

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS  
**NATIONAL REPORT**

Volume II, No. 5

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FOR MEMBERS ONLY

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NOTES & EXPLANATIONS, ETC.

1. Report Of the Women's Commission, by BW is a later report than Report From the Women's Commission.
2. On Women's Industrialization--CRG, Chicago, is a response to Motion to the NAC--submitted by Rose V. That Motion is in National Report Vol. 2, No. 2, December 1973. On Women's Industrialization--CRG, Chicago is also an explanation of , "Amendment for T & P, pg. 35, On Women's Perspectives--CRG, Chicago" which was passed by the 1973 Convention as amended by Lynn J, CRG's Amendment is in Bulletin No. 46, December 1973. Lynn J.'s Amendment is in this National Report.

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In general, anything submitted for the National Report or Bulletin should be typed on a stencil that will fit a Gestetner mimeo machine. The hardest pressure on the typewriter should be used. Leave ample margins at the sides, as well as at the top and bottom of the page.

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The NC Minutes will appear in the next issue of the National Report, because they were not submitted in time for this one. Probably they will go out in a Key List Mailing before that as well.

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NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT January 29, 1974

1. General Organizational: Mike Stewart's NC document, The Decline of American Imperialism and the Growing World Conflict has been sent to branches with the issue No. 90 of WP. Branches should try to have at least a preliminary discussion of the document for the benefit of NC delegates who will be discussing it at the NC. This document will not be passed at this NC, but should be seen as being adopted as the basis for amendment for the National Convention next summer. So there will be time for those comrades who have substantial disagreement with it to either write amendments or counter documents before it becomes the formal position of the organization.

2. NO: We have just completed two new pamphlets: Kollontai, International Women's Day, Introduction by CE, and The Emerging Crisis of Capitalism (reprints mainly from the British International Socialism; and a new reprint (No. 4) Readings in the Political Economy of Capitalism. One more reprint will be out next week (No. 3) on China and Maoism. Branches should order the reprints; the pamphlets are ~~being~~ being sent out in the amounts decided upon earlier (1 per member + 25%).

3. New York: Comrades attended the NY women's Trade Union Conference. Our points were well received in the workshops, where we got resolutions passed for women's caucuses, for the conference to call a demonstration for 24 hr free child care, and for the Central Labor Council to hire women organizers to organize the unorganized women workers. When the workshop reports were read, these resolutions were conveniently not read out to the body. This week KM is debating Aronowita in NY on Revolutionary strategy in the trade unions.

4. Bay Area: Comrades there are involved in a coalition around SF school board activities and plan to have a forum in early February; and in a committee for supporting the current Sears strike. The east Bay Branch has a new member.

5. ALL BRANCHES, ORGANIZING COMMITTEES, NOTE: When the Women's Commission proposed to the NAC that we attempt a national mobilization for International Women's Day, and the NAC voted for it, we expected that all branches would follow through. So far, Barbara has only heard from NY, Bloomington and St. Louis directly, even though she requested that she be notified by Jan. 15. We do expect all branches to do their best in carrying out this activity. It is a national activity. The NO is willing to provide any and all assistance necessary to help out in this, in the form of speakers for forums, suggestions, etc. The pamphlet has been completed and sent out. We're planning a centerfold for that issue of WP, and would like to know of forums in time to advertise them in the paper. Speakers notes will be sent out. Let me emphasize this is to be a national mobilization, the first we've attempted since the convention. If the local organizations don't follow through, it won't happen.

Politically, it is a great opportunity for us. Since the women's liberation movement collapsed, all left organizations with the exception of us have capitulated on the questions of women's liberation and an independent women's movement. It gives us the unique opportunity to put forward our revolutionary perspective for building a working women's organization when no other group is doing this. Barbara will be contacting all branches and OC's about plans. See also the notes and letter from the Women's Commission in this mailing. Please let her know as soon as possible about what activities you plan. Write: Barbara Winslow, 2176 Briarwood, Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118, and send a copy to Rose Veviaka at the NO.

NAC MINUTES 1/29/74

Present: All (except JW when only 5 votes recorded)

-1. MINUTES. Correction in wording of motion passed two weeks ago (see below).

0. NATSEC REPORT. APPROVED.

Report on correspondence with close contact in Florida.

Report that Mike P. has stated he will not be attending February NC because of working on his document on Stalinism. MOTION(JT): The NAC finds this unacceptable and demands that Mike P. attend February NC. PASSED ALL FOR.

MOTION(JG): In the absence of a full-time pamphlet distributor, we will find a temporary distributor to take charge of distribution of the series of pamphlets just produced. PASSED.

MOTION(JG): That we write to NEW POLITICS magazine protesting their decision not to print the article "A New Beginning" by the Independent Socialist Committee (ISCo).

Motivation: This article (a rewritten version of the document of the same name written in 1971 upon the resignation of the "Reorient" group from the IS) was originally submitted for a New Politics symposium on Prospects for an American Socialist Movement. The symposium contained articles from people in the three social-democratic splinters of the SP, the SWP and the People's Party. It was originally rejected on ~~xxxx~~ grounds of length, and was to appear as a separate article. David McReynolds, one of the NP editors, then wrote that they (or he) did not want to print it because it represented one of the three IS splits. If printed they felt that they would then have to present the views of the other IS splits, and that in such case they ~~would~~ might also have to open the pages of their magazine to the RU, YAWF, etc. In essence, then, social democratic views are welcome, while the IS and its splits are now on the unwelcome list. This political direction of NEW POLITICS has been going on for A LONG time, but still requires a ~~protest~~ protest. Although we don't use the magazine very much or contribute to it often, we should protest ~~our~~ our exclusion. The journal was originally conceived as a magazine for discussion among different socialist tendencies, particularly for third camp viewpoints which could not find expression in the existing radical journals. While it has moved away from that conception, in the direction of social democracy, and has therefore been of less interest and use for our members, we should try to keep its pages open to our and other revolutionary Marxist views.

MOTION PASSED ALL FOR.

1. FEBRUARY NC AGENDA. Presentations by BM and JW on proposals for auto discussion during NC.

MOTION(JW): (i)Not to have discussions of either the Dump Woodcock or unemployment perspectives at the February NC. If there is an auto discussion, it should focus on general auto perspectives draft document by BH. (ii)Copies of the BH document and ~~ex~~ new document by JW to be made available to NAC members today, and NAC to meet tomorrow to determine whether or not they should be discussed by NC (withdrawn because BM could not attend additional NAC meeting).

Motion FAILED 1-4-1 (JW for, JG abstain).

MOTION(BM, MD): (i)To discuss the unemployment perspectives (longer session) and Dump Woodcock campaign (shorter session). PASSED 4-1-1 (JW against, JG abstain).

(ii)Documents by BH and JW to be distributed to NC for future discussion. PASSED 5-0-1 (JG). AMENDMENT(JW): This discussion to be held at May NC. TABLED.

MOTION(JT): Request JG to write up his NAC presentation on world economic crisis for the NC. ALL FOR (a session to discuss this will be scheduled).

2. INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY and WOMEN'S COMMISSION. Report by BW (to be sent out).

MOTION: The NAC reaffirms previous motion that IWD activities are to be a national campaign to reach out externally and to combat the capitulation of

the rest of the left on the issue of women's liberation and an independent women's movement. ~~Ma~~ Some branches have not yet planned activity. All branches are expected to participate -- the NO will provide speakers wherever this is necessary. MD to write up directive to the branches with the backing of the NAC. ALL FOR.

MOTION: A brief descriptive document should be written up on the Conference of Labor Union Women (CLUW) discussed in BW's report, and a perspectives document (brief) on perspectives for orientation toward the CLUW and its activities. ALL FOR.

3. DETROIT BRANCH. Report on planned educational activities by BH and EE, who are the branch organizers.

4. UNEMPLOYMENT CAMPAIGN. Report by BH ACCEPTED (to be written up).

5. MIKE S. DOCUMENT. Preliminary discussion of amendments to MS document on the emerging capitalist crisis and world conflict. Amendments to be written up and sent out as they are completed.

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NOTE: Two weeks ago the NAC passed a motion that no full-time pamphlet distributor/book service director would be hired at this time. The motion, as recorded, should have included the clause: "even though this they mean serious curtailment of our publications program at this time" (this was inadvertently deleted from the minutes). A counterposed motion, that DP (Cleveland) be hired to perform this job while living in Cleveland, and that money be raised for this by seeding the book service funds, was defeated.

IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT

INFORMATION FOR THE NE: SATURDAY, FEB. 16- SUNDAY, FEB. 18.

- I. AGENDA (outline, a detailed one for each session will follow next week).
- Saturday, Feb. 16:
- Session 1 (10:00-1:00) Decline of ~~XXXX~~ American Imperialism and the Growing World Conflict MS
  - Session 2 (3:00-6:00) Decline of American Imperialism MS (cont.)
  - Women's Caucus 6.30-8:30 International Women's Day; Women's Trade Union Organization
  - Party 9:00-2:00am sharp)
- Sunday, Feb. 17:
- Session 3 (10:30-2:30) Auto: Dump Woodcock campaign, KM; Unemployment and Layoffs, BH
  - ~~Session 4 (6:30-9:30)~~
  - Fractions: (3:30-6:30) UFW, UAW, CWA
  - Session 4 (8:00-10:30) World Economic Crisis JG
- Monday, Feb. 18:
- Session 5 (10:00-2:30) Organizational:
    - National Secretary's Report
    - Industrial Secretary's Report
    - Educational Secretary's Report
    - Workers Power Report
- II. Documents and where to find them: (NOTE: delegates must bring these with them, as there are only a few extra copies!)
- A. Decline of American Imperialism and the Growing World Conflict: Sent out to branches with No. 90 of Workers Power as discussion pamphlet.
  - B. Auto: Dump Woodcock: Jan. 15 key list mailing and Nat'l Report, Vol2, No. 4, also sent out with No. 90 of WP.
  - C. Auto: Layoffs and Unemployment: this key list mailing
  - D. World Economic Crisis: next key list mailing
  - E. NAC Amendments to Decline of American Imperialism: next key list mailing; Note: there will be at least one additional short ~~amend~~ amendment which delegates will receive upon arrival at the NC. This could not be avoided.
  - F. Organizational Reports: next key list mailing
- III. Branches & Organizing Committees and MALs should let the NO know if comrades are planning to come to the NC who are not delegates, so we can arrange for housing.

REMEMBER TO BRING YOUR DOCUMENTS WITH YOU, OR YOU WILL BE OUT OF LUCK!

Thanks, Marilyn

IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT      IMPORTANT

NC DELEGATES AND OTHERS COMING TO THE NC, PLEASE BRING THIS SHEET WITH YOU

I. AGENDA

Saturday, Feb. 16:

Session 1 (10:00-1:00) Decline of American Imperialism and the  
Growing world Conflict: PAE theory

20 min. presentation, 10 min. summary MS

4 min. discussion round (1 hr)

3 min. discussion round (45 min.)

Amendments, 2 for, 2 against each (3 min.)

Votes on amendments

Session 2 (3:00-6:00) Decline of American Imperialism (cont., rest  
of the document

20 min. presentation, 10 min. summary MS

4 min. discussion round (1 hr.)

3 min. discussion round (45 min.)

Amendments, 2 for, 2 against each (3 min.)

Votes on amendments

Voting on document as a whole as basis for amendment for '74 Conv.

Women's Caucus 6:30-8:30

PARTY 9-2am sharp

Sunday, Feb. 17:

Session 3 (10:30-2:30) Autp

Dump Woodcock campaign 1½ hrs. total

15 min. presentation, 8 min. summary KM  
questions, discussion 1 hr.

Break 10 min.

Layoffs/Unemployment 2½ hrs total

20 min. presentation, 10 min. summary BH

4 min. discussion round B (1 hr)

Voting on both documents

Fractions (3:00-6:00) UFW, UAW, CWA

Session 4 (8:00-10:30) World Economic Crisis

20 min. presentation, 10 min. summary JG

4 min. discussion round (1 hr.)

3 min. discussion round (45 min.)

Voting

Monday, February 18

Session 5 (10:00-2:30)

National Secretary's Report

10 min. presentation, 5 min. summary MD

1 hr. discussion

Educational Secretary's Report

10 min. presentation, 5 min. summary JT

30 min. discussion

Industrial Secretary's Report

10 min. presentation, 5 min. summary KM

45 min. discussion

Report on Proposal for National Dues Structure

10 min. presentation, 5 min. summary JG

30 min. discussion

Motions growing out of reports and voting

ADJOURN

OVER      OVER      OVER

**IMPORTANT (Continued)**

- II. Documents for the NC and where to find them: PLEASE BRING WITH YOU
- A. Decline of American Imperialism and the Growing World Conflict: Sent out to branches with No. 90 of WP as a discussion pamphlet
  - B. Auto: Dump Woodcock Campaign: Jan. 15 key list mailing and National Report Vol 2, No. 4, ~~xx~~ also sent out with No. 90 of WP
  - C. Auto: Layoffs and Unemployment: Jan. 29 key list mailing (last one before this one)
  - D. World Economic Crisis: Either this key list mailing, or a special mailing to NC delegates and alternates
  - E. NAC amendments to ~~XXXX~~ Decline of American Imperialism: This key list mailing, and one or two short ones which you will receive at the NC.
  - F. Other Amendments: to Decline of American Imperialism: KB of Chicago plans to introduce a section of his program document in Bulletin No. 44 as additions. The section to be introduced is section V. Please bring this bulletin with you if you have it. We do have some extra copies you can use, but it would be better if you brought them.
  - G. Kevin Bradley has produced a discussion document, put out as a discussion pamphlet on post war capitalism. It has been sent out in a special mailing to the key list, and delegates ~~xx~~ and/or seated alternates should try to read it as part of the preparation for the discussion on the MS document. It will not be voted on however.
  - H. Organizational Reports: This key list mailing.
  - I. National Dues Structure Proposal: You will receive it at the NC

PLEASE TRY TO BRING THESE WITH YOU, AS ADDITIONAL COPIES ARE IN SHORT SUPPLY.

- III. Branches, Organizing Committees and MAL's should let the NO know if ~~m~~ comrades are planning to come to the NC who are not delegates, so we can plan for housing. Delegates and others should let the NO know as soon as possible if they need rides from the airport so we can efficiently arrange transportation.

THANKS

Marilyn



National Secretary's Report Feb. 5, 1974

1. General Organizational: NC agendas and a list of where documents can be found were sent out with the last key list mailing and with this mailing. Those coming to the NC, especially delegates should be sure and bring them with you, as there may not be any extra copies.
2. NO: The reprint on the Chinese revolution is out. Branches should order as soon as possible.
3. International Women's Day: New York, Seattle, Detroit and Cleveland are actively making plans for forums and related activities in line with the national mobilization for International Women's Day. Cleveland is holding their activities with the UFW. The other branches mentioned are still finalizing their plans.
4. New York: Comrades attended the Bloody Sunday demonstration, in which a comrade spoke. We sold WP and a number of pamphlets on Ireland. Two hundred attended the debate between Kim Moody and Stanley Aronowitz on the revolutionary strategy in the trade unions. More details on the debate next week. A close contact declared to join the branch.
5. Seattle: The Seattle branch held the second in a 2 part forum series on the Teamsters last weekend. A number of comrades and close contacts came from Portland and Bellingham, in addition to many of the Teamster contacts we have in Seattle. The two part series was quite successful.
6. Chicago: BW spoke to the branch on blacks and the Communist Party ~~and~~ and on a campus publically for the branch.

UFW DEMONSTRATION PROPOSAL TO THE NAC

DW, Seattle/LA

It appears that our national UFWA campaign has gotten off the ground. This gives us the possibility of affecting boycott strategy in several major cities and contacting the rank and file of the union through field workers in the boycott cities. We can not begin a small agitational campaign in the boycott for coordinated, nationwide demonstrations timed to coincide with the resumption of the strike in the fields. By calling upon the UFWA to organize these demonstrations, we can argue for the necessity of resuming the strike as the only way to win the struggle.

