

# i.s. national report

volume two, number one

Y LOS UNICOS PRIVILEGIADOS,  
LOS NIÑOS ... FROM A CHILEAN WALL PAINTING



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for members only

PLEASE NOTE:

Here at last is your National Report. The National Office staff apologises to you for its late appearance, which was an unfortunate result of the rush of work following the Convention. In the future, the National Report will appear once a month.

Because the Report consists of such a backlog of material, a couple minor errors were made in putting it together. You will find that in Jack Trautman's Education Directors Report, page 2 preceeds page 1. Also, the NAC minutes are out of order, as they are listed in the table of contents on the Cover. (The more recent minutes, 10/24 come before the 10/2, /10, /11, and 16 minutes.)



MOTION TO NAC

Mike P. 9/5/73  
E. 3. Branch

**IMPLEMENTATION OF CONVENTION MOTION ON POLITICAL DIS-  
CUSSIONS AT CONVENTIONS AND NC MEETINGS**

A) That the NAC schedule the political discussions for the NCs and next years' Convention as follows:

- 1) Thanksgiving NC -- Black Liberation
- 2) Christmas NC -- Program-pamphlets on UAW, IBT, CWA, AFT
- 3) Spring NC -- International questions (should be specified - eg Stalinism/Maoism, Western Capitalism, or Chile
- 4) June NC -- Women's Liberation and women workers
- 5) National Convention -- Economics and Politics of Western Capitalism/US one other

B) The specific dates for the NCs and Convention should be immediately established so that members can arrange to take off from work.

c) Assignments for drafts for the discussion should be made immediately. Included should be a reasonable timetable for the production of drafts. All drafts should be written as draft pamphlets for external publication. As drafts are produced they will be produced as mimeoed pamphlets (IE not printed in the bulletin.) with an appropriate blurb explaining that they are being submitted to the organization for adoption and do not necessarily represent the views of the organization.

Motivation: The amendment passed unanimously at the end of the convention will become a dead sentiment unless the NAC acts now to organize and assign political discussions for the coming year. By doing this now the whole organization can become involved in the political discussions. Further, it will mean the NAC will take leadership in organizing discussion in the IS rather than the discussion being determined by whomever first writes something controversial (even if irrelevant) for the discussion bulletin.

We can take advantage of the small size and midwest concentration of the NC and have at least 4 full NCs during the coming year.

The requirement that the discussions be organized around draft pamphlets rather than "documents" means that we will have to begin discussion of our politics in terms of presenting them to the outside world rather than in the terms of the controversies within the IS. This doesn't mean that their political level is lowered. It probably means in fact that the political level will have to be improved because internal polemic and jargon can not serve as a cover for political analysis.

Finally, let me slightly expand on the conception of program-pamphlets for industry. For our major industrial arena we should put together a series of small pamphlets which would include a brief history of the industry and union, an analysis of the political forces within the union and our program for immediate and more long range work in the industry. Ken P gave a good basic talk on the Teamsters which is the kind of material for the first section. The

The second and third sections would be the material from the voluminous perspectives documents but written for an external audience and organized around the specifics of the particular arena. In other words the pamphlet would answer the questions of why we, as socialists are here, how we understand the current situation and what we propose to do about it and what we propose to others to do about it.

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## Convention Assessment

Overall, the Convention can be considered a success, especially given the problems of holding it only 8 weeks after a major split in the group. It indicated that there is fundamental political agreement on the analysis of the period, the major tasks before us, and our broad perspectives for the labor movement, and that the dissolution of the tendencies was not merely a formal act, but one based on the fact that they had essentially outlived their usefulness. However, the discussions also showed that despite this basic agreement, the political life of the organization is still quite low. It is crucial that the fragile agreement which exists be deepened and solidified over the next year.

The Convention showed overwhelmingly that the rank and file was more committed than ever before to building the IS as a revolutionary socialist tendency in the working class. In this sense we have taken the first small step toward becoming a cadre organization. If there was one overriding theme to the convention it was the mandate for national political leadership. The underlying mistrust of the national leaders and the national office derives from the fear that things will continue to be the same when there was no national leadership. The rank and file is demanding that the national leadership actually lead. The factional leaderships have been exhausted and what must be constructed in their place is a collaborative leadership body that actually directs the political life of the organization. Although we are getting off to a good start, that task still remains ahead of us.

Another healthy aspect of the convention was the drive toward an outward turn, the realization that the inward, sterile nature of the organization must change if we are to survive. Flowing from this was the realization that the newspaper must change and begin to reflect the organization - that Workers Power must become an integral part of the organization, and that changing it is crucial to ~~the~~ changing the organization to one actively involved in and centered around working class activity.

Moreover, the convention demonstrated, especially in the discussions of active work (auto campaign and farm labor) that our industrial work is real, even if small. This is a significant change from the past, and is indicative that our labor work is becoming the central focus of the organization, even if it is happening slowly.

There were two major problems with the convention. The first revolved around the agenda. It was totally ~~unmanageable~~ unmanageable, something which became clear as the convention progressed. While this was exacerbated by the difficulties in planning the convention during the split, it has been an ongoing problem in this organization. The last plenary voted unanimously for Mike P.'s motion on conventions and NC meetings. It is the duty of the NAC to see that it is ~~carried~~ carried out. This means that it must not collapse before the first protest or demand that another item be added. At times adding something may be unavoidable, but this should be the rare exception, and not the rule as it is today.

## NAC SEC Report (cont.)

Secondly, the outgoing NAC had discussions of the major documents with a view toward carrying its line, and organizing the discussion in that direction. This did not happen. Instead, the discussions got sidetracked time and again to third rate questions as in the past. This is part of political leadership, and part of the political responsibility of the national leadership to put forth its positions, and carry the discussion on them so that the membership of the organization begins to understand and internalize the analysis and perspectives put forward. This does not mean that differences ~~cannot~~ cannot be discussed, even if small, but that they should be put into the context of the discussion, and not dominate it.



0. NOTE. BH is continuing to serve on NAC and as industrial director until arrival of KM and GS in Detroit.

1. NASEC REPORT. Assessment of convention by ML. (Report is attached to minutes). Discussion. Report ACCEPTED All For.

2. INDUSTRIAL FRACTION REPORTS. Reports on fraction meetings held during ~~the~~ Convention.

A. AFT. Report by ML: A pamphlet series proposal for work in the AFT was discussed, including an Analysis of the AFT; Education in Capitalist Society; and a pamphlet for radical teachers. A brief debate occurred over the role of women's caucuses and women's issues in the AFT; a document by Sheila and Ruth (NY) on women's committees passed with amendments. A steering committee of Sheila, Ruth, Tom, Steve (NY) was constituted. Other decisions included setting an assessment on fraction members to enable AFT comrades to attend AFT conventions. Also discussed was the question of concentrating AFT comrades in big-city locals, as well as the motion on AFT work in the Tasks and Perspectives document (which was opposed by a large number of AFT comrades). Overall, this was one of the best national fraction meetings that has occurred in the U.S.

B. IBT. Report by JG: About 25 comrades attended the fraction meeting. The work in IBT is substantial and real, but hampered by the fact that only a small handful of the comrades actually are IBT members. Getting jobs in IBT should be top priority. There is a basis for a real national IBT fraction based on the work being done, but at this time there are no real concentrations. There is much greater involvement in union politics in general in the IBT than in auto, which is reflected in the nature and sophistication of discussions in the IBT fraction. The fraction also has a strong and relatively broad-based leadership.

TURF no longer exists; there is, however, "left-wing" influence in a significant number of locals about which we should find out more. Other discussions included the question of women in the IBT and whether women should industrialize there; positions are to be written up. It was decided to encourage LA comrades to industrialize in IBT, and to attempt to hold regional meetings to consolidate work. Finally, it was reported that WP has been distributed to teamster contacts because of the UFW coverage and that WP has been quite helpful in this respect.

C. UAW. Report by JW: It was decided in advance to focus on discussions that would be most useful to comrades outside Detroit. The major discussion occurred over the UNC and maintaining our work there, on which a broad spectrum of views were expressed but on which no decision could be reached at this point. Documents are to be solicited. Outside of Detroit, work in UAW remains tentative and is at a beginning stage.

Reports from other fraction meetings (CWA, UFW) will be solicited.

3. FUND DRIVE. Report by JG. Quotas to be proposed to branches

are attached to the minutes. Fund drive to extend from Oct. 1 through Nov. 30. NOTE: Total of quotas adds up to \$15,950. This is not (at least entirely) due to Joel's poor arithmetic, but is designed to enable us to have some leeway for adjusting quotas.

MOTION(JW): To delay national fund drive until a reasonable period after the coming auto strike, which will heavily affect Detroit branch. FAILED 1-5 (JW for).

JG report ACCEPTED 5-1 (JW against). ML to find fund drive director.

4. NC LATES AND TOPICS. Discussion of motion submitted by Mike P. It was generally agreed that at least one part of the motion was totally unrealistic, i.e. the proposal for NC meetings at both Thanksgiving and Christmas.

MOTION: NC meetings to be held at Thanksgiving, Washington's Birthday and Memorial Day. ALL FOR.

MOTION(LF, ML): Thanksgiving NC to discuss Black Liberation and WORKERS POWER exclusively.

MOTION (JT): Add transitional program to Thanksgiving NC agenda. JT motion FAILED 1-5; ML/LF motion PASSED 5-0-1 (JT abstain).

MOTION(LF): February NC to discuss international perspectives; we leave May NC agenda open at this point. PASSED.

Since only WP is being placed on the NC agenda, it was decided that the NAC should begin a discussion on implementing the theoretical journal; first discussion to be held in two weeks.

5. DETROIT BRANCH. Presentation by JW and discussion in executive session. MOTION(JG): NAC and Detroit exec to hold joint meeting to discuss both giving support to the branch in its immediate problems and to discuss solution to long-term political and organizational problems of the branch.

6. AUTO STRIKE PERSPECTIVES. Report by JW and discussion.

MOTION(JG): Top priority of N.O. staff and NAC in the coming week is to be to assist auto fraction steering committee in organizing strike activity. PASSED 3-2-1 (BH, DF against ; ML abstain).

A problem has come up involving our role in putting out both WP and the UNC paper in the same week; UNC paper (special 4-page issue) must be available for UNC members to pick up by Wednesday, Sept. 19 or it will be virtually useless. MOTION(JT, from Detroit auto fraction): If there exists a conflict between publication of UNC paper and WP, then publication of WP to be delayed if necessary. FAILED 2-3-1 (JG, JT for; JW abstain).

MOTION(JW): THE "Crisis Committee" (a body set up to coordinate activities in Detroit in the current hectic period) is to determine whether we can commit ourselves to publishing UNC paper without delaying WP. If such a decision is arrived at and the commitment made, then we carry it out at all costs, even if this does result in a delay in WP publication contrary to expectations. PASSED 3-1-1 (BH against, ML



abstain, LF not voting).

MOTION(LF): Publication of WP on a regular schedule, and on time, during the auto strike is regarded as important ~~to~~ to our work around the strike. PASSEL 6-0.

7. STAFF. Report by ML (NOTE: KL also present for this item). JW absent. Proposals on technical functionaries for N.C. (Typing, etc.) TABLEL to NATSEC and nat'l chmn.

WP Staff. Discussion of editorial board TABLEL pending arrival of other comrades working on WP who are not in Detroit presently. Discussion of political editorship. ~~Proposed by KL that an experimental~~

~~MOTION(JT):  
that is to be considered~~

MOTION(JT): NAC reaffirms previous motion (passed before Convention) that an experimental attitude be adopted toward WP between now and Thanksgiving NC; that organizational status quo (LF and KL co-editors) continue until then; that editor be chosen at Thanksgiving NC based ~~on~~ on conception adopted there. FAILEL 1-3-1 (JT for; BH abstain).

MOTION(ML): KL to be political editor, subject to review by Thanksgiving NC. PASSEL 4-1 (JT against).

MOTION(JT): KL only to be allowed to be layout editor if this does not interfere with his functioning as political editor. PASSEL 3-2 (JG, LF against).

WP staff (KL, LF, Kay, Jim) to meet to discuss division of responsibilities, organization of WP, schedule, etc.

Report by JT on education department perspective. JT to act as education director; perspective to be written up for NAC discussion.

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ALLENUM

Quotas to be proposed to branches for fund drive:

LETOIT: \$3000

NY: \$2750

E. BAY: \$2000

SEATTLE: \$1200

CHICAGO: \$1100

CLEVELAND: \$900

LA: \$900

SF: \$500

BLOOMINGTON: \$250

LOUISVILLE: \$200

ST. LOUIS: \$250

BOSTON: \$150

ELLENSBURG: \$150

C-U: \$100

MA Ls: \$500

N. C.: \$2000

NAC MINUTES 9/18/73 Present: MD, JG, DF (NOTE: BH, JT, AND JW were absent from this meeting because of the urgent work of the auto fraction. BH was present for point 4).

O.NATSEO REPORT. Summary of report attached to minutes. ACCEPTED, ALL FOR.

MOTION(JG): We accept NY branch industrialization perspective and welcome it as a step forward for the branch; we request progress reports on implementation.

ALL FOR.

~~XXXXXXXX~~  
Brief discussion on report from Bay Area of Spartacists League challenge to debate I.S. MOTION(JG): We recommend that forums be directed at advanced workers and the broad radical movement, as opposed to debates with the Sparts or other sects. PASSED 2-0-1 (DF abstain).

(NOTE: The above motion is a general guidance recommendation and not a prohibition on debates or similar activities).

