

## EC RESOLUTIONS

### 1976 CONVENTION

#### IS IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

##### Resolution A1--The Employers' Offensive

1. Capitalism now faces a long-term, serious economic decline. It still goes through economic ups and downs. But both in bad times, and in times of temporary economic recovery, the capitalists are becoming bolder in their attacks on the working class. They try to cut real wages and benefits, they speed up and attack working conditions, and periodically they lay off masses of workers, all to maximize their profits. Although these attacks on working class living standards have been going on for a long time, they have become sharper as the crisis deepens.
2. In society as a whole, the employers' offensive has meant mass unemployment in times of depression. Even in the recovery, unemployment remains high. As a result of the combined effects of the arms economy and the employers' attempts to increase profit margins, inflation has eaten away nearly ten years of wage gains. Inflation, like unemployment, must be seen as another weapon in the employers' offensive.
3. The employers' offensive has also meant a large-scale assault on the "public sector" of the economy. In particular, the employers and their flunkies in government have savagely cut back on social and public service programs in the big cities. This is above all an attack on the poor generally, and minority groups in particular. But it has also been the occasion for a full-scale assault on public workers and on public employee unionism. In fact, the Postal Service leads the way in the attack on working conditions in all industries.
4. In virtually every industry, the employers' offensive has been felt by the workers as a direct and intense attack on existing working conditions. In mass production industries, this is often experienced as speed-up and job re-organization. In industries like trucking and coal mining, it is an attack on health and safety standards, as well as various forms of speed-up. In virtually all industries, the employers seek to destroy, cripple, or tie up in red tape whatever shop floor organization exists. Increasingly, workers are being forced to pay for the crisis, not only with energy and sweat, but with their lives as well.

5. In the 1976-77 bargaining round, the employers' offensive has taken the additional form of an unusually tough stance in negotiations. Employers have always resisted any gains for the workers, but now they are more seriously trying to take away from the unions conditions and standards already established. In trucking, the flexible work week is an example of a victory for employer aggression. In rubber, the corporations have forced serious concessions in working conditions for several years. Now the union is forced to fight just to bring their wages up to the standards already won by other industrial unions.
6. The labor bureaucracy has been caught in the crossfire of the employers' pressure from above and rank and file pressure from below. As a result, fights have begun to break out in the bureaucracies of most major unions. Fights over top office have begun in the UAW, IBT, USWA, UMWA, and NALC in the last year. As the crisis brings sharper pressure from the growing rank and file movement, the splits in the union leadership will grow. With the break-up of long-standing bureaucratic machines in many unions, the possibilities for rank and file organization will open up even further.
7. Taken together, these facts represent an offensive against labor by the employers. It is no longer a matter of this or that company, or this or that industry, the crisis of the system as a whole forces the employers to act more and more as an organized force aiding and supporting one another. Their offensive is given additional strength and authority by the consistent use of the government, the courts, the police, the press and media, and all the other institutions that exist to serve the capitalist ruling class.

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#### Resolution A2--The Experience of TDC

1. The TDC represented a breakthrough for our perspective and for the rank and file movement in every industry. While it was not strong enough or experienced enough to actually win its demands, it did have an effect on the negotiations. It forced the first national freight strike and led to winning a higher wage gain than the teamster leadership was originally planning to ask for. It also won minor concessions on other demands. Its actual effect on the bargaining round, however, was inconclusive: that is, it set no new patterns in wages or working conditions.
2. The major contribution of TDC was that it showed that rank and file workers can organize a national network capable of intervening in union affairs and bargaining. In this respect, it is an example to all other workers.