There have been reports in Seattle and East Bay that the strike will be resumed, although the time (April or May) is undetermined which may indicate that the union is not totally sure. All indications are that the grape fields will be struck. By calling for the demos we should stress the necessity of a strike to win and ~~with point~~ ~~the direction~~ the direction in which the strike should move, toward defense of pickets by the UFWA and the rest of the labor movement. In terms of the boycott, we should point out that it is most effective when it is an actual strike to support, and that it should be ~~xx~~ used as a fighting tool by remaining flexible and not getting locked into one strategy. This seems to be happening now on the west coast as the emphasis is shifting from Safeway to Gallo while negotiations are in progress with Italian Swiss and Almaden. In Seattle the boycott is also concentrating on informational picketing about the grape situation building to a resumption of the strikes in that crop

We should begin work on agitation for demos now, so that we can begin work on a pamphlet now, and so we can have an impact on any fieldworker contacts we have. If we begin now to lay out a strategy for the strike and boycott we can show our contacts that we are serious and have political discussions with them before they return to California for the strikes.

We need a pamphlet of about 50 pages, 25 in English, 25 in Spanish, giving a history of the UFWA, a brief two-page history of agricultural labor organizing and ending with a proposal for the road forward (building the strike, dropping non-violence, building labor support, increasing democracy in the union and boycott committees). If it is not feasible to do this and the demonstrations come off, we should at least have a bilingual supplement to WP for distribution.

In line with putting forth our ideas the IS should organize a national tour for Kevin B. to speak on the UFWA. This is a heavy load to put on one individual, but he is the only comrade with both the knowledge and credentials to carry it off. Forums should be scheduled for late March or April in each of the branches involved in UFWA work.

WP coverage should continue on the boycott, but stress should be placed on the necessity of building the strike, the reasons above and others, and on how to build a tactically successful boycott, and on the history of agricultural organizing focused on the fact that it is difficult and if the UFWA doesn't win this year, they will probably continue as an organizational shell the way other farmworkers unions have.

My specific motion is as follows:

The IS through WP and its comrades in the boycott should call on the UFWA to organize nationwide demonstrations timed to coincide with a resumption of strikes in the grape fields. We call for labor participation in these demonstrations by calling out their ranks, pledging real financial support, and where geographically possible, real support in defense of the picket lines. Dissident temos should be invited to speak about their union's raid and why they support the UFWA.

The IS continue to build the boycott and try to aim it in the direction of becoming a flexible tool useful in conducting the strike, not the tail which wags the dog. We aim at spreading information on the situation in the grape fields, where temo contracts are almost a year old, and on selected targets for secondary boycotts which can be successful.

The IS should sponsor forums on the UFWA in the cities in which we are active between now and the resumption of the strikes.

Regardless of the outcome of the demo proposal, the IS must produce a pamphlet on the UFWA which should be bilingual, as should all important articles on the UFWA in WP. If the demos happen and we have no pamphlet, we should have a supplement to WP on the UFWA ~~xxxxxx~~ covering the strikes and a winning strategy for the strikes and the boycott.

Our UFWA coverage in WP should raise the necessity of the strike for the success of the union and as a focus for the boycott. We should also emphasize the importance to the life of the UFWA of winning this year. (Time is not on the side of the UFWA as Chavez repeatedly states.)

NOTE: The Seattle Third World Fraction has not had a chance to discuss this proposal yet. Copies have been sent to all UFWA fractions. The NAC may wish to solicit their opinions.

NAC MINUTES 2/5/74

Present; All except BM

0. NATSEC REPORT. APPROVED ALL FOR.

Report on request by Mike P. for clarification of previous motion. ~~MOTION(MP)~~  
MOTION(JT): To reaffirm previous motion that MP attend February NC, meaning that we expect him to attend as a normal NC responsibility like other members of the NC. ~~ALL FOR~~ PASSED 3-1-1 (JG against, MD abstain).

1. CAPITALISM, STALINISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD. Discussion of 1949 ISL Resolution, Part I (Changes in Capitalist Imperialism). Presentation by DF and discussion (~~notes attached~~). Notes could not be prepared to go with these minutes but will go out in following key list mailing.

2. NC RESOLUTION. Amendments to Mike S. document by various NAC members (attached).

3. EDUCATION. Discussion of Education Director's report to the NC.

4. UFW. Presentation on proposal submitted by DW (Seattle). (attached). This proposal is to be discussed by local UFW fractions and will be the basis for the discussion at UFW fraction meeting during NC.

5. NC PROCEDURE. MOTION(JG): That members not be charged for internal discussion documents. PASSED 3-1-1 (JW against, JT abstain).

MOTION(JG): In the future non-members are not to be invited to NC discussions. Such discussions are not held for purposes of recruitment. FAILED 2-2-1 (MD, JW against; JT abstain).

MOTION(MD): All contacts invited to NC meetings must be cleared by the NAC or the NATSEC. Contacts must understand that certain agenda items may be open to members only. PASSED 2-1-2 (JW, MD for; DF against).

MOTION(DF): The organizational session of this NC will be open to members only. PASSED 4-1 (JT against). NOTE: At that time the motion that NC meetings be open only to members will be reintroduced.

MOTION(DF): We do not believe that it is generally correct to extend speaking rights to all comrades who may be involved in whatever work is under discussion at a given NC session. We do not believe it would be proper or feasible to extend speaking rights to the entire auto fraction during auto discussions at ~~this~~ this NC. PASSED 5-0.

NOTE: ~~It~~ It was not proposed by anyone that the whole fraction should have speaking rights.

MOTION(MD): To ask LJ (who is on leave of absence) to designate BM (Detroit) or WT (Det.) as her alternate for UAW discussion. FAILED.

2. To extend speaking rights for these sessions to one of the auto worker comrades from Chicago because of their differences with the proposals being raised ALL FOR.

MOTION(JW): To extend speaking rights for auto discussions to members of Detroit exec (who serve as local auto steering committee, plus one comrade from all locals inside and outside Detroit where we have at least two members. FAILED.

Agenda for NC is attached.

6. ~~WP~~ WP EDITORIAL BOX. The WP editorial box contains the statement "Signed articles are not necessarily the views of WP, ~~xx~~ which are expressed in editorials. There was a motion on the E.B. to delete or modify this statement, which was referred to the NAC. MOTION(DF): To retain the statement as it stands. PASSED

(Motivation: As is known the paper as a whole represents the views of the IS and all articles except minority viewpoints are edited politically. However there remains a place for signed articles, which do not necessarily have to represent total agreement with the general IS line in each and every detail. It is also useful to draw special notice to the importance of the editorial, which should be read as an organizational statement).

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT 2/12/74

1. General Organizational: Workers Power: LA sold 180 copies of No. 89 (at auto plant, IBT union meeting, UFW boycott committee meeting and anti-Nixon demo). On no. 90, so far as of reporting (2/2) around 50 sold so far. Quote from report: "I think we are doing very well with the paper and everybody seems dedicated to selling it." Cleveland sold 80 of no. 88, 100 of no. 89, and about 120 of no. 90 so far, including about 40 to truckers. Sales in Cleveland at the unemployment office are quite good, averaging 20 issues per hour. Quote from report "I think we will be able to get rid of more than 200 once we get better organized". Both these reports show what can be done with systematic ~~sales~~ attempts and a serious attitude toward selling the paper. These branches are two of the smaller ones in the organization, although at present they have some of the highest record of sales. Detroit sold close to 100 copies of No. 90 at auto plants and an unemployment office.
2. International Women's Day: In addition to branches noted last week (NY, Seattle, Cleveland, Detroit), Chicago and St. Louis are planning activities for IWD in line with the national mobilization. BW still has not heard from LA, the Bay Area, Louisville or Bloomington.
3. New York: The branch made \$41.00 at the Moody/Aronowitz debate, and sold \$25.00 worth of lit. 50 people signed the mailing list and an introductory class on IS politics is being planned for these new contacts and others the branch has recently made. The consensus of the branch evaluation was that the debate was a success, that we won it, but that branch functioning wasn't as good as it could have been.
3. Chicago: Addition to report on BW's (Cleveland) forums from last week: she spoke at 2 public forums, one at Northeastern with 45 people attending and one at Northern with 80 people attending, topic both times was revolutionary feminism. JW (Detroit) spoke last weekend and 2 black auto workers from one plant attended and a woman worker from another plant attended. All forums were thought to be quite successful by the branch. Comrades attended a UFW conference for organizing boycott activities on campuses. Independents from Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin attended in addition to the YSA and the Spartacist League.
4. Bay Area: Comrades there have been involved in a fight around integration of the SF schools. In the context of one community meeting on the issue several members of the American Nazi Party showed up, and PL physically attacked them and was for calling upon the state to oust them from the meeting. We opposed calling upon the state to do this, and the SF branch held a successful forum (Nazism: How to Fight It) at which 13 contacts came.
5. Cleveland: Comrades there ~~was~~ were able to make some contact with the truckers strike and attempted to follow it up. They also attended a demonstration sponsored by ~~another~~ the Modern Times group called to support the strike at which about 20 truckers attended, and to which we were able to bring our contacts in that industry. Sects unfortunately made up the bulk of the rest of the people in attendance (75-100).
6. From the Editorial Board of WP: All comrades in industry are requested to send in items for use in the "Labor Briefs" column of WP. The column is intended primarily to reflect activity of the ~~far~~ rank and file, and should particularly cover situations we are involved in. Please direct items to Jim Woodward. Deadlines for this column are Monday, Feb. 22 for WP ~~92~~ 92, and every two weeks thereafter.

NAC MINUTES @2/12-13/74

Present: All(except JW where only five votes recorded)

O. NATSEC REPORT. APPROVED.

MOTION (DF): (This pertains to report on UFW boycott conference in Chicago) It seems evident that the behavior of the Spartacist League at the Chicago UFW boycott conference could have become a serious issue, and may become one at future conferences and other activities. The NAC states that we are not for the exclusion of the SL or anyone else from such conferences on the basis of politics, i.e. on any such grounds as "they don't really support the consumer boycott because they're really for a general strike and labor boycott". Any such grounds could be used to expel us also. We defend the right of all supporters of the UFW's struggle to present their point of view.

On the other hand, we have no principle against advocating throwing out the SL if their actions are aimed at wrecking the conference, not by raising ideas but by disruptive behavior that makes it impossible for the conference to arrive at decisions, etc. This has nothing to do with specific points of agreement or disagreement we may have. In general, the correct method is to handle disruptive behavior by having a strong chair to make sure that such types cannot monopolize or inhibit discussion; we are only for expulsion of disrupters as a last resort, when it has been proven that their intent is to wreck the meeting. TABLED FOR TWO WEEKS, PENDING FURTHER REPORT FROM KB ON THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE.

MOTION(JT): (Pertaining to report on debate between KM and Stanley Aronowitz) In view of the success of this debate, the NAC and the branches should look toward setting up debates with prominent left figures to debate political questions (and to draw a broader audience). PASSED ALL FOR,

MOTION(submitted by Mike P.): We have not been making use of one of our most valuable resources. With the events going on in Britain we should be having major meetings or series of meetings everywhere we have a branch. We should be raising motions in our unions of support for the British workers and using every opportunity to get the issue raised in union newspapers. And we should be identifying ourselves with the ISGB and the British workers' struggle everywhere possible. We should be arranging for nationwide tours for Paul and any other ISGBer who is here now, plus we should try to get the ISGB to send one person to make a tour as soon as possible. ALL FOR.

1. NC AGENDA. The following letter was submitted by David M.(attached).

MOTIONS(MD): (i) We request reports on our work in UNION WAGE and DARE within one month at the latest (the request for the report on WAGE has been outstanding for a number of months), the report on DARE is in preparation). ALL FOR. (ii) Add the issue of super-seniority to Sunday's NC agenda. FAILED 2-2-1 (MD. DF for; JG abstain).

MOTION(JT): To put super-seniority on agenda for May NC. PASSED. (NOTE: The NC may vote to ~~ex~~ have the discussion now in any case).

MOTION(~~Ex~~-DF): For full discussion of ~~Mike's~~ Mike S. document as originally planned. ALL FOR. (see below for organizing of discussion on the document).

2. NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT TO THE NC. Discussion of report (sent out in previous key list mailing). The following amendments were presented:

MOTION(JG): As a minimal student perspective, IS students should be encouraged to do two things on campus: forums and study groups, and organized farmworker or other strike support activities. TABLED (will be raised as a motion to the NC).

MOTION(JT): Between now and the ~~May~~ May NC the NAC is to discuss the black recruitment campaign. ALL FOR.

MOTION(DF): NATSEC report to list as NAC priorities in the next months: labor

work, women's industrialization, industrialization campaign, Maoism. ALL FOR. Report APPROVED ALL FOR.

3. EDUCATION DIRECTOR'S REPORT TO THE NC. Discussion of revised report by JT focussing on the emphasis on publications program. APPROVED .

4. INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY'S REPORT TO THE NC. APPROVED.

5. ISGB. A motion was passed by the Detroit branch that the I.S. commit itself to fund-raising for the work of the ISGB in ~~xxxx~~ solidarity with the ISGB and the British miners. ~~MOTION(DF)~~

MOTION(JT): To contribute \$50 to the SOCIALIST WORKER fighting fund. PASSED.

6. NATIONAL CENTRALIZED STRUCTURE FOR DUES AND FINANCES. Discussion on proposal by JG (this will be presented ~~xj~~ in preliminary form to the NC).

7. CHINA'S NEW CULTURAL REVOLUTION. presentation by JG and preliminary discussion. The top priority for JT in the immediate future is publication of the articles on the Cultural Revolution from IS magazine. The discussion was tentative and did not arrive at immediate conclusions regarding the new campaign, ~~xm~~ except that we anticipate it will unfold over an extended period of time and is related to ~~xx~~ a new thrust toward industrialization, although not necessarily on the same basis as the past.

8. BRITISH CRISIS. A brief discussion on organizing demonstrations in response to the crisis in Britain. The NAC encourages branches to hold forums or (where possible) demos in support of the miners, as a vehicle for getting our views and relationship to the struggle more widely publicized.

9. SUPER SENIORITY. Motions have been prepared by JT and MD (attached). JT motion is supported by JT, JG, ~~MMxx~~ BM, DF; the MD motion by MD and JW. ~~STATEMENT BY JW ON SUPERSENIORITY DEBATE~~ STATEMENT BY JW ON SUPERSENIORITY DEBATE: I introduced my amended version of my original amendment (to JT document) to clarify my position (attached). Hopefully those comrades who previously did not understand my position now do. I consider continued discussion on these amendments, abstractly considered, to be misguided at this point. For now, I would prefer guidance from ~~NAM~~ NAC majority on concretely how to implement the superseniority position.

Concretely, I believe situations exist ~~xxxxxxx~~ where a clear line offers the possibility to call for specific struggles around layoffs which are ~~xx~~ eliminating black workers. I would prefer the attention of the organization now focus on one or two actionable concrete cases where the question arises. Possibly the line-ups would be very different than in the abstract debate. I fear there are ~~z~~ those who would like to set the record straight that we are "for" superseniority in order to dispose of the question and forget about it.

10. ORGANIZING DISCUSSION ON MIKE S. DOCUMENT.

The first session - the permanent arms economy - will cover through the section "The Rise of Reformism", the second session from "The End of Stability" thru the rest of the document. In each session the first discussion round will be on the relevant aspects of the document itself; amendments will be introduced for discussion only in the second round (although the second round will not be confined to amendments only).

The following procedure was adopted for the discussion:

- (i) There will be no votes on amendments at this time; the purpose of discussing the amendments is to clarify and sharpen them for future debate.
- (ii) KB will ~~xxxx~~ be asked to present (10 minutes) his theory of the PAE and the post-war boom which differs from that put forward by Mike.
- (iii) MS is to give a full pre-

sensation on the PAE, not just a brief initial outline. (iv)The KB amendment on the bureaucratic collectivization of capital will be treated as an amendment to be taken up in the second ~~xxxxx~~ session.

11.WORKERS POWER. A series of topics were raised for coverage in WP.

(i)MOTION(Mike P.)I believe we have been ~~xxxxxxxx~~ too timid in raising the slogan ~~ng~~ of nationalization of the oil industry. It has been called for by columnists in the bourgeois press (Von Hoffman) and if anything is easily accepted as a rational solution to the current energy crisis. In such calls we should include all of the energy industries. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

AMENDMENT(JT): The ~~xxx~~ nationalization of energy slogan should be raised consistently as appropriate in WP. MOTION AND AMENDMENT PASSED 3-0-3

(JG, DF, JW abstain).

