et al, abolished MFD and have no replaced it with an organization or machine of their own. The ranks of MFD, and its supporters, generally support the new leadership. Furthermore, they think that these new leaders will stick to democracy and will fight the company. At the same time, the MFD militants maintain a stubborn, healthy and skepticle independence from the leadership. They know what happens to people who get power. In any case they do not do things because Miller, etc. tells them to. Again and agin these former MFDers voted dwon proposals from the leadership. The generally healthy atmosphere of the convention comes largely from these militants.

Miller did not try any heavy handed tactics, rule people out of order, or comand a floor machine. Yet, many delegates told us that the top leaders and some of their closest associates called on "loyal" committee charimen more than on disidents. The ~~xxxx~~ resolutions committees were appointed by the leadership, though no one seemd to complain about their composition. To some extent, the leadership got things they way they wanted them on certain issues by simply letting the delegates talk until it was time to recess. Still many things were sent back to committee and, though you could not amend directly on the floor, usually incorpora- ted the most vocal suggestion raised from the delegates. In part, how- ever, it is difficult to gage the real extent of potential democracy that the new leadership would allow because their was no organized opposition with any fundamental differences.

Politcal groupings in the UMW.

There are no longer any organized groups in the UMW. Differences, past and present, tend to be organized along the lines of the union itself, that is, by District. In its first year in power, the Miller, Trbovich leadership has held elections in the 14 Districts which Boyle had under trusteeship. Miller endorsed candidates have won in only 8 of those elections. However, in Dist. 31(W.Wa. and stanch MFD) the Miller candidate was defeated by a person formerly associated with Boyle and, yet, the Dist. is still basically an MFD Dist. Naturally, a number of former Boyle men have made their piece with the new leaders.

In general, the MFDers from western Penna, West Va., and Ohio form the core of the militant wing of the union. While there is no Boyle organization, and no chance of a Boyle return now, some Boyle types

retain power in Districts like 20 in Alabama. Even there, ~~xxxxxxx~~ were MFD candidates were defeated, MFD has some support.

The one fact that stands out is that the new leadership has very little organized support for itself. For this reason it is regarded as weak by the Wall Street Journal, some labor journalists, and a lot of coal operators. At the convention this reflected itself when former Boylers and MFDers often voted together - not by planned intention - to defeat leadership proposals, particularly those that infringed on local or Dist. autonomy. It is this lack of organization which gives them so much leverage for the time being. The Miller leadership will not, in the near future, attempt to take on the ranks in order to discipline them.

For the moment the only figure who is thought to be a potential challenge to Miller is Karl Kafton of Dist. 6 (Ohio and part of W.Va. Kafton, however, was not even visible at the convention, and, in any case, denies that he is in opposition. He is a former MFDer from the earliest days and appears to be to the "left" of Miller on the Int'l Exec. Board

What did the Convention accomplish?

The main business of the Convention was to rewrite the Constitution and establish collective bargaining goals. The direction of the constitutional amendments was to democratize the union structure. However, given the old constitution, that is not saying a lot. In formal terms the new constitution will be one of the more democratic union constitutions. At the same time, the leadership clearly put forth proposals that limit the elective principle. For example, Dist officers will now be elected, but members of the Dist. bargaining teams ~~xxxx~~ are to be appointed. This passed over some vocal opposition. The new safety committeemen will be elected at the local level, which is a real step forward, but the Regional Safety Director will ~~xxxx~~ be appointed. Some MFDers viewed this as a step away from the election promises of the new leaders.

The Miller leadership was apparently more concerned with controlling the bargaining functions of the union than with its political structure. Thus, while stoppages over safety are sanctioned, strikes over other issues must be approved by the Int'l. This is in line with their practice during the last year. On the one hand, Miller has stuck to his position of mining coal safely or not at all, but has urged miners to stop wildcatting over other issues. Stoppages over safety are not wildcats and are legal. Local strikes protesting a death in an unaffected shaft, or strikes over seniority - a big issue - are, however, wildcats - and there are lots of them.

Miller also tried to cut down on wildcats by introducing a new grievance procedure at the Convention. This new procedure cuts out third steps and has an umpire at the end. It has a national umpire and board, giving more control to the Int'l, less to the Dist. Its stated purpose is to eliminate the "need" for so many wildcats. The Convention, to its credit, defeated this plan, although it did not establish the right to strike locally without permission of the Int'l. Keeping in mind the weakness of the Miller leadership, however, it is likely that the Int'l will sanction many strikes over issues as serious as a death, but not

over seniority or similar grievances.