1. CANADIAN PERSPECTIVES. Presentation by JG on the following motion submitted by Wayne C:

- 1) The I.S. is delicate to the construction of a new, revolutionary socialist International. As such, our delication must leave the realm of paper and move into the realm of deeds.
- 2) For us, as inhabitants of the U.S., this means delicating ourselves to building a movement of third camp socialists in Canada. Because of our relative weakness at present we cannot send members there, but we can send a traveller there to examine the situation, make whatever contacts possible and attempt to arrange the circulation of our press there.
- 3) To that end, the NAC should familiarize itself with current developments in Canada from the role of the NDP to the current question of Quebec nationalism. We should familiarize ourselves with the (rotten) politics of the LSA/LSO, which has recently taken large steps to building itself as a national organization.
- 4) Because of the national and language problems in Canada, some propaganda material (even if only our statement of purposes) should be published in French, and the traveller we send there should be well versed in that language.

Additional proposal by JG to put Wendy T. in charge of Canadian work and instruct her to arrange trips, making contacts, gathering and distributing literature, etc. MOTION and proposal ACCEPTED, ALL FOR.

NOTE: There are a number of comrades in the I.S. who have friends, contacts, etc. in Canada or have knowledge of various Canadian radical publications and groups. All such information and possible contacts, as well as other suggestions, political contributions to discussion of Canadian politics and perspectives, etc., should be communicated to the N.O., c/o Wendy T., as soon as possible.

2. INT'L CONFERENCE. MOTION(MD): To send someone to the LO-sponsored int'l conference in November. ALL FOR.

3. UFW. Report received from ~~xxxx~~ Duncan W. on farm labor fraction meeting at Convention.

A leaflet is to be distributed by the East Bay branch this weekend at UFW convention, based on James Morrison article "How Top Down Rule Hurts UFW Struggle" in WORKERS JOURNAL. Some controversy has come up around this.

MOTION: The NAC recommends that WP, as well as a leaflet, be distributed at the Convention. We do not in any way prohibit or discourage handing out the indicated leaflet; we feel, however, that it would have been better to put out a different kind of leaflet focussing on the broader questions we have been raising throughout the struggle: the failure of the AFL-CIO and the labor movement, building rank and file Teamster support, mass strike action, etc. ALL FOR.

The NAC will also request that discussion papers be produced in Seattle, Bay Area



NAC 9/18

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and Chicago on the direction and orientation of our farm labor work, as the basis for a full NAC discussion. We will also attempt to get branches not involved in the campaign up to now to work on it.

4. AUTO SETTLEMENT. Report by BH and discussion.

MOTION (JG): NAC recommends that AFSC (auto fraction steering committee) produce I.S. leaflet for ~~direct~~ distribution at Chrysler plants nationally. Issues to be emphasized: the sellout on voluntary overtime and working conditions.  
PASSED 4-0.

5. CHILE . Outline by MD of forum on the Chile events to be given in the branches (see NATSEC Report).

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## National Secretary's Report

1. **Chile:** Demonstrations were held in NYC, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco and Los Angeles last weekend. We participated in all, and had leaflets for all except NYC and Los Angeles. In Chicago and the East Bay we held forums, and the one in the East Bay was successful. Forums are planned for the next week in Detroit, NYC, Bloomington, St. Louis, Seattle and possibly Portland. A pamphlet on Chile should be out soon based on articles in WP and talks by Marilyn D. and Wayne C (East Bay).
2. **Fund Drive:** All branches have been notified of their quotas, and most have accepted the NAC recommendation. A fund drive coordinator will be chosen within the next two days. The fund drive is scheduled to begin October 1, and to run 10 weeks.
3. **Auto:** The auto supplement was distributed throughout the plants in Detroit, and reception was good. It was also distributed in Cleveland at two plants, and reception at the Chrysler plant was very good. At the Chevy plant, the two comrades involved were attacked by a group of right wingers. At this point it is not clear whether they were union goons or a group in the plant. They are investigating the incident to determine the answer to this.
4. **NYC Industrialization:** The NYC branch exec minutes include a draft report on NYC industrialization priorities and Industrial work. The following industrial priorities are proposed:
  1. NJ Auto - This is our most important priority and a unique opportunity
  2. UPS - If we follow this up, we may have a functioning teamster fraction soon
  3. CWA - In addition to reinforcing the 1101 fraction, NJ traffic should be explored.
  4. UFT - We will have to count on bringing in experienced teachers rather than industrializing per se. If we can establish a presence, we should be able to recruit.
5. **Farm Labor:** The Seattle branch is helping to organize farm labor work in Portland and Bellingham with IS members and contacts. We're hoping this will build IS groups
6. **Workers Power:** The paper is continuing to improve, and the most clear indication of this is the fact that comrades are beginning to sell it much more aggressively. It was sold effectively at many of the Chile demonstrations, and 163 copies were sold at plant gates in Detroit in two days.
7. **New Office:** We are now moved into the new office. It has been freshly painted, and is attractive, and what is more important - efficient. The new press is set and working and should greatly facilitate our pamphlet production. Already we have printed the Bernadette Devlin pamphlet, and the Tasks and Perspective document passed at the convention. The Labor Perspectives document and Chile pamphlet are next in line.

The recent events in Chile provide an excellent means of making major portions of our politics concrete. The following are the major political areas that should be emphasized in any educationals, forums, leaflets and articles on Chile.

1. The role of US imperialism The US ruling class is our immediate enemy, and the role of US imperialism in Chile should be one of the major points made. It is not just a question of the CIA, but of the entire US policy toward Chile. The refusal of investment credits, the blacklisting of Chile with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, sabotage of plants nationalized and the effects of the world market were all part of US attacks on Allende. It was this policy that is primarily responsible for the 300%+ inflation and shortages which gave rise to the reactionary middle class movement that was the political base for the military coup. At the same time the US not only continued to give military aid to the armed forces, but substantially increased it during the 3 years Allende was in power. Chile's fate and the fate of the entire underdeveloped world - especially Latin America is determined by US imperialism and thus by the need for socialist ~~xxxx~~ revolution here.

2. Illusion of the Peaceful Road to Socialism The major point we have to make about Allende and the Popular Unity Coalition is that it was not a road to socialism. The capitalist state must be smashed. It is impossible for the workers movement to establish a workers state and maintain the bourgeois institutions (the armed forces, parliament, the courts, the police, etc.). The only road to socialism is through a workers insurrection where workers through workers committees seize the state and means of production. The fact that the Communist Party and Allende followed the same line indicates the closeness of social democracy and Stalinism. Neither wants a revolution from below and thus looks for a peaceful road. It becomes a question of bureaucratic social reform from above versus socialism from below.

The Stalinist countries/parties and the social democratic parties all trumpeted Allende's government as the wave of the future. This was true ~~whether~~ whether it came from Havana, or Moscow, or from the French Communist Party or Socialist Party. The Communist Parties justify the policy of the peaceful road with a "two stage theory" - first ~~xxxxxx~~ anti-imperialism and then the transition to socialism. The lesson of Chile is the fraud and treachery of the peaceful road.

3. IS attitude toward the Popular Unity government: When Allende's government was threatened by the right our attitude toward that struggle flows from our understanding of the relationship ~~xf~~ between socialism and democracy. We defend such governments through our independent revolutionary means - that is, by ~~x~~ carrying through the socialist revolution. We defend democracy in Chile against facism or militarism by fighting for workers democracy and socialism.

4. The middle classes and the new working class theory: The reactionary role played by the middle classes in Chile should be pointed out to demonstrate the ~~bxk~~ bankruptcy of the New Working Class theory that is current today. It was after all the elements included in the new working class - doctors, lawyers, professionals, etc - that provided the social base for the coup. In the context of economic chaos and with no independent working class movement this will be the most likely path for these groups to follow. They are not the vanguard of the revolution - in Chile they were one of the major forces of the counter revolution.

5. The need for a revolutionary party In 1970 Chile entered a pre-revolutionary period. The need to build and the political basis for building a revolutionary party existed from that time. The lack of a party - of revolutionary leadership based in the working class was a key factor in the defeat of the Chilean working class.

The coup changes the situation and opens things up politically in Chile. The Chilean and Latin American left must come to grips with the bankruptcy of ~~x~~ all the left parties in Chile. The revolutionary working class in Chile was trapped in parties which led it to defeat. They must break from them and form a party that stands on revolution - workers

control, workers democracy, soviets, armed militias, etc. There must be a ~~regain~~ regroupment of revolutionary forces from the MIR, the left wing of the SP and the revolutionary workers in the CP.

The point must also be made that a revolutionary party must be built here, And related to point No. 1, that the building of a revolutionary workers movement and party here is crucial to socialist revolution in Chile and all of Latin America.

6. The future While it is somewhat in the realm of speculation, it is important to put forth the possible direction of events in Chile. It is likely that the military government will move ~~to~~ toward a civilian facade for its regime, especially given the traditions of Chile. But this will not stop it from launching an all out attack on the gains of the workers and peasants under Chile, and on the major left parties. This attack, on the gains will be slow at first, but should mount as the military consolidates its position in power. At the same time the military will make bids for a return of US investments, international loans, etc. in an attempt to deal with the current economic chaos. These acts will lay the basis for working class resistance and could reopen the revolutionary struggle in Chile.

The place of the CP could be pivotal. While the reactionary role it played will hurt it, in all ~~ok~~ likelihood, the Stalinists will call for an anti-fascist unification of the left. The CP could thus become a stronger force in Chile in the future if the majority of workers haven't definitely broken with the party. This is especially true given the very long tradition of the CP in Chile as the most organized and strongest party in the working class.

All of this is not meant to minimize the extreme repression that is already following in the wake of the coup. It is only ~~ix~~ an indication of the political problems that the Chilean working class will face in the future.

September 25, 1973

Dear Comrades:

The third annual IS Fund Drive begins Monday, October 1. Our goal this year, established by the post-convention meeting of the National Committee, is to raise \$15,100 in ten weeks--by December 10.

The quota is ambitious, as were the quotas in the previous two drives. In 1971 we launched our first fund drive with a goal of \$10,000. At that time we were two years into our existence as a national organization and our program of direct intervention in working class struggle. Yet both were still new to us and we were uncertain of our ability to either succeed. The fund drive was a test of the commitment of the membership to both perspectives. We exceeded our quota and raised \$11,063.

Last year, with that success behind us, the organization launched a financially more ambitious fund drive. At that time our hopes were for expansion of the resources of the organization in order to strengthen and build our political and specifically our industrial work. That drive too was successful. Our members raised \$15,285 in eight weeks, exceeding the \$15,000 quota.

This year's quota is ambitious in both respects: financially and politically. In the last year we have suffered a bitter faction fight resulting in a split which reduced our membership rolls by a third. As the factional situation developed, and the organization turned inward, many of the goals we had hoped to achieve through the last fund drive went undone. The level of disorganization resulted in wasteful use of some of the funds. Finally, the faction fight brought into question the validity of our entire tradition, our current perspectives and our work as socialists in the working class.

Yet our organization has met that crucial test with strength, unity, and most important, the ability to move ahead in our external work with political confidence and renewed pride.

Despite the drain of the faction fight, we were able to intervene in the struggle of the Farmworkers, in the wave of auto wildcats, in the AFT convention. We held our own convention, on schedule, and at that convention were able to achieve a degree of political unity we have never had before. The unified Tasks and Perspectives document, the dissolution of the LAT and the TC, and the current attempt to build a unified national leadership are all evidence of that.

In the past it always took us several months to get rolling again after the Convention. This year is quite different. Since the Convention, the



National Office has moved into a larger and more efficiently organized office. Both the Tasks and Perspectives and the Labor document have been printed on our own press. The Convention minutes, the internal document, and the women's liberation document are in preparation. We have reprinted the Devlin Irish Fight for Socialism pamphlet. The National Secretary has made political visits to the east coast and to several midwest branches, and other NAC members have made political trips to branches as well.

These achievements are not artificial burst of leadership activity to prop up an ailing organization, as every member knows. For rather, they reflect the high level of political confidence and commitment that exists among the membership. In each branch, our external work is moving ahead.

And at the national level, the work that has already been done is the first fruit of the plans for the coming year. The national office this year will be a center of political leadership and practical support for the entire organization. The NC has voted to supply subsidies for branch organizers in certain branches for six months. It also established a regular schedule of political traveling by the national leadership. Every two months, a comrade from the national office will make a trip to the branches on each coast. Traveling in the midwest will be more frequent.

Politically useful pamphlets are in preparation under the direction of the Education Director. In two weeks, a pamphlet on Chile will be out. The Revolutionary Feminism pamphlet will be published in late October. In active preparation are the following: a popular pamphlet on inflation, two reprints from ISGB (one on China and one on Orthodox Trotskyism), a pamphlet on Cuba and one on the UAW. Also to be published this year are pamphlets on the AFT, and two pamphlets dealing with the black question.


In addition, we will be printing a series of internal education pamphlets consisting of reprints from socialist literature from the past that reflects our political tradition.


The other major priority of the National Office is to improve Workers' Power. The NC has voted a \$1,800 subsidy to the paper. To use that money to best advantage, we now have a professional staff whose collective responsibility is producing a political, readable, attractive and useful paper to represent and organize for our politics in our arenas. Many comrades have responded favorably to recent changes in Workers' Power. Again, these are first steps in implementing the organizations plans for the year.

In establishing the quotas for the fund drive, the NC believed that the membership is committed and eager to deepen and expand our work as agreed upon in the documents passed at the Convention. The actions and plans outlined above are some of the ways the NO intends to implement its commitment to that process. As always, it takes money--more than we have now, or can raise through dues. As in the past, the bulk of the fund drive money will have to come from our own pockets, which will mean planning and sacrifice.

Already, all branches have accepted their quotas. The next step is to move ahead, organize the effort cooperatively and smoothly so that we can succeed with a minimum of drain to our external work. Attached is information on organizing the drive in the local branches.

