

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

BULLETIN No. 45

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I. During its relatively short history the IS press has gone through many ~~skatex~~ changes, and although each press and publications document in the past has begun with a statement of how much improvement the paper has shown in the previous period, in fact it was the old IS that was the most successful. The reason for this was simple. During that period we had the clearest conception of what we wanted from our press; we understood who our audience was (the student movement), how to write for that audience, what the crucial political points were and how to use our paper. That of course was understandable - most of us came from that movement.

As the organization made a turn to the working class the paper went through many changes and in many ways floundered. We had almost no experience in the working class, no clear conception of what a revolutionary socialist workers' paper was, and no real model. As frustration over the press grew so did the lack of clarity on any of the questions concerning the paper. For almost two years the organization had no agreement or clarity on the nature of our press: propagandistic or agitational (or what those terms meant), who our audience was, how the paper should be used - selling at factory gates or given to close contacts, what the content should be, etc. The result was that the paper was shaped not by any clear overall conception, but by whatever came in. Some issues were tremendously over-weighted with international coverage, some not enough. Most issues suffered from too many strike reports with little politics combined with long abstract analytical articles that were barely readable.

In addition and perhaps more fundamentally the organization was going through a crisis politically. Growing differences on the purpose of the press combined with lessening political agreement generally. The result was that many of the confusions concerning the paper could not be clarified because of the growing political crisis in the organization. Discussions on the paper (as on other questions) became less concrete and a ~~xxxx~~ vehicle for factional hostility and suspicion.

Also the organization as a whole failed to take the paper and its use seriously. Issue after issue went unsold. Few comrades were willing to write from the paper, including much of the national leadership. As the faction fight ~~xxxxx~~ accelerated the only attention paid to WP was factional.

At this point the IS is in a much better position to begin to develop a truly useful paper. The split has allowed us to become a more unified organization than at any other time in our history as a national organization. The range of ~~xxxx~~ conceptions of the paper is much closer, with the worst sectarian conception (which ultimately produced The Torch) completely gone. We have greater experience in the working class which will allow our discussions of the paper and its use to be more concrete.

In the several months since the split the paper has shown marked improvement. Articles tend to be more to the point and better conceived of. There is consistent coverage on work we are involved in such as the struggle of the farmworkers. Articles are freer of jargon and abstractions (although there is still room for improvement). The layout has improved with the change in format, addition of color, better use of centerfolds, read editorials, changed International Page and the use of five columns. More of the leadership is now writing from the paper.

However most of these changes are in many ways the most superficial. Although they have made the difference in turning WP into a useable paper, many of our more serious problems remain. We have still to come to and concretize an overall conception of what a socialist workers newspaper should be in this period in the US. This will not happen immediately, but is a long process that demands not only clarification and concretization of our ideas, but continual feedback as to what works and what does not. The important point is that possibly for the first time in our history as a national organization we can begin that process.

This document is not a full press and publications document, but will deal only with a perspective for WP. Although I believe that the question of the press cannot be divorced from the rest of our ~~xxxx~~ publications program, the purpose of this document is to deal with the question of the production of our paper in a ~~xxxx~~ more concrete manner than has been our past practice. Additional perspectives are needed for the production of a Theoretical Journal and a pamphlet series. Both of which are essential in their own right and because our past attempts to use the paper as a substitute for either has not worked and ~~x~~ has been detrimental to the paper. This document will take up the following questions: Basic conception of the paper, ~~xxxx~~ audience, content and style, staff functioning and format, frequency and expansion and distribution.

A report on Socialist Worker, based on discussions with Laurie Flynn (staff journalist for SW) is attached. Although I do not believe that we can simply copy SW, ~~ix~~ it is an excellent example of the kind of paper we want WP to become. This has not always been true. In the last two years SW has gone through tremendous changes in becoming a real socialist workers newspaper. Many of the problems, although not all, that they have had to deal with are similar to the problems we now face. Both ~~x~~ their solutions and the way they have dealt with the problems can serve as an important model for us.

II. Basic Conception of the Paper

The paper is our public face. Not in the sense of positioning ourselves for the other sects or for history, but in a ~~xxx~~ way in which we make the connections between our day to day work and our broader politics; a way of attracting to us and politically influencing a larger grouping of working class militants and radicals than we are able to reach through the work of our membership alone. That means that it must be designed to attract, be comprehensible to and affect a broader grouping than our own membership and close contacts. The paper must be seen as an organizer ~~xxxx~~ for the IS.

From that understanding other things flow. As an organizer for the IS our audience becomes clearer - those groupings that can over the long run be directly recruited to either the IS or its periphery. (More on audience later).

As an organizer for the IS we ~~xxx~~ understand that our paper cannot be a mass paper in this period. At the same time it cannot be seen merely as a way of educating our own membership and close contacts. Of course it will play an educational role in the sense of putting forward our line on current ~~xx~~ situations, such as the middle east, Chile, the attempted impeachment of Nixon, etc. and of giving clear convincing arguments for our politics generally.

In addition it ~~is~~ plays a role in developing the political cohesiveness of the organization nationally. It is through the paper, over time, that many new members will learn IS politics on many questions and learn to argue those politics effectively. However, that is not its primary purpose and the paper must be shaped to attract and affect a broader audience.

Conceiving of the paper as an organizer for the IS helps clarify the nature of our press in terms of the newspaper vs. magazine debate. If we see the purpose of the paper as building the IS, attracting a larger periphery and influencing that periphery in the course of their own struggles, then we understand that we must have a timely publication. One that is capable of addressing current struggles and is able to explain the implications of domestic and international events as they happen, not a long analysis after the fact.

Our paper in this period is not agitational, in the overall sense (although, under specific circumstances some articles may be), but propagandistic. That means that we do not expect masses of people to go into motion because of what we say. This does not mean, however, that we aspire to some lofty level of ~~abstract~~ abstraction but that we recognize the reality of the ~~xx~~ situation. By recognizing that WP is a propaganda organ does not mean that it must contain long abstract articles. Instead it ~~is~~ explains the role of the paper - to develop a hearing for our ideas, to convince, to recruit. We understand that in order to affect militant workers, to draw them to our broader political ideas we must have concrete things to say about their struggles and the other things that ~~is~~ affect their lives. We must also be ~~able~~ able to convince them that a socialist perspective is both ~~is~~ correct and possible. This is not done with broad generalizations, but with a real strategy for winning the struggles of today and carrying ~~is~~ the struggle forward.

To do this in a way that is both understandable and ~~is~~ convincing, the paper must be seen as a whole rather than a collection of articles, each with the same rhetorical, abstract jargonistic last three paragraphs. It is the paper as a whole and over time that must put forward our analysis and strategy in a sophisticated, convincing way. Not each article, which can do little more than assert highly complex ideas in a string of cliches. (More on this under content).

III Audience

The primary audience for WP is the developing layer of advanced militants, including blacks, young workers, older radical workers, some women workers, ~~is~~ and also, but not primarily, middle-class radicals. Unfortunately this grouping is not as cohesive as the audience for SW which is more cohesive politically. What is important for us to understand is that the level of consciousness of ~~is~~ various parts of our audience is not the same on all questions. For example, blacks who are militants, and even see themselves as revolutionaries may have very mixed attitudes on the unions. This does not mean that in an article on a particular struggle we have to stop and point out why the unions are important. What it does mean is that we must be aware of mixed attitudes on these questions when we write and not simply assume the same consciousness. In addition, it may also mean that at some point we would do an educational article on blacks and the trade unions. Another example is the role of the courts and the police. Blacks understand their role far better than most whites, even the militants that we are trying to speak to. In order to be ~~is~~ truly sensitive to our audience the paper must be used and comrades must keep the staff informed on what articles were effective, which were not and why.

Understanding who our audience is should help us to better understand how to design WP to attract that audience and build a stable readership. Most readers will be buying the paper on the way to or from work. They will have little time to stop and read the paper in any serious way (this is especially true of women workers). They will first quickly glance through the paper to see what is in it. Most will be looking for something short and light to catch their eye. If they find something that they enjoy they are likely to take the paper home and attempt to read other pieces. A few may start with the heavier pieces but if they are hard to get into or ramble they will pass on after the first few paragraphs, look for ~~xxxx~~ something else and if they can't get into the paper will probably throw it away. Anyone who buys the paper the first time and finds little of worth will most likely not buy it again. If they do find some things that that can get into, even if only a few good graphics and a few shorter pieces they will probably buy a second issue. Few working people have the time to sit down in a quiet place and go through a paper and if they do, we have not yet convinced them that it is WP that they should spend that time on. In designing our paper we must take all of these things into account in order to attract and build a readership for our press.

XXIV. Content and Style

As an interventionist organization, one of the major tasks of our press is to put forward convincingly our analysis of the current period and our strategy for the working class. In order to do that we must clarify the essential points of our analysis and strategy and assure that the paper as a whole makes these points over and over again in as many different ways as possible. As a working beginning I would suggest the following: how the system works and why it stinks, the growing economic crisis, the role of American imperialism, the role of Stalinism, the role of the trade unions and the trade union bureaucracy, the role of the twin parties - especially the Democratic Party -, how to fight, building a left wing opposition in the trade unions, and building a labor party, the role of racism and sexism and how to fight them, world capitalist economy and building an international workers movement, why revolutionaries ~~xxxx~~ should join the IS.

The purpose of clarifying the essential points of our analysis and strategy is that it allows us to shape the paper as a whole over a period of time. It also allows specific articles to become sharper and focused. Instead of writing the kinds of long rambling articles that we have had in the past which attempted to include almost everything we had to say on the subject, articles can focus on a few ~~xxxxxx~~ important points confident that the paper as a whole will be putting forward our full politics. For example, rather than having one long article on the specifics of a struggle, the role of the bureaucracy, the role of the company, ~~xx~~ problems faced by the ranks, why the Democratic Party will sell them out and why working people need their own party, we might have one article on the specifics of the struggle and the role of the bureaucracy, while another article elsewhere discussed how the Democratic Party sold out this or that struggle and why we need a labor party, etc.