In line with this drift, Miller proposed a pretty aggressive collective bargaining package, but at the ~~time~~ same time reminded the convention twice that these were only suggestions and recommendations.

The matter of pensions will be a real problem for the new leadership. As it is currently set up the only way they can get higher pensions, which they have pledged to do, is to demand an enormous increase of the employers contribution to the pension fund per ton of coal mined. They are in fact going to demand a 150% increase in this contribution. Their analysis is that the coal companies are now owned by big oil, steel and electrical power companies with huge profits. So these corporations can afford to pay. There is some truth in this, but it will take one hell of a fight to get anywhere near what they are promising the members.

In reality miners pensions will never be secure until they are tied to man-hours worked instead of to coal tons mined. Many militants know this, but did not raise it at the convention.

Miller, et al, actually went back on their promise to merge the anthracite pension fund with the larger bituminous fund. Because the anthracite mines went broke years ago, anthracite miners get only \$30 a month. The best Miller could come up with was concern and a promise to seek improvement in anthracite production and prices.

Retiree locals will now be merged with active miner locals. This is meant to eliminate manipulation of retiree locals. Only working miners, however, will be able to vote on contracts - which is as it should be.

The only really clear step toward bureaucracy at the Int'l level in the realm of union structure, seems to have passed un-noticed by most people. While the Int'l officers cut their own salaries last year - though they still run 30-35,000 - they slipped through an amendment that will raise the salary of Int'l Exec Board members from \$12,000 to 21,000. Whetger intended or not, this will certainly help tie the IEB members to the top leadership and separate them further from the ranks.

Miller did come through on his promise to bring the UMW headquarters back to the coal fields. Many saw this as an important, though symbolic, issue in the push and pull between Miller's loyalty to the ranks ~~xxx~~, on the one hand, and to Rauh and his crew on the other.

The convention also established COMPAC (Coal Miners Political Action Committee) as the political and legislative arm of the UMW. While Miller asserted that Coal miners can and will run for office, there was little doubt about which party they would do that in. In fact, an educational meeting on COMPAC held at the Convention was nothing more than a dreary forum for UAW and COPE hacks. The legislative director of COMPAC is a state senator from W.Va. and not a miner.

As yet the direction of the UMW leadership is contradictory. On the one hand, they have democratized the union and carried through on many of their promises. On the other hand, they have moved to bring many bargaining functions under their control in a manner all too familiar. Their next and most crucial test will be in 1974 bargaining.

WHAT IS IN STORE FOR 1974?

The leadership and the ranks of the UMW sense that the energy crisis will work in their favor. They have a conventional analysis of the energy crisis and believe that oil really is in short supply. The nation, they believe, will turn to coal and that will put them in a buyers' market, so to speak.

Undoubtedly, there will be increased demand for coal and a sharp rise in coal production and, to a lesser degree, employment. However, the employers - big oil, electrical and steel corporations, have made it clear that they intend to meet this new demand at lower labor costs per ton. They have mounted a campaign - including I am told restricting production in the mines - to defeat current safety standards, hold down wages, and prepare for a speed-up. They are crying out for the weakening of the Health and Safety Act. Their press is pointing the finger at the miners as the trouble in the way of those mountains of cheap coal that will save the country.

Whatever happens, the Miller leadership will be caught in vise between the insistent pressure of the ranks and the intransigent stance of the employers, backed by the government. For the moment, it is the pressure of the ranks that they feel the strongest. Soon, however, they will be bargaining. While it seems most likely, now, that they will lead a genuine fight in which they play a vasilating role, it is possible they will be ground into powder as the miners take on the bosses directly.

Along with Steel, the miners contract fight in 1974 will be an important event for the future of the American working class. The miners are far better prepared for a fight than the steel workers and will probably play the decisive role next year. The UMW will certainly face the government - even if controls are formally lifted - and will set the pace for future confrontations between labor and the government.

LENIN ON IMPERIALISM PRESENTATION BY MARILYN

NOTE: THIS IS THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF NAC DISCUSSIONS AIMED TOWARD PROVIDING AN EDUCATIONAL ~~XXXX~~ BACKGROUND FOR THE FEBRUARY NO. AND WHICH THEREFORE SHOULD BE HELD IN THE BRANCHES.