Yours in struggle,

  
Marilyn Danton  
National Secretary

  
Karen Kaye  
Fund Drive Director

fund drive information

Dates: October 1 - December 10

Fund Drive Goal: \$15,100

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Quota</u>	<u>per wk.</u>
Bloomington	250	25
Champaign	100	10
Chicago	1100	110
Cleveland	900	90
East Bay	1500	150
Detroit	3000	300
Ellensburg	150	15
Louisville	200	20
L.A.	900	90
NY	2400	240
St. Louis	250	25
S.F.	500	50
Seattle	1200	120
* MAL's	650	65
N.O.	<u>2000</u>	<u>200</u>
TOTAL	15,100	1,510

INFORMATION FOR BRANCHES

Each branch must choose a fund drive coordinator to organize the drive for the branch. This person should keep in touch regularly with the national fund drive director.

The fund drive is ten weeks long. We want to keep to a minimum the amount of time and energy that must go into this sort of internal work. To best accomplish this, we request that branches raise the funds in weekly installments: at least 1/10 of the total quota per week. Each payment is due by the end of the week : eg, your first payment should be in the National Office on October 7 or you will be considered late. This is important not only because if you lag behind you may find it hard to catch up later, but also because we will publish fund drive reports in WP and we want readers to know that we have got it together.

On alternate weeks from WP you will be informed of fund drive progress through the fund drive bulletin. Local coordinators are urged to send in reports for the bulletins.

\*Total MAL figures.

As in the past, most of the money must be raised through membership contributions. It is the responsibility of the local director to work out a plan with each individual for regular payment of his/her share. This may be done in any way the branch pleases, as long as the installments for the branch arrive in Detroit on time. Other methods of fund raising in the past have included film showings, plant and craft sales, etc. However, these are risky, and they take up a lot of time and energy.

One other method, however, should not be ignored, and that is contributions from contacts. This cannot be relied upon as a substitute for membership contributions. However, it is a good way to talk to a contact about the organization, its goals, the work we are doing, the fact that we take ourselves seriously, and urge them to do so too. You should make a fund drive pitch at forums, without apology or hesitancy. A prominent poster on the wall displaying fund drive progress could be a help.

Please send in the name of your fund drive director immediately, along with an initial report. All communications should go to Karen Kaye at the NO. Checks may be made out to International Socialists--if you don't want to do this, send a money order.

MEMBERS AT LARGE

Much of the above information applies to you too. The MAL quota this year works out to about \$30 per person. (For branch members it is about \$80). While this is higher than in the past, we believe that the level of commitment is higher too, and that this request is justified. With ten weeks to pay, no one should have a problem contributing this amount. If you do have a problem, write me about it. If you can afford a larger contribution, you are urged to make one. In many branches, working comrades are asked to contribute a weeks' pay. The sooner you make your contribution the better--don't wait till the end.

I.S. FUND DRIVE--OCTOBER 1 - DECEMBER 10

MAKE IT A SUCCESS!

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NAC MINUTES 9/25/73

Present: Weber, Danton, Trautman, Hastings, Geier

1. NatSec Report. Report by MD. 1) Chile: Reports continue to come in about successful IS intervention in demonstrations, marches, forums protesting the overthrow of Allende. The first draft of the pamphlet is complete, plans are to have it out to the branches in two weeks. 2) Auto: The auto fraction was responsible for the distribution of the UNC leaflet calling for rejection of the contract at the Chrysler plants in Detroit. In Cleveland it was distributed at the Twinsburg plant that rejected the contract. Chicago distributed at one plant and got a good reception. The rank and file bulletins we're involved in had leaflets for the local meetings also urging rejection, and many comrades got to speak at the ratification meetings and did quite well. 3) Fund drive: Karen Kaye will be fund drive director. Final negotiations are being completed with several branches over their quotas, the rest have accepted. All is about set for the kick-off on October 1. 4) Class series: The East Bay and Chicago branches have begun class series on fundamentals of Marxism; NYC branch has started a series on imperialism. 5) Farmworkers: The East Bay and Los Angeles branches attended the UFW convention in Fresno last weekend. They distributed a Workers' Power supplement in Spanish and English to the convention. A full report is being prepared and sent out from the East Bay.

Motion to approve the report accepted all for.

2. Pamphlets. Report by JT on work in progress on various pamphlets. Chile pamphlet should go to press late next week. Others are in various stages of completion. Motion (JW): 1) that JT be given authority to solicit and publish pamphlets. 2) Members of the NAC are to be given copies of proposed pamphlets to read and are urged to discuss them with JT. JT to establish a date by which criticisms are to be raised. 3) If disagreements persist that can not be resolved informally, a committee meeting of JT, JG and MD be convened. 4) If they cannot agree, the matter will be brought to the NAC. Passed all for

3. Detroit -- N.C. Relations. (Note by minute taker (BH): A discussion was held 9/24 between the NAC and Detroit Exec to discuss the problem of the amount of time Detroit branch members spend doing work in the N.C. and how that is draining the branch.)

Motion (Detroit Exec): The exec believes that the following items are the minimum requirements for branch membership: selling WP, active participation in circles, contact work, leafleting, and attendance and participation in branch meetings, educationals, forums, etc. Branch members who feel that they are unable to meet these requirements will be asked to meet with the Executive Committee. This in no way implies that each member is expected to do all of these things all of the time, but we do feel that all members should consider these activities a normal, minimal part of branch membership.

Passed all for

Motion (Detroit Exec): In the future the NAC should consult with the Detroit Exec before putting Detroit branch members on N.C. staff. Passed all for

Motion (Detroit Exec): The NAC will help the Detroit branch find people to move to Detroit. Passed 4-0-1 (JG)

Motion (JW): Moving people to Detroit should take priority over future colonization until this problem is resolved. Fails 1 (JW) - 2 (MD, JG) - 2 (BH, JT)

Motion (JT): That the carrying out of the NC work is a national priority that cannot be carried out simply from the resources that exist in Detroit. In order to carry out this work it will require that the other branches be expected to contribute labor power. Failure to do this on their part will likely mean a failure of the N.C. to carry out its tasks.

Passes 2 (JT, MD) -- 1 (JG) -- 1 (BH) -- 1 (not voting) (JW)

Motion (Detroit exec): One of Karen Kaye's NC functions be helping put out the UNC paper. Tabled.

Motion (Detroit Exec): Joe F and Bill H. not be considered as permanent NO staff members and be encouraged to find auto jobs as soon as possible. Passed all for

Motion (Detroit Exec): The NO staff shall be responsible for all NO shitwork including running off Bulletin, collating bulletin, NC mailings, WP mailings, WP Headlines, etc, except in times of crisis including 2 months before conventions and 3 weeks before NC meetings. Fails (JT) -- 3 (BH, JG, MD) -- 1 (JW)

Motion (JF): The NAC recognizes the difficulties involved in carrying out national organizational work in Detroit where many people have full time jobs often requiring substantial overtime. In line with this concern the NAC commits the NC to purchasing a collator and to making headlines with a headliner, the presently owned one to be put in functioning order on a deadline or purchasing a new one. The office manager will place all requests for help through the exec or organizer. On a trial basis the NC will attempt to function with the use of 2 hours volunteer labor per non-staff member of the Detroit branch per month. This is to be reviewed in one month.

Amendment (MD): Volunteer time to average one hour per month.

Amendment fails 2 (JT, MD) -- 2 (JG, BH) -- 1 (JW)

Motion unamended Passes 2 (JG, BH) -- 0 -- 3 (JT, MD, JW)

Motion (LJ): The NC will find another typesetter by November 1. Passes 3-0-2 (JT, BH)

Motion (JG): The Detroit branch to organize a recruitment campaign for which it will draw upon the resources of the N.C. -- for meetings, contact work, etc. Tabled 3-2.

Statement by JW on explanation of his abstentions: "During discussion, everyone seemed to agree that there was no solution to a serious chronic problem without bringing in additional people. When the NAC rejected the motion to give people moving people to Detroit priority over other colonizations, I interpreted that as meaning there will be no moving of people to Detroit. In this context I consider all proposed solutions unworkable over any period of time."

#### 4. Organizational Motions tabled from the NC.

Motions on bulletins -- one by Mike Steward and one by Milton F and Chris K.

MS motion divided, amendment (JT) that there be one bulletin and one national report passed

First part of MS motion as amended passed all for.

Second part of MS motion voted against MF and CK motion except point 2.

MS motion -- 0; M and C motion -- 4, abs -- 1 (JW)

M and C motion point 2 fails 1-4

(To make this clear, the following just passed the NAC:)

While the IS is attempting to professionalize itself, some thought should be given to the organization and format of the Bulletin. At present, the Bulletin is disorganized and overburdened with lengthy, unwieldy documents. Unfortunately, the content of most documents is not commensurate with their length.

(more)

In order to make the Bulletin an effective viable organ of communication within the IS, the following rules should be observed:

1. All articles and documents (with the exception of major convention documents) shall contain no more than 3,000 words (approx. 10 typed pages).
2. Major convention documents, while not limited to 3,000 words, should be written as clearly and concisely as possible.

Much time and energy in the IS is being wasted in the serious consideration of poorly-formulated, redundant documents. The writing of internal political documents is a task that must be approached in a professional manner by IS comrades. The IS is now in a position to fill the void in serious, creative political theory today. This potential can be realized only if we recognize the need for intellectual discipline in the Bulletin.

The IS will produce only one Bulletin and one national report.

Motion on MAL coordinator by Higgins and Creas. Tabled to next weeks meeting.

Motions on education. Tabled to later on the agenda.

5. Cliff on Permanent Revolution. Discussion of Cliff on Permanent Revolution (reprinted in *International Socialism* #61). Presentation by JG.

6. Education Director. Motion by Mike Steward (presented to the convention.)

Motion (JT): The tasks of the education director should be the following:

1. Production of the following class series: basic series on Marxism and the history of the revolutionary movement, basic IS positions and perspectives, history of our tendency.
2. Pamphlet production, including the following topics: basic introductory pamphlets on our positions, industry pamphlets, various topical pamphlets.
3. Editorial board of the theoretical journal.
4. Writing educational pieces for WP, continued writing and research on blacks and other topics.
5. Production of an internal education reprint series (to be produced in a format suitable for external use also).
6. Summer schools, educational weekends, reading lists.

Obviously all of these cannot be carried out at once. There is a necessity for prioritizing them. Also, it is obvious that I am not a committee and therefore will not be able to carry these tasks out as though I were.

I propose to start work immediately on the following class series: 1) Basic class series on Marxism and the history of the revolutionary movement; 2) Class series on the history of our tendency. Both of these are to be put on cassettes and to be made available to all branches, MALs, etc. The first by JT, the second by JG.

Pamphlets: to rush those pamphlets through that are already in the works. Then to begin contracting for new ones, in particular industrial pamphlets.

Writing educational pieces for WP.

I propose that I have final say over the reprint series (to be called "The Socialist Experience" unless I get a better name.)

A requirement of carrying out this job is that I be given time to do research and writing. Motions tabled to next week, to be discussed with Higgins and Creas motion to convention.

(the end)



For quite some time there has been complaint in this organization about our failure to produce a pamphlet series. Now that we are beginning to do so the membership will have to support it by seeing that they get distributed. This includes the above; it also includes our individual members aggressively selling our pamphlets to their contacts.

All of what has been said so far in general is especially applicable to the Chile pamphlet. We have produced 2000 copies of this pamphlet because of its topicality and because of its importance. In order to assure that these pamphlets do not gather dust on our shelves they will have to be marketed. If they are not marketed soon, interest will wane and they will be especially difficult to sell. Because of the run of 2000 and because of an underestimation of costs we will have to sell about 430 copies of the pamphlet at cover price simply to break even. Of course the cases when we sell at the cover price are few, so we will have to sell several more just to cover costs. And, let me reiterate that our aim is to spread our ideas. **SO SELL!!!**

As I mentioned awhile back we are also working on producing an educational series of reprints designed primarily for our members and our contacts. Their purpose is to acquaint our members with our background and traditions, with some of the important issues of the socialist movement of the past, and to provide educational background to important issues as they arise. These reprints will be primarily from the New International and to a lesser extent Labor Action, and possibly from other left presses later. The first in this series, entitled "The Socialist Experience", is to be a series of reprints concerning the Middle East. The second is about the Popular Front of the 1930's in order to provide background for the events in Chile. The third may be reprints from the New International about the Chinese Revolutionary Movement; the fourth and possibly the fifth are tentatively planned to cover blacks. There are others being considered. If anyone has ideas concerning good topics or individual articles, please send them to me. I don't promise to use all of them, but all of them will be seriously considered.

Now a word about the business end of this matter. These materials will be more expensive per page than will the pamphlets because they will have a much smaller run: we are planning a run of 300. But with smaller runs many of the basic costs remain the same: in particular the cost of the plates. So the reprints will run at about twice the cost per page. I don't know what kind of response we will get with each of these reprints, so I am pricing them so that when 100 of them have been sold the run of 300 will have been paid for.

The distribution of these is being done experimentally. We are not at present requiring any particular quota of the branches for the reprints. If, however, we do not get adequate support for them we will have two alternatives: to require some kind of quota system or to discontinue the series. We will not do the latter unless there is some clear indication that the membership does not like or desire it. Comrades should bear in mind that this series is designed to provide you with background. You should therefore plan to buy most of them.

One word more: many people at the convention had indicated to me that they themselves or people they knew were interested in producing pamphlets. I ask you to remain patient. In most of these cases I have not gotten in touch with you because I have been trying to establish things to begin with. I have the list I collected at the convention and will eventually be getting in touch with you.

Jack Trautman -- Educational Director

Report from the Educational Director to the Membership:

This is to inform the membership of the policies of the education department as they have been formulated up to now. Most of my time has so far been spent on establishing a pamphlet series, on soliciting some of the most pressing and/or easiest to get pamphlets and on setting up a procedure for getting them done, financed, etc. Part of this task has also been to establish an internal reprint series primarily for educational purposes for our own members and for contacts.

As many comrades are already aware, our first pamphlet is currently in production: in fact, by the time that the membership receives this report you will have already seen the pamphlet on Chile by Walt Castle and Marilyn Danton. There are several others in production (writing). I will not go through the exercise of listing them here for fear of raising false hopes in case someone does not come through as scheduled. I can say that we are reprinting the Women in China pamphlet by Laurie Landy, and it should be available within a few weeks.