The point being that long rambling articles just become political telegrams, asserting points but never convincing. Even with ~~xxxxxx~~ absolutely correct politics they are usually devastatingly boring. Also it is very difficult to digest more than a few important points (not to mention how difficult it is to write something that is not hacky) and most articles of that nature are rarely finished if read at all.

Clarifying the central point we want to make helps us to decide what should be published in a national paper. What are the major points of an article and how are they generalized for a national audience. ~~xxxxx~~ Certain struggle such as the strike of black and white woodcutters takes on importance for us far beyond the size of the struggle because it concretizes our strategy for fighting racism. Other struggles of a similar size where we have no working and no readership, would not warrant inclusion.

The paper should also include socialist educational articles answering the kind of questions that militants raise when attempting to understand socialist politics for the first time, such as, can workers run society? people are too greedy and human nature will always fuck things up, won't socialism make everyone the same? etc. An excellent example of how this is done is Chris Farman's column "You can say that again" in SW.

We should have fairly consistent coverage of our industrial priorities and other areas of our work such as the farmworkers struggle. We should not however have the general "What has happened in the last two weeks for our favorite industry" kind of articles we have had in the past, but attempt to clarify the important points we want to make over time and plan our coverage accordingly. When things are happening we will of course have articles dealing concretely with those struggles. However, in periods of lull we should have more educational articles on the specifics of the industry and union. For example, an article on Chrysler as an international corporation, etc. We have to arm the militants with the facts as well as direction.

The paper should also reflect the existence of an organization and its work. Short briefs on IS events, a "what's Happening" section, ads for our publications and pushing things that we are involved in are all ways of doing that. Long articles describing all the political points made at conferences we have held are not successful.

Our press must also recognize that the life of a working class militant is broader than the shop floor and in many ways has an equal effect on his or her consciousness. WP should have regular coverage on such questions as housing, medical care, the quality of education, welfare, public transportation, pensions, etc. It should also have regular pieces on popular culture such as television, magazines, books and sports, etc. We must learn to make our political points connect to the real lives of workers.

There are many different kinds of articles, analytic, reportage, educational, impressionistic, editorials, interviews, exposes, columns, all of which are essential for a lively publication that is enjoyable to read. We must begin to develop that kind of differentiation in WP.

A few last and perhaps purely technical but very important points on style. We must learn to write clearly and with an absence of jargon. This does not mean that we have to write down to workers. What it does mean is that we have to write our ideas without relying on hack phrases and rhetoric (something that will probably help us clarify our ideas as well - read Orwell on "Politics and the English Language"). Articles should be short and focused. The writing style should be consistent with the kind of piece, for example, reportage should generally start with the specifics. The tense of an article should remain consistent throughout. Generally, articles should not use the first person,

singular or plural, unless they are personal experiences, impressionistic peices, interviews, columns or editorials. Headlines should generally be active, short and to the point.

V. Format and Staff Functioning

One of the most important things we can learn from SW is the way it is produced (see report). We must ~~xxx~~ begin to develop that kind of differentiation and specialization. Different kinds of articles should appear in different parts of the paper and these pages should become fairly set: most current news on the front and back pages, consistent pages for IS news, international news, cultural item, educational centerfolds, columns, etc. The different sections of the paper should have their own deadlines ~~so~~ that different sections can be written, typeset and layed out in advance not all in a rush at the end.

This will ~~xxx~~ help the paper in many ways. It will enable us to plan the paper in advance, coverage will be broader with a greater variety of types of articles. Our coverage will be more current as the time span between the final deadline and actual ~~print~~ printing will be shortened. The paper ~~xxxxxxxx~~ will become easier to the reader enabling him or her to have a sense of the organization of the paper. It is more enjoyable to read a paper when you know where things are and can count on the reappearance of your favorite sections.

Developing differentiation in the paper must be complimented by developing specializa- tion and professionalism in the staff. Each staff member should develop expertise in a different areas as well as the ability to do lively political reportage and ~~investigative~~ in- vestigative journalism.

The paper is the responsibility of the editorial board. That means that it is the edi- torial board that decides what is printed, what is not, how an article is edited or even if it is to be rewritten. Several areas of specialization as well as columns and specific articles will have to be farmed out. It will be the responsibility of the editorial board to shape the paper and when soliciting articles give guidance as to the kind of article and points to be covered. Writers of solicited articles that are not used or heavily edited should receive a political explanation for the action taken. The only articles that should not be edited are columns.

All of this must be worked out in practice and will not happen over night. In order for our attempts to reshape WP into a socialist workers paper to be successful, feedback from the membership will be essential on both their responses and the responses of their con- tacts.

Although the paper is the responsibility of the editorial board, it is the NAC which is responsible for developing the line of the organization. Therefore the NAC and the editorial board will work together on shaping major events as they happen.

VI. Frequency and Expansion

When our press was conceived of as a magazine in tabloid form~~x~~ directed at a student and intellectual milieu a monthly schedule was consistent with its role. In making a turn toward the working class we recognized that our press had to be more of a newspaper and so WP became a bi-weekly publication which again was consistent with the publication we

had - somewhere between a magazine and a newspaper. As we move towards turning WP into a real newspaper, a weekly schedule becomes important. A weekly paper allows us to have more of a direct effect on our developing periphery as events happen. It will allow our members to make better use of our paper in influencing their contacts during struggle. In short a weekly schedule will better enable us to use the paper as an organizer and therefore should be our aim.

However, simply asserting this fact does not achieve it. As yet the production of WP is highly disorganized and each issue of a bi-weekly schedule is late. Before we can move to a weekly schedule, WP will have to be reorganized and professionalized. This is not an easy task and will require not only coming to political agreement on the conception of the paper but concretizing that conception in the production of the paper. We should aim at accomplishing these tasks within a year and coming out with a weekly paper by next fall.

Several technical ~~problems~~ problems should be solved within the next period. A headliner suitable for our needs must be acquired, new attempts should be made to find a printer who can print the larger tabloid size and a way of producing justified copy should be found.

VI. Distribution

All of this effort will be useless unless we greatly expand the distribution and use of WP. Up to now few branches have taken the question of distribution seriously for any length of time. This must come to an end.

Already distribution of the paper has increased spontaneously in response to the improvements in the paper. However, this is not sufficient. A serious distribution network throughout the organization must be set up. Responsible comrades must be put in charge of distribution in each branch. Weekly reports on distribution should be given to branch execs and the editorial board. If the comrade in charge does not do the job he or she should be replaced immediately. If the branch fails to take distribution of the press seriously, the NAC should intervene. A WP report should be given to the NAC each month including the questions of expansion and distribution.

We must begin to make greater use of our paper in our actual work. That means comrades should make sure that their contacts get the paper regularly and that they attempt to discuss various articles with their contacts.

We should aim towards reducing the price of WP to 10¢. Which will aid us in increasing sales. (A specific proposal for this will have to be worked out as part of a discussion on the budget of WP.) When we have achieved a real distribution network, we should consider a sub drive to both increase our circulation and make new contacts for the organization. The specifics of this should be worked out at that time.

REPORT ON SOCIALIST WORKER

Rose Veviaka

The following report is based on conversations with Laurie Flynn, Staff writer for Socialist Worker (SW). As most of the specifics are based on memory any mistakes are entirely my fault.

BACKGROUND

In the last two years SW has gone through great changes, in the process becoming a highly successful socialist workers' newspaper. During that period they faced many of the same problems that we are facing today. It took them two years to produce what they consider to be a successful product.

During that time the staff did most of the writing. Now that they are fairly satisfied with what they have they are attempting to get more people to write for the paper using SW as a model.

POLITICAL CONCEPTION

The central political conception behind SW is that it is an organizer for the ISGB. That means that its role is to build the organization and to build a following for its ideas in the shops. All decisions concerning the paper flow from that central conception of the paper.

The paper is a political line paper. However, it is the paper as a whole that puts forward the line of the organization. SW, as a whole, makes certain political points over and over again in as many different ways as possible. After reading several issues of the paper one knows clearly what their assessment of the period is and what the strategy for the class is. One can tell who the audience is and what political questions have to be taken on to address what audience. In particular, over and over again they deal with: the need to build a socialist party and the role of the ISGB in that process, the role of the TUC leadership, the role of the Communist Party, the role of the Labor Party, Why the System stinks, racism and what it does to the class struggle, Ireland and other International questions. They put forward their politics on these questions not by having long abstract articles, but by writing about these questions in concrete terms. Instead of asserting that the TUC will set out the struggle, they prove it, over and over again.

AUDIENCE

The audience of SW is far more clearly defined and politically cohesive than is ours. The layer of militants they orient towards by and large already consider themselves socialist. Although what they mean by that may be somewhat vague. Many of them have been around the CP. Some of them still are, because the CP is larger and seems more real. This is the group that ISGB is after (and has been for some time). They have been quite successful in breaking many of the shop stewards and militants from the CP already. (Witness their spectacular growth in the last two years.) Many in this group still support the Labor Party to some degree; so a great deal of their press takes on the politics of the CP and the Labor Party.

STYLE

Articles in SW are much shorter than in WP. Generally they try to focus in on a question. The purpose of each article is clearer and to the point. Coverage of complicated events may have several different articles one dealing with a different aspect of the question. For example, the first issue of SW dealing with the events in Chile had a relatively short, topical article on what happened and the ISGB's attitude toward those events on the first page, inside there was analysis of why this massacre happened and the editorial took on the position of the British CP and its position for a parliamentary road to socialism.

Articles try to be free of jargon. Humor and culture are very important, as are exposure and social questions. SW employs many different ways of getting their points across: columns, interviews, socialist educational pieces, cartoons, impressionistic pieces. They attempt to deal with all aspects of the lives of the British working class. They use specific situations to generalize political lessons. They don't assert, but convince. They do a great deal of investigative journalism; when there is a struggle against Chrysler they don't just write cliches about how bad the company is; they prove it. They give facts and arm the militants with the information that they need in order to fight.

DISTRIBUTION

SW has a press run of 30,000. Their regular distribution is about 21,000. That means that through the network their members have in the plants and in the council housing they distribute immediately 21,000 newspapers. In addition they attempt to sell in in specific neighborhoods, events, etc. The backbone of their distribution network is their own membership which sells the paper in the plants. The situation for them is somewhat different however, as they function openly as ISers. They do not have to try to build broader organizations and recruit to them but function openly as a political pole in the labor movement and attempt to recruit to themselves.