Lenin's Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, is the classic work on imperialism. Both methodologically and politically it represented a mile stone for the revolutionary movement in an attempt to come to grips with the changing nature of capitalism in the first decades of the twentieth century. Not all of what Lenin described and analyzed still holds today, but in order to understand what is the nature of present day capitalism, one must understand what happened historically.

Lenin's thesis: ~~By~~ Capitalism entered into a new ~~xxxx~~ stage of development at the turn of the century. No longer was the basis of capitalism free competition, but monopoly, with a few giant corporations in the ~~xxx~~ form of holding companies, trusts, cartels controlling each important industry, reaping super-profits. Secondly, in connection with this development, was the changing role of the banks. No longer were the banks the "middle men" of the capitalist system, now finance or usurer capital dominated ~~an~~ industrial capital. Thirdly, the need to export capital, for raw materials and for markets in order to continue making super-profits, led the monopolies to divide the world market between them. By 1900 most of the world was divided among the 5 great imperialist powers. This competition between the giant monopolies was reflected in the political imperialist competition between these five capitalist giants resulting ~~x~~ in the complete division of the world between them. What would continue to be a fight for division and redivision of the world did not just take place ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in the underdeveloped world, but also within the advanced capitalist world. The period was one of war, punctuated by periods of truce with shifting alliances as the relative strength of the capitalist countries themselves changed. This was imperialism, a stage of capitalism that was a transitional one, one not yet complete. ~~xxx~~ at the time Lenin was writing (1916).

Flowing from this thesis were several ~~xxxx~~ other points. The direction, Lenin stated was toward ~~x~~ a time when the advanced capitalist countries would become solely parasitic usurer states and commodity production would be centered in the underdeveloped world. He saw this tendency as already developing. The effect of this material development on the working class was that the upper portion of the working class, the aristocracy of labor, was being bought off by the super-profits of the monopolies, and thus were opportunist and supported their own national imperialist country. Most representative of this tendency was Kautsky and the 2nd International which had capitulated to imperialism at the outbreak of the first world war. But in opposition to Kautsky, Lenin argued that imperialism created contradictions of its own, and would never evolve to a period of peaceful super imperialism. The contradictions of imperialism were the growing poverty of the masses and the backwardness of agriculture which capitalism could not develop; the existence of the giant monopolies alongside of ~~the~~ still existing capitalist competition, and the fact that capitalist penetration into the backward countries opened them up and laid the basis for a struggle for national self determination. Moreover the combined and ~~was~~ uneven development of the different capitalist countries and the changing relationships between them meant that ~~xxxxxxxx~~ there would be a continual fight to redivide the world.

Critique: Some of the analysis that Lenin developed still holds for today. Primary is that of the tendency of capitalism toward monopoly, which has gone far beyond what Lenin saw in 1916. Also the increasing imperialist competition that he described and analyzed is becoming in this period an accurate state of the relationship within the advanced world. However, beneath the similarities of the period we're entering into today and the period of the first world war, there are important analytical differences which must be taken into consideration, if we are to analyze the developments in capitalism today.

1. Lenin's prediction that the advanced capitalist states would become usurer states and that commodity production would be centered in the under developed world did not turn out to be true. The advanced capitalist countries have continued to be the center of production, at the further impoverishment of the ~~x~~ under developed world.
2. Agriculture, which Lenin said Capital couldnot/would not develop, in fact was developed. In fact, that was one of the main areas that was rationalized in the 1930's depression. In addition, through the Permanent Arms Economy, and the development of agriculture, the level of consumption of the masses in the developed world was raised, which Lenin said could not happen.
3. The relationship between finance capital and industrial capital has also changed. Now, if anything it is thre reverse, that is, industrial capital dominates finance capital, and the two are so intertwined that it is impossible to distinguish which is which, as ITT owns banks, multinationals like GM control banks, etc.
4. Most significant, the relationship between the advanced capitalist world and the underdeveloped world has changed. With the changes in ~~xxx~~ what is the most ~~xx~~ important industries from extractive industries to manufacturing onew which require a highly skilled labor force, and take into account ~~x~~ huge technological development, raw materials now have somewhat less crucial importance than they did in Lenin's time, with some notable exceptions like oil (note there was a difference on the NAC on this, and is one of the areas that we have to do research into in order to be able to answer). Moreover, the avenues of trade between ~~ix~~ the advanced capitalist countries are much more important than between them and the underdeveloped world. Likewise with investment: the proportion of investment in the advanced capitalist world is much higher than into the underdeveloped world, partly due to the changing nature ~~xxxx~~ the key world industries. All of this means that the underdeveloped world is, if any thing in a worse bargaining position that it was in Lenin's time. The prices for most raw materials have fallen sharply, and technology has meant the development of substitutes for a numbe~~f~~ of them contributing to this. Nevertheless, the struggle for world markets and for raw materials still lays the basis for the imperialist fight to control the world. ~~ix~~ A large part of this is, of course, the fact that if one ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ advanced country takes over part of the world, then that means there is less ~~xx~~ for the others, and on and on.
5. What in general we see developing today is a situation similar to the period Lenin was analyzing, but with major differences given the change in capitalism since that time. It is the job of our tendency to ~~xxx~~ analyze and understand those changes so as to be able to accurately analyze the developing inter-imperialist rivalry as the crisis in capitalism develops.