Our financial policy on the pamphlets is as follows: the pamphlets will usually be priced so that sales of around 200 will pay for a run of 1000. Branches are given a quota of one pamphlet per member plus 25% more. A bundle of this size will be shipped out to the branches as soon as they come off the press and branches will be expected to remit their bills immediately. What this means is that the pamphlets will be paid for very quickly, enabling us to continue putting out more pamphlets without having to have a large amount of capital on hand at any one time. Do not fear that this will mean high prices. Our aim is to keep pamphlet prices no higher than \$.50. Of course, the branches will be accorded their usual 20% discount for their bundles. This will mean that the pamphlets will not be fully paid for, but the balance of their cost will have been covered.

This method of paying for the pamphlets gains us another advantage as well. Having recovered our costs with our initial sales ~~kkkkkkkkkk~~ we are in a position to offer substantial discounts to bookstores in order to induce them to carry them. The normal discount price to bookstores is 40%; we plan to offer them pamphlets at 60% discount. The purpose of this is obvious: it is not to make money on the pamphlets (although we will get a modest return) but to encourage the spread of our ideas.

This brings me to another problem. Distribution. As comrades are well aware we have no distribution network. It is necessary to build one. One element of that is to make sure that all the bookstores in areas where we have people have been covered and (hopefully) induced to carry our pamphlets. Also, some effort should be made to get these pamphlets to faculty for class use. I am not suggesting that a major covering of the campuses take place. But in many cases we still have contact with the campuses, know professors who might be willing to use our literature, or know people who know professors, etc. The point is that serious efforts must be made to get our material out: this is a task for every branch, every organizing committee, every IAL.

There is of course another aspect to distribution: solicitations to libraries, advertisements, brochures, etc. Much of this can and will be done out of the national office. But we are frankly unfamiliar with the methods, possibilities, etc. of these procedures. So, consider this to be a blatant, open appeal to you frustrated Madison Avenue stars to put your knowledge and talents to work for a good cause. Seriously, please flood us with your suggestions and offers to help.

## 0. NATSEC REPORT (attached).

1. AUTO STRIKE ASSESSMENT AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES. Report by JW and discussion. JW and BM were instructed to work out a schedule for future discussions on labor work to follow up on conclusions of this discussion. The main point stressed in the report and discussion was the need to educate contacts in our over-all perspective in order to keep them around us on a stable basis, with specific lessons from auto.

2. CHILE RESOLUTION. Draft by MD attached.

MOTION (JW): We favor the drafting of a statement to deal with the main lessons of the Chilean experience to be signed by revolutionary organizations for the purpose of influencing the international revolutionary left. Marilyn's document to be an outline of the major points. We understand the impossibility of agreement on a full detailed position (among groups attending the int'l conference) but the essential points of agreement exist and are important to the revolutionary left. PASSED 5-0-1 (MD). (2) A letter to be sent to ISGB and LO informing of our desire to see such a statement drafted and indicate we would like to discuss this either at the conference or informally during the conference. AMENDMENT (MD): To delete "either at conference or".

AMENDMENT FAILED 2-3-1 (JT, MD for; DF abstain); (2) PASSED 5-0-1 (MD).

(3) Our goal is the establishment of an international drafting committee, either formally by conference or informally, for purpose of drafting and hammering out agreement on statement. PASSED 5-1 (MD against).

MOTION by MD that KB attend conference as delegate was APPROVED, ALL FOR.

3. WATERGATE. KL present for this discussion. Presentation by JG and discussion on analysis of situation and our propaganda ~~xxxxx~~ line. JG to present motion to next NAC on implementation, speakers, etc.

4. WORKERS POWER. Presentation by Rose V. on document in preparation for NC (NOTE: the assignment of writing this document for the editorial board was taken by RV after DF was assigned to middle east and could not continue work on draft.

MOTION (MD, DF): NAC adopts RV draft as the basis for amendment to be presented to the NC. The document is to be completed and sent out as soon as possible (after work on WP#85 is complete). ALL FOR.

3a. ADDENDUM to 3. MOTION (JW, based on Watergate discussion):: WP should not be used as a substitute for a theoretical journal for explanation of our complex theories and speculations - rather articles should teaching political lessons about the system using Watergate crisis as starting point. We should write articles that make one, or only a few, political points - not shoot for systematic analysis. TABLED.

STATEMENT by DF: I voted to table JW's motion on Watergate coverage because it is meaningless. No one, of course, is for using WP as "a substitute for a theoretical journal". Given this, it is impossible to tell whether the intent of the motion is to deliberately restrict WP coverage of Watergate to a few shallow, simplistic ideas about "corruption and the system" without attempting to actually explain to workers the concrete factors which are ripping the government apart. It is precisely this kind of simplistic stuff that I want to avoid.

5. BLACK LIBERATION DOCUMENT. The following motion by JT PASSED 5-0-1 (JG abstain):

- 1) It is impossible to analyze succinctly in an IC document xxx aspects of the black movement, such as DRUM when the organization has not attempted such an analysis before and where research is required.
- 2) It is not desirable to present such an analysis in a document, but rather for public consumption with the possible different points of view being printed. In other words, this is an aspect of our "line" that can and should be worked out publically.
- 3) Therefore, Jack T. will be asked to submit the sections he has written on the civil rights movement, the black power movement, the ghetto rebellions and the Black Panther Party. We will plan on developing an assessment of various other aspects of the black movement, past and present to be added later.
- 4) We will plan a history and an assessment of the black movement for Workers Power, and possibly for the Theoretical Journal, where we may wish to examine these in more depth.
- 5) We look to compiling the WP series into a pamphlet.

STATEMENT FOR THE MINUTES BY ED ON VOTING ON THE CHILE RESOLUTION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

I abstained or opposed the motions on our functioning at the International Conference not because I am opposed to developing further international collaboration, or specifically to attempting to influence the revolutionary movement through our analysis of the events in Chile and the historic significance of these events. I am opposed, however, to our attempting to change the current nature of these conferences through presenting resolutions formally to the Conferences, or setting up international drafting committees when the conferences themselves are viewed by all as nothing more than annual talk shops. My approach was rather to open discussions on such a statement on Chile with the ISGB, LC and several other groups in an attempt to come out with a joint statement that the collaborating organizations could present to the revolutionary left. In this fashion we could begin to put pressure on those organizations who at this time do not take seriously international collaboration.

~~XXXXXXXXX~~

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

October 24, 1973

1. Middle East: Dave spoke at the Chicago and Detroit Branch meetings. Sam F. will be speaking for the LA branch at a public forum this week.
2. The NYC branch has set up an Introduction to Marxist Economics study group led by Barbara Z and based upon the Strachey reprint.
3. The Detroit Branch held the second successful forum in ~~xxxx~~ its series on China, Russia and Cuba.
4. The IC is setting up a west coast tour for December x by JW to cover the LA, Bay Area and ~~xxxx~~ Seattle/northwest areas and Vancouver Canada.
5. The first two numbers in the Educational Director's proposed series of reprints from the New Internationals, Labor Actions and Workers Party Bulletins will be out within two weeks. No. 1 will cover background for the Middle East war and will include articles from the IEC clipping book on the middle east and the 1967 article by Draper in New Politics. No. 2 will be on popular fronts and will serve as good background for Chile.
6. The fund drive total now stands at \$3,633 (24%); at the beginning of the fourth week. In order to be up to date, we should have received \$4,530 (30%). The only branch that has failed to send in any contributions so far is the Chicago Branch.

REVOLUTION OF CHILE

1. The defeat suffered by the Chilean working class has historic significance for the revolutionary movement. It comes at a time when crisis is beginning to emerge in the capitalist system making possible the development of revolutionary situations in the future. As part of the less developed world, Chile and the rest of Latin America are the weak links of the capitalist system. But they are only the first places that the cracks are developing in the capitalist system. Other countries will follow, including the developed nations of the world, the heart of the system. It is crucial that the left and the working class learn the lessons of Chile. If this doesn't happen, this tragedy will be repeated over and over again, each time bloodier and more devastating for the working class movement.
2. Today in Chile the leadership of a generation of workers is being smashed by a counterrevolutionary junta whose methodology borders on fascism. These fascist tendencies and the need for the thorough going counter revolution differentiate this coup from other military take-overs in Latin America. Above all, the activities of the junta (the banning of all political parties, the banning of the CUT, the replacement of the university rectors and municipal officials with generals, the burning and banning of books, the attempts to whip up nationalist, anti-foreign hysteria) indicate the degree and level of revolutionary activity that the working class has reached, and thus the necessity for the junta to destroy that movement.
3. In spite of the reformist leadership of the Popular Unity Coalition, the Communist and Socialist Parties, and the vacillating leadership of the MIR, the working class had begun to organize on its own and to build its own institutions of workers' power in the plants (the cordones industriales) and in the working class neighborhoods (the comandos comunales and the price control and supply boards). By the day of the coup, there were over 1,000 cordones alone around Santiago.
4. This defeat exposes the fraud of the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism. Allende's Popular Unity Coalition and its reformist, vacillating, right moving methodology in the face of the developing revolutionary situation play the same role of working class betrayal as did the Popular Front governments of the '30s in Germany, France and Spain.
5. The reliance on the military, the unwillingness to dismantle the capitalist state, the capitulation to the national and international bourgeoisie and the refusal to arm the workers in the face of the ~~developing~~ counterrevolution demonstrate the total bankruptcy of the Popular Unity Coalition and the leadership of the Communist and Socialist Parties. Their actions in Chile show that they have no intention of playing a revolutionary socialist role in the world today.
6. The Communist and Socialist Parties of the world have demonstrated that they have learned nothing from the events in Chile. They continue to support the parliamentary road to socialism, including reliance upon the military in every country, including those in which they have a mass working class following: Italy, France, Britain. These parties must be exposed to the workers as the true betrayers of working class interests and the roadblock to socialist revolution.
7. The key role played by the US government both in direct involvement in the planning of the coup and in indirect sabotage of the Chilean economy through blacklisting Chile with the international developmental agencies clearly demonstrates both the international nature of the capitalist system and the dominant role of US ~~imperialism~~ imperialism in the underdeveloped world.
8. The events in Chile demonstrate the need for revolutionary organization solidly based in the working class. The inability of any revolutionary organization to come to the aid of the Chilean workers indicates the weakness of the world revolutionary movement and points out the sharpness of the tasks of revolutionaries in the world. The left in Latin America and everywhere must regroup around a revolutionary ~~new~~ working class perspective which stands on workers democracy and workers control of the state and production. In Chile this means specifically that revolutionaries must break from the Socialist Party, the MIR, the MAPU and form a new revolutionary organization that can begin to draw the lessons of the defeat and build the resistance with a revolutionary socialist perspective. Not to carry out these tasks means to repeat the mistakes that led to the disaster of Chile.



NAC MINUTES 10/2/73

Present: All (BH absent for points 0,1)

O. NATSEC REPORT (attached to minutes).

MOTION(JG): The NY minutes report that the last two issues of WP have not been distributed. The NAC requests that the NY exec give us a ~~xxxxxxx~~ plan and schedule for WP distribution.

AMENDMENT (JT): We request a report on WP distribution - how many and where they are sold - from all branches.

AMENDMENT PASSED 5-0; MOTION PASSED 4-0-1 (JW abstain).

1. CHILE. Presentation by MD and discussion on the new situation in Chile and questions raised by several comrades concerning our coverage of Chile.

NOTE: A statement by Kevin Bradley, and a text of the leaflet distributed in Chicago, is attached to the minutes at Kevin's request. Also attached is a statement by DF commenting on Kevin's position..

MOTIONS(JW): (i)The I.S. characterizes the present situation in Chile, the banning of the unions, the efforts to whip up national and anti-Semitic hysteria, the banning of all political parties, etc., as representing a sharp tendency (not yet complete) toward fascism. ALL FOR.

(ii)We reject the "new ~~xxxxx~~ working class" analogy: that is, the attempt to show that the reactionary role played by doctors, professionals and the like in Chile serves to discredit NWC theories in this country.(This analogy is not accurate, since these strata do not play parallel roles in the two societies). FAILED 2-3 (JT, JW for).

(iii)Contact ~~xxxxxx~~ comrade NV immediately to see what information and political assistance he can provide. ALL FOR.

(iv)We place an important emphasis on third camp ideas in our overall analysis, to include a)the role of the working class, the question of workers' rule and third camp-internationalist implications, b)the role of China, Russia, Cuba, and why. ALL FOR.

(v)We explore translation ~~ng~~ of forthcoming pamphlet on Chile into Spanish. ALL FOR.

(vi)Assign MD to draft a statement for the international conference on Chile on conclusions for revolutionaries from the ~~ng~~ Chilean events. ALL FOR.

2. MALs. MOTION by MD attached to minutes. MOTION(JW): The MD motion is to be sent out to all MALs as a provisional policy statement, pending reactions and comments from the MALs. ALL FOR.

3. NC MEETINGS. MOTION(DF): JT to have amendments to Trautman Black Liberation document, including sections on the black movement and the I.S., completed by Oct. 30 so that other amendments can be prepared (revised version of DF document will also be completed by then). ALL FOR.

MOTION(JT):We request presentations from Kit and anybody else on WORKERS POWER for next NAC meeting. We also request Editorial Board to begin work on a draft for NC document on WP to be completed within two weeks, with the understanding that we are aiming for a document representing the majority of the NAC for presentation to the NC. ALL FOR.

In addition, the next NAC meeting will discuss the post-Convention issues of WP (#81-83).

4. NAC PERSPECTIVES. Presentation by MD and discussion on functioning and priorities of the NAC for the year.

MOTION(MD): (i)The February NC to be centered around international perspectives.

(ii)We intend to adopt Kevin Bradley's "Draft Program for the International Socialists" as the basis for amendment, with the aim of adopting a fundamental program document at the 1974 Convention. The Spring NC will discuss specific topics and amendments to KB document. TABLED for further discussion.