(ii)MOTION(JT): To plan serious coverage and commentary on the Hearst kidnapping and the Symbionese Liberation Army. PASSED

MOTION(JW): Suggest to branches the possibility of panel discussion forums on this issue; e.g. to get a liberal who denounces all violence, a radical type who supports SLA tactics, and ourselves to take on both from a revolutionary standpoint. TABLED.

(iii) MOTION(JT): (a)In connection with the Solzhenitsyn ~~xxxxxxx~~ expulsion and the widespread publicity given not only to it but to the previous expulsion of Trotsky, WP should plan an educational series on Russia, Solzhenitsyn, Trotsky, etc. Articles could include - Trotsky, the last exile; Russia, our analysis; Solzhenitsyn, why we defend him while opposing his politics; the reaction of suppression of dissidents to detente and the cold war; an answer to the bourgeois media who try to link the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn to Bolshevism; the third camp answer to pro-west dissidents in Russia and pro-Stalinist radicals in the west.

(b)Two or perhaps three of these articles should appear in the next issue of WP while the issue is still hot.

PART (a) PASSED 4-2 (JG, DF against), PART (b) FAILED 1-5 (JT for).

The following COUNTER-MOTION was submitted by JG: WP should continue coverage of the Solzhenitsyn issue. FAILED (JG, DF for).

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LETTER FROM DAVID M. TO THE NAC

This letter is to raise some serious questions about the agenda for the coming NC meeting. I find it does not contain items which were supposed to be on it from previous NC, and lacks other items which urgently need discussion and decisions.

(i)The placing of the NATSED report and other reports as the last point on the agenda is very regrettable and should be changed. We all know what the last hours are like after a tiring weekend. Result is (a)the issues do not get the serious consideration they merit - the tendency to refer to the NAC gets very strong. (b)As a result the NC in effect surrenders its role as reviewer and evaluator of the NAC except in the most formal de facto manner. This item should be first point on the agenda,

(ii)The question of superseniority was according to the NAC minutes referred to the coming NC meeting some weeks ago. I find it is not then the NC straw vote to be made the formal position. I find it deplorable that the NAC has not initiated a discussion of the item particularly in view of the differences between

the NAC and the NC, and the current situation in auto.

iii) At the last NC I withdrew my request (was it formally tabled? --I don't remember) for a discussion of women's industrialization because we were told a document had arrived from ~~Chicago~~ Chicago. Presumably it would be printed, distributed and discussed. To date nothing like that has occurred.

iv) The last NC placed the UAW on the agenda. It clearly was to be a review of our work and an assessment, not limited to the immediate issue of layoffs and the Woodcock campaign as the agenda now suggests.

v) I note that the discussion of the women's movement activities are not on the agenda, although the women's caucus (xxx (?)) will be meeting. Does that mean that the NC will not discuss the forthcoming Chicago Women's Unionists Conference? Perhaps this is also the place to express regret that despite repeated requests we have never seen any report on the West Coast WAGE or the Chicago DARE, all of which makes it extremely difficult to form any judgments on our work in this arena. It is therefore all too easy to get the impression that the decisions on these matters are somehow not the province of the NC, in practice. This situation must be corrected - perhaps even ~~before~~ before the NC. But certainly the issue belongs on our agenda.

vi) I would like to suggest that the industrial sec'y's report include a breakdown of our industrialized personnel and suggestions for improving our position.

vii) The last NC tabled a motion regarding a nationally centered campaign aimed at black recruitment. Where and how can this be taken off the table?

viii) Clearly the extension of the agenda as per my suggestions will require other changes. I suggest that both Mike and Joe's reports be included on the same day. In view of the fact that Mike's report ~~is~~ is preliminary and no one outside Detroit can have had time to do more than read it casually, not to speak of offering amendments, perhaps less time will be sufficient this time around.

I hope the NAC will have an opportunity to review its proposed agenda in the light of these suggestions.

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## INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

In the few short months since our split both the economic atmosphere and the labor scene have changed significantly. Although mass unemployment has not hit most industries yet and is most advanced in auto, a recession of world wide proportions is well into motion. At the same time, the world attack on the workers has intensified, Britain being the most developed situation. In the U.S. the labor bureaucracy has given its full cooperation to the employers and government in holding down wages and militancy. While there was rank and file resistance to this policy in 1973, the bureaucracy got its way. In the late months of '73 and beginning of 1974, however, rank and file motion began to grow.

Skilled worker resistance at Ford, the independent truckers strikes, a wave of strikes and rejections in local teamster contracts, and other events put a crimp in the bureaucracy's plans. The peaceful pattern planned by Able, recently aped by Beirne of CWA and, to a lesser degree, even by Miller of the UMW, was potentially upset by the reopening of the MFA agreements. As it stands, the plan for 1974 is long-range bargaining to lead to an agreement, hopefully without a strike, that allows time to get acceptance by the ranks. Inflation, teamster strikes, and rank and file resistance will make it hard to carry out this plan - hard, but not impossible.

In any event, the rise of active militancy and the issues involved in the coming year, open new possibilities for us and the implementation of our perspective.

### Industrialization

In the past three months there have been some small gains in the number of industrialized comrades. Four people have been hired in telephone in that time: 2 in NY, 1 in Cleveland, 1 in Detroit. A couple of comrades have since gotten teamster jobs. Auto lay-offs have not yet cost us permanent losses and cases of dismissed comrades are still pending. It is to be expected that there will be some losses in auto. So, although, the gains are important they may well be nearly off-set unless industrialization increases in coming months. There is, in short, no cause for complacency concerning our industrialization program.

### Political Involvement in Industry

Auto - The aftermath of the 1973 bargaining left us with no real gains in auto. Some groups were broken or driven "underground" by the repression following the summer wildcats, some groups held their ground, one group was disbanded. Some of these, of course, involved genuine defeats for the workers and effected us also, e.g., Mack Ave. Others simply involved the collapse of a group that had outlived its usefulness, e.g. Jefferson.

Since that time, however, we have regained our footing and begun to function aggressively and make some gains. The Dump Woodcock campaign, while proving limited in its application, has allowed us to work with a number of different kinds of forces in widely differing situations. In one instance (Dodge) we were able to mount a slate growing out of the group we worked in. In others we have activated militant contacts

to work with us, e.g., Chevy; and in Ag Imp we are attempting to pressure a local president into forming a slate on an openly anti-Woodcock basis. At Jefferson a newsletter will be established. In short, possibilities are opening up and our own activity is on the up-swing. Additionally, unemployment and lay-offs are now being discussed.

IBT - In most cases our own presence in this union and industry is too new to expect any results yet - the exceptions being the Fifth Wheel and Seattle Semi. Nonetheless, the newer fractions have established contact with important militants in their areas, Cleve., LA, NY. While direct intervention in the recent teamster events was precluded, our fractions were able to make contact with and get information from workers involved.

The fraction, itself, has achieved a minimal national existence by establishing a function communications center in Cleveland.

CWA - Many members in CWA are new to the industry and are still scattered around the country. Nonetheless, the various local fractions have assembled information on their locals and the issues where they work. The first national CWA fraction meeting will be held at this NC to discuss the contract coming in July.

In NY the telephone fraction has been cooperating with another group, Final Warning (RU), in a campaign around the contract and operator organizing drive. On the West coast a comrade has begun writing a regular column for here local's newspaper.

AFT - The recent clash between Sleden and Shanker has drastically altered the political scene in the AFT. The question of our attitude and the attitude of the groups we are in, UAC, Grassroots, toward Selden and his "Teachers' Cause" movement has arisen. There seem to be tactical differences in NY over this question.

#### Women's Trade Union Conferences

One of the newest developments on the labor scene, are the conferences of women trade unionists held around the country in recent months. These conferences are in preparation for a national conference in March. The conferences are dominated by female bureaucrats, whose political bent is toward NOW. While we have intervened in these conferences and regard them as an extremely important development, we have not yet developed a clear line toward them. An initial discussion between the NAC and the Women's Commissioner resolved that the Women's Commission is to submit a draft perspective to the NAC within the next couple of weeks.

#### Farmworker Boycott Work

The IS has now established Farmworker boycott work in all of its branches and many organizing committees. In addition to picketing, several cities with new farmworker fractions have established good contacts with boycott house personnel and farmworkers. Comrades from Chicago and Bloomington were able to intervene in the recent UFW conference in Gary for Indiana boycott work. Similarly, Chicago comrades will intervene in the Chicago conference (Feb. 9). In NY Chicano farmworkers have attended IS meetings and are considered contacts.

Two important issues face us in our farmworker work. One is what to do about the grape strikes coming up in May in Calif. More immediate is the possibility that under pressure from the AFL-CIO, the UFW may drop the secondary boycott. While it is not clear that this will happen, it is certain that that fight is now being waged in the UFW and that the top leaders will want to back away from the secondary boycott. We, therefore, must be prepared to intervene in this fight in whatever way possible.

A measure of national communication has been established through mailings coming out of the Bay Area, but more communication and coordination is needed.

### The National Leadership and Labor Affairs

So far, the chasm between our day to day labor work and the discussions of the national leadership ~~xxxx~~ remains immense. To my knowledge, the introduction of the Dump Woodcock campaign by the Ind. Sec. to the NAC was the first instance of a concrete labor discussion by the national leadership - that is, since the split, those before the split were too few and abstract to be much of a guide to us. While the discussion of the Dump Woodcock campaign by the NAC was a step in the right direction, it only underlines how little other labor questions are discussed by the NAC or NC. Neither the farmworker nor the AFT work, both in political flux have been discussed formally by the NAC. Similarly, with the teamster work which faces a situation in flux.

As Ind. Sec., my plan to change this has been to introduce a series of political discussions, first to the NAC, then to the NC. The first two of these were the Dump Woodcock and the Unemployment discussion (prepared by Bill H.) In the immediate weeks following this NC, I propose discussions of the UFW boycott, CWA contract, AFT -Selden-Shanker fight, general auto perspectives. So far, progress has been slow. Beyond mere inertia, the reasons for this seem to be: the slowness with which necessary documents, have come forth (UFW), my own failure to get a grip on certain situations (IBT, AFT) and keep properly abreast of events (though I assure you I try), and the current assumption of NAC priorities which forces long agendas and hours of preparation for things other than labor work. On this last point, labor questions are, of course, discussed in the context of the National Secretary's Report to the NAC or under discussions of the economy. They do not, however, achieve full agenda status unless some sort of crisis arises in our own functioning.

In addition to proposing specific labor questions for the agenda in the ~~xxxx~~ coming weeks, I should just mention that my own feeling is that they should be specific and concrete in ~~xx~~ nature. In particular, they should be the point of points that are susceptible to immediate political resolution - rather than interminable theoretical discussion. In this way, I hope, the NAC and, then, the NC, can learn to discuss labor questions with the same seriousness and attention to detail as branch affairs, Watergate, etc.

submitted by Brian Mackenzie

## Educational Secretary's Report

Our publications program has begun to be successful. To date, we have published the following material:

<u>Pamphlets</u>	<u>The Socialist Experience</u>
Chile, The Road to Disaster	War and the Middle East
The Emerging Crisis in Capitalism	The Popular Front of the 1930's
International Woman's Day	The Chinese Revolution
	Readings in the Political Economy of Capitalism

There are several others in the hopper which are in various stages of completion including (but not limited to): China and the Cultural Revolution, AFT, UAW, Cuba, Revolutionary Feminism, Orthodox Trotskyism, and possibly the UFW. Projected reprints will include one on bureaucratic collectivism and one on national liberation and class struggle.

These publications are a matter of key importance for the IS, both in terms of the external world and in terms of our own internal educational needs. The publications are centrally important for the growth of the IS. They have all been, as I believe most everyone will agree, generally of quite high quality and could potentially play an extremely important role in attracting people to us on the basis of the ideas we have to offer. In fact, they are a vital necessity for us as there is no other way that a group that is as small as we are will have the possibility of expanding our numbers qualitatively than by spreading our ideas. That can only be done effectively by our literature reaching many more people than we are personally capable of reaching ourselves. In other words, our program of publications is or is potentially and must be made one of the central pillars of our organization, and must be so treated by the members of the organization.

The pamphlets and reprints are also of great importance for our own internal educational needs and must be consciously used for that purpose. They are important for our educational needs in several ways.

The first and most obvious way is that they provide our people with written material that they can study and internalize so that they can have the knowledge and the arguments to arm themselves in these matters. And, it is made available without their having to search it out and become expert archivists -- a necessity for a working class organization. I don't believe this can be overstressed: having the materials at hand so they can be studied at leisure is of great importance.

Secondly, often overlooked, but crucially important for an organization attempting to unify and pull itself together is that the publications we put out have helped to create a national program in which our members are reading the same things. Or at least this is potentially the case. We must make it an actuality.

Finally, the publications have been put out not only for the purpose of public attraction and circulation, but in order to key into the educational needs of our organization. Thus, the events in Chile prompted us to produce the pamphlet on Chile, which not only served to spread our point of view on the outside but to arm our members as well. It was followed by The Socialist Experience reprint on the popular front, whose aim was to provide our members with background on the similar experiences in the 1930's. The Middle East conflict necessitated background on the Middle East which is what "War and the Middle East" was designed for.

The latest batch was even more explicitly designed for our educational needs. Thus, the pamphlet "The Emerging Crisis in Capitalism" and reprint #4, "Readings in the Political Economy of Capitalism" were both designed to fit into the educational discussions currently in process around the Mike Stewart document. In the pamphlet, the first two articles are particularly important. That by Nigel Harris, "Imperialism Today" should be read in conjunction with Lenin's Imperialism. It provides an important critique of Lenin's book. Kidron's article must be read with the other two printed in IS #61. It presents the British IS theory of the Permanent Arms Economy. The reprint also contains several articles of importance, including three more on the Permanent Arms Economy which provide important background and three book reviews of books from opponent points of view, again to arm our members. Significantly, it also contains an important ISL resolution from 1949. That resolution is included for more than reasons of historical interest. It is important for our people to read and discuss as part of the process of our evaluating the history of our tendency. "The Chinese Revolution" reprint was issued as needed background for our people for the discussion on China to be held at the Spring NC. This practice will be continued in the future.

The beginning of the publications has already helped to create a change in the organization. People feel they have some literature and feel a confidence that they will get some more. But the job has much left to do. The pamphlet program has not yet been set on a fully sound and stable footing, although great strides have been made. Some of our production problems have been solved. We have attained a machine that makes pamphlets, which means that the production problem that was taking a ton of time and which was threatening to submerge the publications program has been considerably alleviated. There still remain serious problems, but some of them are being overcome. We now have someone, Rose Veviaka, in charge of lay-out of the pamphlets so that that task does not have to be done on an ad hoc basis. And we now have a regular printer.

The greatest problem that remains is distribution. At present our publications program is quite ambitious -- more so than that of any other sect in this country, with the exception of the Communist Party and the SWP, both far larger than ourselves. But this program will benefit us only a small fraction of its potential unless we make a major effort to distribute these materials. For example, the pamphlet we printed on Chile was of high quality. Coupling its quality to the fact that it had very little competition, it ~~could have had~~ could have had a real impact on the left. A well-developed national network of distribution should have enabled us to sell 5-10,000 copies. Instead, we sold 8-900. We desperately need someone who will take charge of getting our material distributed. The job would include distribution of Pluto Press materials as well. (They have offered us the exclusive US franchise, which would mean we would get the plums, rather than MR.) The latter would aid us in getting our own publications around. If this task is successfully carried out it will mean that when our theoretical magazine comes out it will have an already established distribution network to be put into. If someone is interested in taking on this very important task please get in touch with the NLR NO.

There still remains a substantial amount of work to get the program over the hump. A backlog of four years cannot be overcome in six months. Many more things are necessary just to begin to catch up on the backlog, including covering pamphlet drafts which have been around for a long time. But, we have begun.