NAC MINUTES 1/3/74

Present: All

0. NATSEC REPORT. Approved ALL FOR.

1. EDUCATION DEPT. Brief report by JT on editing of pamphlet introductions, etc.
2. WEST COAST REPORT. Lengthy discussion based on report by JW on his tour on situation in branches in LA, eBay, SF, Seattle and Portland. A whole series of questions came up in the discussion relating to events both internal and external to the I.S. which will be taken up in future discussions, including: Maoist groups, the RED TIDE paper and youth work, the FIFTH WHEEL and IBT work, UFW activity, and labor strategy (relationship of trade union work to revolutionary politics).

MOTION(JT): Building a San Francisco branch is a major priority in the Bay Area. To implement that perspective some comrades from Berkeley should be assigned to do their major arena work in SF. TABLED to future discussion to be based on reports from Berkeley and SF (to be solicited and due in one month).

MOTION(JW): The ~~Executive Committee~~ NAC will inform Julie B. and other of the Portland contacts who may wish to join the IS but are planning to leave Portland, that:

- (a) Since they are planning to leave soon, we do not set up membership-at-large status for them at this time. (Voted separately, PASSED 5-1 (JG)).
 - (b) Encourage them to take WP bundle and set up study group on I.S. politics.
 - (c) JT to get in touch with them for general education program, plus speakers and conferences in order to build up a periphery for the IS.
- PASSED 5-0+1 (JG).

3. IMPERIALISM AND WORLD ECONOMY (BUKHARIN). Presentation by JT and discussion (to be written up).

National Secretary's Report 1/3/74

1. General: Branches have still not been sending in reports on Workers Power distribution. One exception is Cleveland, 35 copies sold of No. 87. It has come to my attention that comrades are either not taking, or not carrying out regular WP assignments. It is a responsibility of membership that every comrade take and carry out a regular assignment. The paper has improved, and will continue to do so, but it won't mean much if we don't get it outside of the organization. WP is our public face, and comrades must begin taking assignments and following through on them.

2. NAC: The NAC held the first educational discussion in the series on imperialism as a background to the major NC discussion on developments in International capitalism (see last key list mailing and this one for notes on the discussions). Branches should be holding these discussions. The next ones are 1) Kidron, 2 articles in IS No. 61, 2) Magdoff, Age of Imperialism.

3. NO: JW completed the first of the bi-monthly tours of the west coast. He spent a week each in LA, the Bay Area, and Seattle, where he spoke publically mainly on the struggles in auto, and internally. The branches felt it very helpful, especially internally with specific problems and in general in terms of communication, and in strengthening their sense of a national organization. We are now in the process of planning the next tour for sometime in February. JG, MF (Bloomington) & NH (Madison) met with a group of radicals, some soft Maoists in Gainesville Florida. Loose contacts were made and are being followed up by the three of them.

4. West Coast: The West Coast Educational Conference was quite successful, especially for the morale of the ~~the~~ branches. Six comrades from Seattle, 4 from LA & two friends, 1 from Portland and 2 ~~gr~~ friends attended in addition to close contacts from the Bay Area. The discussions were on Watergate and the political crisis, the Trade Unions and Maoism.