3. It also showed that a contract-oriented rank and file movement can be used as the first step in building an on-going rank and file opposition movement in a major union. The formation of the TDC out of the TDC and UPSurge experiences is a giant step forward for the organized working class in the US.
4. A number of specific lessons can be drawn from the TDC experience:
  - a. Revolutionaries can lead mass workers' movements around specific goals. Our political ideas and leadership will be accepted by workers, even those who disagree with us on crucial questions.
  - b. Revolutionary organization is an essential part of the rank and file movement. The ideas that come from our understanding of the class struggle strengthen and give positive direction to the rank and file movement. Our cadre was essential to the success of TDC, although we were a small minority of its activists.
  - c. Revolutionary organization is necessary to the functioning of the revolutionaries themselves. The ability to draw on the knowledge and experience of the entire organization and the healthy dialogue between industrial cadre and the full-time leadership, organizers and WP staff, helped move our role in TDC forward.
  - d. The building of a rank and file movement requires nearly as much conscious leadership training as does the revolutionary organization. Organizational traditions in the US working class are extremely weak at the rank and file level. For this reason, little solid organization appeared during the TDC contract fight. Our role in leadership training was too small and too slow. The IS was not vigorous enough in struggling to turn what was a movement into solid organization. We were successful in developing national centers for TDC and UPSurge, helping to combat the local parochialism of most rank and file groups.
  - e. Red-baiting, while still a powerful tool, can be defeated in this period where we have already established our leadership role, have some base, and have been sure to inform our collaborators of who we are and why we are in the rank and file movement to stay.
  - f. In a contract fight, as in other specific agitational campaigns, it is essential to focus the demands as sharply as possible. We were unable to narrow the TDC program and come up with a smaller set of popular demands around which to focus a strike movement.
  - g. A rank and file movement or campaign has a set of politics of its own. In TDC, as in UPSurge, these were the ideas of the employers' offensive and those associated with class struggle unionism. In TDC, CONVOY was the primary means of getting these ideas popularized in the movement.
  - h. Recruitment and the building of a political periphery are essential to the success of the rank and file movement, as well as to our strategy of building a revolutionary workers' party. Ultimately, the training of rank and file movement leaders and cadre overlaps with the process of recruitment. Even those workers who will not join a revolutionary organization will absorb

many of the political ideas and organizational techniques of the revolutionaries, if they are to be fully effective. From the vantage point of our overall perspective, the biggest failure of our work in TDC was the failure to recruit during and immediately following the strike. The basic reasons for this failure were: lack of resources; the near-liquidation of regular organizational functioning and leadership in the IS itself; the relatively conservative political atmosphere of the teamsters' union; and our slowness to develop those TDC politics which are transitional to our revolutionary politics.

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#### Resolution A3--The UPSurge Experience

1. Many of the political lessons of the UPSurge experience are the same as those of TDC: the role of revolutionaries and revolutionary organization and politics; organizational weakness and the need for leadership training; red-baiting and how to fight it; focussing demands; and recruitment and the building of a political periphery.
2. UPSurge, however, received a proportionately greater response among UPS workers than did TDC among freight workers. In large part, this is due to the nature of UPS as an employer. In the trucking industry, UPS is in the vanguard of the employers' offensive. Constant harrassment and humiliating working conditions have produced an anti-company spirit that gives UPSurge much of its dynamism.
3. The relative strength of UPSurge as a movement forced the teamster officials to make even greater concessions in their bargaining program. But the organizational weakness of UPSurge, like that of TDC, and its newness as a movement, prevented it from forcing its demands on the final agreement in the Central States.
4. UPSurge was able to carry off a coordinated wildcat strike in eight cities. This one day of real class struggle, with company, union, police and the courts, politically developed many of the militants involved, and created a stronger base for UPSurge. The wildcat was defeated by court injunctions. Wildcat strikes, to be successful, require a much greater degree of solid organization and political leadership than UPSurge had, to be able to take on both the union and the state. Although the wildcat was not won, it showed the strength of UPSurge against a company which, until now, has always been able to smash wildcats and rank and file organization. The experience has helped develop new leaders and create a greater self-confidence for future struggles.