5. N.O. STAFF. MOTION(BH): The N.O. will ensure the full payment of salaries to the N.O. staff by the end of each month. If necessary the N.O. will borrow the money, rather than individuals doing so. Payment of salaries is to come after rent and utilities, and before all other debts and bills.

MOTIVATION: At present the N.O. staff usually gets paid for each month at the end of the month, often later. This forces each member to go around borrowing money individually. This is a poor policy.

MOTION PASSED ALL FOR.

MOTION(submitted by Kay S.): All I.S. functionaries (N.O. staff and organizers) to be exempt from mandatory payment of dues, assessments, fund drive, etc. FAILED 0-6.

6. UFW CONVENTION REPORT. Presentation by JG on report from Mike P.

MOTION(JT): We request that Kevin B. be present and address the NAC discussion to be held on our UFW functioning and perspectives. ALL FOR.

MOTION(JG): Instruct Bay Area and other branches that comrades are not to be withdrawn from farmworker activity - the struggle will continue for a period of years, regardless of the (dubious) stability of the latest agreement with the Teamsters. ALL FOR.

7. EDUCATION DIRECTOR AND PAMPHLETS. MOTION by JT: The tasks of the ~~and~~ education director should be the following:

- 1) Production of class series on Marxism and the history of the revolutionary movement, basic I.S. positions and perspectives, and history of our tendency.
- 2) Pamphlet production, including basic introductory pamphlets on our positions, industry pamphlets, and various topical pamphlets.
- 3) Editorial Board of the theoretical journal.
- 4) Writing educational articles for WP; continued research and writing on black liberation and other topics ;
- 5) Production of an intergal education reprint series to be produced in a form may ~~xxx~~ suitable for external use also;
- 6) Summer schools, educational weekends, reading lists.

Obviously, all these cannot be carried out at once. There is a necessity for prioritizing them. Also, it is obvious that I am not a committee and therefore will ~~xxx~~ not be able to carry these tasks out as though ~~ix~~ I were.

I propose to start work immediately on the following class series: basic Marxism and the history of the revolutionary movement, and the history of our tendency. Both of these are to be put on cassettes and to be made available to all branches, NALs, etc. The first is to be done by JT, the second by JG.

On pamphlets, I propose to rush through those pamphlets already in the works, then to begin contracting for new ones, in particular industrial pamphlets.

I propose that I have final say over the reprint series (to be called "The Socialist Experience" unless I get a better name). A final requirement of carrying out this job is that I be given time to do research and writing.

The JT motion was voted counterposed to Mike S. and Higgins/Crees motions (tabled from Convention). JT motion PASSED ALL FOR.

AMENDMENT(BH): To adopt the following point from MS motion - Lastly, we must aim at the development of experts and a corresponding speakers' list for public forums, writing literature, etc. This means encouraging members to do extended studying in a particular area to develop the necessary expertise. ALL FOR

The following motion was also passed on the financing of pamphlets: pamphlets to be priced so that the cost will be paid for when 150-200 have been sold (this will be possible when producing them ourselves; when a pamphlet is produced, each branch to be required to take one for each member plus 25% more at standard 20% book service discount,

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT 10/2/73

1. **Chile:** 100 people attended the forum on Chile in Bloomington, and 20 to the forum in the morning (!) in St. Louis. Both were very successful. Seattle and Los Angeles also held successful forums on Chile. The Los Angeles comrades distributed a leaflet in English and Spanish to a demonstration on Chile in the Chicano section of the city.
2. **National Secretary's trip.** Both the St. Louis and Bloomington Organizing Committees have a number of good contacts. Bloomington is setting up a study group and St. Louis is participating in a labor history series with a working class collective. The Louisville comrades (some of them) attended the Bloomington forum and report that they are beginning to meet people there.
3. **Membership:** New York recruited a friend active in the AFT in New Jersey, and Seattle recruited someone from Bellingham. Two comrades from Ellensburg resigned for personal reasons, but will remain friends of the organization.
4. **Class Series:** In addition to the ones noted last week, the Los Angeles, Cleveland and Chicago branches have also set up class series on the fundamentals. The Detroit Branch has started a series on ~~China~~ China, Cuba and Russia.
5. **Fund Drive:** The following branches have chosen their fund drive directors: New York - Barbara, Detroit - Stephanie, Cleveland - Carole, Seattle - Debbie, East Bay - Margaret, Los Angeles - Dave.

(one more point, see after motion below - typists error)

**MOTION ON MEMBERS AT LARGE**

Marilyn Danton

Substitute for motion submitted to the Convention by Higgins & Crees on MAL Coordinator

The relationship between the National Organization and Members at Large has been in the past poor and for the most part totally disorganized. Communication and coordination of their political work has from time to time barely existed at all. This situation must be changed. In response, I propose the following steps aimed at arriving at a workable solution of this problem:

1. That immediately the National Secretary draw up a letter to be sent to all current MAL's and any that join in the future which includes the following questions: a) what political work is the comrade involved in; b) what are his/her political needs in terms of education; c) does he or she have any contacts or friends that are interested in the IS; d) what are the prospects of recruiting people and building a branch in the area?
2. Based upon the answers to the above questions, the National Secretary will write individually to each comrade and attempt to make the national organization useful to them and to integrate them more into the organization.
- 3) Taking into consideration their political and ~~personal~~ personal situation, the National Secretary will raise the possibility/feasibility of he or she moving to one of the priority cities (Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New Jersey, St. Louis). This is to be motivated in terms of the difficulties of functioning as an individual in a political organization: in the ability to participate and affect the organization, in terms of the comrades' own political development, and in terms of participating in the building of a revolutionary organization and movement.

(More)

### Motivation

The proposal of Higgins and Crees is basically not workable at this time due to a lack of personnel resources. Secondly, and more important, while it ~~is~~ speaks to a real need, I believe that it is basically the wrong approach. Members at large, unless they have a real prospect of building a branch in their area, or unless for overriding personal ~~real~~ reasons they must remain, should be encouraged to move to an area where there is a functioning branch.

We are an organization with a huge task -- building a revolutionary workers movement -- and very scarce resources with which to do it. Members at large, no matter how great their commitment to the organization and its goals, have natural limitations given their isolation from others in the organization to what they can contribute in this process. Thus, I believe that we must move in the direction of requesting MAL's to move, upon joining, unless they can either build a branch, or cannot do so because of personal ~~reasons~~ reasons (long standing job, family commitments, etc.). I believe that the MALs will both take the organization more seriously if we adopt this approach, and that the accrueent to the organization in terms of resources will be high. It is an important step toward dealing with the past problems of the MAL/National Organization relationship, and one more step toward building a national cadre organization.

~~XXXXXXXX~~

National Secretary's Report (Additional point, left out by mistake)

6. Bits and pieces: The Los Angeles comrades attended an ~~Anti~~ Anti-Abel demonstration and sold the paper. They also distributed the auto supplement to at least one plant. Cleveland comrades attended a public meeting of approximately 1,000 people to hear Fonda and Hayden and distributed free several hundred copies of Workers Power. Ken gave a public forum on the farmworkers struggle for the Bloomington Branch that was quite successful.

### CHILE: FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Marilyn D. for the NAC

1. The Middle Class movement: While to some extent the events in Chile do disprove the New Working Class theory (~~it~~ id doctors, engineers, etc. were involved), the more important point to be made is that the middle classes were actually the traditional petty-bourgeoisie (truck owners, ship keepers, artisans, etc. in addition to the above groups) and their right wing movement and the official relationship that is now clear between this movement and the military recall the '30s and the role of the petty-bourgeoisie in fascist movements in Europe.

2. The popular front: The emphasis on the popular front should be played down and replaced by an emphasis on the reformist/stalinist nature of the government. That is, the existence of the small Radical Party made little difference in the politics of the Popular Unity Coalition. It only served to demonstrate that these groupings had no intention of leading a working class revolution. In one sense the label of popular front makes more sense after the generals enter the cabinet -- they were the representatives of capital much more than the Radicals, although again what is key was the basically reformist/stalinist character of the regime.

2. Fascist direction of the coup: It is clear today that the military coup is not just another right wing military coup in Latin America, but a counter revolutionary movement heading in a fascist direction. The banning of all political parties, the banning of the major trade union organization (CUT) the replacement of the presidents of universities with generals, the replacement of municipal officials with generals, the continuing relationship between the junta and the leading organizations of the middle class movement (truck owners and shop keepers association), the racist, nationalist, anti-foreign and anti-semitic hysteria that the military is trying to whip up all bring to mind the fascist movements in Europe in the 30's. The regime is not yet fascist, but tending in that direction. The capitalist class is not yet convinced that fascism is necessary, and there are divisions among the ruling class on how to proceed. The correct characterization today is bonapartist with fascist tendencies. Secondly, we must make the point that when the working class movement is smashed, the military will turn against their allies the petty-bourgeoisie, because in fact the interests that the generals represent are those of the big capitalists. This will become necessary as the difficulties in dealing with the Chilean economic chaos become clear, and opposition within the middle class/petty bourgeoisie movement develops to the generals.

3. The strategy of the right: What is clear now from the reports that have become public is the fact that the coup was in the planning since November '72 at the time of the October bosses strike. From that time the vanguard of the right (the protofascist groups like Fatherland and Liberty) organized politically to win over the rest of the military, the Christian Democratic Party and sections of the middle classes to the necessity for a coup. That their strategy was successful is clear. The October bosses Strike was the turning point in Chile. Until that time the government ~~was~~ and the working class were on the offensive, and Allende's response to the outbreak of the capitalist strike was to call upon the workers to keep the factories and production going. This they did and quite well. There were the heroes of this struggle and the end of the strike was their victory. Rather than building on this working class offensive and growing self-activity and organization, Allende told the workers to return the factories and brought the military into the cabinet. This indicated to the right that Allende feared the self-mobilization of the working class and would be hesitant to call upon the workers again, and his move to the right and compromise with the Christian Democrats indicated ~~that~~ that in future crises this would be the direction in which he would move. From that time on Allende moved more and more right, only encouraging the right movement, and simultaneously playing a role of confusing and demoralizing the working class.

At the same time, the workers success in the October strike, and Allende's moves began to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and thus to augment the developing consciousness that although in large part they supported Allende and the government, they could not rely on him. The March elections where the Popular Unity Coalition gained support enabled the extreme right to propagandize that the only way to defeat Allende and the working class was ~~through~~ through armed struggle. Moreover the growing independence of the working class (demonstrated even more strongly in the abortive June 29 coup when hundreds of factories were seized without Allende appealing to the workers) meant that the right would have to go all out and smash the workers movement. Allende's refusal to support the El Teniente miners strike in June/July, further weakened him. The right understood what Allende never did: That in a revolutionary situation there is no middle road, it is either socialist revolution or totalitarianism.

4. Chile in the context of the world today: This should all be seen in the context of the emerging crisis in Capitalism. As the crisis develops and ~~hits~~ hits the less developed nations hardest, situations such as Chile will potentially become more common place, and the need of the right to crush the movement, greater.



Chile (continued) 3

In this context, it should be noted that Chile is not a backward nation, but a medium developed one with a long history of a militant and at times revolutionary working class. It has a long history of communist and socialist parties rooted in the working class. It is important to understand this so as to make the connections to the possibility of similar developments in the developed world.

The lessons of Chile are quite alive today. It is after all, the peaceful parliamentary road to socialism which the British, French and Italian Communist Parties, and the French Socialist Party still defend even after the tragedy of Chile. What happened in Chile then could be repeated ~~the~~ in those and other countries if the lessons are not assimilated by the working class and a revolutionary party built.

5. ~~The~~ Resistance: There is a resistance movement growing in Chile. The Communist Party, Socialist Party, MIR, MAPU are underground. The demonstration at the time of Pablo Neruda's funeral (Chile's Nobel prize winning poet and member of the CP) in which thousands of workers and members of those parties who emerged from the underground marched in the streets and sang the International indicate the strength and determination of the workers movement today in Chile. The important point we have to make is the ~~xxx~~ crucial necessity of assimilating the lessons of Chile and the need for regroupment around a revolutionary perspective. The organizations to ~~watch~~ watch are the left wing of the SP, the MAPU and the MIR.

6. On Kevin's letter to the NAC: While there has been a political oversight in not discussing the Chilean events explicitly in the context of the third camp world view, the basic line we've established is correct. The key political lesson we want people to learn from Chile is the fraud of the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism, and how the stalinists and social democrats conception of socialism from above is not socialism, but a form of ruling class society whether it be bureaucratic collectivist or capitalist. In this context the stalinist two stage theory (anti-imperialism first, then "peaceful transition to socialism also makes clear our third camp position. The question of the third camp is also made in discussion the attitude and response of the ~~xxxx~~ Communist Parties around the world, and Cuba, Russia, China toward Allende and the events in Chile. The way Kevin wishes to raise the issue and the ~~xxx~~ weight he gives to it borders on being sectarian, especially as in the attached leaflet where he talks of slave labor camps in Cuba.

STATEMENT BY JACK W. & JACK T. ON CHILE DISCUSSION

- 1) I.S. spokesmen have pointed to the reactionary role played by doctors, lawyers, etc, in Chilean events. This role has then been used to discredit, by analogy, various new workingclass theories that have been prevalent in U.S. as strategies for revolution in U.S. The new working class theory of course is throughly bankrupt -- in all its forms. It must be fought. Our objection stems from our belief that the analogy is neither convincing nor accurate and therefore constitutes an ineffective and even counter-productive way to fight these theories.
- 2) The elements involved in the events in Chile are not sociologically the same as those referred to by new working class theorists. These theories base their analysis on the specific characteristics of the highly advanced capitalist countries. It starts from the claim that professionals and other higher white-collar workers have faced qualitative degradation in their: working conditions, economic position, political power, and status. From this they conclude that these elements are readily radicalized and will play a vanguard role in a revolutionary movement.
- 3) This analysis of the new working class, their social degradation, their so to speak "proletarianization" does not even have the appearance of applying to Chile. No one would claim that in Chile, doctors, engineers and other professionals are becoming "proletarianized". Rather, the conditions, status, pay etc. of these groups is much more like the traditional upper petty-bourgeoisie. Therefore, the analogy falls flat on its face, fails to make its point, and thereby weakens the IS in our fight against such theories.