Internal Education

Our educational tasks are wide and varied and, again because of a four year backlog, there is tremendous demand and pressure quickly to carry them through. This is particularly so since the pamphlets and reprints have begun coming out and people feel that one source of frustration has been alleviated.

The following classes, etc. are all required.

1) A class that would introduce people to the basics of IS politics: our positions on capitalism, stalinism, women, blacks, the trade unions, the Democratic Party, etc. This class series would be what candidate members would be expected to go through before joining the IS -- if we had candidate members. It would apprise people of what our basic politics are so that they would know what they are joining and would have some idea of what to fight for in their arena work.

2) A class that would introduce people to the fundamentals of Marxism by going through the classics and which would acquaint them with the history of the revolutionary movement, beginning with the Russian Revolution, in order to see how some of these ideas were worked out in practice. This is what a new members' class series would be.

3) A class on the history of our tendency.

4) More specialized classes for cadre development. These classes would delve more deeply into more specialized topics and would give our people over time a more sophisticated understanding of the theory and practice (including tactics) of Marxism.

5) An extensive reading list of important books which our people would be expected to cover over some years and which would provide them with greater in-depth understanding in several topics.

Covering all these bases would be a very good beginning toward an educational program for the IS. Needless to say, they cannot all be covered at once.

I am currently working on the second class series. What I plan to do is to issue cassettes and also to attempt to put out study guides for the cassettes. Some of these are already prepared. The whole series should be out before the next NC.

As to the first class series, that will take quite some time for preparation. I plan to bring a series of topics for what that class series should consist of to the NAC within one month after the NC. Once that list is approved I will then start farming out the topics to various individuals to have them prepare classes, study guides and suggested reading lists. My realistic estimate is that this class series will not be ready until some time in the Fall of 1974. I will, therefore, also propose to the NAC an interim series which contacts will be expected to go through before joining. This series will (inadequately) serve our purposes until the more ambitious series is prepared.

The organization has already begun the cadre class series. That is what the NC preparatory discussions are and should be viewed as. It is recommended

that the following discussions be held (in addition to discussing the Stewart document):

Lenin, Imperialism and Nigel Harris' "Imperialism Today"  
Bukharin, Imperialism and World Economy  
Kidron, articles in IS #61 and in "The Emerging Crisis of Capitalism"  
(could also read "Reform and Revolution" in "Readings in the  
Political Economy of Capitalism")  
Cliff, "Perspectives on the Permanent War Economy" and "The Economic  
Roots of Reformism" in "Readings"  
ISL revolution in "Readings"

There has been some confusion regarding the status of the Bukharin book. The NAC recommended that if something had to be dropped it ought to be Bukharin. Many people therefore concluded that Bukharin ought to be dropped. Wrong. The Bukharin book is very useful and our members will learn a great deal from it. The recommendation was originally made when we thought that branches would be covering these discussions prior to the NC and there was a time problem. Most are not doing that. Therefore, if at all possible branches should plan to discuss it. Of course, in all cases members should consult the NAC critiques of these works which are printed in the National Reports.

The practice which was initiated for this NC will be continued in the future, with a new list of recommended readings for the Spring NC to be issued shortly after this NC.

In addition to these classes the topics which are covered in the reprints and pamphlets should serve as topics for classes. Thus, for the branches which have not already had these discussions the following topics should be added:

- 1) Chile
- 2) The Popular Front
- 3) The Middle East
- 4) The Chinese Revolution (planned for the Spring NC)

Branches should work these classes in as they can, but they should work them in. If it is felt necessary the NØ will attempt to provide speakers for these discussions.

Given the work on all of these, the reading list mentioned above will be given a lower priority. I'll try to have a draft by the end of this year.

The only class left uncovered is the history of our tendency, which is a necessity. The problem had been to get working on it while everything else is going on. The NAC should plan to discuss this class and give it a high priority between now and the next NC.

### Theoretical Magazine

There is one aspect of our publications program which has not been successful; it has not even started limping: our theoretical magazine. Contrary to the views of some comrades, I do not believe that the pamphlets are a substitute for a theoretical magazine. We need a regularly appearing magazine where we can comment on and analyze world developments and fight for our ideas and which can build up a regular readership. Before other problems were solved it was not

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possible to begin working on a theoretical magazine, and as the list of activities already given should demonstrate, it would be hard to fit it in. Nonetheless, work should begin on the magazine. We should at least have constructed an editorial board by the next NC, following which hopefully we can begin real work.

MOTIONS: 1) I continue to give highest priority to publications.  
2) I be asked to proceed as described above with the class series.  
3) The NAC undertake to discuss the history of our tendency class series and attempt to get it accomplished.  
4) The branches adopt the pamphlets and reprints as part of the cadre class series.  
5) That an editorial board for the theoretical magazine be constructed by the Spring NC.

REQUEST TO BRANCHES: I need to know what the educational activities of the branches are. Some branches have been sending in reports on their educational programs. These are however spotty and insufficient. I want to know what you are doing. (I was forced to call almost all the branches just to find out if they were carrying out the educational program mandated by the NAC for the February NC. This was after requests had been made in writing that information be sent in regarding this series. Such a waste of time and money should not have to take place.) PLEASE SEND ME REGULARLY ALL INFORMATION CONCERNING CLASSES AND EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS. Do not assume that it is sufficient to send a routine mailing to the NO. I want these things for my own files and do not get them from that source. I will try to answer questions and requests but I will be limited in my ability to do so. I am unfortunately not a committee but only a person. Similarly, at present I will probably not comment on information sent on educational series but nonetheless I want the material.

SECOND REQUEST: That information be sent in with the report to the National Secretary concerning distribution of the pamphlets: how many sold, where, bookstore distribution etc.

submitted by Jack Trautman



## NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT TO THE FEBRUARY NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

### THE STATE OF THE ORGANIZATION

The IS has ~~continued~~ continued to make some modest progress since the November NC. But what progress that has been made is overshadowed by the immense problems that remain, and with which the organization must come to grips with.

NAC: The NAC has begun to discuss specific problems of the organization, including branch problems. It has also begun to assert itself as a leadership body on the question of personnel, including on where comrades who wish to relocate should relocate. But, this process must be carried out much further. The NAC must become willing and able to intervene in the branches when necessary to deal with problems, insure that its line is carried out, etc. The discussions can lay the basis for this, but it must go beyond the mere discussion stage.

The NAC has also begun a series of theoretical/educational discussions on imperialism and international capitalism for preparation for this NC and the Convention discussion on this topic, and is planning a similar one for the discussion on stalinism and Maoism. It has mandated the branches to also have these discussions, and after a slow start, most branches are beginning to hold them.

Other serious problems remain, problems which the NAC has not really come to grips with at all, although many on the NAC are beginning to recognize that these are crucial problems which is a step forward. The NAC has given practically no leadership to the on-going work of the organization - especially the industrial work, including significantly the only national arena, the UFW activity, nor has it come to grips with the question of concretizing a perspective on women's trade union work, or in taking the lead in an ideological and political offensive against the Maoist movement. And, the NAC has given no leadership to the new industrialization campaign that the organization was to undertake following the September Convention. I don't think I need to emphasize the crucial nature of these problems, especially the last one, because it will be through discussing our industrial work, and the political currents related to it, and continuing to try to turn the IS into a combat working class organization that will make or break us. It is the responsibility of the NAC as the national leadership to provide direction and guidance on the questions - that is what it means to lead.

Workers Power: The paper continues to improve, and the reception of the organization to it, is one of the best indicators of this improvement. All branches and organizing committees now sell it, some have ~~increased~~ increased their bundles, most are now beginning to report their sales to the editorial board and to send in comments. The organization is finally beginning to take the paper seriously. In the NO, the editorial board is slowly developing into a body; the paper is no longer the responsibility of one person as it was for years, but the responsibility of the board. Problems remain, however. These problems are first the problems of creating a new leadership body that can, under the overall guidance of the NAC bring political sophistication, attractive layout and a readable, exciting style to the paper. Neither the NAC, the NC, nor the branches can relax the pressure to continue to improve the paper in the coming period.

Women's Commission: For the first time in the organization, we have a functioning Women's Commission. It has set into motion a national campaign around International Women's Day, with the general perspective of attempting to get other groups involved with us in specific activities. In connection with this activity, the Commission has planned a center-fold for WD, and

"notes to speakers" will be sent out stressing the themes and political points to be raised. The Commission is in the process of beginning to organize discussions on the Coalition of Trade Union women, and women's industrialization with the NAC. Lastly, the Commission has worked up a class series on women's liberation and socialism, and is overseeing the writing of pamphlets on women (Kollontai, International Women's Day, and the one of revolutionary feminism). The real test of the Commission, and the organization in general will come when we see how this first attempt to hold a national activity turns out, and if the Commission is able to organize and carry through on the two important national discussions referred to above which are of crucial importance to our concrete work, and thus, with the NAC, begin to give direct leadership to our work with women.

Branches and Organizing Committees: Almost all branches and Organizing Committees are now involved in the UFW work, some quite successfully (NY, Cleveland, Seattle especially). For the first time in a long time we have a really national arena, and the points noted in the section on the NAC really become crucial - that the NAC give leadership to this work. This means having a really functioning national fraction, which has been ad hoc up to this point, which ~~has~~ helps the NAC to organize the necessary discussions involved in developing a perspective for the work.

Most branches are developing peripheries, but it is still going quite slowly. Since the November NC, we have recruited 4 comrades, and there are at least 4 others who will join soon. This is much, much too slow, and reflects both political problems, and a sluggishness in the organization as a whole. The political problems I refer to relate to the questions that the NAC must come to grips with, together with the ones which the educational secretary takes up in his report to the NC. (The need for systematic education and theoretical development to which the various class series speak to).

But the sluggishness of the organization is quite real also. While it is true that the NO had given no leadership in the past, when we have attempted to do so, we - I - meet with a lot of inertia whether it be on reporting sales of Workers Power (which was requested first in December, or on holding discussions on imperialism, which Jack and I requested also in December). As noted above, most of these things are now being done, but should it take two months? Another specific instance: When Barbara as women's Commissioner requested that branches notify her by January 15 of their plans for International Women's Day, she only heard directly from 2 branches. Also, while some branches and OC's are quite good about communicating and reporting on local ~~developments~~ developments, others are not. It is really important that these lines of communication continue to grow and flesh out, and not stagnate, just because something happens now where nothing used to.

To sum up, we're continuing to make a little progress, but it is not enough. Politically, theoretically and organizationally we must tighten up from the NAC on down. The following motions attempt to speak to some of the problems. They are motions to the NC in order that the NC as the broad national leadership of the organization, can hold the NAC and the organization as a whole accountable to it to follow through.

MOTIONS

1. That the NAC push forward on the promised industrialization campaign, and report concretely to the May NC on what it has accomplished in this campaign. Specifically:
  - a) that industrialization quotas for branches be established by the branches in consultation with the NAC.
  - b) That ~~XXXX~~ the NAC consider the question of reopening steel as a national priority.
  - c) That attempts be made to find alternatives during the recession where national priorities are not a possibility for industrialization. To also be carried out through consultation with the NAC.
2. That the NC endorse and help to see that the campaign around International Women's Day be carried out nationally.
3. That branches, organizing Committees communicate with the NO twice a month. These communications can be in the form of letters, organizations reports, or other more expensive means, through the latter written form are much preferable.
4. That each branch and organizing committee develop realistic recruitment quotas, and a program for achieving them, and report this to the National Secretary (Note, the NAC passed such a motion, but few branches, oc's have carried it out.)

Marilyn Danton

**AMENDMENT TO THE NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT TO THE FEBRUARY NC**

To be added to p. 3 of motions, and to follow the first motion:

2a. The NAC will take up, discuss and work up concrete ~~xxx~~ perspectives for our actual labor work, including UFW work, women's industrialization, and women's trade union work, Maoism and the Maoist movement.

AMENDMENTS TO MIKE STEWART DOCUMENT

BY Jack T.

1. Mike's statement (p. 6, last full paragraph) is a good one: "It would be more correct to say that whereas imperialism stabilized the system before through the mechanism of capital exports, today it does it through the massive military spending which is necessary to defend it." It overcomes the difficulties of Kidron's worst statements, that imperialism no longer exists. However, it is open to misinterpretation of being an endorsement of Magdoff's point of view. Magdoff says much the same as Mike, but with a thoroughly different content. His (Magdoff's) meaning is that what follows is that Lenin's analysis still stands.

What is needed is a clear, concise statement of the political implications of this stage of imperialism as opposed to the one of which Lenin spoke.

2. The section on the rise of reformism is incomplete. Mike pins its cause solely on capitalist prosperity. While there can be no doubt that capitalist prosperity is the basic reason for the rise of reformism (as Cliff documents so well in "The Economic Roots of Reformism", reprinted in "Readings in the Political Economy of Capitalism", No. 4 in The Socialist Experience series) simply to leave it there is inadequate.

In the first place prosperity was unevenly experienced: backward countries continued to feel real poverty the whole time. Yet their working class also became reformist and certainly ceased being in the vanguard of struggle. Of course some of this can be explained by the conservatism of the working class of the advanced countries--a sort of reversal of the dynamic of Permanent Revolution. In the latter the already advanced consciousness and organization of the working class of the advanced countries helps to stimulate a similar response in the working class of the backward countries without the latter having to experience generations of struggle to arrive at full consciousness as the former did. This certainly describes the experience of the Russian working class.

The above objection might be passed over were it not for the fact that the reformist consciousness of the working class of the advanced countries was, in most respects, more backward than that of the working class in the last period of prosperity and the reformism: pre-World War I. At that time revolutionary socialism was a significant tendency in the working class even though reformism was of greater significance (this varied of course from country to country.) In the period from which we are now emerging, as Mike puts it: "the revolutionary left did not only not grow, but was virtually eliminated from the labor movement." (p. 11, 2nd full para.) Nothing of the sort can be said to have been true of the period of the Second International.

How explain this difference? Simply by reference to prosperity? Nonsense. It is nonsense even if it is true that today's prosperity is greater than it ever was before (which it is).

The left suffered a tremendous political defeat in the post-World War II era, the greatest defeat ever suffered by the international working class. To explain it it is not enough to focus only on the newly-found prosperity of Western capitalism. That prosperity rearmed the capitalist system and

gave it a power of attraction, a power which was supplemented, especially in the United States, with harsh repression. We must also note the great demoralization produced by the working class by the degeneration of Stalinist Russia and by the betrayals of the revolutionary left, i.e. of the CPs.

The degeneration of Russia went far to kill the dream of socialism. If socialism meant Russia than it meant totalitarianism, the continuation of class society, of exploitation of man by man, of imperialism, of secret deals and double-dealing. If that was the case why bother trying to overthrow capitalism? Why not just accept it and try to get a reasonably good deal as possible from it? (Of course, such a position is tenable only if it is possible to get a reasonably good deal within the confines of capitalism. Prosperity, therefore, is necessary for reformism even under this argument. But acknowledging this does not remove the validity of the point.)

The betrayals of the revolutionary left could only reinforce the demoralization. The Third International was formed because of the betrayals of the Second International. These betrayals led the latter to salvage capitalism after World War I. After World War II, the CPs performed the same role for capitalism. This was especially so in France and Italy, but also elsewhere. They had been the most gung-ho for the war and the greatest opponents of militancy and class struggle, and had thus helped either to discredit the left among the workers or thoroughly to miseducate the latter.

Add the following amendment, following the sentence ending: "Much of the blame for the destruction of the left must be attributed to the left itself." (P. 11, 2nd full para.)

First, the action of Stalinist Russia helped to discredit revolutionary socialism. If the overthrow of capitalism meant repeating totalitarianism, the continuation of class society, of exploitation of man by man, of imperialism, etc. If that was socialism (and Russia said it was, the stalinist left said it was, the bourgeois ruling class said it was) then why bother? Second, the actions of the CPs prior to and during the war, when they subordinated the needs and interests of the working class to the needs of the Russian bureaucracy, only further discredited the left. (These acts included their proposing piece-rate pay, no overtime pay, a ban on strikes and other forms of class collaboration--all to help the war effort. Following the war they manacled the working class of Western Europe to the bourgeois governments, and so salvaged capitalism. Finally. . .(return to text).

NOTE: This amendment failed in its present form because the NAC felt it was misplaced. A similar amendment is to be written to precede this paragraph in the document.