5. As a movement that received most of its dynamism from anti-company sentiment, UPSurge, the newspaper and the movement, concentrated much less on the union than did TDC. Yet, as with any contract, the politics of the union determine the outcome of negotiations to a large extent. The same is true of the grievance procedure in the post-contract period. For this reason, UPSurge is turning more toward union affairs than in the past. This is an important step forward in strengthening the long-term prospects of the UPSurge movement.
6. Part of the turn toward intervention in union politics by UPS militants will involve becoming part of the overall movement in the teamsters' union. As a small section of the union, UPS workers have in the past been without much influence in union politics. This must change for a successful continuation of the fight against UPS. For this to be effective, UPS workers must line up with freight and other trucking workers to form a united rank and file movement. In particular, UPS militants must become leading builders of the TDU.
7. The potential for a growing movement among UPS workers will continue to rest on anti-company sentiment and on shop floor struggle. The UPSurge newspaper will continue to expose UPS's offensive against its employees and UPSurge will continue to have its own national organization. At the same time, this dynamism will be partly directed toward making that struggle effective by transforming the teamsters' union and the various locals that UPS workers are in.

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#### Resolution A4--The Fights to Come

1. The 1976-77 bargaining round has only begun. Major contracts in auto, steel, telephone, and the coal mines remain to be settled. The current bargaining round began, in reality, with the postal contract of 1975. This contract was a defeat. But that defeat was conditioned by the absence of a previously organized rank and file movement of any sort. The forces that attempted to intervene there were too small to affect events. This will not necessarily be the case in the up-coming contracts.
2. The relative militancy in the freight, UPS, and rubber contract fights has set a pattern of rank and file resistance that can be built on by workers in other industries. It is our perspective to help organize just that.

3. In auto, the Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC) has already begun organizing. While in its early stages, it has already pulled off a number of events. Mass interest has not yet materialized in auto, and we are not strong enough to create it. It is to be expected, however, that growing actions during the summer--heat walkouts, for example--will spur greater interest in contract issues, local and national. The CGC will be prepared to intervene and act on all issues related to the contract that will help break down cynicism and resignation.
4. The CGC differs from TDC and UPSurge in that it is more a coalition of organized or semi-organized groupings. Drawing on a few local leaders, the ISTC, the old UNC leadership, a number of local caucuses, and the former Network grouping, the CGC hopes to undermine cynicism by showing that existing organized forces in the union are going to fight over this contract.
5. While weaker than the fractions in IBT and UAW, the fractions in steel and telephone will prepare perspectives for intervention in those contract fights. In telephone a first step toward the contract fight will be taken by United Action at the CWA Convention in June. There a broad Convention Caucus will be called to fight over the way the contract will be bargained and for a couple of key demands. In steel, the fraction will first have to come to grips with the succession struggle in the union.
6. The employers' offensive and the failure of the liberal reform leadership of Arnold Miller have left a vacuum to be filled by the rank and file of the United Mine Workers. Very few organized forces exist, right now, to mount a successful contract fight, or to put forward a new rank and file leadership for the UMWA. Nevertheless, the pressure of events in that industry may lay the basis for such movements by the end of 1977, when the UMWA contract expires.
7. While the Postal contract of 1978 is actually the first contract of the next bargaining round, it is important for us. Events in the Postal Service and the unions organizing its workers will be heavily influenced by what happens in other industries in the next two years. The beginnings of a rank and file movement there gives the hope that a real fight can be mounted by 1978. The Postal unions are now a priority activity of the IS.