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LETTER TO THE NAC FROM KEVIN BRADLEY

Sept. 26, 1973

Dear Comrades,

The recent leadership shown by the national office, particularly the new national secretary, Marilyn, on the question of Chile, marks a step forward for the organization. It is a welcome development to get a political statement from the NAC on the issue, several articles in Workers Power and the arrangement of forums.

Part of the process of improving the general political functioning of our organization is political clarity. The reason for this letter is to point deficiencies on our line on Chile and propose amendments to it.

The article by Marilyn after the coup in WP # 82 says, 'Allende's program in practice--his rhetoric aside--meant not socialism, but merely another state regulated form of capitalism--more 'rational', 'efficient,' more independent of US imperialism, but still capitalism, an exploitative class society.'

The reality is more complex than that. Marilyn minimizes the nationalizations that occurred. 'Nationalization came to mean that foreign imperialists could only own 49% of an industry instead of maintaining total control of it' In the most outstanding cases of nationalization, Anaconda and Kennecott, the Frei government had already nationalized half, the Allende government national-

ized the other half without compensation, certainly not a capitalist method. Further ITT's properties were totally nationalized. In fact the commanding heights of the Chilean economy were basically nationalized and put under the control of the state bureaucracy.

The Popular Unity government was not simply maintaining capitalism but negating it, carrying out a partial bureaucratic collectivization of the economy. The social democracy of which Allende is a part is torn between two souls: one of trying to obtain reforms under capitalism and fighting for the extension of maintenance of democracy, and the other seeing itself as the bureaucratic rulers of a collectivized society. Czechoslovakia after World War II was a good example of a social democracy splitting exactly along these lines.

It is quite significant that Allende looks to Stalinist Cuba as a model, but this is not mentioned in any of our articles or statements of position. His win of the Socialist Party wanted a peaceful road to a Cuban type society, the peaceful road to bureaucratic collectivism. This is where the Communist Party in the Popular Unity comes in, and nowhere in any of our articles is the role of the CP made clear. The CP stands for the peaceful road to bureaucratic collectivism, though under the force of events, say the coup, it may take up the armed struggle for it. Sometimes the Stalinists do not adopt the correct strategy from their own point of view on how to obtain bureaucratic collectivism, i.e. temporarize with capitalism, but their goal remains plain and that guides their actions.

Marilyn says in WP #82, 'The coalition was composed of parties representing two hostile class forces, the owners of Chilean industry on the one side, and representatives of the working class on the other.' Which party in the coalition represents the owners of Chilean industry, some insignificant party of one or two members which nobody ever heard of? In fact Popular Unity represents the contradictory pressures of three class forces, the forces of a reformist bureaucracy which depends on democratic capitalism for existence and does not want to threaten capitalism, the pressures of the working class fighting for its self emancipation, and the forces of bureaucratic collectivism, which is anti-capitalist as well as anti-working class. The Communist Party in particular is tied to foreign ruling classes in Russia, Cuba, etc. and represents in a pure form politically the basis for new bureaucratic class rule. There is an anti-capitalist as well as anti-working class solution to Chile's problems, i.e. Stalinism, but that is never even posed as a possibility in any of our articles.

It is a significant omission that none of our articles on Chile discuss the question of democracy as it was posed in Chile. A year ago the Popular Unity government suppressed the movies 1984 and Confessions in order not to offend the Communist Party. The Communist Party is an anti-democratic force which wants to establish a totalitarian society in Chile. Further we did not point to the real danger of fascism in Chile, which seems to be raised by the behavior of the military after the coup in outlawing all political parties, crushing the major labor federation etc.

This relates to our treatment of the middle class. I think it is a mistake to try to say this disproves the New Working Class theory. The elements involved in rightwing activity were not the elements in the metropolitan

countries which are labelled New Working Class. In Chile it was the classical petty bourgeoisie of shop keepers, truck owners and doctors that helped overthrow the regime, not technicians, engineers and other skilled salaried workers that are referred to in the New Working Class theory. We should point out that it was a failure of the regime to win over or neutralize the middle class elements that helped lead to its defeat, a lesson always emphasized by Marx and Engels. Further these same petty bourgeois elements whom the regime alienated can easily become the base of a fascist movement, as they may well be becoming.

It is particularly important in talking about Chile to discuss Cuba, first because of the role Castro played in Chilean events, second because Cuba served as a model for much of Popular Unity, the working class and the far left like the MIR, and thirdly because we are addressing ourselves to many Latins on the issue of Chile and they look to Cuba, not Russia or China, as a way out for Latin America. Marilyn refers to Allende attacking workers initiative as being "economist" in WP #82, with no explanation of what that means, that it was a particular contribution of Castro to Chile, and indicates a possible bureaucratic collectivist future for Chile. Further it divided the working class, as in the case of the El Teniente copper miners strike, which is a criticism we should have of the regime. It is not a Third Camp policy to have articles on Russia in our paper and then in an article on Chile say nothing about Stalinism. The struggle between capitalism, stalinism, and socialism goes on in the capitalist countries, particularly today in Chile. The weakness of our political line is apparent particularly in the leaflet put out from Detroit, "Defend the Chilean Workers' Struggle" which doesn't mention Cuba or stalinism, particularly in the last line, which is a small statement of what we stand for. The NAC should establish a regular policy that all public leaflets issued by us include a two or three sentence statement including our Third Camp position along with our opposition to the Democratic Party, racism, sexism, etc.

A different political line is taken in the Chicago leaflet on Chile. When Joel Geier, National Chairman, was recently in Chicago he said that the leaflet took a sectarian line on Cuba, talking about forced labor camps etc., i.e. that it wasn't transitional towards the readers like the rest of the leaflet. Since the Detroit leaflet had nothing on Cuba it would be interesting to see what the NAC would recommend on that score.

A discussion on our Third Camp position is long overdue. Chile may provide an opportunity to discuss it concretely. In my opinion it is not evident at all in our articles and leaflets on the subject. It is particularly important that any pamphlet on Chile have a clear Third Camp position. Unlike newspaper articles which are written quickly and which are forgotten after a few weeks, a pamphlet is around for some time. Undoubtedly we want to get the pamphlet out quickly, but in terms of the political tasks facing the IS today as a propaganda group striving to work out our distinct line it is important that it be done correctly.

I would appreciate it if you would stick this letter in the NAC minutes hopefully to stimulate discussion on the National Committee and the membership on this issue. Also please mail out the Chicago leaflet on Chile.

Fraternally,  
Kevin

Kevin's letter is correct in pointing out that "The struggle between capitalism, Stalinism, and socialism goes on in the capitalist countries, particularly today in Chile". It is correct to point out that the victory of bureaucratic collectivism, which is politically represented by the Communist Party, is a theoretical possibility in such a struggle. This does not mean, however, that our political line and WP coverage have been deficient in analyzing the actual struggle going on in Chile. In fact, I believe that our approach was correct and that Kevin misses the mark in his discussion of the tendencies operating in Chile and the role of the Communist Parties.

Once again, the victory of bureaucratic collectivism and a CP takeover is not theoretically excluded, through a process of nationalization from above, CP domination of crucial ministries ~~xxxx~~ in the government and the progressive shackling of the unions and other workers' organizations to the emerging Stalinist state apparatus. Kevin points to the example of Czechoslovakia to illustrate this. There is, however, a very crucial difference: in Czechoslovakia the C.P. took control of the state apparatus, used the bourgeois democrats and other political forces as a "democratic" cover, and used this apparatus to carry through a bureaucratic, Stalinist revolution. In Chile, the CP was part of a coalition which left state power in the hands of the bourgeoisie. This observation, which points to an absolutely decisive difference between the two situations, is where any discussion of the CP's role must begin.

The Popular Unity government was not precisely the same as the "classical Popular Fronts" of the 1930's, since the Socialist and Communist Parties played the leading roles and the actual bourgeois parties in the coalition were more or less insignificant. However, its program and basic policies, as many have noted, were in no way anti-bourgeois or anti-capitalist. In fact, for the most part this program in no way went beyond that of Frei and the left Christian Democrats - i.e. creating a more efficient and independent capitalist Chilean economy (independent of U.S. imperialism). It was the inability of the Frei government to carry out this program through purely legal bourgeois methods which created a three-way political impasse and allowed Allende to be elected.

The big change, of course, was that Allende tried to carry out this capitalist reform program on the basis of working class support and workers' organizations, combined with parliamentary maneuvers. This, in fact, is the content of the phrase "peaceful road to socialism", a content which has nothing to do with socialism at all. However, the use of this rhetoric, and the nature of the base that Allende appealed to, created a terrific contradiction which progressively ripped apart the entire political and economic fabric of Chile. In fact, the pressure of the working class (along with the logic of the increasing conflict with the U.S. boycott) pushed Allende much farther and faster along the road of nationalization than he intended. In fact, by the time of the coup it seems that over 80% of the firms that had been nationalized had been taken over "illegally", many of these by independent ~~xxxx~~ working class seizures. The C.P., far from being the force encouraging and manipulating these seizures, consistently opposed them.

As the polarization became more critical, with workers beginning to arm themselves and the middle classes and fascists arming and carrying out political strikes on the right, Allende turned to the Army to help him stabilize the situation (i.e. Allende's government itself took ~~on~~ on an increasingly Bonapartist flavor). The result, of course, was that the generals stepped in instead

to save the situation for the bourgeoisie and, in all probability, murdered Allende.

The actual role of the CP throughout the whole history of the U.P. coalition was this: the CP, because it is an anti-capitalist and not simply class-colaborationist party, had a unique ability to discipline the working class and keep it from moving en masse beyond the framework of Allende's policies. It is true that in Chile as elsewhere, the long-term goal of the CP is an anti-capitalist, bureaucratic collectivist system. The political strategy of the CP in Chile, however, was not at all to launch its own bid for power - at least so long as the twin dangers of right wing takeover and working class upheaval remained - but rather to use all its influence to prop up the reformist CP. This strategy corresponded both ~~to~~ to the state of the CP itself, which certainly did not seem to be in any shape to launch an armed civil war, and to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union which is not anxious to see one of its satellite parties in a life-and-death struggle with U.S. imperialism at the moment.

It is not hard to imagine what sort of policies the C.P. would have followed had it been set on a course of Stalinist takeover. It would have had to do one of two things, or (in all probability) an opportunistic combination of the two. The first would have been to break with the right wing of the U.P. to the "left" (splitting the social democrats along the lines Kevin suggests, possibly taking Allende along with them), encouraging working class action and even factory takeovers under strict C.P. control, using some key ministries as a vehicle for this transformation from above. The second would have been for the CP, in its own name or through a thinly veiled front, to appeal to some of the generals, and through them to a section of the middle classes, to join with the CP in establishing a "patriotic popular government of national unity and order", using much of the same rhetoric as the generals eventually used in taking over but without the anti-Communist rhetoric. There is little or nothing to suggest that the CP tried either of these courses, or that it could have had any success had it tried to do so. The pressure of US imperialism on Chile, and above all the depth of polarization among social classes, made such a policy almost impossible. The fact that this whole scenario seems so far-fetched - although in other situations it might be quite ~~xxxxxxx~~ realistic - should indicate that a Stalinist takeover ~~xxxxx~~ was not a realistic outcome of the crisis.

The role of third camp socialists is to provide this concrete analysis of the mass role of the C.P. This pertains to Kevin's treatment in the Chicago I.S. leaflet on Chile (attached). What's wrong with Kevin's discussion of Cuba in this leaflet is not that it's sectarian in the abstract - although the jargon is very stilted, in contrast to the rest of the leaflet - but rather that Cuba isn't what's under discussion! If the leaflet were about Cuba, it would be a ~~different~~ different story - but as Kevin points out, the three-cornered struggle went on in Chile and there is no need to bring Cuba into it. Of course, the role of Russia in directly backing up the criminal policies of the CP is highly relevant and should be discussed.

Kevin's reminder that the distinctive viewpoint of the third camp should inform all our analysis and propaganda is welcome, but he fails to show that we haven't been doing this in our literature and forums on the struggle in Chile.

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## THE COLLAPSE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM IN CHILE

US and Chilean business and military interests have brought down the Allende regime. The apologists for US imperialism always speak about democracy and point out how Marxists have never been elected to head a country. However, when democracy threatens to be used by working people in their own interests, as in Chile, it is quickly jettisoned. ITT was several months ago shown to be actively attempting to defeat Allende. The US ambassador to Chile flew back from Washington right in time for the coup. State Department officials correctly said that the coup against Allende was the result of the policies they'd been following. US multinational corporations and the government had been trying to economically undermine the regime. The Chilean capitalists used their economic power to sabotage the regime by exporting capital, slowing down ~~the production of goods and services~~ production and contributing to the hyper-inflation.

The fall of the Allende regime is a tragedy for the Chilean working class for several reasons. It means the end of democracy in Chile which allowed the working class to organize and fight openly for its own interests. It means that labor and revolutionary organizations will be systematically destroyed by the junta. The regime which spoke in the name of socialism and the working class opened tremendous hopes and led the workers to take matters into their own hands and fight for ~~their own~~ their self-interest.

Allende, the head of the Socialist-Communist Party alliance called Popular Unity, preached a peaceful road to socialism. We can all see that the capitalist class and military will not permit that. In fact, neither the Socialist nor Communist Parties wanted socialism in the sense of the democratic rule of the working class over the state and economy. The Socialist Party was enamored of Cuba where US imperialism was driven out. But Cuba is dominated today by Russian imperialism, absentee workers are forced to work in labor camps, and the totalitarian Communist Party controls all spheres of political and economic life through its control of the state and nationalized property. In Chile the Communist Party took a harder line than the Socialist Party in insisting on labor discipline and production to back up the regime.