PLEASE NOTE

Amendment number 3 appears at the end of this document, instead of here, where it logically belongs.

4. Add to "The American Economy, both domestically and internationally, no longer had the strength to sustain such a prolonged war effort. . . (P. 16, 3rd full para.):

"without requiring either an attack on the living standards of the working class or a deterioration of the competitive position of American capital or both. The political basis for getting workers to accept a decline in living standards did not exist, as it did in World War II and even in the Korean War. Any attempt to do so would have further isolated the government from the people. As to damaging American capital, it is not a consideration to capitalist politicians."

Change the sentence reading, "By the time Nixon was bringing American participation in the war to a close" to: "By the time Nixon was completing troop withdrawals in 1972. . . "

COMMENT: It is wrong to say the American economy is incapable of sustaining a war such as in Vietnam. It is capable of that and of much more. The question is, what are the consequences of sustaining it, and are they acceptable--largely a political question.

Amendment # 3. (out of sequence)

In the section, "The End of U.S. Hegemony", at the end of the second paragraph, add:

Furthermore, the law of combined and uneven development worked in their favor. As they developed their fixed capital investments, they were able to draw on the technological achievements developed in the American economy. Since their economy did not have to bear the burden or take the time to create these developments they were able rapidly to apply them without the lead time required in the United States. Thus, the gap in productivity between the United States economy and other advanced capitalist countries was quickly closed.

NOTE: These amendments are in draft form. Their wording is subject to change and tightening. Votes were taken on their substance, not the details of formulations.

1. Replace first full paragraph, p.12, with the following:  
The economic role of the arms economy, from the standpoint of the system as a whole, is to drain off capital and retard the growth in the organic composition of capital. To maintain its effectiveness over time, then, arms spending must increase as a percentage of GNP. Yet the dominant pressures, under conditions of prosperity (conditions which are made possible by the arms economy itself) are just the opposite. Since arms spending represents a drain of surplus value into non-productive industries, it reduces the amount of surplus available to productive industries and therefore - from the standpoint of the individual corporation - represents a reduction (through taxation) in the potential rate of profit.

MOTIVATION: This amendment was written because several NAC members noted that on p.3 Mike states that the arms economy prevents a reduction in the rate of profit, while on p.12 he states that it in fact reduces the "potential" rate of profit. In fact I believe both statements to be correct, but a slightly more explicit description seems necessary to resolve the apparent inconsistency. The next paragraph on p.12 of the document shows that the same contradiction in the PAE - its tendency to introduce stagnation through the same mechanism that maintains prosperity - exists between national economies as well.

DISPOSITION: The NAC will request MS to see if he feels this amendment is correct, and if he feels it necessary to write his own amendment to explain the question further.

2. Replace third full paragraph, p.7, with the following:  
 None of this in any way denies the importance of imperialism in the modern world. Indeed, the very existence of the PAE is based on imperialism. What is different about this period of imperialism is that the war economy itself has become the ~~decisive~~ decisively important agency of regulation and stabilization in the advanced industrial countries, especially the U.S. This distinctive new feature of capitalist imperialism is closely related to the efforts to defend capitalism as a world system against its non-capitalist rivals.

The world conflict between capitalist imperialism and bureaucratic collectivism in the post-war world was superimposed on the earlier struggle among capitalist rivals for the division of the world. This struggle for domination among the capitalist powers for world domination, taking different forms at different points, has never stopped for a single moment. However, the rise of the U.S. to unchallenged supremacy among the capitalist powers for a whole historical period was based both on the economic superiority of the U.S. as the only major economy to survive the war intact, and on its unique ability to organize the struggle of the entire capitalist world against a Stalinist social system which was able to expand because of the tremendous weakening of both capitalism and the workers' movement in Europe. Thus the PAE, which stabilized the U.S. economy first and foremost, was the critical military and economic weapon of the capitalist world.

DISPOSITION: PASSED 5-0 (to be presented by the NAC to the NC)



3. Replace sixth full paragraph, p.19, with the following:

Today, we are not immediately on the verge of a new world war. Despite the scare of nuclear confrontation that occurred over Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese harbors, or the worldwide U.S. troop alert during the October 1973 Middle East war, the two major super-powers have no intention of getting into a full-scale war over such issues as Southeast Asia or the Suez Canal. However, the destruction of the old alliances has opened up a process of intensified imperialist rivalry that leads ultimately in the direction of war. The exact pace of such developments, or the precise alignments of the new war camps, cannot yet be predicted. Today, as individual nations rush to make their own separate deals with the oil-producing states, it is easier to see the cleavages of interest among the formerly "unified" capitalist states than the possibility of commonality of interests which could produce new war blocs.

Eventually, however, such blocs must be constructed - to ensure access to oil and other crucial raw materials, to control critical markets and to prevent the ruin of national economies through trade and tariff wars. The major Stalinist powers will also be drawn in, although in ways which we cannot say today. It is not even possible to predict whether the next war will begin as a general war of destruction against the populations of the major countries, or whether it will take the form of one or another bloc attempting to seize control of some crucial region, like the oil-producing areas of the Middle East. We can be sure, however, that in this war - whatever its exact forms and dimensions - the working class will again be led to slaughter under the banner of "national sovereignty", "war against barbarism", and even "democracy" and "freedom". In this connection it is important that we warn that Nixon's promise of "self-sufficiency in oil by 1980" for the U.S. is in no way a new isolationism - that intensified economic protectionism and nationalism is only the other side of preparation for new wars to maintain U.S. domination not only of oil but of other crucial resources as well.

DISPOSITION: Not voted on; this amendment is still under consideration and is to be rewritten.

4. Between second and third paragraphs, p.18, insert:

Indeed, the re-division of the Middle East into new imperialist spheres of influence - the main consequence of the Middle East war of 1973 - is the first dramatic chapter (leaving aside the long-festering world monetary crisis) of the fundamental breakup of the old relationships among the U.S., western Europe and Japan. The national war between the bourgeois regimes of the Arab states and Zionist Israel - all of which are thoroughly tied in various ways to imperialist powers in the first place - have resulted in a qualitative intensification of the inter-imperialist rivalry in the Middle East. At the same time, the doubling of the price of oil - which is entirely legitimate as an effort by the oil-producing states to gain a larger share of the profits from their resources - while initiated by efforts to achieve Arab unity in the war, was actually carried through by the Shah of Iran, the Arabs' most bitter enemy in the Middle East. The result, as the I.S. argued at the time of the war, is not a greater independence of the Arab states against imperialism or a strengthening of the struggle of the Arab masses against imperialism, but the exact opposite - the strengthening of the most reactionary regimes like that of Saudi Arabia, which is now to be stuffed with arms from ~~France~~ France in return for oil deliveries, and the greater dependence of the Egyptian regime on U.S. support and diplomacy.

There is a fundamental lesson here, not only for the masses of the Arab Middle East but also for the workers of the whole underdeveloped or semi-colonial world. The struggle against imperialist domination of the resources and economy of these nations is crucial to their struggle for liberation. But this struggle cannot be successfully waged under regimes which are themselves tied to imperialism, and depend on it to achieve their political goals. We are for the seizure of all imperialist holdings without compensation, and unconditionally defend all such acts even by the existing bourgeois regimes - but in fact the successful expulsion of imperialism and the liberation of the masses of people can only

be carried out by an independent revolutionary movement, led by the working class, aimed at the destruction of the native ruling class as well as imperialism itself.

PASSED 5-0 (pending final wording)

5. DELETE the entire section "Toward a New International".  
MOTIVATION: I believe this section should be replaced with a brief but very precise and carefully worked out statement setting forth our position on international collaboration and discussion among ~~XXXXX~~ revolutionary groups on the basis of a relatively common program, etc.

## Union WAGE Report 2/74

The IS has become somewhat more active recently in Union WAGE. At present we have two members assigned to attend the monthly meetings. Although we hold no positions on the executive board, we have taken on responsibilities in the areas of mailings and program. We've also written articles for recent issues of WAGE. We occasionally use WAGE meetings to gather support for our own work; we raised the issue of Farmworker support work last summer with little apparent result, but got more favorable response to current work we're doing in occupational safety and health. This level of activity is consonant with our estimate of WAGE as a political priority for IS: important enough to keep tabs on and try to build, but not enough to warrant further personnel and energy, given our present low resources.

WAGE has been dominated for years by our ISCO ex-comrades and a handful of progressive union officials. Their emphasis on legislative lobbying and working through official union bodies like the State Fed was not calculated to turn on masses of women workers. Until recently, the monthly meetings were unusually boring for a women's group, consisting primarily of reports with little political discussion. Major policy decisions are always referred to the exec. As a result, the public face of WAGE has been that of a forum, not an organization whose rank-and-file actively participates in decision-making.

Nonetheless, WAGE has done significant things. It has become the major clearinghouse in the Bay Area for information about local working women's struggles. They have developed a fund of source material on working women that makes them the logical choice of any student or reporter who has to research that area. Working women who are trying to organize do come to WAGE for advice and support; in the last six months women from the Fremont GM plant, the Shell Oil strike, the masseuse strike in Berkeley, and an electronics plant in San Jose, have all attended WAGE meetings. Unfortunately, most of these women do not return after one or two meetings - what goes on there just is not relevant to their work, or not made to seem so. This is ~~the~~ the major problem of WAGE: with tremendous resources and a widely-respected reputation, they have been unable to follow-up on many of their contacts and bring new women into the organization. They do not even send out routine contact mailings - unless a woman joins, she may never hear from WAGE again. And of course, this is also our major problem with WAGE; with a constantly shifting audience, we are not able either to follow up on possible contacts, at least not as long as we feel unable to take on the burden of serving on the exec.

A year ago, Maxine won a fight within the exec board to expand the newspaper as an organizing device (she was opposed by Anne Draper). The paper has much improved since then, with its major

emphasis being on-going working women's campaigns in the Bay Area. The meetings don't reflect this change very much yet, but there is growing support for WAGE's more actively participating in organizing, e.g. drawing on the expertise of experienced members to give classes in shop stewarding, functioning within union meetings and conferences, setting up organizing campaigns, etc. Individual WAGE members are already doing a fair amount of this kind of work. WAGE could have supported the Baker and Clerks County organizing campaigns, two of the most important East Bay women's struggles, but it never got past the stage of receiving reports from the women involved.

The recent "faction fight" within WAGE revolved around the expansion of WAGE, related, I think, to the tensions between WAGE's research and lobbying functions on the one hand, and a more aggressive approach towards organizing women on the other. The former does not require much membership activity in decision-making or in meeting attendance, much less other chapters; the latter opens up the question of affiliates throughout the state. ISCO led the opposition to expansion on the grounds that it would require a "bureaucracy" to maintain a chapter-type organization. Their private comments indicated that what they really feared was the take-over of a new chapter by Venceremos or some other non-ISCO controlled group. They were in a distinct minority, having lost the support of their Davis comrades and Maxine on this issue. The proponents of expansion pointed out that ISCO's approach would be a step backward for WAGE, that it would disenfranchise all but the East Bay resident members (over 50% of the members live outside the East Bay) and potentially bankrupt the group, but they did not responsibly discuss how political disagreements between chapters could be resolved. We supported the expansion of WAGE into chapters, while being careful to insure that WAGE does not become only a forum for sects. The whole dispute died rather quickly, however, since no chapters were asking to be recognized at that time.

However, the dispute has increased political openness within WAGE to the extent that ISers have been explicitly asked to play a bigger role, particularly on the exec. Partly in response to our criticisms and those of the Davis women, the meetings have been reorganized so that minutes and reports are cut to a minimum. Attendance has climbed slightly in response. The attendance of the ISCO group itself has been pared down to one or two women at most meetings; there seems to be a distinct pattern of withdrawal from ISCO's previous responsibility for WAGE. One possible reason for this shift might be that since the death of Anne Draper no other ISCO members have been able to get the same mileage out of WAGE for their union work. For example, they seem to have less

touch with the protective legislation campaign, one of Anne's major projects.

In spite of the friendly overtures to IS, however, we are still faced with the major problem of personnel we can commit to WAGE. We will never get full mileage out of WAGE without participation on the exec board, but we have no one who can take on that job easily. The two comrades already assigned are seriously overextended and might have to drop other valuable work to get more active. As of this writing, one of us has once again been approached to run for Vice-president of WAGE. They used the argument that since she already is active in a number of union arenas and pushes WAGE unofficially, that she might as well be an officer and give WAGE that much more credit. We have been assured that the position would involve very little shitwork, that it would be mainly a matter of speaking for WAGE and helping with programs. It just might be feasible but there are obvious problems - for example, the faction fight could start up again and involve more energy than we have to spare. And the "no shitwork" promise could turn into a liability if someone wanted to attack us for not pulling our share of the load. In any case the IS exec will be discussing the situation; the comrade in question is willing to take on the position if so directed. Short of that, the only prospect for building WAGE with our present level of activity is to integrate WAGE more with our work in other union arenas, both through distributing the paper and inviting contacts to WAGE, particularly those who we might not be ready to invite to IS meetings yet. We have already begun this process of integration; one of us now regularly distributes WAGE in her union caucus, on various picket lines, and in meetings with clerks in other locals. Possibilities for recruitment to our politics seem pretty slim now but should open up somewhat if attendance continues to improve in the future at the monthly WAGE meetings.

Laur Burnett

REPORT OF THE WOMEN'S COMMISSION  
BY Barbara W.

The Women's Commission has functioned since January 1. This is the first time that there has been an active WC, that has the respect and support of the leadership and membership of the IS. One of the reasons for the respect given to the WC has been due to the support of the NAC. Their intervention around International Women's Day is one example.

The women's Commission set up the first national women's meeting at the February NC. We intend to have a women's meeting at every NC and convention. At this meeting there were reports from the branches regarding our industrial work and our involvement in women's liberation activities. International Women's Day as well as the Coalition of Labor Union Women was discussed. It was felt that the meeting had generated enthusiasm for the national campaign around IWD.

The women's commission has set up regular correspondence with a monthly newsletter as well as letters to branches. In some cases, the WC has intervened in helping set up women's caucuses and offering suggestions for IWD.

Publications. The Kollantai pamphlet on IWD was published, with letters sent out on its distribution. Revolutionary Feminism should be out in the spring and we are hoping that the pamphlet on working women and women's liberation will be ready by the convention. The coverage in WP+ has somewhat improved although much more is needed.

The WC solicited a document from Carolyn Greene on the ERA. It was presented to the NC and will be voted on by the NAC sometime before March 23-25 (date of the CLWU conference.)

The discussion on women's industrialization has begun. We have received documents from Seattle, and from Carol in Chicago. Gay S. will be writing one for the WC. There will be a discussion of women's industrialization at the May NC.

IWD. The national campaign around IWD has begun. Almost all branches are planning public forums. So far, the schedule the WC put forward has been followed--the Kollantai pamphlet is out, the WP centerspread is done, the wa What's On column etc.

Coalition of Labor Union Women. The WC and the NAC have begun discussion about our participation in CLWU. There will be a mobilization of IS women for the conference. Next week the NAC will be discussing the WC proposal. A national fraction has been created: Marilyn, Barbara and Gay from the WC will be the exec, with Dave, from St. Louis, Ruth from NY and Carol from Chicago. Everyone who attends the Chicago meeting will be in the fraction.

## REPORT FROM THE WOMEN'S COMMISSION

The Women's Commission met on 28/1. On 29/1, BW met with the NAC.

### 1. Reports:

The Kollontai pamphlet on IWD has been sent to the branches. BW has assumed responsibility for its distribution. She has sent a letter to branches or has spoken with branches personally. In the case of NY, Gay will be talking with the NY women's commission.

The Detroit women's caucus has been meeting regularly. It has discussed the Black family, and will be discussing the question of layoffs in auto and super-seniority. The WC would like to hear from the women's caucuses. Please let us know what you are doing.

BW has also written to the women's sub committee of the British IS. We hope to get some information about the role of miners wives during the upcoming miners strike, as well as some more information regarding their women's labor activities.