They distribute essentially to the same people every week and attempt to use the paper as a basis for discussing politics. They sell subs only to people that they do not want to recruit because they use the paper and the discussions they have with their contacts on the paper as a way of recruiting.

HOW PRODUCED

The staff of SW is 8 people plus typesetters, printers and the people in charge of distribution. The staff consists of the editor, 3 journalists, 2 assistant editors and 2 layout people. The staff is the editorial board and the editor is on the National Committee. The staff writes or rewrites almost everything that is in the paper with the exception of the things that are specifically farmed out such as columns and International coverage. The staff writers have their own specializations which they essentially cover all the time. For example, Laurie Flynn does most of the labor stuff.

Each page of SW is essentially established. The most topical articles are on the first and last pages, International coverage is on page 4, FootPrints is on page 5, etc. A reader of the paper usually knows where he will be able to find whatever he is looking for issue after issue. Different members of the Editorial Board are responsible for planning different pages. This means that they are responsible for amassing and writing most of the stuff that appears on the pages that they are responsible for. The Editorial Board finalizes the pages.

Each page of SW has its own deadline. Each weekly paper takes one and a half weeks to produce. An issue goes to bed on Wednesday and is begun two Mondays before. The educational and cultural pages are done first and the most topical pages (the front and back pages) are done last. Each page is essentially written, typeset and laid out on the same day so that there is no rush of work at the end. Pages 1 and 16 are written, typeset, and laid out on the Tuesday before the paper goes to bed, The paper is printed on Wednesday and distribution begins Wednesday night so that most people get their copy of SW a few days after the final articles have been written.

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FOR AN ANALYTICAL NEWSPAPER

Kevin Bradley

It would be a mistake for the IS to model our paper after Socialist Worker as good a newspaper as that is. ~~Why?~~ We are at a ~~very~~ very different stage of ~~development~~ development than the ISGB. They are on the verge of declaring themselves a party, contesting for the leadership of the working class. We are at the stage of a propaganda group, and that stage is by no means completed. That means we need a paper appropriate ~~for~~ to a propaganda group.

Today our recruits must be made on the basis of our ~~own~~ unique ideas, not simply on the basis that we have the best strategy for struggle where we work. Our aim today must be to train a working class, and black and latin cadre in our distinctive ideas.

The type of paper we need can be shown by contrasting it to the 'Document on IS Press' written by Rose Veviaka. She describes the audience we should aim the paper at on page X 4: 'Most readers will be ~~buying~~ buying the paper on the way to or from work. They will have little time to stop and read the ~~paper~~ paper in any serious way (this is especially true of women workers). They will first quickly glance through the paper to see what is in it. Most will be looking for something short and light to catch their ~~own~~ eye. If they find something that they enjoy, they are likely to take the paper home and attempt to read other pieces.... Anyone who buys the paper the first time and finds little of worth will most likely not buy it again. If they do find some things that they can get into, even if only a few good graphics and a few shorter pieces, they will probably buy a second issue. Few working people have the time to sit down in a quiet place and go through a paper.'

Instead of this audience we should aim mainly at contacts we already know, who do read material. The type of readers we want are not those looking for something short and light to catch their eye or 'a few good graphics', but those looking for serious ideas. In the Teamsters, for example, we have found that our best contacts pass around clippings from the New York Times or the Wall Street Journal. They read Ralph Nadar's books.

To some extent we could say we should aim the paper at the very few semi-intellectualized workers that exist at each work place. This ~~view~~ would be too narrow a view however, since it underestimates the number of working people who regularly ~~get~~ get books from a library or buy them. Rose says, 'Few working people have the time to sit down in a quiet place and go through a paper, but it is precisely these few that do read that we want to reach. In order for a working person to become a socialist cadre they are going to have to read quite a little bit, and in order to be assimilated into an organization like the IS they are going to have to be quite interested in ideas. Our paper should make new contacts for us among the few workers interested in serious ideas by self-selecting readers, rather than having popular articles to build up a large readership.'

What type of ideas do we want to attract working people with? Veviaka mentions two basic types: a strategy for struggle, and articles on how the ~~system~~ system works, the growing economic crisis, the role of American imperialism, Stalinism, etc. Nowhere does she mention workers control, the relationship between socialism and democracy, or the third camp.

It may be objected that I am quibbling because she would bring these things out in articles on capitalism, Stalinism, etc. But there is no emphasis on our distinctive politics in the document, and the rest of her document makes clear that she wants a popular as opposed to analytical organ. The point is made clearer in the document by Ilene and Kay, where they say the number one thing they would emphasize is inflation.

Our paper has recently had many articles on inflation and a few on Stalinism, but in none of them do our distinctive ideas come through. Besides the articles by John Single, we have had nothing for about a year on workers control or workers

democracy. There is very little that can distinguish our paper from the analysis of numerous sects. Our paper is reduced to what every socialist group can say as a way of being popular. Our distinctive politics have more or less dropped out.

It may be objected that I want a sect paper, and want to emphasize what divides us from everyone else, rather than socialist ideas we hold in common. I am not interested in debating other sects in our newspaper, and I want the paper to reach workers new to socialist ideas. But in terms of our tasks today, the emphasis on our distinct ideas is paramount.

Among the left active in the working class we are the only group that has a criticism of elitism, of the various socialisms from above of the relationship between socialism and democracy. Only we can say that socialism has nothing in common with the totalitarian stalinist countries most people think are socialist. For many years The Two Souls of XSocialism put forward our unique ideas on these questions. But a pamphlet on Proudhon, LaSalle, the Webbs, etc. is inappropriate for a working class audience not familiar with these ideas in that form. Our paper must develop these ideas.

Contrast the emphasis on these ideas to what Veviaka says about content. On page 5, she praises the very good educational articles by Chris Harman in Socialist Worker that take up questions like "can workers run society?" "won't socialism make everyone the same?" etc. The articles are good but by no means enough for educational articles. Socialist Worker also has had articles by ~~XXXXXX~~ Duncan Hallas on the French, English and other revolutions, articles on key points in the history of the British working class, etc. Veviaka, in her emphasis on the popular, aiming at the worker who has to read the paper on the run and looks for light, breezy articles, emphasizes only the most popular educational articles.

This comes out clearly on the cultural articles. Veviaka says: "It should also have regular pieces on ~~xxx~~ popular culture such as television, magazines or books and sports, etc." If we emphasize popular books we are very restricted in the type of reviews we can write. We need reviews on Nadar books, books on the labor movement, like Burtan Halls, and the Books that would only be read by socialists or those interested in socialism. Although we should have some book reviews on popular books to bring out our distinctive ~~xxxx~~ critique of them, much more we should emphasize turning our readers on to books they won't have otherwise heard of, that will excite their imagination and educate them on how workers can run society, etc.

Veviaka says: "WP should have regular coverage on such questions as housing, medical care, the quality of education, welfare, public transportation, pensions, etc." This is done, it is true in SW but they also sell 40 to 100 in a plant, sell at subway stations, etc. There is very little distinctive you can say about subways, medical care, etc issue after issue. Whereas our paper must concentrate in explaining more fully our distinctive ideas to a more limited audience that already knows these things are messed up, capitalism is the cause, but want to know what we have to offer.

Veviaka says: "There are many different kinds of articles, analytical, reportage, educational, impressionistic, editorials, interviews, exposes, columns, all of which are essential for a lively publication that is enjoyable to read." I feel at this time we should have very few impressionistic articles, exposes and reportage, and more analytical and educational articles. X Veviaka emphasizes the opposite, as does SW when she writes the question of staff: "Each staff member should develop expertise in x different areas as well as the ability to do lively political reportage and investigative journalism."

It may be objected that I want a terribly boring paper, with long articles. This is not so. In fact, there is no reason for any article to be over a page without continuations, with one center fold. Analytical articles can be well written, in a lively, and readable manner, as can reportage and exposes. The

For an analigtical newspaper

Kevin Bradley

difference is more of content than of form.

Our paper today has some analytical articles, but much that is not. One good articles that goes into the role of the Democratic Party politicians in breaking a strike, or * on the party itself is much more valuable than a few hack phrases or cliches about the Democratic Party as a graveyard of social movements. It is possible to agree with much of what Veviaka says in criticism of the currnet paper in this regard.

The type of paper we need means that impressionism and incorrect formulations that a different type of paper could let pass, must be gotten rid of. This means that the NAC must be held politically responsible for what goes into each article. It means that the staff should be composed of the recognized political leadership of the organization, experienced comrades who the organization looks to for dination and ideas.

~~The editorial in the paper should be our political line on the major events~~

The editorial in the paper should be our political line on the major events that has occured in the US or the world since our paper was last printed. It should be written to give a line to our members in the shops. This is the type of editorial that appears in Lutte Ouvriere, and the same editorial usually is carried in their shop bulletins. Our execs and fractions should discuss the line of the editorial with each issue, and collect feed back from our members on the job for the Editorial Board. X

Today working people can read our paper, and way, Well, I agree with what you say, but why do you call yourselves socialists. There is no answer to this in our paper. We need articles on a workers state, socialism, etc.

I. Workers' Power and External Work

Workers' Power must be seen as central to both the external and internal growth and development of the I.S. It carries the politics of the organization and is its public face. Rank and file papers in which we have influence are crucial to our industrial work. But they cannot be a substitute for the group's paper, without which much of the potential of those papers cannot be realized. WP must become the link between the key IS individual (who without it will appear only as a key individual) and his or her politics on the one hand, and the militants who work with us on these papers on the other. In this way our full politics can be carried to those militants with whom we work most closely, in a way which is neither possible nor desirable through the rank and file paper itself. It also provides for continuity of IS influence and links key individuals to the organization and its politics, a factor of some importance where comrades are liable to move, change jobs or become ill. To do this, the paper must be aimed beyond the militants we hope to reach, at their "periphery." We should arm them with the facts and arguments they can use, encouraging them to take several copies to sell or show to other militants. This requires more immediacy than is possible in a bi-weekly or monthly paper. Issues (Watergate, food prices, etc. and specific struggles -- Jefferson, Mack, etc. must be investigated and commented on as they develop and at the time they are being discussed by workers. A weekly paper is imperative.