Neither the Communist or Socialist Parties called for workers' control of the factories or peasant seizures of the land. They proved unable to neutralize the middle classes, who in the truck drivers' strike, backed by the strike of doctors, nurses and shopkeepers, precipitated the fall of the regime. Instead of arming the workers, the Allende regime decided to rely on the army which brought it to disaster. Two of the generals Allende appointed to his cabinet are in the junta which overthrew him. The army supported Allende as long as he didn't go too far. The junta cited the seizure of factories by the workers as the excuse for the coup.

To make a democratic socialist revolution workers need a revolutionary party to spearhead the struggle for power. The absence of such a party in Chile shows this well. Workers allied with agricultural laborers and impoverished peasants can establish a democratic workers' state, based on workers' control of production. But to avoid the deadly alternative of a return to neo-colonialism under US or Russian imperialism or going it alone economically with resultant stagnation or necessity of brutal exploitation, the revolution must spread to the advanced industrial countries to truly liberate the underdeveloped world. That is what the international socialists are dedicated to: the creation of an international movement of the Third Camp of Revolutionary Socialism, based on the organized workers and oppressed peoples, in opposition to the camps of capitalism and bureaucratic "Communism" which now rule the world.

NAC MINUTES 10/10 /73

Present: JG, JT, JW, MD, DF

O.CORRECTION. In the Reply to Kevin Bradley, by DF which went, out with the NAC minutes of 10/2. a typographical error appears on p.2. In the first full paragraph on p.2, the third sentence should end with "...- but rather to use all ~~xxx~~ its influence to prop up the reformist U.P. (Unidad Popular)".

1. NATSEC REPORT. Discussion of NATSEC Report by MD (attached).

MOTION(JT):We request that Cleveland branch agree to the relocation of Doug P. in Detroit for a period of several months to assist in the work of the Detroit branch and the N.O. FAILED 2-3 (JT, JW for)

MOTION(JG): (1)We take no vote on this question today. FAILED

(2)National Sec'y to report in one week on efforts to find other comrades to move to Detroit. ~~ALL~~ PASSED 4-0-1 (MD abstn)

MOTION(MD):~~(3)~~ NAC to open discussion with Cleveland branch on possibility of Doug transferring for a period of several months. PASSED 3-1-1 (DF against, JT abstain).

MOTION(JG): NAC endorses the selection of Bill R. as full-time I.S. organizer in Pacific Northwest. ALL FOR

NATSEC REPORT ACCEPTED ALL FOR.

@.WORKERS POWER. A lengthy discussion was held on the questions of (1)the last several issues; (2)audience, conception, and NC document. Presentation by DF on rough outline notes on audience and conception which was previously discussed by editorial board in preparation for this discussion.

MOTION(JW):NAC assigns KL and JG to prepare a document on WP for a further NAC discussion to be held in two weeks. PASSED 3-2 (JG, DF against).

MOTION(submitted by KL):DF document to be completed and discussed in two weeks. PASSED 2-1-2 (JW against; DF,MD abstain).

STATEMENT by DF: I did not find this NAC discussion very helpful in clarifying any ideas or helping to concretize ideas. However, it is evident that there exist strong differences between myself on one side, and JT and JW on the other, with other comrades not coming out clearly on either side. The spectrum of views inside the organization on the WP question is a good deal broader than any of the differences expressed in this discussion; it is also not clear whether the differences between JT, JW and myself are over major or mainly secondary issues. I do not think that it would be edifying to anyone if I tried to summarize the debate here, so I won't even try. However, I will have my document at least roughly complete in two weeks and will present it to the NAC; however, I will not present it to the NC unless it has at least substantial support on the NAC and/or editorial board, Therefore, I believe that comrades ~~whose views differ strongly from mine, in particular JT and JW,~~ on the NAC whose views differ strongly from mine, in particular JT and JW, should write them down to ensure that the NAC has at least one point of view to present to the NC.

3. REPORT by WT on Canadian perspectives and discussion. (This report will be written up for the Nat'l Report. It was also agreed to explore with potential ca-thinkers in Canada the possibility of our forthcoming pamphlet on Chile being translated into French.

4.MIDDLE EASE WAR. Presentation by DF and discussion. The N.O. will be communicating with branches and O.C.'s to keep the membership informed on our line, and will also be sending out speakers. After a preliminary discussion, the following sketchy outline motion was passed as the initial basis for our

MOTION(DF): (1)The current ME war is the fourth round in an ongoing war which has been going on in the region for a quarter century, a war between the reactionary Zionist and Arab regimes. PASSED 4-0-1 (JW abstain).  
 (2)This is not, essentially, a war over the occupied territories per se, even if that is the immediate military objective. It is a continuation of the wars of 1948, '56 and '67 and all the issues over which those wars were fought, even though the specific circumstances differed in each case.  
 3a)We demand, as we have since 1967, the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, and emphasize the thoroughly reactionary role of Israel's policies and its war aims. We also believe that the end of the myth of Israeli invincibility may have progressive consequences inside Israel. PASSED 5-0.  
 3b)Nonetheless, we do not believe that the war aims of the Arab regimes are progressive or should be supported. This war represents an effort by Egypt to secure unity among the Arab nations, on the basis of the hegemony of Egypt and the most reactionary of its allies - not on the basis of a solution of the Palestinian national question or a progressive solution to Mideast conflict as a whole. Therefore, as in 1967, our fundamental position is no support to either side - for the defeat of both the Arab and Israeli regimes by the creation of a revolutionary socialist opposition movement within both. PASSED 3-0-2 (JT, JW).  
 (4)While the above represents our fundamental attitude toward this war, our main fire will be directed against Zionism and its role - its expansionism and exclusionism which are at the root of the conflict, and its role as a beachhead for Western imperialism in the whole region. PASSED 4-0-1 (JW).

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SOME NOTES ON THE NEW WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Dave F.

What follows is a hastily prepared first attempt to spell out some of the points indicated in the above motion. No doubt, a lot more will have to be written as the war and its consequences develop. I will not attempt to lay out our basic view on Zionism and the historic Israeli-Arab conflict, although this of course will be central in our external propaganda. I do believe, however, that in each branch the leading comrades should be sure that all members, especially those who may be new to the organization, get at least a quick education on our point of view and if necessary classes and readings to arm them properly.

Comrade Kevin Bradley has proposed to the NAC that in this war, our position should be one of critical military support to the Arabs. I want to explain why I believe this is incorrect. First of all, it's necessary to quickly summarize KB's view as he has communicated it to us (this does not substitute for a fuller presentation which I expect Kevin will be writing up as soon as he gets a chance). Briefly, Kevin argues that:

- (1) We cannot base our attitude toward the war ~~xxxxxxx~~ solely on the fact that the various regimes are reactionary; it is necessary to analyze concretely what they are fighting for.
- (2)The Arab countries have launched essentially a limited war, for the purpose of regaining a portion of the lands seized by Israel in 1967. There is nothing reactionary about this, so long as the Arabs do not attempt to turn the conflict into a war of annihilation against Israel - i.e. do not attempt to deny the legitimate national rights of the Israeli people.
- (3)Israel has no right to the occupied territories, which it grabbed by force in a war of expansion. Israel, in fact, is acting as an imperialist power while the Arab nations are not. Therefore, we should give critical support to the Arabs in their military struggle to defend their national rights.

What is wrong with this argument, in my opinion, is that while Kevin has his facts about the occupied territories straight he takes far too narrow a view of what this war is over. In fact, after 25 years of essentially permanent war interrupted by armed truce, it would be very peculiar if this war were really being fought over ~~xxxxx~~ something as limited as a portion of the plunder seized by Israel in 1967.

It is quite true that the national existence of Israel is not being threatened. Any attempt to justify Israel's war aims as "national defense" would be an outright pro-Zionist and pro-imperialist fraud. It is not correct, however, to confuse the immediate military and diplomatic objectives with the politics of the war as a whole. In fact, the issues raised by this war are all the same issues which produced all the other wars: the role of Zionism as an outpost of U.S. imperialism and as a vicious national oppressor of the Palestinian people; the Arab regimes as a vehicle for Russian imperialist penetration into the Middle East; and - what is most crucial in this debate - the efforts of the Arab regimes to impose a reactionary rather than progressive overall "solution", a solution that would increase the power and prestige of the Egyptian, Syrian and other Arab regimes but would perpetuate national oppression, especially the oppression of the Palestinians. (In this war, of course, the politics of the oil crisis play a special role in promoting "Arab unity", but we will have to treat this in other discussions).

Let's just assume the Arabs were to win the limited military victory that Kevin supports. In many respects, this would unquestionably be a "lesser evil" to another Israeli victory. But it would have no progressive consequences - quite the opposite. It would strengthen the status-quo, right-wing Egyptian regime and its political hegemony over a "united" Arab world. It would not bring the right of self-determination for the Palestine Arabs a single step closer: if the Gaza strip (inhabited by Palestinians) is today part of Israel's plunder, it would hardly be a solution for it to be retaken by the Egyptian oppressors (obviously, our attitude toward a Palestinian resistance movement in Gaza would be altogether different, but its independence from Egypt would be absolutely crucial to its survival). Nor would it prevent Israel from gearing itself up for another, and even bloodier, round which once again could produce nothing progressive through the victory of either side.

Finally, I believe we have to stress that it is utopian in the Middle East to support either Israeli or Arab war aims "so long as they do not threaten the fundamental national rights of the other", as Kevin in effect proposes. The existence of an exclusionist, expansionist Zionist state (which is not the same as the ~~xxxxx~~ Jews' legitimate democratic right to self-determination) makes the continuation of these reactionary wars, and the oppression of the Palestinians, inevitable. Without the dismantling of the Zionist state apparatus, no progressive solution is conceivable. But this task cannot be left, wholly or in part, to the Arab regimes. It can be carried out only by an independent revolutionary movement in both camps, fighting for a unified socialist Arab Mideast federation within which the Israeli Jews have the unconditional right of self-determination. This is the most powerful argument against Kevin's point of view: for Arab revolutionaries, or the Palestinian masses, to support the war aims of the Arab rulers in this war will once again set back the building of a socialist alternative force for years to come.

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NAC MEMBERS 10/11/73

Present; JT, JG, JW, DF, MD

This meeting was a continuation of the meeting of 10/10.

1. MIDDLE EAST. (1)The NAC meeting next week will discuss in fuller detail the background and origins of the Middle East war and the issues involved in it.

(2)DF is to prepare a pamphlet on the Middle East war, to have a first draft by 10/22. In order to accomplish this, DF is to be relieved of all responsibility for WORKERS POWER #85 except for Mideast coverage.

The N.O. is maintaining direct contact with all branches to provide guidance and get feedback on our functioning with respect to this war.

2. AGNEW. Presentation by JG and discussion.

JG will be in charge of coordinating our work on the Agnew and Watergate scandals. A major effort is to be made to produce literature on the crisis of capitalist politics which has been opened up by this scandal. We are also working on developing an action-oriented perspective of raising exposure demands for the impeachment/resignation of Nixon, a complete revelation of all the corruption in the White House, etc.

#### NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT 10/10/73

1. Chile: There was a successful meeting in Cleveland on Chile. Comrades ~~xxx~~ there also attended a small demonstration on Chile. Seattle is planning additional forums on the campuses in the Northwest area. The pamphlet is near completion, and should be out by the end of the week. For additional good information and politics on Chile, comrades should be reading the ISGB material including SW and #62 of International Socialism.
2. Auto: The NYC branch held a successful forum on the recent events in auto with JW speaking.
3. Workers Power: As WP continues to improve, so does the distribution. For issue No. 32, the Detroit Branch sold 105 copies and distributed 145 more (total 250) at the plants. One comrade after working a full shift, sold 40 copies alone at another plant.
4. Cleveland: All ten comrades are now there and getting settled. The last branch meeting discussed industrial perspectives and decided that 6 comrades would industrialize. There will also be a full time organizer who will also travel to nearby cities in the area to make contacts and keep in touch with ones we already have.
5. Seattle: The Seattle branch has a full time organizer who will be traveling regularly to Bellingham, Ellensburg, and Portland to build the IS in those areas. The Seattle Semi will be coming out soon.
6. Fund Drive: As of today we have collected \$1,905 (13%). Full details to be in the Fund Drive report by Karen Kaye to go out soon.
7. Bits and Pieces: KB held a successful forum in Madison, the Louisville Organizing Committee is setting up a study group on labor and especially labor in the south, the LA branch is setting up regular socials for members and friends. The Detroit branch held a successful forum by JT on Maoism.



O. NATSEC REPORT. Attached to minutes.

A motion by SF (L.A.) to rescind the 3000 word limit on documents for the discussion bulletin was TABLED to the NC, where the question will be resolved.

MOTION(JT):MD to be in charge of supervising relations and negotiations with a group sympathetic to us who were active in Chile. ALL FOR.

NATSEC REPORT PASSED ALL FOR.

1. INT'L CONFERENCE. To be held 11/10-12. The NAC is requesting that the Australian SWIG group be invited to attend. MD will attend the conference as the I.S.-USA delegate; comrades BZ (N.Y.) and CM (in Britain) to be asked to attend as observers. MD to draft statement for presentation to conference on the overthrow of Allende and its consequences for the revolutionary left. ALL FOR.

2. AMSTRALIA. Presentation by JG on I.S. relations with SWAG and the general perspectives we should suggest to SWIG comrades. Thrus of report accepted as basis of discussion with SWAG comrade touring the U.S. JG, DF and BM to constitute subcommittee to meet with him.

3. MIDDLE EAST. Further discussion on (1)background roots of the Middle East conflict, (2)specific politics of the present war.