Discussion of Bukharin's Imperialism and World Economy

Bukharin's book is extremely valuable in that it gives an overview of the functioning of capitalist economy and demonstrates how imperialism is a necessary and inevitable outgrowth of capitalism and is an extension into the world sphere of the normal tendencies of capitalism. Because of its overview it makes the phenomenon of imperialism more comprehensible than Lenin does in Imperialism. Furthermore, Bukharin gives a more complete analysis than Lenin's which was rather one-sided, and thus his analysis of imperialism stands up today better than Lenin's. (There was some sentiment on the NAC that this "fuller analysis" was really fudging, and that Lenin came closer to putting his finger on the central dynamic at that time). Because Bukharin does such a good job he helps us to understand imperialism better than most and also helps us to understand the inapplicability of the theory for today and how the Permanent Arms Economy has taken over its former function.

Bukharin's main concern is in describing the tendencies that get worked out as the various sections of the bourgeoisie scramble over each other to get as much as they possibly can of the surplus value produced by the working class. This is a process which occurs continually in capitalism -- as for example when the owners of transportation firms or department stores take their rake-off they are taking a part of the surplus value produced by the working class where the manufacturing process took place. And, as Bukharin notes this process can often result in battles, with manufacturing combines forming to dictate terms in the market place, met by distributive combines (or vice-versa). Bukharin's interest is how this works when it gets moved to the realm of world economy. As he puts it:

"By and large, the whole process of world economic life in modern times reduces itself to the production of surplus value and its distribution among the various groups and sub-groups of the bourgeoisie on the basis of an ever widening reproduction of the relations between two classes -- the class of the world proletariat on the one hand and the world bourgeoisie on the other." (p. 27).

He argues that imperialism is a function of the imminent tendencies inherent in capitalism: it is necessary and inseparable from it. Capitalist competition tends to lead to a centralisation of capital: monopolies and the expropriation of smaller capitalists. What this means is that there are agglomerated together huge amounts of capital which are then available for investment. It also tends to turn the national economy into a single combined enterprise:

"... the formation of cartels and combines creates forthwith a community of interest among the financing banks; on the other hand, banks are interested in checking competition between enterprises financed by them; similarly, every understanding between the banks helps to tie together the industrial groups; state enterprises also become ever more dependent upon large-scale financial-industrial formations, and vice-versa. Thus various spheres of the concentration and organisation process stimulate each other, creating a very strong tendency towards transforming the entire national economy into one gigantic combined enterprise under the tutelage of the financial kings and the capitalist state, an enterprise which monopolises the national market and forms the pre-requisite for organised production on a higher non-capitalist level." (p. 73-4) (emphasis his)

(Incidentally, this statement by Bukharin demonstrates that some of the attempt to sharply distinguish between finance and industrial capital is and was a vain effort. The intertwining which is evident today existed then as well. Once again, there was disagreement on the NAC concerning this point).

Competition also plays the function of accelerating investment in constant capital which tends to lead to a rise in the organic composition of capitals (greater and greater percentage of capitals investment is in plant and machinery rather than in wages). This tendency leads to two problems. One is the realisation problem: fewer workers are required to produce more goods; the rate of exploitation increases; this means that the working class as a whole is unable to consume what it produces, and this is true even allowing for capital investment and capitalist consumption. Thus, the capitalists must find a place to get rid of their goods so they can realise their profits. Secondly, and more fundamental is that the rise in the organic composition of capital tends to lead to a declining rate of profit because labor power is what creates value.

Imperialism is an effort to solve both of these problems and a third as well: that of obtaining a stable source of supplies. The realisation problem is solved by opening up new markets in other countries. (In backward countries they are able to jack up profits by underselling their native competitors but selling above the price they would obtain in normal market conditions because of the monopoly enjoyed in colonies). The declining rate of profit is counteracted by the above, but mainly by the export of capital to more labor-intensive countries. Capital, which had been accumulated and centralised, as discussed above, found fewer and fewer sources of investment because of the declining profitability. The opening of new areas allows for the use of cheap labor and therefore retards the tendency toward the introduction of new machinery, which on an overall basis slows down the tendency for the rate of profit to decline, and thereby allows capitalism to continue functioning and expanding.

The third problem imperialism helps solve is the supply of natural resources and agricultural products. Again imperialism, by making off certain areas of the world for colonies, created monopolies and guaranteed supplies for certain national bourgeoisies. (Within national economies the same thing was done by the creation of vertical combines which cut off competitors from supplies or charged them higher rates).