2. International Women's Day. Both the WC and the NAC felt that the lack of response from branches regarding IWD was disappointing, to say the least. The NAC will be sending out a directive to all branches about IWD. I would like to add that even if the rest of the left is collapsing on the question of women's liberation, the IS must not. We are initiating a campaign for IWD because of our commitment to women's liberation. All branches should inform me by the February about their plans. Smaller branches and organizing c/tees should also plan for a public forum. In some places where we are near a university, we should definitely see what can be done. The NO will provide speakers if the branches cannot do so. The WC is also planning to send out a 'notes for speakers' which will help with the talks. The main points we hope to stress are a) the necessity of an independent women's liberation movement b) the relationship between the women's liberation movement and the working class movement as a whole c) the economic crisis and the effect it will have on women, in particular the lay offs, inflation etc. (many women who through the women's movement got into higher paying production jobs are now being the first ones laid off. We need the working class and women's movement to fight against this!) c) the relationship between the fight for women's liberation and the fight for socialism. The relationship between the revolutionary party and the women's movement. Workers Power is going to be used to build our IWD activities. All branches are expected to let the WC know what they are planning to do so that we can advertise what we are doing. There will also be a centerspread on women workers. Once again, please inform me about what your branch is planning.

### 3. Coalition of Labor Union Women, CLUW

Over the past year, there have been organized women's trade union groups. On the weekend of March 23-24 there will be a national meeting of all these local groups. In all probability a Coalition of Labor Union Women will be formed. Members of the IS in New York, Chicago, St. Louis and Cleveland have participated in various ways. The WC and the NAC began its discussions about the CLUW and our relations toward it. The following has been discussed.

a) That there be a mobilization of women to the March conference in Chicago. We hope that as many women as possible will attend this conference. While we

cannot expect comrades from either coast to attend, we hope that women from Cleveland, Detroit, Madison, Bloomington, and Chicago will attend. ~~W~~ In all probability women not in trades unions will be allowed in. We plan to set up a lit. table, to sell Workers Power, and to present a leaflet to the group

b) There was a lengthy discussion on the NAC about CLUW, the ERA, super seniority etc. The following was decided upon.

1. Jack B. moved that the WC draft a short descriptive document about the CLUW and that the WC prepare a perspective for our work in CLUW. PASSED.

BW made the following suggestions: That BW speak with CP in New York and have a one page position on the ERA drafted. That at the February NC, BW, GS, MD (if she can), IW from NY and CR from Chi. meet to discuss CLUW. That sometime before the end of Feb the women's commission meet again and prepare the perspective on CLUW. That at a NAC meeting in very late Feb. or very early March, Carol from Chi. and Barbara from Clev. attend to further discuss CLUW. If women's trade union groups exist in your city, please let us know all you can about them.

4. NC Meeting. There will be a women's caucus meeting on Saturday night of the NC. It will be after the NC meetings and before the party. The agenda will be as follows: 1) Reports 2) International Women's Day 3) CLUW

5. Women's Industrialization. The WC has read the Seattle women's position paper. We have not discussed it. We will be discussing that document and others. It is hoped that the May NC will have a discussion on women's industrialization.

6. Workers Power. For the most part, coverage on women for the paper has been reviews. We are planning a review of the Women and Labor in Radical America, Hillbilly Women, plus a review of the TV show of Miss Jane Pittman. Members, please try to find out what is going on in terms of women workers, and see if we can get better coverage.

Finally, please address all correspondence to Barbara Winslow, 2176 Briarwood Road, Cleveland Heights, OH, 44118. 216-932-5478.



## ON WOMEN'S INDUSTRIALIZATION

In Response to Rose V. Motion to NAC 11/13/73

BY CRG, Chicago

Comrade Rose V.'s motion to the NAC would be easier to understand if she had been able to explain more specifically what are the different interpretations to which to motion passed by the convention is susceptible. Citations from the original motion, or instances of confusion which have arisen in particular branches would be helpful, for instance, and I hope that they will be brought up at the NAC discussion. In the following pages I will attempt to clarify the motion passed by the convention, and explain why I feel that Comrade Rose's motion conflicts with the sense of the convention motion.

### INDUSTRIALIZATION

The motion adopted by the convention stated that part of the work of building a working women's movement must be conducted through the industrialized work of women comrades. The content of the motion is that the organization must have: (1) industrialization priorities in every branch where comrades can find a base among working women, and where a perspective for organizing that base exists. That is, there must be some place to industrialize which will allow our comrades to lead and build the struggle of working women on the job and in the unions. (2) That while one such local priority must exist, we in no way insist that every industrialized woman in the branch work in that industry. (3) That the branch should attempt to fill this local women's industrialization priority and understand that if it fails to do so, it has not yet satisfied its obligation in the conduct of women's organizing. (4) Finally, Lynn J.'s amendment made clear that we felt that in general it would be possible to fulfill this obligation within the national priorities. The UAW is 20% women, and there are a number of UAW/Auto shops where women make up a substantial portion of the work force and where a perspective for their self organization and self activity could be projected. The percentage of women in the AFT is high, and there is no lack of perspective for work in this area. Similarly for the CWA/Telephone Co., women make up 55% of the union nationally and virtually 100% of the traffic department. It is clear that a perspective for working women's organizing can and must be developed for women in this area.

The content of the motion was that in general we thought that women could find work under the national priorities which also satisfied the criterion of being industrial work with a working women's base and a perspective for organizing working women. The virtue of the motion is that it provides for several contingencies which 'till now, have not been covered. (1) The situation where a branch must choose between several possible industrial priorities into which to send women comrades. Here the motion states that at least some of the comrades should be sent where the work they will conduct will lead and/or build the struggle of working women. (2) The situation where a branch can find no place covered under the national priorities where there is a base among working women and a perspective for organizing that base. Here the motion states that the branch is obliged to find some place -- not necessarily covered by the four industries/unions -- where such a base and such a perspective can be found.

Another way of stating this motion is that we have established an additional criteria for choosing industrialization priorities--the conduct of industrial work by women comrades with a perspective for leading and/or building the struggle of working women. In general this criteria can be satisfied at some work place covered under the four industries/unions established as industrialization priorities. In some cases an additional industrialization place for women comrades will have to be found. In all branches, a work place which satisfies the women's industrialization criteria must be found.

The motion to the NAC presented by Comrade Rose appears to re-introduce the very confusion which the convention motion clarified. The criteria set down in the NAC motion are, (1) women should work where there are other women, (2) They should work in national priority industries, (3) even when there are only a few women employed in a national priority, our comrades should still work there, (4) if women comrades are sent into other than national priority industries, it should be because of the political importance of the other union to local politics rather than because of the numbers of women employed there.

Common to all these criteria is a confusion regarding numbers. The motion adopted by the convention did not speak of numbers or percentages of the work force, for, taken by themselves, these statistics can be deceiving. The content of the motion adopted by the convention was rather that what is necessary is a base among working women for which it will be possible to project a perspective for leading and fulfilling a struggle of working women. From this point of view, I would like to discuss Rose's criteria:

Criterion number one is a non criterion. Virtually every job and union has some women in it, so the presence of a single female in the industry/union makes it a candidate for women's industrialization and makes this a meaningless criterion.

Criterion number two is precisely what the motion, "On Women's Perspectives" sought to clarify. Yes, women should try to work in priority industries. However, if a particular branch can find no priority industry in which there is a base among working women and a perspective for organizing that base, then another local work place must be found where such a base and such a perspective do exist. Once such a local work place is found, it is not necessary that all women in the branch go into that place. But until some women is working there, the branch will not have met its obligation to carrying out national industrial and women's work.

Criteria numbers three and four specifically raise the numbers question. Three does not even attempt to answer the question, "Should all our women go into this industry/union even though their work there will not allow them to lead and/or build the struggle of working women there?" Rather it introduces the meaningless term "few" indicating that even if "few" women are in a particular workplace, women comrades should be sent there. The term provides neither clarity or direction. Does it mean one percent of the work force? or ten percent? Does the percent of the ~~xxx~~ work force matter at all?

Besides being meaningless in and of itself, the term opens up more questions than it answers. When few women are involved in a particular work place and/or union the question of whether or not a perspective for or-

ganizing among them exists will depend upon many factors. For example, What is the consciousness of the few women involved? and what produced that consciousness? What is the relationship to production of the few women involved? is it the same as that of the men? are they in separate departments performing different tasks? Will the few women involved be more conscious of racial than of sexual discrimination? Will the few women involved be able to find allies nationally or regionally, either among women or other oppressed sectors? etc. The term "few" then in no way helps us to clarify the question, Will there be a perspective for women workers organizing at this work place?

Four appears to be more of a red herring than an attempt to deal with the question at hand. Many unions will for one reason or another have an important role in the local labor movement. But their importance to the local labor movement is no more a criteria for sending women into them than is the number of women they organize. Once again the question for us must be, Will our women find a base among working women in the industry/local which will allow them to lead and/or build the struggle of working women there?

Rather than clarifying the motion adopted by the convention, Comrade Rose's motion to the NAC reintroduced the very confusion which the convention motion sought to clear up. I consider part one of her motion counterposed to my own and hope that the preceding has clarified the convention decision.

→ TYPISTS NOTE: PLEASE SEE END OF DOCUMENT FOR AN INSERT WHICH BELONGS HERE.

#### WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The sense of part two of the Motion to the NAC is also counterposed to the direction put forward in the motion adopted by the convention. The content of the convention motion was that the organization was to search our possibilities for organizing working women's committees within the women's liberation movement. It stated that the goal of such committees was to serve as poles of attraction and leadership for working women within the women's liberation movement.

The motion was quite clear that we should decide whether or not it would be possible for ourselves to initiate or build such organizations; and instructed the comrades to enter the organizations of the movement to see if the material for building such organizations was to be found.

It was my experience building such an organization over the last year which lead me to formulate this proposal. Further experience over the last few months has lead me to the following clarification of their goals. To answer the question, What type of leadership should these poles of attraction for working women within the women's liberation movement provide? I propose, the goals of these working women's organizations should be two-fold: (1) to organize the unorganized, and (2) To build a movement within the labor unions which fights for a class struggle strategy to win working women's rights and needs.

Counterposed to this direction is a more passive approach put forward in the motion to the NAC. "We are for the formation of on-going pro-union

groups and will work within them." (emphasis is my own) since I believe this formulation indicates an unwillingness to do precisely what the convention motion proposed--to initiate) The motion to the NAC continues, that if someone will set up pro-union groups we will go into them and "push our politics." While the convention motion stated that it is part of our politics to attempt to initiate such organizations.

A few words about IS practice, past and present, may help to clarify our role as initiators and organizers.

DARE in Chicago, was a group whose goal was to build direct action struggles for working women's rights and needs at work. It felt no need for a "position on the unions" and in fact tended to function as a service organization. A majority of its members were radical women, most had jobs, most were unionized. The group had already attracted to membership several indiginous working class women.

ISers went into DARE and gave it leadership--began to develop in it an understanding of the unions and why it needed to have a position on them. The process was not an easy one, both because of the petty bourgeois base of DARE and because of the training we had received in the I.S.

The petty bourgeois base meant that our role must be to transform DARE--to make it capable of attracting a base of working women leaders, as well as capable of developing such leadership within its ranks.

The I.B. meanwhile, had trained us to push our politics by developing and giving voice to abstract positions, rather than by teaching us to initiate, organize, and lead. Work in DARE has helped us to see how to do so. We raise practical questions which DARE as a whole must make decisions about in order to act. Through this means DARE is developing the experience it will take to adopt a position on the unions with which we can work.

The Working Women's Organizing Committee, which New York Comrades, including myself, initiated in 1971, may be the basis for the more retiring approach presented in the Motion to the NAC. At a women's liberation conference, we called for a meeting of women interested in "doing work among working class women." Upward of fifty women came to our meeting. Unfortunately the groundwork which would have been necessary to make such an organizing committee a success had not been laid. We had formulated no clear statement of purpose, nor had we figured out any concrete activities--whether a public campaign, an industrialization project, a newsletter--which the women who agreed with our orientation could immediately pick up and carry out. Having failed to provide such a concrete program, we also failed to launch an attempt to attract ~~xxx~~ working women--the WWOC's base was predominantly student or women employed in fringe-type or movement jobs.

The result was both a lack of a concrete program and the lack of a base that felt the need for such a program. Into this vacuum, the Spartacists were able to introduce their own deadly program whose purpose--that of wrecking movement groups--was accomplished.

Drawing the conclusion from these two experiences, I would say that for the IS to "push our politics" it will generally be necessary for us to initiate committees and even independent organizations within the movement. In order to do so successfully, we must be familiar with the other forces and weapons in the field. We should be familiar with labor law and its current cases.

Finally we must collect contacts who we feel will play a role--not necessarily the one we want to play--in building the organizations and struggles of a working women's movement. We may find these contacts among the women in the labor officialdom, leaders of rank and file caucuses, members of NOW and other women's liberation groups, women seeking aid from the regulatory agencies, from NOW and other movement groups, etc.

Perhaps in all cities we will not find the "critical mass" of contacts necessary to build working women's committees such as the ones described in the convention motion. However, the motion's sense is that we should consistently collect information and contacts with an eye to initiating such organizations when we feel this can be done.

INSERT, PG, 3, before heading, WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT:

I suspect, although it is not stated, that some part of the confusion which Rose refers to arose from a recent debate in NYC over which of two national priorities to fill with women comrades. The choice was between CWA/Telephone in NYC and CWA/Telephone in New Jersey. In NYC this means sending women into the overwhelmingly male plant department. In NJ, across the river, it could mean sending women into the overwhelmingly female traffic department. Both NYC and NJ CWA are within the important District #1, where we presently have several men in the plant department and a history of struggle there. Meanwhile we have no women in the district and little if any contact with the struggle of women in the important traffic department there.

The decision was made to send women into the NYC plant department. On the surface, this decision seems to be in clear violation of the sense of the motion adopted by the convention, although it is quite possible that other factors had to be considered. It would be useful if the basis for this decision could be made public so that this question could be clarified.

AMENDMENT TO CRG AMENDMENT TO T&P, ON WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVES

BY Lynn J.

(NOTE: This amendment was accepted as friendly by CRG. The CRG amendment, as amended by LJ, was passed by the 1973 Convention. The original CRG motion was printed in Bulletin No. 46, December 1973.)

End of paragraph 1.

We prefer, of course, that women industrialize into priority industries both because this makes it more possible to integrate women's issues into our national industrial work, and because it enables us to develop women comrades as leading members of the organization's labor work nationally.

## WORKERS POWER REPORT NO. 1

Dear Comrades:

This is the first of what the editorial board hopes will be fairly regular reports to the membership on the progress of Workers Power.

These reports will probably come out every 6 weeks or so and will let you know how we think the paper is progressing and what problems remain. It will also give us a chance to answer comments that we get consistently.

Our general feeling, and most feedback agrees, is that the paper is getting consistently better. Overall it is better written, there are more short articles and more articles that reflect our involvement in struggles. We now have real centerfolds, most of which have been successful, more black coverage and a regular culture page. The layout has also improved. There is a conception behind the overall organization of the paper and most pages are developing their own character. We just began a What's On column and there are more ads throughout the paper.

In general most members tell us that the paper is interesting to read (some are reading it for the first time in years) and is becoming usable in their work. Sales in most of the branches are on the rise.

However there are still many problems. Headlines have been a major complaint and we have attempted various changes in procedure to improve them. In general headlines have improved in the last 3 issues (89, 90, 91) but there is still much room for improvement.

Although black coverage has improved in the sense that there is more of it WP coverage stunk dies bit have a sense of dealing with questions that are topical and important in the black community.

The political level of the paper has improved although we still have trouble interjecting politics into shorter pieces without using lots of rhetoric and sounding hacky. 9 (most of which gets edited out.) Much of our longer stuff still is not focussed enough and does not always meet our educational needs. And there are holes in our content--mainly economics.

We have in general, not yet been able to do well researched pieces because of lack of time. (The staff writes a good deal of the paper, edits a good deal of the rest, typesets, proofreads and pastes up the paper, does all the business stuff, clips most major papers, news magazines and the movement press and meets endlessly.)

Another problem has been deadlines. We understand the importance of meeting them and have tried various ways of adjusting the work load to enable WP to get out on time. Issue # 91 was the first issue in WP's recent history to get to the printers on time. We hope to manage this every issue.