MOTION(DF):The line of the I.S. on this war is based on the motion passed

at the previous meeting (10/10), with the following addition: the events of the past week have shown that the role of US and Russian imperialism, in terms of the probable settlement of the war and their direct role in arming the two sides, must be emphasized to a much greater degree than in the past. A statement will be written up by DF based on this line. DF also to prepare fuller report on the progress of the war itself for the next meeting. PASSED 4-0-1 (JT abstain). NOTE: JW was absent for the votes on all motions on this point, and for the remainder of the meeting.

MOTION(JT):Both the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs are nations in Palestine. Both have the right to self-determination. (2)All the regimes in the Middle East are reactionary regimes that must be replaced by socialist states. This, however, is only one factor in shaping our attitude toward the war, except of course that if a workers' state were involved we would support it. (3)The war aims of both Israel and the Arab regimes are reactionary. Both deny the right of self-determination to the Palestinian Arabs xx and seek to expand at their expense. (4)The Arab regimes have in the past refused to recognize the right of the Jews in Palestine to self-determination. This attitude has allowed the Zionist leadership to cement the Jewish masses behind them and to curtail, in Israel, the class struggle which provides the only hope for a progressive solution in the Middle East. (5)The Zionists on the other hand have made themselves into an expansionist imperialist power in the Middle East. They have continually occupied Arab territory and taken in Arab subjects whom they have xx viciously oppressed and super-exploited. These actions on their part have cemented the Arab masses behind the reactionary Arab regimes, thereby curtailing, in the Arab countries, the class struggle which provides the only hope for a progressive solution in the Middle East. (6)The Palestinian Arabs cannot depend on the Arab regimes which only use them as pawns in their gambit to defeat Israel and cement their own populations behind them. They must organize their struggle independently of the Arab regimes. To be successful, their struggle must be directed not only against the Zionist imperialists but also against the reactionary Arab regimes themselves. (7)The actions of the Zionists serve to isolate Israel in the Middle East and in the world, and

thus to force to Israeli people into dependence on American imperialism. They are not simply pawns of American imperialism, but junior partners - although noticeably very junior. To a significant degree their fate is dependent upon the policy aims of American imperialism. (8) The conflict demonstrates once again that the Zionist state is a death-trap for the Jews, who have constructed a ghetto within state walls. It is only a question of time before the Arabs batter it down. Up to now the war is mainly a battle between the reactionary Zionist and Arab regimes, with the major imperialist powers on both sides attempting to increase their own penetration of the Middle East. The danger and possibility exists of increased imperialist intervention turning the conflict into essentially a struggle between the imperialist powers.

ALL PARTS OF JT MOTION PASSED ~~4x~~ 5-0.

MOTION (submitted by JM, who was excused from the meeting before vote): The native Palestinians were forcibly driven out of their country to make room for the Zionist colonizers and were left to rot in refugee camps across the frontier. This is the real cause of the Middle East war, and the reason why we as socialists support the right of the Arab peoples to redress this wrong. We support the proclaimed goal of the Palestinians: to replace the racialist settler state of Israel by a democratic non-sectarian state in which Jews, Moslems, and Christians would enjoy equal rights.

The racially exclusive Zionist state is a natural enemy of the Arab peoples it has displaced. It is therefore a natural ally for American imperialism and the foreign oil companies in the area. In fact (however), Egypt hopes that if a new cease-fire left her ~~in~~ in possession of some parts of the Sinai desert, she could then sign a peace treaty with Israel on more favorable terms than were otherwise on the cards; but this would not restore the Palestinians to their country.

The Arab states have every right to resume the war against Israel. But the Arab ruling classes will never get rid of Zionism and imperialism. They are part of the same system. Only a socialist revolution throughout the entire Middle East, overthrowing the Israeli and Arab governments, can begin to solve the problems of the area, including the Palestine problem. FAILED 0-5.

BRIEF NOTE by DF: The motion submitted by JW is an excerpt from the statement which appeared in SOCIALIST WORKER on the outbreak of the war, representing the viewpoint of the ISGB. Comrades should be aware that at least part of the divergency between the position of the ISGB (support of the Arab states in the war) and ours flows from their explicit and long-standing denial of the right of the Israeli Jews to self-determination. I hope to be able to write a more substantial critique of this viewpoint in the fairly near future. However, comrades should also be aware that this position is not the one held by Kevin Bradley (see minutes of 10/10), who supports our position on self-determination but has raised a specific difference with respect to the politics of the current war. Thus, the two viewpoints should not be confused.

4. NAC PERSPECTIVES. See attached document by MD. Accepted 5-0 as provisional perspective (there were some reservations expressed on the possible overcrowding of NC agendas.

5. AGNEW RESIGNS. Presentation by JG.

6. BUDGET. Report by JG ACCEPTED ALL FOR.

7. EAST BAY BRANCH PERSPECTIVES. No votes taken; there was general agreement with the thrust of the perspective, with some reservations and disagreements of a secondary nature which MD will communicate to the EBAY exec.

SPECIAL MEETING. A special NAC meeting was held on 10/17 with comrade KB to discuss the history of the farm workers' struggle and the role and perspectives of the I.S. KB raised several differences with the political line and approach to the struggle taken by the East Bay fraction, especially with respect to the boycott (both political line and tactics). The NAC has already requested that substantive political reports be written on this controversy. It was voted to request KB to ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ write on the situation in agriculture and the UFW; and also that the NAC feels it very important to our work for the I.S. to have a pamphlet on the struggle and its lessons in English and ~~xxxx~~ Spanish (this consideration is not to delay Spanish translation of Chile pamphlet as to priority).

Following this, one round of further discussion was held on the Middle East to enable KB to present his point of view to the Mex NAC. DF to speak to Chgo branch this weekend on the Middle East war.

PAY YOUR FUND DRIVE PLEDGES-PAY YOUR FUND DRIVE PLEDGES-PAY YOUR FUND DRIVE PLEDGES

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT October 16, 1973

1. Middle East: Dave F. spoke at the Cleveland Branch meeting on the Middle East. Forums are planned in Louisville, St. Louis and Bloomington. NYC is planning a debate with representatives from the Arabs, Zionists and us and also forum(s) on the campuses. The Detroit Branch attended an Arab demonstration on the Middle East and passed out the leaflet included in the last Key List mailing.
2. Chile: The USIA Justice Committee (SWP) held a rally with all pro-Allende speakers. We had been asked to endorse and requested twice, permission to give greetings (there was a specific time allotted to this). We were refused on the grounds that no sects were participating in that fashion. We raised the fact that revolutionaries should be allowed to demonstrate their support for the Chilean workers, but to no avail. The speakers were pro-Allende to a person, and all greetings were from either old Stalinists or Allendistas of one variety or another. The SWP is apparently ~~is~~ planning on sending this show around the country. We should repeat our request in each place and point out that the rally is all pro-Allende and that the revolutionary left should be allowed time to present its support for the Chilean workers, etc. If they refuse, we should put out a leaflet stating that we were denied the opportunity to present our support, and why. The SWP ~~is~~ is being sectarian and opportunist at the same time as usual.
3. East Bay: The East Bay has set up a schedule of dinner discussions for members and friends. We have contact with a group that spent time in Chile working with the MIR. This group has a ~~slide~~ slide show and we are attempting to work out an arrangement with them so that we can have a speaker with their show. They have been very impressed with our coverage on Chile.
4. The St. Louis Organizing Committee is quite active in the Farah strike support effort. They have set up a boycott committee on the Washington Univ. campus, and are bringing their friends into it.
5. Los Angeles: Two of our members have set up study groups for two different groups of high school students interested in the IS.
6. Chicago: JT spoke on Maoism for the Chicago branch.
7. Fund Drive: As of today (October 15) we have received \$2,295 (15%) for the Fund Drive. We've received nothing from the following branches: NYC, Seattle, Chicago.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE NAC

MD

As the National leadership of the organization, the NAC should be regularly discussing political and theoretical questions and seeing that those discussions are carried on throughout the organization. This is a major part of political leadership that has been totally, or almost totally neglected in the past. In this light and without a theoretical journal or general perspective, last summer the NAC voted to regularly use the International Socialism journal as a substitute for a theoretical journal and to discuss important theoretical articles from it and direct branches to do likewise. This was in my opinion a ~~an~~ stop gap measure, and one that only does part of the job even if it is carried out. (I don't believe it has been either by the NAC or the branches). What is needed is a general political and theoretical perspective for the organization over the next year that includes weekly NAC discussions and branch discussions, EC's and which culminates in the National Convention. This perspective should not in anyway be seen as counterposed to discussion of and perspectives on our day to day work, but on the contrary to theoretically develop and politically educate the organization, thereby enabling it to provide general leadership in the movements in which we're involved, especially in the working class/labor movement.

To that end, I propose the following as the general perspective that the NAC and the organization should adopt for this year. It will have to be developed and specifically worked out with an educational program and focus, but it does provide a context for the discussions we want the organization to carry through on. This lack of a context was a major failing of the earlier proposal. We should still use the International Socialism Journal but in this context.

1. The NAC adopts as the basis for amendment, Kevin Bradley's Program document in Bulletin No. with the intent of adopting an amended version at the 1974 Convention. (It has been pointed out, that it may take more than one year, so possibly we wouldn't adopt it until the 1975 Convention, but that doesn't change the basic perspective).
2. The major areas of that document that have not been discussed, and on which the NAC as a whole is quite weak and uneducated is international questions. This area should be the major area of discussion for the organization over this year.
3. There are three major areas of discussion under this topic: developments in the advanced capitalist world; developments in the Stalinist world; developments in the underdeveloped world, specifically Latin America.
4. General political and theoretical discussion should be carried out on these issues with resolutions to be adopted on them at the 1974 convention.
5. Based on these positions, amendments, if necessary, will be made to the Bradley document and adopted at the Convention to make it consistent with the positions of the organization.
6. There are other areas in the Bradley document that there will probably be disagreements on. The NAC in its discussions of the program will delineate those areas and organize discussions on these areas with a view toward a final decision on amendments at the 1974 convention.
7. Flowing from these points, future NC's and the National Convention will have as their major topics the following (assignment of personnel for major resolutions is tentative).

Thanksgiving NC (In reality, completion of the 1973 Convention)

1. Workers Power (NAC)
2. Black Liberation (BT)

February NC

1. International Questions
  - A. Advanced World (Mike S./Brian M.)
  - B. Stalinist World (Dave F/Joel C.)
2. Assessment of auto work (JW)
3. Assessment of UAW work (HP/KC)

May NC

1. International Questions, Latin America (ID)
2. Assessment of IFT (KC)
3. Assessment of AFT (DM)
4. Assessment of CWA

National Convention

1. International (one entire day, to be basic amendments to 1973 T&P document)
  2. A. Advanced capitalism
  - B. Stalinist World
  - C. Latin America
  3. Program (One entire day, all other amendments, major only)
  4. Labor (Amendments to 1973 LB, one-half day)
  5. Organizational Questions (one-half day)
3. In line with this outline of the year, the NAC will have weekly discussions on the topics to be discussed at the forthcoming NC's and National Convention and will direct the branches to carry out those discussions in their areas. These discussions will be supplemented with specific readings and will be summarized in order to facilitate branch discussions.



9. The NAC will also discuss and give direction on current political questions like Chile, the Middle East, etc., and on active work being carried out by the industrial fractions. This is not meant to be a document that covers the full functioning of the NAC, but the one area of theoretical discussion.

#### MOTIVATION

Come comrades will object to the focus on international questions as not being relevant to our industrial work x which we all agree is our primary and most important activity. I thoroughly disagree. In general we understand that developments throughout the world and the way they are reflected here form the material bases for changes in consciousness. Our thorough understanding of these enables us to better direct our propaganda in such a way as to expose reformist and bourgeois ~~xx~~ ideology and thus break through and destroy the false consciousness of advanced workers. Take one example: inflation. Most of the organization has the most minimal understanding of what causes inflation and what can be done about it (short of revolution, that is). But this is a key problem facing workers, blacks, and other oppressed people in an immediate day to day way. Understanding inflation, and that means understanding the developments in international capitalism, will help us to better explain inflation, what to do about it in an immediate sense, etc., and thus will ~~xxxx~~ help us to better intervene and propagandize for our solutions to the problem.

In a different way the recent events in Chile are another example. What happened in Chile enables us to explain basic parts of our politics and ~~xxxxx~~ draw out the living lessons for the American scene in a specific and concrete way. Understanding the conditions which gave rise to Chile and which exist today in many other Latin American countries is also very important and gives us another handle in explaining and popularizing our world view in the working class. These are but two examples. There are many others. If we are really internationalists, we must take that seriously, and that means educating ourselves and developing our theory. This is what this perspective is aimed at.

The following motion was passed by the Los Angeles Branch on October 7, 1973 by a vote of 6-3-0. The branch requested that it be in the ~~minutes~~ key list mailing. Sam F. is intending to appeal the MAC motion referred to in this motion to the Thanksgiving MC.

Whereas the IS is sorely in need of theoretical development and we do not ~~now~~ now have and will not have for some time the resources to publish a theoretical journal.

Whereas, even when we have a Theoretical Journal there will still be theoretical and other articles which will not be of the highest quality or otherwise appropriate for publication in the Theoretical Journal.

Whereas, a limit of 3,000 words leaves little room for any serious discussion and development of many important topics and could hamper internal discussion.

Whereas, limiting size of Internal Bulletin articles in no way helps, encourages or guarantees that people will instead write for external publications which are of course a higher priority.

Therefore, the Los Angeles Branch of IS moves that the MAC or the MC if necessary rescind the MAC decision of September 25, 1973 and should place no word limit on documents written for the Internal Bulletin. This in no way prevents the appointment of an Internal Bulletin editor who can and should work with Bulletin contributors to improve the presentation of their point of view by avoiding repetitiveness, long-windedness, etc.

There must be a political critique of the  
book - its biases, hence its weakness  
hence its incompleteness - as with a Soc. g  
Class Struggle