#### RESOLUTION B-1 -- MASS WORK AND RECRUITMENT

- 1) The emphasis for the IS over the next year will continue to be agitation. It is only through agitational work where we prove in practice that collective workers action can change things, that we will begin to create a conscious working class movement, within which a revolutionary workers party will be formed.
- 2) Our experience of the last year has taught us how best to approach agitational work. The best approach is the one we used in the TDC campaign, the "mass work" approach, it is an approach we can apply to every level of our work. In whatever arena we choose--factory, local, industry, school, etc.--and with whatever areas we stress--contract, union democracy, health and safety, legal defense--we organize around a limited program that can deal with the issues. That is, we give ourselves the opportunity of organizing the maximum number of people in some activity.
- 3) The minimum effective program will often be quite wide. In our union caucus work, for example, it must include clear opposition to racism and sexism, a program which excludes a majority of workers. But we do not demand that people agree with us on one issue before they work with us on another, because they cannot join the caucus does not mean they can't work with us against speedup. In "mass work" we begin to break down our self-imposed isolation. Unity is the watchword, for without it the working class powerless. Unity doesn't come about automatically it must be built in common struggle.
- 4) Just as the trade unions have a political life, so the organizations of "mass work" must be given a political life as well. A political life that arises out of the main economic or democratic demands of the movement. Between those politics and the politics of socialist revolution there is a considerable gulf. It is the job of the I.S. to bridge that gulf by raising transitional politics in all areas of struggle. Ideas that start from the direct experience of the struggle and push people towards the socialist program.
- 5) Mass work and transitional politics are the keys to building a revolutionary party in this period because they open up the possibility of extensive worker recruitment. We will continue our policy of open recruiting for the foreseeable future. There will be no barriers to workers joining the I.S.
- 6) In line with this policy there will be a recruitment campaign starting in October and lasting two months. It will differ from last year's campaign in that the major emphasis will be on the industrial fractions. In fact it will actually be a series of simultaneous campaigns focussed around specific programs in the different fractions, in the black community, and among youth. While it will not be possible to double our overall size next year, the fall campaign will be a big step toward realizing our target of doubling our size in these particularly important areas. Given our own development over the last year and the opportunities we see around us, the target is realistic.

#### RESOLUTION B-2 --INTEGRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW LEADERSHIP

- 1) Our record on integrating new members recruited over the last year is bad. Half of the people who joined the IS in this period are no longer members. When

the whole process of training and education of new comrades starts after they have joined the organization a fairly large turnover is inevitable. One third would be an acceptable figure, one half isn't.

2) It is now very clear that integration of new members does not take care of itself. We will reduce the turnover rate by learning the lessons of last year and assigning our most competent and experienced members to both involving the new members in the I.S. and organizing the I.S. so as to train and develop new members with all possible speed. The fifty percent of new members who have stayed have changed the organization and made it much more hospitable to worker recruits.

3) The deliberate one-sidedness of the organization during part of last year, particularly around the Teamsters, has been a real problem when it came to trying to create a general political atmosphere in the branches. In short, politics have suffered as a result of our contract campaign and there is every reason to believe that this will be repeated, at least to some extent, over the coming year. This puts a premium on maintaining the political life of the organization, on developing initiatives such as the new political machine. Increased commitment comes with political development and it is the political development of new members which increases our resources much more than their recruitment did.

4) Serious integration means building the full participation of new members in fighting units of the organization, where they can learn through activity. The successful operation of our fractions at both local and national level does more to integrate new members than any other single factor.

5) The commitment of new members to the organization increases with their ability to have an input into the organization. New members, particularly those comrades recruited out of working class and black struggles, have to be brought into positions of leadership. The organization desperately needs that new input to increase its effectiveness. Over the last year we have made steps in this direction, not always successful. We have not always given enough assistance to the new leaders from the experienced ones. These steps must be improved on.

6) The creation of a new leadership is a difficult process, but it cannot be avoided and there is no short cut to success. We cannot rely on recruiting already formed leaders from the working class for after decades of stability the quantity and quality of such leaders is at an all time low. Where they do exist, they tend to survive on the basis of conservative politics. Historically, every significant change in political and economic conditions tends to produce new leaders and discard old ones in one industry after another. Those workers trained in the new movements of today will be the best material for building the party. The experience of every successful party in the history of our movement has been predominantly the experience of recruiting young workers and turning them into class leaders. Our experience will be the same.

7) Both in the class and party there are never enough leaders. In the past period our leadership core has expanded considerably, but that is not sufficient. The internal and external training of leadership must remain a high priority. "Expand the leadership" must be one of our key slogans.