The paper can become an invaluable way of making and developing new contacts with workers in struggle. When an important strike breaks out where we are not involved, but have members in the area, a "reporter" should be dispatched to make contact with the militants, to write up the struggle and to return with the published story (space will not always permit publication, so promises should not be made). Other techniques, like the "Question Person" (Fifth Wheel did a good one on what Teamsters think of Hoffa's come-back), could also be used in a weekly paper. In the way in which we report and analyze immediate struggles and also local and national issues, we help to prove the relevance and value of our ideas, of socialist politics, to militants in struggle.

II. Workers' Power and Democratic Centralism

The paper is the most highly centralized activity of the group. It draws on and centralizes the experience of the whole group and feeds back to all its members. As such, it is the key organizer of the group as a cohesive, centralized, combat organization. It has a potential for mitigating regionalism, factionalism, and "uneven development" not equalled by any amount of education programs, speaking tours and so forth. Selling the paper means being willing to defend the group's politics. It should be expected of all members and should also be a way of developing contacts into members.

The paper must be used (as it has of late) to back up and inform our organized intervention on specific issues, such as the farmworkers' struggle or the auto contracts. Writing on these issues for WP should be seen as an integral part of our intervention. So should the use of the paper with the relevant articles. This means that the paper will be "unbalanced" for a long time to come--it will focus heavily on the locations and arenas in which we are involved. As we grow the coverage will become broader and more balanced. But even when we are of the same relative size as ISGB, we should expect our immediate priorities to be reflected in the paper--thus, Socialist Worker at present devotes disproportionate space to miners' issues because the group is beginning to develop a real presence in the mines.

The paper is the voice of the group as a whole, that is of the NC and the NAC. It is not the child of gifted individual journalists. The editor's right and duty to edit must be recognized and accepted. Writers do not have the right to object to the fact that their work is altered, although they may of course be critical of specific changes. Editorial positions on key issues should be discussed by the NAC and members of the NAC should take responsibility for the writing of editorials and key articles.

The editor, who should be a member of the NAC, should have both a local staff and a national staff. WP staff membership should be the major organizational responsibility for the members involved. There should be one staff person for each major branch. Beside covering and writing articles at the local level, the staff person should indicate the major issues and stories which are needed in his area. An intelligent WP local staffer would immediately find and develop comrades in his branch to write for the paper so that he wouldn't have to do all the work himself. Adequate budget for phone calls should be given to the editor so that he can actually work with the staff nationally. Distribution and sales of the paper should be organized by the branch execs-- they may or maynot combine staff and distribution responsibilities.

III. Content

The paper has to serve several different functions at once. It has to carry agitational material--reports of strikes (especially where we are involved) which report, analyze the situation and suggest or advocate particular tactics or demands. This section is of great importance to our interventions and also in generalizing the experience and lessons of isolated struggles. Its value should be increased enormously by weekly publication.

WP must also carry socialist propaganda, but not in the form of new and ingenious (or old and stale) arguments for socialism, but in drawing the lessons of scandals such as Watergate (why the system stinks), health and safety questions (why profits come first) etc. This should be linked to the development of our own investigative journalism, based on original research and the cultivation of useful "sources."

A revolutionary party is, among other things, the "memory" of the working class. It draws together and crystallizes the experience and theory of the class internationally and through history. We are not such a party, but in building one our paper should devote attention to the history of the labor movement and the lessons we draw from the rich experience of class struggles and the struggles of the oppressed. Comrades knowledgeable in this area should be encouraged to undertake a regular writing commitment for the paper.

IV. Style

WP must be seen as a paper for and increasingly by, working class militants. It should devote little or no attention to other sects and should not be reactive to them in the sense of being written with an eye always on how a particular formulation while more intelligible to the reader, could possibly be quoted against us at a future date by some malevolent sectarian. Left jargon should be scrupulously avoided--even terms like "stalinism" should be avoided or at least explained. (Stalin died 20 years ago, before anyone heard of Castro).

Articles should be short and broken up by headings, photos, cartoons, tables, quotes, etc. Who ever sits down and reads a solid page of newsprint, let alone a single article covering two pages? Sentences should also be short (ideally no more than 10 to 12 words). Again, a weekly paper encourages this sort of style. It is not necessary to discuss every question from the beginning and draw every lesson in one article.

V. Price

If at all possible, the price of WP should be reduced to 15 cents. Even if the paper has to be reduced in size and heavily subsidized by the group. But, it should always be sold--and treated as something worth buying.

Amendment to Party Resolution on
Press and Publications

Harry M, NYIS

MOTIVATION

As the creation of national fractions begin to develop coherent and concrete national and regional opposition groups, the possibility and need for national rank and file newsletters and newspapers arises. Already Action Forum (AFT), and to a lesser extent Picket Line (IBT), Fifth Wheel (IBT) and even to UNC (UAW) paper present us with a potentially fruitful vehicle for agitation (and some propoganda) directed to the audience we want to reach.

At this time, IS does not have the presence to carry off a weekly agitational paper -- and only a weekly paper makes sense as an agitational organ -- a paper that will appeal to, involve and recruit workers to us. We lack the time, resources and distribution patterns necessary, nor do we intend to become a paper distributing organization. Further we are not adequately known and have not had the experience in struggle to be viewed as leaders of the class. At this time such a paper would be a premature and unfruitful endeavor, far too costly to justify its questionable ability to attract workers to the IS.

The merits of providing resources to rank and file publications deserves serious thought. Recruitment will be slow and we realize that a lot of ground work must be done. As national fractions develop and in so doing begin to create national oppositional groups a rank and file publication becomes one of the useful weapons to coordinate activities and facilitate rank communication work on a paper. This is not meant to be a full time job but should be done consistently and will develop both us and those we work with. It develops contacts in our work, provides feedback and exchange with our fellow workers, and increases our knowledge of our constituency. It can involve our contacts and help develop them. Importantly, it also allows us to agitate on issues that directly effect our fellow workers, creating a cadre with a reputation and skill that can provide us, in the future, with the readership and capability to produce a successful Socialist Worker type classwide aditional ~~Xp~~ paper.

RESOLUTION

That along with the development of a monthly propoganda paper directed to workers the IS will explicitly dedicate resources to the development of rank and file agitational papers.

Putting out an effective paper requires a professional staff. During the year before WP becomes a weekly paper, it shall be the responsibility of the NAC and the editor of the paper to contact those comrades in the organization who have training or a background in newspaper production and in journalism with the purpose of cohering a full and part-time, paid, central staff for WP that is experienced as journalists and can provide the necessary technical and creative expertise for development of an effective newspaper. During that year, as many members of the staff as financially possible should be sent to GB to take advantage of the training offered us by the ~~ISGB~~ ISGB.

The paper is the voice of the group. In reality, this means of the NC and the NAC. It is not the child of gifted individual journalists. However, this does not mean that the NAC writes, edits, lays out, and mails the paper. Neither does it mean that the staff does not take initiative in the development of articles, series, etc.,. The relationship between the two bodies must, and will, become more clear as a professional staff is developed which can take over production of the paper on a week by week basis.

The NAC and NC will be responsible for developing political lines for editorials, major articles, series, etc., and members of the NAC will probably be responsible for writing editorials if the editor is not a member of the NAC. As much as possible, the staff will free the NAC from major responsibility in the production of the paper. Once a week, members of the staff and the NAC will meet to discuss content of future issues, new features, editorial lines, personnel, etc.

In order to carry out the task of reorganizing WP into an effective tool for the IS, the right and responsibility of the WP staff to edit, rewrite, or reject, assign, etc., must be recognized.

The staff, in consultation with branches and the NAC, shall be responsible for appointing one member of each branch (possibly, but not necessarily branch organizer) as WP correspondent for that geographic area. Besides assignments from the central staff, WP correspondents will be responsible for providing the central office with a constant flow of news reports and information, working with other branch members who desire or have been assigned to write articles for WP, doing local research for articles, providing photographs, helping encourage and train other members as WP writers and overseeing WP distribution in their geographic areas.

These local correspondents should be seen as potential members of the central staff to replace members of or augment the staff as the paper expands. At least once a year, correspondents shall be brought to Detroit for full WP staff meetings. In order for correspondents to fulfill their responsibilities to WP, local branches will be required to relieve them of other political duties when necessary. Correspondents who wish to take leaves shall consult both the branch and the central WP staff before doing so. Correspondents shall also be responsible for having a local branch member trained to replace them before taking any leaves or vacations or moving away from the branch.

The IS must commit itself to allocating at least 40% of its financial resources to the publication of WP and the much needed pamphlet series. To make this possible, the proposed Theoretical Journal should be postponed until such time as our financial resources have increased to the point where the publication of such a journal would not interfere or take money away from WP or the pamphlet series.

WP must resume biweekly publication immediately following the convention with the perspective that in no later than one year, WP be published on a weekly basis.

All this implies that WP be taken seriously and treated as central to the groups work, as the organizer of that work. It means the devotion of a much higher proportion of the groups time and money to the paper. It means a commitment to going weekly within the next twelve months. But it is vital to the development of an outward-directed, recruitment oriented, self-confident democratic centralist organization. If we wait for the paper to improve before we take it seriously and sell and use it in our work, we will wait forever. We will have to wait no shorter time if we put off devoting more energy to writing for and producing the paper until the branches and fractions take seriously its use and distribution.

AMENDMENT TO PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS - to be added to the end of the document
Milton F. & Chris K., Bloomington

C. I.S. Monthly Bulletin

While the I.S. 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.

In order to make the Bulletin an effective viable organ communication with the I.S., 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. All articles and documents shall be prefaced by a 100-word abstract.
3. 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 I.S. 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 I.S. comrades. The I.S. 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.

Note: Similar guidelines should be considered if and when a theoretical journal is established.

Organizational re: PRESS & PUBLICATIONS REPORT Carl G.