The question of distribution has not yet been taken up by the editorial board in a serious way. Although sales are increasing the organization has yet to make real advances. Thus far, selling the paper is still seen as a chore and the paper is not used seriously in contact work.

Shortly WP will look very different--we have purchased new typesetting equipment which will be arriving shortly. Copy will then be justified, slightly smaller and in a serifed face. We hope that with the new equipment we will get in 20-25% more copy per issue.

We are also in the process of getting a headliner which will give us greater flexibility in headline sizes.

We are also trying to get a printer that will print a larger tabloid size (printers in Detroit will not)--this means finding a printer outside

~~with~~ of Detroit, probably Lansing.) We have not yet found the time to go out to see the proposed new printer but it is on our agenda of things to accomplish.

Kim's column has begun and a womens column, in 3 rotating sections, is planned. One section will be on women in history--womens struggles and important figures; another section will deal broadly with women and culture and a third section will deal with legislation and struggles that effect women today--such as abortion.

Too much of the paper is still written in Detroit. We need more writers. A "How to Write for Workers Power" pamphlet will be coming out eventually which should help comrades get started.

Much of the work has been reorganized and different members of the editorial board are responsible for generating coverage on different subjects. Domestic Politics--Kit & Joel. International--Dave. Labor--Jim, Blacks--Kay. Women--Gay. Cultural--Gay. Centerfolds--Gay. Education--Joel. Comrades interested in writing on these subjects should get in touch with the appropriate person.

We have also instituted a new schedule (see attached calendar) with 3 different deadlines. The purpose of this is to allow us to typeset and layout the paper over the 2 week period rather than rushing everything at the end and missing deadlines. The first deadline is for the least timely stuff--most centerfolds, columns, reviews and educational pieces--and is at the beginning of the first week. Topical pieces from the branches--labor coverage, 1 black & womens coverage, etc. is due at the early part of the second week. Leads, editorials and What's On are due at the end of the second week.

We are beginning to get regular reports on the paper from various comrades which are a great help. We hope that more comrades will jot down their impressions and that leadership bodies will report regularly.

It is tremendously important that we know what comrades think and reactions they get when selling the paper and from their contacts.

We do listen--and have incorporated many ideas sent to us. Many problems comrades have pointed out we are aware of but cannot yet change due to technical reasons--such as size.

This report was fairly long as it is the first and there has been so much to report. We hope that this will encourage more comrades to write us their opinions and develop a dialogue on the paper that will result in building a valuable tool for our work.

WP CALENDAR	DEADLINE #			YFTR, Gay, for the editorial board
	1	2	3	
# 92 2/12-25	Wed 2/13	Tu 2/19	Thu 2/21	NOTE: Dates next to issue # are the period in which WP is worked on. Deadline 1 is centerfold, education, columns, culture. 2 is reports & articles from branches, 3 is lead, editorial, What's On, .
#93 2/26-3/11	Wed 2/27	Tu 3/5	Thu 3/7	
94 3/12-3/25	Wed 3/13	Tu 3/19	Thu 3/21	
95 3/26/4/8	Wed 3/27	Tu 4/2	Thu 4/4	
96 4/9-4/22	Wed 4/10	Tu 4/16	Thu 4/18	
97 4/23-5/6	Wed 4/24	Tu 4/30	THU 5/2	
98 5/7-5/20	Wed 5/8	Tu 5/14	Thu 5/16	
99 5/21-6/3	Wed 5/22	Tu 5/28	Thu 5/30	
100 6/4-6/17	Wed 6/5	Tu 6/11	Thu 6/13	



TO: BRANCHES AND ORGANIZING COMMITTEES

February 13, 1974

FROM: THE NATIONAL SECRETARY, for the NAC

The present crisis in Britain and the role that the British IS is playing opens up possibilities for us, both in discussing ~~xxxxxx~~ what is happening in the economic crisis and the class response to that, and the role of revolutionaries in the growing class struggle there. We must make the most of this opportunity. The NAC thus requests that every branch and organizing committee hold forums, informal meetings, discussions to which contacts especially industrial contacts, are invited, as soon as possible. Enclosed are speakers notes which will help those in making presentations ~~of~~ on the events there, and the line of the IS in those events. Copies of SW should be used to supplement this, if there is someone in the branch who gets an air mail copy. The NAC will attempt to sponsor a speaking tour of a miner comrade from Britain when the strike and elections are over if this is at all possible. Such forums requested above would be good in laying the groundwork for such a speaking tour.

Let's not miss this opportunity! Britain today is one of the main places where the class struggle is actively taking place on a high level, and our fraternal relationship to the British IS and our solidarity with them, together with the publicity they are getting even in the media in this country, means that we ~~can do this~~ can politically and organizationally use this to build the IS here.

Thanks,

Marilyn

## Speakers Notes on Britain Gay. S.

### I Background

1. World economic crisis - re-emergence of boom and bust cycle. stagflation.
2. U.S. richest nation - effects not as great here. Still a lot of fat on American capitalism, working class response slower. Elsewhere recession means severe hardship - Bolivia, mass strikes and fighting in the streets, in India food riots for weeks.
3. What is happening in Britain is part of this worldwide crisis.
4. Britain weakest link in Western capitalism.
  - a) capital plant old and inefficient.
  - b) huge balance of payments deficit - surpassing 3,000 million pounds. Month of October highest in history, 821 million pounds.
  - c) inflation expected to hit 15-20%, even with phase 3 guidelines, in 1974
  - d) inability to attract new investment at home even during 18 month boom.
  - e) decline of the pound
  - f) Britain now has the lowest standard of living in Western Europe - after WWII was the third in world after U.S. and Canada.
  - g) low growth rate 2-3%, U.S. ~~3 1/2%~~ 3 1/2%, Western Europe 5-6%, Japan 10-12% (these are approximately figures)
  - h) can't afford even meagre increases under Phase III
  - i) British working class very militant (because of stagnation of British economy since WWII) -- although not yet political -- best shop floor organization in the world. wants more.
  - j) during boom demands of British workers, led by miners in 1972, raised real wages 3%. Here real wages fell.
5. British miners most militant section of British working class. 1972 won demands through a militant strike in a few days and gave lead to advances of rest of class. Victory of miners will mean victory for whole class.
6. All the world watching - just as British wage controls were borrowed from U.S. ~~any~~ any successful strategy will be borrowed by other ruling classes. The miners contract in this country will be up in November and although Miller is bargaining early trying to avoid a strike the ranks are talking strike (at least they were at the UMW convention).

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### II The struggle (scenario)

1. Miners are some of the worst paid industrial workers in Britain. After having led a successful strike for their demands in 1972 they demanded, this year, wage increases substantially ~~XXXXXX~~ higher than phase III guidelines.
- X 2. Pressure for ~~strike~~ strike forced leadership (essentially conservative, even though there are 6 Cpers on 27 person exec) to call overtime ban. Ban looked militant but was designed not to threaten British economy as a strike would. Compromise between militancy of ranks and support of British Capitalism of leadership. Most miners thought the ban would be enough - militants were for all out strike from beginning.
3. Heath used the energy crisis and oil embargo as an excuse to lock out British workers 2 ~~any~~ days per week. (claimed overtime ban of miners had created severe shortage of coal - British electrical supply uses 60-70% coal) Lock-out begins 1/2/74. Heath attempted to divide miners from support of rest of British working class by creating severe hardship.
4. Energy crisis is a fraud - coal reserves were sufficient to keep British industry running for a long time plus coal ~~XXXX~~ was being mined. Coal was also being imported from Poland.
5. Trade Union Council (TUC) calls on Heath to make miners exception - If ~~XXXX~~ Tories give in to miners demands the TUC offers to agree to settle within phase III. Heath turns them down because he correctly understands that if the miners win the TUC will not be able to control its ranks.

6. Heath moves to increase workweek to 4 days (because of pressure from industry - steel production way down, at one point the Times was saying 50%, they have switched to 70%) showing the fraud of lockout in the first place and the weakness of the overtime ban.
7. Intransigence of Tories plus pressure from the ranks finally forces NUM to call for a strike vote on 1/31/74
8. Miners respond with a magnificent 81% for an all out strike.
9. Before strike begins X TUC leaders and Heath try to get together around a plan of "relativities". Hierarchy will be established of economic importance of workers and raises will be granted accordingly. Miners will get big raise and all others will be kept back because not important enough to economy (in effect - idea was ~~an~~ a way for both sides to compromise). Plan too little too late and gets little support. Miners already geared up for all out strike.
10. Strike begins 2/10. Other unions supports miners and will not move coal. (dockers won't unload coal transport workers won't move it).
11. Heath dissolves parliament and call election 2/28. Tories slogan "Firm action for a Fair Britain" Labor - "Put Britain back to work"
12. Private industrialists offer to pay increase for a short time to get miners back to work. Turned down.
13. Strike will not be settled until after election.

### III The politics

1. Heath government staking all to defeat miners. Risk toppling government.
  - a) Britain cannot afford Phase III let alone beyond. The Economist threatens that unless miners are stopped by hyperinflation will bring down the whole government (Labor ~~or~~ or Tory). Things will get worse because of recession not better - must make stand now, willing to ~~xxxx~~ risk total disaster to stop the miners.
    - b) first time since WWII that a ruling class has been willing to take all out offensive against the working class.
    - c) British ruling class divided - some think Heath has gone to far and that he should have settled rather than do the damage he has already done to the British economy. Heavy industry and The Economist are behind Heath. Division is due to the fact that the recession still has not really hit and many companies still have large orders ~~xxx~~ that they want to fill (~~which they~~ before they are cancelled). This is what is behind the private industrialists offering to pay the increase for a short ~~xxx~~ time.
      - d) The Economist says Phase 3 not enough, need more severe phase 4. ~~XXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
  2. TUC - afraid and unwilling to wage an all out confrontation with the Tories (they support the system and do not want to threaten the needs ~~in~~ of the capitalists. The ban was designed not to threaten the system. Kept trying to bail Heath ~~xx~~ out offered to sell out everyone else if he would just settle with the miners. Role of the left leaders like Scanlon and Jones no better. Hones settle for the dockers before the miners struggle began and settled within Phase 3. Scanlon agreed to settle for the engineers withing ~~xxx~~ phase 3 on public television, ~~xxxxxxx~~ even though his union is on record as being against controls. ~~XXXXXXX~~
  3. Communist party has 6 members on the executive board and has gotten a militant reputation in the press mainly because of ~~xxx~~ redbaiting. When a statement was made about bringing the troops in to handle the coal, McGahey stated that they would appeal to the class solidarity of the troops. ~~XXXXXX~~ This incident brought out everyone's true colors - The Labor Party began redbiting and ~~xxxxxx~~ McGahey immediately withdrew his statement. The CP went along with the overtime ban rather than a strike and they are also being pushed on the left by the ISGB so are sounding a little more militant but in

words only.

#### IV British IS

1. line - full weeks work or full weeks pay, smash the phase 3 guidelines, the British miners struggle is a struggle for all British workers and must be supported. Other workers can support by trying to get their unions to make their wage demands now add strike with the miners. All along they called for an all out strike. Once the strike vote was taken they called on all workers to support by refusing to move coal or unload coal. They called for mass pickets to make sure that coal can not be moved to the power stations and for the miners to use flying pickets as they did in the 1972 strike. In the event of an election they called for the working class the vote Labor (for all Labor candidates right and left). They correctly argued that a Tory victory would move the country to the right, that Labor although it was a reformist party was still a workers party, a victory for Labor would open up the struggle and that Labor would then expose themselves. They called for building their revolutionary party.

2. They built tremendous campaign to get their line across, the circulation of SW went up 10,000 copies from around 30,000 to 40,000 with hopes of raising it to 50,000. They held meetings everywhere where the working class had to support the miners. 12 new pit branches were organized and many miners joined.

3. At the same time, the right to picket has been under attack in Britain and 24 building workers went to trial for conspiracy to organize a picket line that violence occurred at. Thus far 6 have gone to trial, three were found guilty and the 3 that were let go went on a speaking tour organized by the IS. In the process 2 of the 3 joined. The IS has mounted a massive campaign in support of the Shrewsbury 24 and in support of the right of the working class to picket.

#### V History of the Miners

1. 1926 general strike was called in support of the miners. The ruling class was very well organized and had all sorts of middle class volunteers prepared. The TUC leaders use a lot of militant language but did nothing, and in the end turned around and completely sabotaged the strike. The Third International was becoming Stalinized and while Russia was forming an alliance with the TUC leadership the British CP was completely uncritical of them and the fact that they were doing nothing to prepare the working class for the struggle while the ruling class was openly preparing. The general strike and the miner were smashed. The miners came crawling back many not hired back.

2. After WWII the miners were nationalized. The miners built an incredibly militant shop floor organization with through leapfrogging piece rates. (They had lost a national agreement with the defeat in 1926). They became extremely powerful able to win significant concessions without striking. In 1964 with Labor in power, the British coal industry was rationalized. Many mines were closed and hundreds of thousands of miners lost their jobs. Miners went from being some of the best paid industrial workers to being some of the worse and working conditions worsened. Slowly the miners began to rebuild their strength. In 1970 they were significant wildcats in the fields and the tactic of flying pickets was used. Although the wildcats were eventually crushed, networks of militants got to know each other, the miners got a renewed sense of their strength and tactics that were to be successful in 1972 were tried out.

3. 1972 strike - first strike of miners since 1926. Was extremely successful and led the way for the winning of real wage gains by the entire British working class during the boom. Through strike support work the ISGB was able

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attract a small group of miners, beginning the Coolier and starting a rank and file group that gave them a basis for their work today.

#### VI Conclusions

1. British miners have held out and shown militancy and solidarity that has surprised all including the British IS. they stand a good chance of bringing down the Tory government.

2. ~~XX~~ It was the Tories who turned the miners strike into a political strike, not the TUC, who attempted to compromise all along. It was the Tories who ~~xxxxxxx~~ made clear that the miners strike was against the government and against phase 3-the TUC tried to make an exception of the miners not a test case. If the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Tories win this election it will mean a swing to the right and support for smashing the miners and the workers movement, Benefits of miners families will be taken away, the right to picket will continue to be threatened and arrests, frameups etc will be rampant.

3. If Labor wins there program will be to grant the miners their demands and impose strict controls on everyone else. But it will open the struggle up and the ~~xxxxx~~ inadequacies of ~~xxx~~ reformism will be exposed. ~~xxxxx~~ The entire political scene will have moved to the left.

4. What is going on in Britain is the out and out confrontation of the needs of the two major classes.. Things will not get better. The crisis will deepen and building the revolutionary party is on the agenda.

5. The western world is entering the second stagflation recession (first in 1969-71). A whole new layer of worker militants is being created who are open to the ideas of revolutionary socialism.. The first recession produced the first layer that allowed ~~the~~ sects like the IS and LO to grow. Then a period of stability followed. ISGB laid ~~xxxxxxx~~ pre-conditions for building revolutionary party. If new layer moves left there will be an organization ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ (xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx in late sixties there was only the Cp and the social-democrats). for them to hook up with providing a basis for building the revolutionary party.

6. Our task here is also to do ~~xxx~~ groundwork.

#### Suggested readings

1. International Socialism #65 Notes of the month
2. International Socialism #56 3/73 miners 1948-70 Charlton
3. " " #48 June/July/71 The General Strike Harmon

Workers' Power #89,pg 4, #90 canterfold, #91 pg 4

Socialist Worker last several months.

I apologize for all the typos and sentence fragments - this was rushed out.

- 1 - Class struggle since Heath
- 2 - History of Miners -
- 3 - overview of labor -

The recession will clearly be the dominant factor in the auto industry today. Because of the nature of the industry as a large consumer goods industry, it has been hit hardest and first by this recession. Within the industry, the effects are nationwide, but the largest concentration is in the area of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

The auto corporations come out of 1973 with three straight years of record sales and record profits. Their intention if possible is to maintain these super profits. They have two ways of doing this. One is to increase car prices -- which they did in December of 1973 when the Cost of Living Council lifted wage and price controls for the industry. The other is to squeeze more production out of less workers.