## RESOLUTION B-3 -- THE ROLE OF WORKERS' POWER

- 1) The biggest failure of the organization over the last year has been the stagnation of WP circulation. We have made zero progress and the question of the paper, content, use and distribution continues to be secondary and peripheral to all main areas of work. If this continues to be the case over the next year we will be well on the way to a disaster. The two year perspective we are now in the middle of assumes a central role for WP if WP is not returned to the center of all our work, the perspective will collapse long before the end of the second year. Failure to understand that represents a failure to understand the whole basis of our strategy for building the party.
- 2) The paper is our best organizer, most political leader, our most important agitator, and most eloquent speaker. It is all that, but only if it is used. To re-establish the widespread use of WP we will run a circulation drive during the month of September. A key part of that drive will be the creation of new outlets (subs, shops, etc) for the paper that will allow a 50% increase in circulation of the paper to be maintained.
- 3) The paper will add as one of its key tasks the development and transmission of transitional politics. In some important areas it is already taking on that task, but it is a task that will not be completed as long as it is left only to the paper staff. The content of WP comes from the membership. Every individual or fraction which submits even the smallest story has a political role to play in strengthening the transitional politics of WP.
- 4) In the arenas of mass work it is WP that more than anything else is the face of the IS--it is the revolutionary socialist presence in a broader movement. Both in terms of content and distribution WP must increasingly reflect this simple truth. For if WP fails to be the initial IS in our mass work we will not succeed in the subsequent steps of building thI.S. meetings, having open fractions, etc.
- 5) Workers' Power can be a bridge between the day to day struggle and our general politics. When used correctly it can be quickly accepted as a legitimate (if minority) part of a broad movement. It is this legitimacy which lends credibility to our members working around that movement and the public meetings we call, no longer under the name of the I.S., but rather as Workers Power Forums. Indeed, becoming a seller of the paper can be the transition between being a contact and a member.
- 6) The paper helps train our members, contacts and associates. It can be even more effective if we consciously use it that way. There is a serious lack of competent leaders in the re-awakening working class movement. WP can be part of training a new leadership, even that section who will never be members or even contacts, but who remain working along side us in the struggle.
- 7) Closely tied to its training role is the role of Workers Power as an explainer of the world to a broad section of the working class. To be a genuine worker paper, WP has to have the allegiance of more than a narrow layer of I.S. sympathizers. Our ability to explain the significance of various events, analyze the news and predict the direction of future developments is what will decide the breadth of the paper.

RESOLUTION

B 4 -- Building a Revolutionary Youth Movement

- 1) The experiences of the last 5 months have shown that rapid recruitment of black and white working class youth is possible. The lead provided by the Red Tide in the Gary Tyler Defense proves that a serious, disciplined youth movement can be built by high school students and young workers.
- 2) In the next year we will now commit the organizational and political resources necessary to expanding the Red Tide to other branches. This will involve substantial political involvement and leadership by trained IS cadre as well as pioneering work of new Red Tide cadres. The IS and the Red Tide are parts of a single political movement, and common political direction, in the different areas of activity is of the highest importance.
- 3) Specifically, we will initially expand the Red Tide by selecting 2 to 4 target branches in the Midwest. Plans will be finalized in July which will involve selection of target branches, assignment of IS cadre, and relocation of Red Tide cadre from Detroit. The work will focus on Gary Tyler defense and expand to high school work in the fall.
- 4) Red Tide activities will be developed at a lesser level in all other branches unless specifically exempted. Some branches may develop Red Tide perspectives based primarily on present local contacts and resources (i.e. Gary Tyler work). Other branches will be limited to minimum distribution of the Red Tide newspaper. One member of each branch will be in charge of seeing that papers are distributed, keeping track of contacts, and keeping in communication with the Red Tide center in Detroit.

RESOLUTION B5--On Women

1)INDUSTRIAL WORK-The major area of women's work will continue to be in industry, with the contract campaigns. In the late summer and fall, we plan to make a push to get more women into priorities-freight, UPS, steel, postal, communications, and auto. In this work the politics of women's liberation will be raised primarily in our rank and file publications and in Workers Power. The industrial work is the most important area of work for women. Our success in these contract campaigns, and our ability to push the politics of women's liberation and involve women in the rank and file movements will also determine our next step in building a working women's movement.