The National Chairman-elect is directed to report in detail to the Thanksgiving N. C. meeting on production aspects of Press and Publications, to include

- Workers' Power -- weekly vs. biweekly publication; 8 page/12 page/16 page comparisons
- Theoretical Journal -- quarterly vs. bimonthly publication; alternate formats
- Pamphlet series -- individual projections on immediate preparation of 1) all pamphlets now in draft form; 2) the full series outlined in the 1972 T & P Convention document; 3) additional pamphlets proposed the 1973 Convention discussions;

analyzing in each case these factors:

- number and range of writers needed
- N. C. staff hours involved in production
- capital expenditures required to purchase labor-saving equipment
- monthly cost estimates and comprehensive annual budgets

and including concrete projections of our specific resources -- full- and part-time writers, available N. C. labor time, international assistance, finances -- on hand and for the coming year.

The report will be published in full in the Bulletin of the N. C.

PAMPHLET SERIES PROPOSAL

Ann Judah, SF Branch

INTRODUCTION

1) Pamphlets are extremely important to the growth of the organization. Too often we have no bridge between ourselves (the individual that the non-member meets) with our views presented orally, and the volumes by Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, etc. that we urge people to read. We need a large supply of pamphlets. In the long run we need scores of pamphlets, as some other groups have now, on every conceivable subject on which we have a position, plus discussion pamphlets on controversial points. EVERY QUESTION THAT IS PUT TO US REGULARLY BY CONTACTS, EVERY QUESTION ON WHICH WE REPEATEDLY GIVE CLASSES, SHOULD SPARK A PAMPHLET.

Many of our far-flung members work for months and years in an arena, building good personal reputations for ourselves and respect for our ideas, yet we are not able to translate this into recruitment. One factor is that contacts think our ideas are ours alone; they do not see us as representing an organization, a systematic worldview. (Of course the newspaper and the hoped-for theoretical journal are important here too.) Pamphlets that address themselves to commonly-asked questions would help greatly.

2) Many of these pamphlets could simply be the length of an article - 5, 10, or 25 pages. The cost should be low - 10¢ to 25¢. Pamphlets should not be regarded as a source of funds - they are a vehicle for bringing our ideas to our contacts and to those attracted to our public forums. Since the cost should be low, the production must be cheap - mimeographed pamphlets are better than no pamphlets.

Those who are embarrassed at the appearance of mimeographed pamphlets can think of the day when they will all be rewritten by brilliant writers, reset attractively in shiny covers and thoroughly researched and documented. Back in the real world, however, we need to set down for public distribution those views we do hold, written by those people we now have, and produced at a reasonable price.

3) The program of reprinting Workers' Power articles (and, later, theoretical journal articles) as pamphlets, should be greatly expanded. Every good opportunity to run off 1000 copies cheaply should be seized. Another way to handle this is to plan for centerfold 4-page spreads, run off extras as 5¢ articles, which is much better than nothing on a topic (such as the one on the farmworkers). Later a more thorough, better printed version can appear. The series on "Elections Under Capitalism" covers a topic of perennial interest, a topic on which we distinguish ourselves publically from all other tendencies. This series should be looked over for any heresies and published.

4) We should not worry that we don't have sources of material for many pamphlets. We have a wide range of sources. Some topics can be revisions of longer works; in this case one point is to get the reader to go on and read the "real" book, as, for example, popularizations of Lenin's Imperialism. As has been often remarked, many internal-bulletin articles

could be revised for publication. Rather than lamenting the quantity of internal material we produce, we should use it as an outline or basis for external pamphlets.

In this age of modern technology we should not overlook the tape-recorder. Many of the most commonly-discussed topics are being given regularly as classes anyway. Tapes could easily be made and transcribed, and these would form the basis for pamphlets. One obvious advantage of a pamphlet based on a talk is that people tend to talk in a more easily comprehensible style than their writing style. Another advantage is that comrades who cannot be persuaded to write, can be persuaded to give classes. (I, for one, am willing to transcribe cassette tapes if a pamphlet would result - I'm sure other volunteers could be found.) A half-hour to hour talk would make a good short pamphlet. The author, in revising his talk when he sees it in writing, could add details.

5) WE MUST STOP LETTING EXCESSIVE PERFECTISM PREVENT US FROM PUBLISHING OUR VIEWS. Many comrades have remarked on our collective tendency to be willing to talk but not willing to write for publication. The need for pamphlets is more important than the need to have every word exactly correct. Not every comrade lives within driving distance of Detroit; we cannot all bring our contacts around to hear the experts give talks. We must write down the talks the experts give so we can all use them. The pamphlets I propose, similarly, do not represent a perfect and complete series; every member should think about the question of what, concretely, they need. Anything left out of a pamphlet can be included in another one. Anything which is worth giving as a class or forum should be considered for a pamphlet.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMMEDIATE PUBLICATION

These are either pamphlets that rumor has it are already in the works, or can be revised from existing material fairly easily. These could be done in the next few months as there is little original work involved. Any objections to the particular topics or authors are welcome; concrete objections show a willingness to take the concept "we need pamphlets" seriously. The commitment that we should make is not to a particular list, but to our ability to produce something like ten to twenty pamphlets in the next year.

1) Anatomy of a Wildcat - Neil's article is interesting and well-written and people like to read about actual events, what actually happens in a wildcat, and what we think of it all. Obvious factional references should be deleted, I think. Other comrades' experiences - starting with the basic descriptions of what took place, and what we think is the significance of it all - should also be included.

2) Celia Emerson's very valuable pamphlet on revolutionary feminism, and the relationship between socialism and the women's movement, should be printed immediately. Many comrades read and enjoyed the draft. If revision is needed, and if an author is slow about revisions, another comrade should help.

3) IS Strategy in the Working Class

We have a pamphlet on why we are so concerned about the working class, but we should also print a shortened, de-jargonized version of OUR GENERAL LABOR PERSPECTIVES.

For example, we are asked; are our aims in the unions contradictory to being a good trade-unionist? Are we only in the unions for our own purposes? In fact we all deal with these charges orally; there should also be a pamphlet discussing just what it is we are trying to do in our union work. Our contacts have a right to know what we think we are doing.

The logical person to write this pamphlet would be the author of whatever document or part of a document passes this convention. If it is argued that a lot of the material is not meant to be public, then leave that out; surely the author could, if asked, answer questions publically about what the role and strategy of the IS is in the unions.

4) IS strategy for the women's liberation movement

Many documents have been passed, most recently at the last fall NC. The author should write a pamphlet on the subject of the women's liberation movement. How do we combine women's work and trade-union work? Why should a women's movement activist be interested in the IS? Again, if the material we pass in these internal documents has any relation to reality, some of it should be revisable into a pamphlet.

5) The relevance of the third camp viewpoint today

Material from Dave's document can be used, but Dave's document obviously was not written for external use. Someone (Joel C would be ideal) should prepare a talk, such as one would give to contacts who were socialists of some sort, about our unique world view. Why don't we accept the Stalinist regimes as workers' states? What about "socialist property relations?" The role of the working class in changing society, socialism as democracy, etc. Everyone who joins the IS has some idea of the historical need for our tendency to exist, to bring our ideas to the working class while we learn from them about the day-to-day struggles. But we have nothing current and short in writing, nothing better than "Two Souls," which, while it is very valuable, was not written by a current IS member.

Pamphlets on China, Cuba etc. are also needed; one way to discuss what socialism is, is to spell out what it isn't; I hear there is a pamphlet on Cuba in the pipeline. Wonderful.

6) The document by Mike P. on program, leadership etc. should be revised for publication by its author. It is a clear handling of a number of questions that come up repeatedly.

7) Gay Liberation and Socialism

We discovered when we had a public forum on this topic in San Francisco, that we had nothing in writing on gay liberation. There are two documents by ex-members, the last convention document and the pamphlet draft by Jim, that could be used as the basis for a pamphlet.

Strangely enough, this general question is an important dividing line between socialists and authoritarians, as shown by Cuba's treatment of gays, and the attitude that gays are sick taken by the groups like PL. The Houston slayings may produce an anti-gay backlash; we should be around with a pamphlet. If nobody wants to do any extensive revisions, then the convention document from last year, minus sections on internal IS relationships, could be used; it already has been printed publically.

OTHER PAMPHLETS TO WRITE THIS YEAR

These will take longer as they have not already been written. Authors should be solicited in September. As the drafts come in they should be revised with the help of a pamphlet director. Of the nine or so people in the national office, one should take overall responsibility for pamphlets; soliciting authors; editing, overseeing printing. Those who are discouraged at the magnitude of the task should remember;

- 1) we are the organizational embodiment of a unique point of view which is vital to the future of mankind;
- 2) If we publish 12 pamphlets a year, in five years we will have 60 pamphlets, most of which will still be useful;
- 3) We currently publish more than 12 internal bulletins a year, each of which is MUCH longer than most of the pamphlets we need;
- 4) If 20 people are each assigned to write a pamphlet, the chances are good that 12 or more of these could be brought to publication within a year.

SUGGESTED TOPICS

- 1) What is capitalism, and why do we oppose it?

It is incredible that this does not exist. We need to spell out the evils of capitalism as she is felt, and in what way these are all linked together in a system. For non-socialists this would be a bridge to meaning of Marxism, which starts at too high a level for the Americans we address. I am told that Shachtman's Fight for Socialism is good; if so, it could be used as a basis. But we need an argument for socialism written by someone who is actually a socialist today.

- 2) The relevance of Leninism - in what sense is the IS Leninist?

An introduction to Lenin's organizational views, that follows the development of his tactics historically. (This is not a #1 priority. Emmet Casey could probably write this based on his reply to the Leninist tendency.)

Eventually an economics pamphlet, showing how Lenin revised Marx to meet changing economic conditions, that is, a summary and placing-in-context of Imperialism. Many people are only now beginning to notice that America is imperialist.

- 3) Blacks in America; the Black Liberation movement

The author of the black liberation document should write a pamphlet. Since I am hoping this will be the Trautman document, let me note that Trautman has now written three internal documents on blacks in America and the political conclusions to be drawn from their situation, and it should not be too difficult to write a short pamphlet. If it includes the material on Lenin and the national question, it would have a double value for us.