One of the main contradictions in capitalism is that production is increasingly socialized but ownership is private. This leads to increasing exploitation and to the anarchy of the market, which in turn ~~leads to the class struggle~~ continually helps to generate the class struggle.

Extended to the international realm the contradiction is that production is increasingly internationalized while acquisition is carried out by means of national capitals, organized in states. What that means is that the class struggle is internationalized, and also that there tends to be battles between the national capitals.

Capitalism is cutthroat enough when it takes place within a national economy; when it is between national capitals organized as states with state power, the level of struggle escalates: tariffs are used to keep competitors out of home markets; colonies are gotten to be used as monopolies for supplies, markets and investment;
~~leads to~~

and inevitably wars come about as a means of deciding who gets what, or of redividing what has already been split up.

The above is an outline of Bukharin's thesis; the following are some other important points he makes.

Bukharin notes under these conditions the increasingly important role of the state and the military. Already, even in the time he was writing the character of capitalism had changed sufficiently so that these were becoming significant features, although nothing like what they became after World War II.

Bukharin notes that imperialism involved not only advanced to backward countries, but advanced to advanced countries. This form of imperialism has not been seen much recently (with the exception of examples such as Russia to Czechoslovakia and Hungary) largely because there has been a stable economy and a stable balance of power (based on US domination of the world). As these break down the likelihood of this form of imperialism reemerges.

Bukharin argues that no stable peace is possible under capitalism. Such a peace he contends would assume equality of conditions such that no national capital could hope to get an advantage over another, and that that equality be static. But, as changes occur in economic strengths there comes to be a pull to recognize them in political terms, and therefore war is inevitable. Bukharin suggests the possibility of one super-power conquering all others and thus ending war and rejects it as ridiculous. But, basically that is functionally what happened after WWII -- with the US as the super-power. It is one of the reasons for peace and stability: the US set up the world as it wished. That is now breaking down as economic strength shifts.

Critique

Because Bukharin worked closely with Lenin and shared his point of view on most questions, most of the criticisms that have been made of Lenin's Imperialism apply to this work as well, and I will not bother to repeat them.

Bukharin's claim that the agglomerative tendencies of capitalism are returning the national capitals into a single combined enterprise is exaggerated, to say the least. It is certainly an uncompleted (and probably uncompletable) tendency. Certainly it is uncompletable before a new world war and depression and the choice of socialism of barbarism once again faces mankind. It is most true of the national capitals as they face each other, rather than internally.

The functional importance of imperialism as halting the declining rate of profits and of providing new markets is today provided by the Permanent Arms Economy. Investment in the PAE certainly does not increase the organic composition of capital in the production of things of value, and the continued prosperity it has created has helped to build an expanding internal market, as well as providing a guaranteed market for the junk produced for the PAE. But there is a cost: a large amount of stagnation not created by capital export. Of course, capitalism always has a tendency to stagnate

but the PAE enormously augments that tendency by providing that a huge chunk of investment is worthless.

Investment tended to be in the advanced countries much more than in the backward countries. This was the case because their prosperity provided greatly expanding internal markets, because they were politically stable, and because the skilled labor force they provided was much more able to do the work required as industry became increasingly sophisticated.

As the PAE becomes less of a prop we will probably see more scrambling for markets. There has already been some of this: the moves for detente with China and Russia had as aspect of this involved with them, as well as the export of capital. There will also be some kind of scrambling for resources. And this will mean continued and growing cutthroat competition between the advanced countries.

NOTE: Because of the valuable character of this book all members are urged to read it. However, if it is necessary for the branches to avoid discussing some of the pieces discussed by the NAC we regretfully recommend that this be one of those. Because of the influence wielded by Lenin's work, and of the similar point of view between the two it is important that our people be able to understand and discuss Imperialism. If it is possible to fit this book in, fine. Probably the two could be discussed together. In any case, if a discussion is scheduled on Lenin, the person making the presentation should be sure to read Bukharin as well.

ALL BRANCHES ARE REQUESTED TO SEND IN A SCHEDULE TO THE EDUCATION DIRECTOR OUTLINING WHAT DISCUSSIONS YOU ARE PLANNING. The next key list mailing will contain a list of what people are expected to ~~talk~~ discuss. Readings soon to come out, in addition to the document for the NC, will be a pamphlet and a reprint, both designed for background for the NC discussion.