2)THE I.S. WOMEN'S CAUCUS-The second area of work for women is rebuilding the women's caucuses. Revitalized caucuses are important for the recruitment of women to the IS, for their training and integration. The women's caucuses are also important for bringing together the IS women who work in different areas. Finally, the caucus is important for creating political discussion on the subject of women's liberation. Local women's caucuses or their steering committees should also help oversee the political development of the women in the branches, not just oversee the regular women's caucus meetings, but also education of members on the subject of women's liberation, seeing that women's work in the industrial fractions is not ignored, etc. Because in most cities the women's caucuses collapsed after December, the Women's Commission will be more involved in travelling to branches to help out with the caucuses. Also, this year, local execs and organizers should work with the women's caucuses (or steering committees) and the women's commission to make certain that the caucuses have regular functions.

3)WOMEN AGAINST RACISM-WAR will continue in Detroit. This summer we will discuss with a number of branches, Chicago, for example, the possibility of expanding WAR work.

4)PROPAGANDA-Because there are no politically viable national women's arenas that we can be active in, as in the past, our propaganda on women must increase. This means WP series on women; speaking tours, a new pamphlet on working women, regular branch discussions on women, as well as International Women's Day activities.



#### RESOLUTION C1 -- The Economic Perspective

1. At the 1975 convention we passed a perspective stating that the US economy would enter a short lived and shallow boom in 1976. It is now clear that the boom will be stronger and deeper than we originally expected. The primary reason for the greater depth of the boom as well as the relative health of American capitalism is the success of the employers' offensive against American workers. Real wages are at a 1965 level. These wages now make American industry more profitable.
2. This higher profitability and greater political stability means that now only are American capitalists investing here, but European capitalists as well. VW and Volvo are both building plants here for an example.
3. The US economy went into recovery first, Growth predictions for the next year are 6-7 per cent. The relative health of American capitalism means also that the recovery will last longer here than elsewhere. The boom will be an investment boom and there will be more expansion of plant and equipment than in the 1972-73 boom.
4. This boom will be accompanied by double-digit inflation in 1977 and relatively high unemployment throughout. If the boom is not derailed, it should last into 1978.
5. The longer boom predicted above gives us more time to deepen and broaden the leadership of the rank and file movement. This longer preparation period will mean that the workers' movement will be better able to fight against the effects of the next depression.

#### RESOLUTION C2 -- The Impact of the Election

1. The crisis of capitalism is creating deeper political polarization in American politics. The capitalists know that to save their system the working class must pay and they have a strategy which has been going relatively well for them. Besides their offensive on the shop floor they are attacking the living standards of the working class through cutbacks in social services, chronic unemployment and a direct attack on city workers. This assault on the working class is being pushed by the leading candidates of both parties. The shift to the right is also characterized by the failure of any of the candidates to even pretend to address the needs of black people. It is also marked by an escalation of cold war rhetoric and the rising arms budget. It is the domestic program of Ronald Reagan that most closely meshes with the aims of the capitalists. Although he is not their candidate they are delighted with the rightward pressure he has exerted on the entire election process.
2. One reason the growth of the right appears as sharp as it does has been the collapse of liberalism. None of the liberals, except Humphrey, have a program for the crisis. Humphrey's program was strict new deal liberalism, he promised jobs and deficit spending.

This program was out of step with the general rightward shift and ruling class concern with inflation. It recieved very little actual support. In fact it is new deal liberalism that most of the candidates ran against, from Reagan to Jerry Brown, the "new Liberal."