If possible the pamphlet should deal with other views floating around at the moment; white skin privilege, fighting racism, etc.

4) How the Revolution was won - or, Russian Revolution; Greatest event in world working-class history

Usually this comes up because people don't believe that workers are capable of seizing power. There are several experienced comrades who can speak on this for hours. It should cover Permanent Revolution, why socialism needs an adequate economic base, why it must be worldwide, what's wrong with socialism in one country etc.

5) Stalin vs. Trotsky - the origin of the Trotskyist movement

We are being approached and will continue to be, by people who received their training in the ~~Trotsky~~ Stalinist movement. They honestly have no idea of the real issues in the battle between Stalin and Trotsky, and so on.

6) Union Bureaucrats - Parasites on the Working Class

The history of the ideas and politics of the labor bureaucracy in America. How does the alliance between labor bureaucrats and government hurt the efforts of the rank and file to build fighting, democratic unions?

Ken P. did a talk on this subject which is taped, and this could be the basis of a pamphlet, which he could probably write. Durt Hall's book lends extra material to amplify on the relationship between bureaucrats and the government.

The question comes up in our union work; we are pro-union and pro-working class, but independent of the bureaucracy, and suspicious of it. We can generally deal with this orally but need it in writing.

7) The School System - Bulwark of class society

What is taught in the schools other than the subject matter? How does the curriculum deal with the needs of capitalism, both in skills and attitudes? There are many liberal critics of the schools; we need to place the specific criticisms in perspective.

This is not only for teachers and students; everyone we meet has been a student in grade school or secondary school, and most of them didn't like it. School is an important fragmenting mechanism for the class; the low self-opinion most people learn in school partly answers the question about how the class consciousness is kept low.

The AFT fraction should take responsibility for this and other material on the schools and teachers; Milton gave a talk which could form the basis for one pamphlet, which is on tape.

8) Capitalism, War and the Permanent Arms Economy

No details needed; it is rumored that Charlie is writing something on this. Wonderful.

9) The Fight for the Shorter Working Day

In view of the recent interest in 30-for-40. This would be an exciting pamphlet; Marx's discussion from Capital could be summarized, the fight in the 1800's for the eight-hour day, the connection with Haymarket and May day, the concept of sliding scale of hours as Trotsky saw it, etc. Why we do not think the ballot is the place to win the shorter working day.

There is a four-page leaflet in the Bay Area that deals with the 30-for-40 movement.

10) Independent Political Action - Why a Labor Party?

This is a central propagandistic point in our public work and needs to be a pamphlet. There is plenty of old material that can be leaned on, like Draper's "Who's Going to be the Lesser Evil in 1956?"

Painful though it is, we are sometime going to have to discuss in public what we thought we were doing with Peace and Freedom, and what we now think. Why aren't we in PFP any more?

11) Why are there all these different socialist groups?

There are at least 15 national left-wing publications which are associated with groups. People ask us this all the time; and we all had to answer it in our own heads before joining. I do not mean a list of sects! I mean a discussion of the important disagreements, like World War I, that separate us.

This would be a sort of historical answer to the question, what is revolutionary Marxism and if so, who are all those other people?

12) Inflation - its cause and how to fight it

In view of the latest capitalist game to raise prices ("shortages"), people would be interested in this - we have something to say to people that will help them make sense of a problem in their own lives. Emmet Casey has volunteered to attempt a draft. Wonderful

. There is also a proposal by Mike F. about union-perspectives documents; there are other detailed proposals on this, a pamphlet for each of the four unions where we are deeply involved. I think this is very important, and the industrial director should work with each fraction, suggesting which of their reams of internal material would most appropriately be made into a pamphlet. We owe it to our contacts.

There are other topics to consider but I've been asked to shorten this. The topics;

- the built-in sources of instability in capitalism; socialism or barbarism
- religion and the maintenance of capitalism; why are socialists usually not religious?
- Youth and class society; what do we mean by "smash the nuclear family" - the oppression of children by parents and society
- The Death Agony of Capitalism; what happened? Failure of Trotsky's perspective
- Does Free Sex mean pornography? something on Wilhelm Reich, sexual repression etc.
- The International Ruling Class and how it cooperates; material from the Yajia document by Draper on the agreements between Stalinists and Roosevelt/Churchill on Europe
- Chilo; problems of the social democracy in power (By Marilyn, I hope)
- The Course of China; Maoism; the cultural revolution (material can be taken from the articles published by ISGB) - a topic of perennial concern

And remember, folks, even if your contacts, aren't interested in all of these, someone's are; and hundreds of pamphlets are very impressive publically as well as helping to pin us down and solidify the politics of the members.

RESOLUTION ON PUBLICATIONS

by S. Jacoby

A. On the Regularly Issued Popular Publication

1. That in the four month period following the convention, the EAC, in consultation with the NC and the branches, begin publication of a monthly organ whose format will be designed to serve: (a) the primary purpose of publishing feature analytical articles; (b) the secondary purpose of publishing theoretical discussion articles designed to encourage periphery involvement; and (c) as needed, to publish articles connected with specific activities and events.

2. That the indicated four month period be used to gradually phase out publication of the bi-weekly Workers Power, transforming it by steps into the monthly publication in the way specified above.

3. That the physical size of the pages remain the same as those of Workers Power.

4. That the four month transition and consultation period be used to arrive at a name for the publication that is in keeping with the new educational and propagandistic rather than agitational purpose of the publication.

(Although the precise format of the publication is not and should not be a part of this resolution, the authors -- without having benefit of the ideas of others which will come out of full organizational discussion -- now have in mind a front page format similar in type to that used by the New York Review of Books, adapted to IS purposes, with the back outside cover page used for lead news articles when indicated and the center for feature analytical articles as already described. The main function of this format is that is a flexible one allowing change in use according to the type of material to be published.)

B. Theoretical Journal

That along with the decision to phase out the publication of WP or a publication that is primarily agitational in form, the IS also in the period ahead postpone plans to publish a theoretical journal...until it is seen that the resources and forces are becoming available to the point that makes publication realistic and viable.

C. That the EAC continue to push for the writing and publication of pamphlets containing the IS analysis of specific political problems and events.

D. That the National Office use the opportunity of this change to create a division of labor in the center which will allow it to provide all technical labor, including the typing of stencils, for the production of the (mimeographed) membership discussion Bulletin.

Motivation for the Above, Points A thru D.

A. In order to justify the publication of a mass party type newspaper like WP it has to be demonstrated that the consciousness in large numbers of the labor force is such that an organization like the IS can expect to experience high quality recruitment on the basis of a programmatic approach agitationally presented.

The prerequisites for continuing or embarking on the publication of

a mass party type paper like Workers Power are:

a) A level of class struggle activity and consciousness or clear evidence of its imminent development, that would make it realistic to expect recruitment in bunches and groupings, rather than ones and twos, based upon our demonstrated at least potential ability to supply mass leadership in particular situations on the basis of tested program backed by a developed theoretical arsenal.

b) The existence of a theoretical journal of some maturity.

c) The existence of a body of analytical and popular theoretical literature in the form of pamphlets or a popular magazine or journal to back up the agitational publication. This, so as to assure the education and full political assimilation of those rapidly recruited in bunches... and, so that the recruitment not be superficial and easily lost.

d) The human resources to create a division of labor that could handle all the tasks and activities of which the publication of an agitational newspaper is the pinnacle stone in the pyramid. (A number of radical organizations in the past including the WP-ISL fell into the trap of allowing the publication of a newspaper to use up the vast bulk of the working hours of the national office leadership.

It may be argued that the current situation of the IS and events in which it is involved demand that it must move ahead as best it can without the existence of "ideal" conditions because there are now important pockets among industrial workers wherein important outbreaks are about to occur. This may be, but until some detailed analytical evidence is presented to indicate at least the likelihood of such a development, the relationship that workers beyond those in auto might have to it and why Workers Power is the type of publication best suited to such a development, Workers Power remains a paper whose existence is not supported by an in depth political analysis of the society arrived at in discussion and debate involving the full membership.

It might also be argued that the loss of the CP finally freed the IS to be able to begin to use Workers Power successfully. But that argument places the blame upon "divisive" individuals rather than where it belongs, on the lack of a body of tested political hypotheses. The "bad person-good person" theory has come strongly to the fore in the last year and the newness of the IS is a factor that is ignored. This sets the stage for a discouragement of the expression of serious differences of opinion in the future. The new political minorities that will develop in the future, instead of being viewed as the catalysts of change will be treated as obstacles in the path of the progress sought by the majority, a characteristic of the ultimate in sectarianism.

The IS is still a very new organization, experiencing problems of growth that are often horrendous but normal in this difficult period. If it makes impossible demands upon itself, it then begins to denigrate its own talents and great value. It cannot now afford a press of the type that is Workers Power, for an agitational paper by nature implies that the organization behind it is equipped to supply mass leadership. The task is to create a publication which forthrightly and confidently admits to the actual condition of the IS. Implicit in the design of the major publication must be the statement that the IS is involved in a process of investigation and experimentation of the sort that can best bring about the development of a body of politics suited to a societal crisis in which ideology itself is under attack. Or put it another way, that the IS seeks to create a body of politics that will justify its independent existence in this crisis that pounds on humanity over half a century after the last

major socialist experiment died.

Progress toward the completion of this task would scale up and not down the potential for IS growth. It is unlikely in the extreme that recruitment in the next period will result from other than "single jack" methods. To agree to this on the one hand, but on the other to operate on an unstated paradigm around which growth by ones and twos is looked upon as defeat can only cause further set backs. In fact, it is the ability to recruit primarily on the basis of methodology and vision rather than mass program that is the primary capital at hand. And that is no small capital, for it is in that way that the IS will be able to elaborate its approach to the broad spectrum of societal crises in addition to the immediate struggles inside heavy industry. The interests of industrial workers as well as intellectuals are today more than ever of a societal magnitude. As it stands, Workers Power is designed to speak almost solely to the consciousness of industrial workers, as that consciousness is perceived by its editors, and WP's character is determined in vast part by the situation in one city.

B. A theoretical journal is a political necessity, but given the forces available, to publish it as a separate entity is unrealistic and a way of additionally exhausting available talent.