Hence, the corporations have begun a two-pronged attack on auto workers. In the shops there has been speed-up in the form of new job assignments, increased supervision, etc. Most employed auto workers are facing or will face some form of speed-up or harassment on the job. In the shops, the danger of lay-offs and the knowledge of high unemployment has meant that there has been a general conservative turn. Auto workers are not only afraid to take on the corporations through such actions as wildcats or even official strikes (believing correctly in many cases that the corporations want a strike), they are also more timid about harassing their own foremen. This means that in the shops we can expect to see an increase in individualistic actions. It is still, of course, necessary to continue the fight in the plants, despite the threat of lay-offs. The effect of the recession in the plants must be fought.

The other side of this attack is the unemployment. As of now about 60,000 auto workers have been laid off indefinitely and well over 100,000 have suffered some form of lay-off. For those with over one year seniority the SUB fund will supplement unemployment benefits up to 95% of normal wages. Those with less than one year are not eligible for SUB. However, the SUB fund has not been taken very seriously by the corporations. Since its inception, the benefits have risen tremendously while the contributions to it have only gone up a small amount. The three funds are all around 30 to 40% full after three years of record production. So it is pretty clear that it is a fund for minor lay-offs only, designed to go bankrupt during major lay-offs. Although it was sold to the membership as a great advance, it is largely a paper benefit.

However, unemployment, while important to people, is not going to result in an unemployment movement in the near future, including in the southeastern Michigan area which will be hardest hit right now. There are several reasons why. By and large, the question is still not being taken seriously by those affected or about to be. Certain benefits -- SUB, unemployment compensation -- will cause many to see this initially as a vacation more than an attack on their standards of living. Nor is there the leadership or organization to enable such a movement to grow.

None of the political groups around is in a position to lead an unemployed movement at this point. Even CL, which may well have the greatest credibility among young black workers in the Detroit area, does not have the size or ability nor it seems the political inclination to do much in this direction. The UAW bureaucrats will not do much either. Even the black bureaucrats are unlikely to move unless there is a great deal of pressure from blacks. Even then, given their past actions, most of the black secondary leadership

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would settle for almost anything. In Detroit we should put special emphasis on Coleman Young and his failure to do anything about unemployment in the city.

All of this could, of course, change when something spectacular like the SUB fund running out occurs. At that point the question of lay-offs becomes much more of a reality both for those already on the streets and those still working. Because many auto workers view the SUB as a right due them for working in the plants, this question will probably be one of the key issues during the whole period of unemployment.

The lay-offs that are taking place and will occur in the future are going to hit very hard blacks, women, and other minorities in the auto industry. This will probably mean that an unemployed movement could actually occur if and only if it is tied to the struggles in the black community.

So the major result of the recession is that there will be continued overtime, speed-up and harassment at the same time there is increasing unemployment. This will be particularly hard on minorities. But the general cynicism and lack of organization means there will be no mass movement now.

The recession and its effects will be a central point of what happens in auto and must be central to what we have to say as well. Therefore in the Dump Woodcock campaign, as in most of our work, there must be particular emphasis on the recession and Woodcock's failure to fight it as part of our contribution. Our attitude in auto and in all industry is that the workers must not pay for the crisis. We wish to convince people of the need for a fight around the following:

- No overtime while there is any unemployment.
- No speed-up. No increased supervision.
- Increase and extend unemployment benefits from the state.
- Reduce the work week. 30 for 40.
- The corporations must provide jobs, even if that means operating at a loss, conversion to other goods, etc.
- Full funding of SUB tied to corporate assets. SUB for everyone. Reopen the contract.
- Defend the jobs of blacks, women and other minorities. Permanent recall rights.
- Roll back car prices.

All IS auto workers and others that we can influence must remain active members of their locals while laid off.

We should regard this period of unemployment as one for developing a periphery for the IS, of deepening our contact with workers and others we have already met. If this recession lasts for a very long time then an unemployment movement is possible. However, our perspective at this point for the Southeastern Michigan area should be for a metropolitan or area-wide membership unemployment group. Most likely, this formation would not come from any one small activity or organization that begins now. Most likely it will come from several different kinds of groups doing work among the unemployed. There are three areas of work we should be attempting to be involved in now.

- 1) Within the UNC we have pushed for and gotten a committee on unemploy-



ment. We seek to make this committee a real one in that we wish to have rank and filers from the main UNC locals on it -- 160, 228, 600, 961, etc. This committee should try to investigate and research the questions of unemployment and the SUB fund with its activities to result in a seminar of some sort on these questions. This could go into both the facts learned about the SUB fund and questions of how and why the recession and unemployment, what the "energy crisis" means, etc.

Following this, the UNC committee should attempt to involve unemployed workers in getting publicity for a campaign around these questions. Demonstrations and a press conference should be planned so that this group can get some publicity around the SUB fund prior to it running out. Once it runs out we can expect every political group to be heralding the formation of the unemployed movement of the 70's. We would like to have laid the basis prior to that of a group we are in being seen by large numbers of people as a serious group committed to fighting for the unemployed.

2) In our work in local unions we should be attempting to set up rank and file unemployed committees. Where possible we seek to build a committee open to all unemployed workers in the local and which will fight to become a recognized official committee of the local. Where the bureaucracy sets up a committee we may decide to take part to see if work can be done through it. These committees in the locals should see part of their work being service work for those laid off. Although this is time consuming activity, it is necessary if we are to build anything real.

We should also be using the campaigns in the locals over local and delegate elections for raising the issues of unemployment. Local campaigns over lay-offs and overtime existing side-by-side should take place, including pickets, resolutions, etc. It is also important to take up the question in each plant of discriminatory lay-offs. Since the effect on blacks as a whole will be large, we should be constantly raising this. But the group of auto workers that will probably be most severely affected by the lay-offs are young women. By and large we are witnessing the mass purge of young women from the plants. All our unemployed work should have as a major focus an orientation towards women and black workers. Where it is possible we should initiate local women's groups around the issue of unemployment and its special effects on young women workers.

3) We should be doing some work at the unemployment centers. By and large the mere leafletting of unemployed centers is not sufficient to lead to the beginnings of a group. We should immediately begin selling the paper at unemployment centers and using the more relaxed atmosphere to talk politics with people there. When we have stuff to leaflet for -- such as demonstrations or the UNC seminar on unemployment -- we should do so at the unemployment centers. But there it will be most useful to involve our contacts in this with us as a way of furthering their political education as well as trying to bring others around us.

As a result of these three areas of activity, we hope to have a small but significant number of workers and unemployed around us who agree with what we seek to do. With that sort of a base we would be in a position to work with and even merge with other groups doing unemployment work, including black groups, welfare rights groups, etc. It is in this way that we can expect the most important organized developments to occur.

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We should also use this period when our members and contacts have more free time for extensive education. If possible we seek to set up one or more study groups for contacts and to hold discussions and educationals if there are sufficient people interested to warrant it. We should be using this time to establish a periphery and recruit to the IS, particularly a black cadre.

## OPERATION SHUTDOWN

A report of the movement of independent truckers in the St. Louis area and the involvement of IS comrades.

Recent truck strikes by Independent owner-operators had much support in the St. Louis/down state Illinois area. Most of the independent trucks were off the roads, truck stops were shutdown, and most importantly forms of organization began to emerge from the truck drivers. Beginning on Thursday Feb. 7th and continuing thru Monday Feb 11 IS comrades were in a working relationship with the striking independents. This paper will be an attempt to briefly describe what happened and to set forth some suggestions for continued contact with the Independent drivers.

### Chronology

- January 31st. The strike began here as it did across the country. One of the initial activities was the blockading of fuel pumps at truck stops on both sides of the Mississippi river.
- February 4th Independent Truckers Coalition is formed at the Thunderbird Motor Freight Terminal, So. Roxana, Ill.
- State of Missouri gets injunction against picketing at truck stops thus effectively breaking up one of the best strategies of Operation Shutdown.
- February 5th Newspaper reports begin to say that the strike is over and that the drivers are going back to work. This will be their line through the rest of the shutdown. Even after mass meetings of 400 drivers where the vote was to return to work the press reported that local drivers were once again hitting the road.
- February 6th At a meeting of 150 - 200 drivers at the Lewis and Clark restaurant in East Alton, Ill the tentative national settlement is rejected and the decision is made to begin picketing the oil refineries. There is a complex of 4 - 6 major oil refineries at Wood River, Ill. East Alton, Wood River, and So. Roxana are all adjoining towns about 20 up the Mississippi from St. Louis on the Illinois side.
- February 7th We learn about the pickets thru a news report. Carl B., a contact who has been working with us, called the Shutdown head quarters asked what was going on and asked if we could be of any help. They said yes and wanted to know how many of us would be coming over.

Myself, Carl, and Clay from WU went over talked with a few of the drivers and went out on one of the picket lines. Clay went on to a meeting of drivers where it was again decided to continue with the shut down. We left to come back to St. Louis after about 3 hours.

We immediately got in contact with other friends and member of WU to build our presence on the picket lines. A meeting was set up for Saturday night.

February 8th Many people aren't available to picket today, but myself and a close friend do go over and walk the line for several hours.

February 9th Carl, Clay, and I are again able to go back and spend several hours with the drivers. By now the pickets were being spread to include the major company terminals in St. Louis. We had an opportunity to spend some time with one of the leaders of the shutdown and formed up a good relationship. Throughout the day we talked with many drivers and were gaining a reputation as being the volunteer picketers.

Other member of Worker's Unity were also out during the day talking with drivers at various truck stops. The reactions from the drivers was mixed partially because some were at stops where there was no organization and they felt isolated. They were at this time deciding to fuel up and to take off.

We held a meeting and it was decided to come out with a leaflet that was addressed to teamsters. It was to be for distribution at the company terminals where pickets were set up. There was discussion among us as to how the leaflet should be signed and with hindsight I now realize that it should have been signed ~~the~~ by the IS also. It was signed just by WU.

February 10th Pickets at a number of refineries and terminals have been up for the past 36 hours. Many of the truckers however are pissed off that more people have not come out to do picket duty. They feel that they are being hurt by a lack of organization and an unwillingness by many of the drivers to get actively involved.

A meeting was held at 3:00 PM in East Alton attended by about 450 drivers and friends. The vote was overwhelming to reject the steelment and to continue on strike. The immediate tactical goal was to shut down the truck traffic at the major city terminals.

Pickets began going up at 6:00PM and continued all thur the night. I was out all night, except for a two hour period. Dave and others were on the lines for several hours each.

While many trucks were turned ~~no~~ away there was still not sufficient support to shutdown the traffic. The teamsters officials were saying that they would not stand behind and of their drivers who got fired.

February 11th The shutdown in this area is over for lack of organization, support, and the bad press coverage. A press conference is held where Jerry Todd, newly elected president of the ITC throws in the towell. This makes many of the truckers angury because they were never consulted. They feel the situation is helpless though and don't put up much resistance.

NAC MOTION

INDEPENDENT TRUCKERS  
Jimmie Higgens  
February 13, 1974

The recent national strike by independent owner-operator truck drivers is a significant development in the class struggle in the United States. While events in this area were certainly not predicted in the organization and while they may not become a priority arena for the organization, they nevertheless are deserving of more than passing attention.

The independent truck drivers have been the first segment in society to stand up directly to the government and the corporations over the issue of inflation. Contrary to what the press may have portrayed the single most important motivating factor of the truckers was their refusal to be responsible for passing on increased costs to the consumer. In many aspects their demands can be labeled as class wide demands and are certainly political in that they are placing them on the government.

While most of the publicity went to those who were bargaining in Washington or the acts of violence a significant majority of the truckers realized that it was their economic power that made them strong. Their ability to shut down trucking was at the heart of their movement. Independents are the prime movers of perishables. They were well aware of this during the strike and it began to hit home to the American public. While there is still strong elements in the truckers who believe that talking to the government will be the answer, even they know that they will once again be forced to rely on the economic pressure.

Above all else the truckers have learned the importance of having an organization. By this they mean not just a body of elected officials who can represent them, but a fighting organization that can lead them in battle. Throughout the country in the coming period we can expect the growth of many trucker's groups. From what I have been able to pick up they have in mind some sort of national coalition. Communication must be improved and the demands must be consolidated.

The next time that the truckers go out, and at this point it seems certain that they will, it is likely to be a very different affair than it was this time. For one thing the government has learned much. We can expect the faster and more efficient use of injunctions to prevent any blockading or even picketing, the guard is likely to be called up much quicker and on a wider basis, and in general the repressive powers of the state will be more evident. This time it was probably the media more than anything else that turned the tide against the truckers. The false information was just not countered.

The pressures on the drivers will be great in the coming months. While public opinion may have been on their side this time, there was no visible signs of public support. While the truckers don't feel

Kevin Bradly amendment to Michael Stewart document

Page 3, replace paras 6 and 7 with:

As investment takes place there is a tendency for the organic composition of capital to rise, which in itself, would lower the rate of profit. However, the rise in the organic composition of capital may be counterbalanced by an increase in the rate of exploitation and in the turnover rate of capital. In the US in the post war period there was a rapid rate of investment and consequent increase in the amount of investment per worker, an increase in the technical composition of capital. Associated with the rise went a corresponding increase in labor productivity. As a result, the number of man-hours necessary to replace the means of production per worker remained relatively the same, and the organic composition of capital rose slowly. The rate of exploitation rose sharply in the post world war II period due to an increase in relative surplus value. The productivity of workers rose more rapidly than real wages, and so workers received proportionally less of the product that they produced. The increase in the turnover rate of capital and in the rate of exploitation counterbalanced the rise in the organic composition of capital resulting in the stabilization of the rate of profit.

Government arms spending is a drain of surplus capital that could not otherwise be invested profitable. In the pre-Depression period, capital investment abroad particularly in the underdeveloped countries, served as an outlet for surplus capital. Today, arms expenditure financed through taxation serves that function. The rate of investment is not determined by the mass of surplus value, but instead by the rate of profit. The mass of surplus value is divided into taxes, new investment and capitalist luxury consumption. So the drain of surplus value into taxation for arms purchases does not prevent more rapid investment as long as capitalist consumption continues. Arms, however, do not re-enter the cycle of production, that is, as variable capital consumed by workers, or as part of the means of production. They are economic waste. If there were no arms production that does not mean that all surplus value paid in taxes would instead be used for capital re-investment.

In general more mature economies have lower rates of profit compared to those still experiencing rapid growth. Today, Japan has the highest rate of profit of all the advanced capitalist countries, than West Germany, France, the US and Britain. Surplus US capital continues to flow abroad attracted by the higher rate of profit both to other industrialized countries and underdeveloped countries.

Page 13, DELETE paras 2,3, and 4.

Page 214, 2nd para in section "The end of US hegemony", delete and replace with:

Japan, West Germany, France and Italy have all experienced significantly higher rates of growth than the US in the post World War II period. Their economies were destroyed in World War II and when they rebuilt they were able to employ more advanced technology imported from the US. Unburdened by arms economies, they re-invested a higher proportion of their total product than the US. As they approach the US levels of productivity their "economic miracles" are coming to an end.

TO: BRANCHES AND ORGANIZING COMMITTEES

February 13, 1974

FROM: THE NATIONAL SECRETARY, for the NAC

The present crisis in Britain and the role that the British IS is playing opens up possibilities for us, both in discussing ~~events~~ what is happening in the economic crisis and the class response to that, and the role of revolutionaries in the growing class struggle there. We must make the most of this opportunity. The NAC thus requests that every branch and organizing committee hold forums, informal meetings, discussions to which contacts especially industrial contacts, are invited, as soon as possible. Enclosed are speakers notes which will help those in making presentations ~~at~~ on the events there, and the line of the IS in those events. Copies of SW should be used to supplement this, if there is someone in the branch who gets an air mail copy. The NAC will attempt to sponsor a speaking tour of a miner comrade from Britain when the strike and elections are over if this is at all possible. Such forums requested above would be good in laying the groundwork for such a speaking tour.

Let's not miss this opportunity! Britain today is one of the main places where the class struggle is actively taking place on a high level, and our fraternal relationship to the British IS and our solidarity with them, together with the publicity they are getting even in the media in this country, means that we ~~can take advantage of this~~ can politically and organizationally use this to build the IS here.

Thanks,

Marilyn