3. The collapse of liberalism also represents the collapse of the strategy of the trade union bureaucracy. For years they downplayed the power of the labor movement on the shop floor and the strike. Their strategy has been to vote in labor's friends - the Democratic Party. They have put forward the election of a Democratic Party President as a strategy for this year's bargaining round. Many of them chose Humphrey as their candidate. But they could not deliver enough votes and were not able to keep the Democratic Party convention open for their favorite. The result is that they are now forced to back an anti-labor, racist candidate from the right wing of the party. This will make it easier for us to argue against the Democratic Party as the way forward for labor and it further exposes their complete inability to deal with the growing attack on the working class.
4. The shift to the right of the electoral process does not tell the whole story, however. Only about 30% of the electorate is voting in these primaries. And as some sections of the population are moving rightward, others are moving left. The growing rank and file movement, as well as a new openness to socialist ideas are an indication of this leftward shift. To those moving leftward, our line of "Vote No" makes sense. However, there are also unhealthy aspects to this. A lack of political alternatives reinforces the wrong notion that the political arena is irrelevant to workers' struggles. We will have to argue against this, explaining that a bigger, stronger rank and file movement will have to enter the political arena in the near future.
5. In all likelihood Carter will win the election. This is extremely important for us. For although a Democratic administration will probably institute a short period of reforms, it will not be long before it is a Democratic Party President and Congress that is clearly executing the capitalist class's continued attack on labor. The Democratic Party, in power, will prove little different from the Republican Party. This is an extremely important lesson for the rank and file movement, which is now being trained as a new alternative leadership for the working class.

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#### Resolution C3--The Struggle Against Racism

1. In the early 1960's, a mass movement for civil rights grew up in this country. Black people demanded equality in every aspect of their lives. The power of hundreds of thousands of black people in the streets, demanding their rights, forced capitalism to grant certain reforms. But as the obvious limitations of these reforms became clear to the majority of black people, the emphasis of the movement changed--from the fight for equality to the fight for power. In response to this movement, money was channeled into social programs in the black community. In the early 70's the movement receded. Its basically classless politics and middle class leadership had won victories mainly for those forces. The masses of black people gained very little.

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2. The majority of black people remained on the bottom rungs of society. For this reason blacks have been hit hardest by the current crisis. The capitalist crisis also threatens to wipe out most of the gains won by the black movement of the 60's. Blacks who had been excluded from the better-paying jobs until the late 60's were the first to lose them when the depression hit.
3. The attack on blacks is not limited to the loss of jobs and services. As the crisis deepens, racism is rising. The capitalists want to promote racial divisions. They do not want to have to contend with a united working class. The subtle racism coming from the ruling class creates an opening for the overt racism of groups like the KKK which is organizing and growing. In the face of this attack, the current middle class leadership of the black community has proven to be completely bankrupt. For years the middle class leaders have directed the black struggle into "legitimate" channels, in particular, toward legal battles and support of the Democratic Party. Now, both of these strategies have failed .
4. A new movement for black liberation must be built. Slowly and painfully that new movement is beginning in the shops and factories. The majority of white workers are still racist. Blacks still have many of the worst jobs. But compared to the rest of society, the workplace is integrated, and it is here that blacks and whites are forced to recognize their common interests.
5. Over the past decade there has been a substantial rise in the number of blacks who have been promoted to supervisory positions. But the very existence of large numbers of black foremen, black cops, black social workers and blacks working in a host of other capacities to help control the black community, drastically undermines the appeal of black nationalism as a strategy for black liberation. The managers have no answer. And when the chips are down, they side with the "man"--not with the black community. More than at any previous time in U.S. history, experience points toward the class struggle as the key to black liberation.
6. It is not enough to fight over issues that affect all workers. To build unity, white workers will have to support black workers' struggles for equality. To grow, to bring in black as well as white workers, the rank and file movement will have to take up questions of racism on the shop floor. As the workplace does not exist in a vacuum, the rank and file movement will have to take up questions of racism in society as a whole.
7. It is clear that a new black movement is beginning. The response to the Gary Tyler campaign, the growth of the Red Tide, the increase of black consciousness in the plants and communities are all indications of this. Because of the history of the IS our theory and practice on the black question is rusty. Over the last year, however, the IS has recruited and begun to train a black cadre. Over the next year the black members of the IS, with the help of the leading political bodies of the IS, will have to lead in advancing the theory and practice of the IS on this question. This process must receive the active support of the entire organization.