C. The non-availability of pamphlets continues to handicap all work. Going to the publication of a monthly organ could allow a division of labor that would in turn and for the first time allow the release of labor to produce pamphlets.

D. That individual members must now type their own stencils in order to utilize the mimeographed discussion Bulletin insures that ideas and attitudes of large numbers in the IS are never heard. It gives those who have had the advantage of special training, the time and availability of special equipment and materials at least a partial monopoly over discussion. It encourages "from the top down" development and the subordination of the ranks. Bureaucracy forms not only in organizations with paid functionaries who have access to power positions. In small radical organizations they can and do form around those who are able to produce "documents". The first responsibility of an organization whose primary justification for existence is "socialism from below" is to demonstrate loyalty to that concept internally. This does not mean of course that absolutely no restrictions are to be placed upon contributors to the Bulletin. The Bulletin has to have an editor and it is reasonable for that editor to exercise some spatial limitations on contributors if the material sent in is mountainous or unastute for special reasons.

Concluding Comment

There should be a retrenchment of publication perspectives only in the technical sense dictated by the recent loss of forces. The issuance of a monthly public organ is a political decision. It allow for a better allocation of labor not only because the public press will appear less often and thus take less labor. The type of monthly publication proposed here could stimulate wider participation in the production of the contents.

It could allow the complementary expansion of the Bulletin and the pamphlet production program in addition to broadening the spectrum of the monthly organ's contents. Overall, the above is designed as an expansion of the total IS effort and membership involvement.

This document is not being submitted to the ... it is not being submitted for a vote. It is being submitted to the organization as a first draft to initiate a discussion of a topic that requires much more extensive discussion before we are ready to come to a definitive position. The black movement needs to be examined and reexamined in the light of our experiences and new research that must be done, particularly on the more recent aspects of the black movement.

The Black Movement

The post-war defeat of the working class and its withdrawal from the center stage of the struggle for human liberation thrust the black masses back under the hegemony of the black-petty-bourgeoisie, with its goals and methods. The twin victories of the 1954 school desegregation decision and the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott both imparted to blacks a sense that at last democratic rights might be won and a method for winning them: direct action. The way was opened for a major assault on segregation.

Although northern spurred, the locus of the struggle shifted to the South where racism was most blatant and segregation was legal; where the struggle was most clearly one for formal democratic rights. In fact, throughout the Civil Rights Movement, Martin Luther King and others failed to make any significant progress in the northern ghettos even when they tried. The Civil Rights Movement, a movement for legal equality, for the right to vote, go to any restaurant, swimming pool, restroom, sit on any bus, and above all, the right not to be segregated into all black schools. But it was more than any or all of these; it was a fight for human freedom, for human dignity, for human equality. An integrationist movement, it was consistent with the liberal ideology of equality for all regardless of race, creed, color or ethnic origin, and as such was directed at the Jim Crow laws and practices that segregated blacks from whites in all forms of life. It was liberal led and more or less white controlled. It spoke primarily to the needs of the black petty bourgeoisie who could afford to live in dignity, but who were not permitted to do so. It did not address the pressing material needs of the masses of working class and poor blacks because it had no focus on the economic system. The primary organizations, NAACP, CORE, SCLC and SNCC combined the tactics of mass demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, and non-violence in an attempt to bring about reforms that would abolish the racist laws directed explicitly at blacks in the South. It was by and large successful. The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 made those laws unconstitutional, and token integration took place throughout the South.

What was critically important about the Civil Rights Movement (C.R.M.) was that, despite its limited objectives, it set the black masses in motion against oppressive conditions and legality. The lesson of Montgomery remained: mass action could win what no other tactic could. Heroic actions on the part of individuals in the face of brutal and vicious racists who were backed up by state power encouraged others to enter the struggle. As the C.R.M. developed it had a profound impact on the consciousness of the black masses and on the nation. The state power became exposed as being on the side of oppression and injustice. Unjust and oppressive laws necessitated civil disobedience -- massive civil disobedience -- to defeat them. These actions both increased repression and began to destroy the moral authority of the state. The pall of McCarthyism was destroyed by the C.R.M. At the time it was only the state governments that were exposed: the federal government still appeared clean. But the contradictions

were being created that would break down the illusions people still held. The C.R.M. was an extremely important development in American history and socialists had to be involved in it, always pointing out the lessons, irrespective of who was its leadership.

As the C.R.M. developed in the 1960's it began to appear to many blacks as a movement capable of dealing with the fundamental needs and aspirations of black people, which were not merely for integration, but for full equality, including material equality. The base of participants broadened and the level of militancy increased. In the Birmingham demonstrations of 1963 King was no longer able to control his "followers": non-violence was not the only tactic used in Birmingham. The massive demonstrations forced Kennedy -- who had done nothing since his election despite his professed commitment to black rights in 1960 -- to introduce the civil rights bill that passed after he was killed. More important, they demonstrated to blacks around the country the necessity and power of black collective action.

A movement as massive as the C.R.M. had come to be was inevitably confronted with the necessity to turn to a political solution. It was clear that attempting to solve problems in an isolated way, even with the most massive action, was ineffective. The levers of power were elsewhere and needed to be directly confronted. Given a petty bourgeois leadership and the lack of any viable alternatives the black movement turned its sights to capturing the Democratic Party. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) was to be the vehicle for doing just this. The effort was a significant learning experience for the black movement.

The aim of the MFDP leadership was to "realign" the Democratic Party. They came to the 1964 Democratic Party convention pledged to nominate Lyndon -- soon-to-be "we shall overcome" -- Johnson. This was to be their tool for insuring their legitimacy. What it meant of course was that from the beginning they were subordinated to the racist capitalist interests that control the Democratic Party: an important lesson for those who have hopes of reforming or taking that party over. But, their move wasn't good enough. To accept them would have been to disturb the established interests that ran the party. The Democratic Party IS BASED UPON racist interests and appeals to racist voters. To have let in the MFDP would have been to write off the South. A phoney compromise was arranged.

The lesson was learned by many in the black movement: you can't reform something that is rooted in oppression. The Democratic Party -- the society -- was not reformable. It was a lesson that was not fully brought home to black consciousness and internalized, largely because there was no significant revolutionary socialist cadre to explain it. Given the historic defeat and conservatism of the working class and therefore of all American society and the still low level of struggle such a cadre could not yet have existed. Nonetheless, the broad meaning of the MFDP experience was etched into black consciousness. The lesson was one which helped to create a cadre. The response was almost immediate: the Harlem rebellion of 1964, the first of a series of "lone hot summers". The C.R.M. was dead, or dying; the black liberation movement had begun.

The ghetto rebellions were a spontaneous uprising by a people who were demanding a change in society and who were consciously attacking their white

oppressions. They were a revolutionary act -- the only one of the post-war period in America. They grew organically out of the ~~the~~ civil rights movements of the early 1960's, out of the aspirations created by them, the sense of power created by them, the sense of frustration created by them.

The response of the ruling class through the Democratic Party was to repress the immediate act ~~and~~ usually by ringing the ghetto and by arresting and murdering dozens of blacks, and to attempt to coopt the anger and militancy of the black masses. Johnson unveiled his so-called 'war on poverty'. It was a series of showcase economic measures which purported to address the series of problems that the ~~the~~ C.R.M. had left untouched. In reality its aim was simply to buy peace. But peace could not be bought for so low a price. Harlem, 1964 was followed by the Watts rebellion of 1965: the latter far overshadowed the former. Watts in turn was followed by a wave of rebellions in 1966 and an even more significant wave in 1967, culminating in the Detroit rebellion. During this period the war on poverty, having failed its purposes, receded into the background, to be replaced by a war on the black community. Liberal capitalism and its agent the Democratic Party began showing their ~~g~~ fangs.

Through all of this, consciousness in the black community was undergoing significant developments and making leaps forward. The pressures and the new horizons created by the black rebellions had a big impact on the civil rights organizations in the South. The MFDP, scarred by its experience with the Democratic Party split: one wing, led by whites and black moderates wished to continue its relation to the Democratic Party. The other, led by more radical blacks, saw the necessity for independent black organization and political action and saw the retarding effect of moderate white leaders who dominated the blacks. In the summer of 1966 SNCC raised the call for black power.

Though vague and open to many interpretations, the black power slogan gave theoretical and political expression to the sharpening struggle against black oppression. It expressed a break with the non-violent reformist politics of protest. It symbolized the need for solidarity and independence from whites, and it meant rejection of white money, white expertise, ~~and~~ above all, of white control and with it the limitations of white liberalism. It meant an orientation toward the mass of black people and a commitment to tackle their problems "by any means necessary", as the well-phrased slogan of the time pointed out. Most important, it raised the question of power for the first time in the modern black movement and for the first time since McCarthyism in American society. It was, thus, a radical step forward for the movement and opened up all the questions of how power was to be achieved. Under the impact of the ghetto rebellions the slogan tended more and more to be given a revolutionary content. "We shall overcome" could no longer express the spirit of the movement. It was only when the black movement had collapsed that CORE was able to deflect some of the meaning of the black power slogan towards its bourgeois program of black capitalism.

During the late 1960's, as the movement unfolded, black consciousness became more focused on black pride. Involved was the process of blacks at last throwing off the debilitating effects of the ideology of white racism, an ideology which asserts black inferiority and which blacks themselves accepted. With that ideological victory had come a much deeper, more conscious, more overtly expressed awareness and hatred of racism and racist oppression. The ideology ~~and~~

and the racist institutions were receiving a challenge such as they had never before faced.

Black resentment of racism and of the white society which produced it and maintained it became intensified. This was so especially because blacks were involved in an intensified struggle, were being murdered by the police, were literally engaged in a war against an occupying army -- the analogy with Czechoslovakia in 1968 is not at all far-fetched -- and barely a chord of solidarity was struck in white society. For the most part the mayhem was at best ignored, at worst cheered.

No surprise then that concomitant with the development of the healthy black pride movement and the shaking off of racist ideologies came the development of an anti-white ideology. It was expressed most consistently as an organized tendency by the "cultural nationalists". Through their leadership it became an ideology of accommodation to capitalism. It became the means to avoid attacking the system. Because the ideology precluded a class approach and because some white allies were necessary to win reforms the cultural nationalists turned to alliances with the ruling class and the petty bourgeoisie in return for aid in attaining their limited goals of black control over black turf. Like the Zionists before them they had no compunctions about dealing with their racist enemies. Their program is a dead-end; it is a program to create a colonial relationship. But it was the consistent expression of the anti-white tendency that flowed through the black community.

As a result of that tendency there were almost no black-white relations in the movement by 1967. As the black movement developed it tended in more and more of an anti-white direction. This was inevitable so long as there was no organized grouping of whites struggling toward whom blacks could look for alliances. The lack of movement among whites tended to encourage the nationalist strategies.

As the struggle deepened and intensified, the consciousness of blacks continued to develop. More and more the state became exposed as the agency of white oppression; the Democratic Party liberals became exposed as they collapsed their "tolerance", their "love of humanity" into a naked war of aggression against the whole black community, a war whose rallying cry became "no reward for riots", meaning no reforms for the whole black community. Despite their claims of "fringe elements" and "two per cent participation" they knew quite well that it was a war of the whole black community against their oppression and acted on that basis.

The moderate civil rights leaders were also exposed. King, the pacifist who had walked out of Birmingham in 1963 because some black youths threw stones through store windows, called on the government to send in paratroopers to Detroit in 1967 to suppress the insurrection there. Other civil rights leaders followed suit. Bayard Rustin stated: "The rioting must be stopped. Whatever force is necessary should be used If the rioting continues, an atmosphere will be created in which the established civil rights leadership will be robbed of its standing" He was correct. It was, at least partially/.

All these lessons were learned. Once again, not fully; they were not completely assimilated. That was the result of the lack of a conscious revolutionary vanguard already implanted among the black masses. But the struggle of the

black masses had gone so far, so fast that it had leapt beyond the consciousness of the black masses and they were struggling to catch up. Lenin's perceptive statement that ". . . in one year of intensified political life the proletariat can obtain more revolutionary training than in several years of political calm" (Vol. 5, Collected Works, p. 340) was never more applicable. A revolutionary vanguard did not yet exist in the black community, beyond individuals or a few small groups. It could not yet exist prior to the mass struggles that could create it. Prior to such struggles to expect it would have been utopian. Those struggles were creating a revolutionary ~~black~~ consciousness. More and more the receptivity to revolutionary leadership was emerging; its urgency was being created. Out of that crucible came the Black Panther Party in early 1967 and later the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) which became the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

The Black Panther Party's first focus was on the organized armed self-defense of the black community. They recognized the weakness of the black community before the state's repressive apparatus so long as it was unorganized. They counterposed organized armed self-defense to the spontaneous uprisings of the black masses. And, they persistently urged black people to avoid getting their heads cracked through spontaneous acts.

The program they offered was one which built upon the militancy and consciousness attained through the previous struggles and which brought them to a higher level. They began with an assault upon the police, showing to the black community that blacks could successfully stand up to them, including in armed confrontations, so long as they chose the time, place and manner. These confrontations encouraged others to arm themselves and to bring their arms out, collectively, into the open.

"We blocked off the whole street and held a people's rally, with power, gun power. Gun power's the only thing that backed it up. So all they could do was send a helicopter over, flap, flap, flapping all day long to try and bother us. This time it wasn't only the Black Panthers who came, but other people came ~~here~~ there, with their rifles, their guns, and with their pieces. I noticed some older brothers come out and they were shaking hands with a lot of us, and they had their pieces under their shirts. They just carried them concealed. And some sisters. One sister came out and jumped out of her car with an M'1. We saw the black community people getting uptight and ready. And the helicopter kept flapping over and Huey pointed up at the helicopter as it was going over and said, "Always remember that the spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology." And the people said, "Right on". I remember we got way over 300 applications." (Seale, Seize the Time, pp. 140-1)

The Panthers attempted to make themselves into an organization that could drive home the lessons of the black struggles. They focused their attack on the bourgeois state ("the power structure") and they identified capitalism as the enemy. In so doing, they identified the problem as both a class and a race question, a very important step forward.

Thus, they adopted and used the ideas of community control which had emerged in the black struggles. But in doing so they recognized the struggles as part of a class struggle in which the bourgeois state must be smashed. Bobby Seale stated: ". . . it's impossible . . . for us to have control of the institutions in our community when a capitalist system exists on the outside of it When Nixon begins to spread the idea of black capitalism all he's doing is

strengthening the capitalist system which is the very system that put up in slavery."

This approach set them against the stream of both the moderated civil rights organizations who were for integration of blacks into American society on the existing terms and the "cultural nationalists" who saw the problem exclusively in black-white terms and saw all whites as the enemy. They waged an unrelenting attack on each. They were temporarily successful in defeating both tendencies and became the most significant current in the black movement because they were able to present a way to fight black oppression more successfully than anyone else.

Seeing capitalism as the enemy, they understood the necessity of coalition with whites and appealed frequently to whites to join them in combat against the racist, capitalist system. The coalition they proposed was to be a revolutionary one, designed to smash capitalism, not to cooperate with it as the NAACP, CORE and others were prepared to do.

"We, the Black Panther Party see ourselves as a nation within a nation, but not for any racist reasons. We see it as a necessity for us to progress as human beings and live on the face of this earth along with other people. We do not fight racism with racism. We fight racism with solidarity. We do not fight exploitative capitalism with black capitalism. We fight capitalism with basic socialism. And we do not fight imperialism with imperialism. We fight imperialism with proletarian internationalism." (Seale, *ibid.*, p. 71)

The rhetoric is better than the reality ever was. But, in taking this approach they opposed the direction of the movement since the black power slogan was articulated in mid-1966: black hostility to whites. They rejected any notion that all blacks as such were allies, and they were thus open to ally with the Peace and Freedom Party, which was forming when they were still a small group, isolated in Oakland, California.

The Black Panther Party-Peace and Freedom Party alliance, concluded in December, 1967 played an important role in the development of black consciousness. It did this not so much in itself as in the way it was able to affect the consciousness and the perspectives of the Black Panthers. It had a big impact upon them, and they in turn, as they became the hegemonic tendency in the black movement had a large impact on the black community.

First, the alliance provided a model for how black-white relations could be created. Before this coalition black-white relations were virtually non-existent because of the black hostility to whites. Where they did exist the combination of black attitudes toward whites and the political gutlessness of white liberals and white radicals created situations in which the whites followed the blacks with cringing servility. Such a relationship precluded a revolutionary development, which must be based on peoples struggling together in their mutual self-interest and with mutual self-respect.

Thus, in the summer of 1967, at the National Conference for New Politics in Chicago, blacks had demanded and were granted a 50% bloc vote. Blacks were to caucus before meetings, decide their majority position, and cast it as a bloc, worth 50% of all votes. Thus, if only one white person agreed with the majority

black position is carried. This meant, in effect, that whites were merely a tail for the blacks and could play no real role in formulating policy.

The Black Panther Party-Peace and Freedom Party alliance was in the form of a coalition: united where they agreed; each to go its own separate way, with the other having no veto where they disagreed. In practice there was little disagreement, but the alliance helped to create a new tone in black-white relations in the movement. This tendency was further bolstered by the conscious attacks the Panthers made on the "cultural-nationalists". These attacks, in turn, were given added strength by virtue of the fact that the PFP created a concrete organization of whites with whom the Panthers could ally in action. As Kathleen Cleaver put it: "The Peace and Freedom Party as well as the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense are both political organizations based on principles -- something lacking in the American political system."

The second important feature of the coalition is that it created a concrete vehicle for an organized onslaught on the Democratic Party. The Panthers consciously and explicitly recognized the role of the Democratic Party in American politics, and of blacks within the Democratic Party: "bootlickers, uncle toms and black anglo-saxons who are willing to rise to prominence on the backs of the oppressed masses by selling their votes to the Democratic Machine for the opportunity to lick the power structure's boots and assist in its racist exploitation of the black masses." Thus, through the alliance American politics witnessed the spectacle of a black revolutionary organization which had a great deal of influence within the black community directly confronting the society and the political party which is a main ideological bulwark of that society.

This movement was the highest expression of the black liberation movement. At its height the Black Panther Party was a national organization of some thousands involved in the leadership of many of the day-to-day struggles of the black community. Its political influence was undoubtedly greater than its organizational impact.

It is no surprise that the ruling class should have attempted literally to crush the organization. It was the most significant political and organizational threat to the ideological and institutional structure of the society in decades. Moreover, it was black. Blacks were not only challenging capitalism, but white racist rule as well. An especially brutal and vicious response awaited what many, many regarded -- whether they used these words or not -- as uppity niggers. The campaign of murder and repression was successful. Today, the Panthers are defeated and most of all they stood for has been junked. Bobby Seale recently ran a campaign for Mayor of Oakland, declaring proudly that he was in the Democratic Party. What went wrong?

Most important is that when the Black Panther Party was at the peak of its vitality and influence it found little, if any response to its activities and ideas among workers organized as workers. This was particularly true among white workers who had not, by and large, attained the level of militancy and consciousness even that exists today. The result was that the policies of the Black Panther Party never attained the strength they might have had if they had a working class base. Thus, though the Panthers knew they had to link up with whites, they couldn't link up in any concrete way with white workers.

- 2 -

Had that linkage been erected the strength and stability of the force that would have been created would have far surpassed that of the PFP, SDS or any other white allies the Panthers tried out. They would thus have much more decisively defeated the cultural nationalists and the moderate integrationists and would not have been likely to collapse into the Democratic Party. Similarly, if the Panthers had had a working class base they could much better have defended themselves. Attacks on Panther headquarters might have been met by political strikes, or their threat, or other union activity. But unfortunately, the link-up wasn't made.

Part of the blame for this failure goes unquestionably to the BPP leadership itself. They never saw the centrality of workers to a revolutionary movement. They never understood the strength the working class has, nor how capitalism forces the working class into revolutionary opposition, regardless of its consciousness at any particular moment. Their 'class' approach was really populism. They saw the society divided into rich and poor, not working class and ruling class. Thus, they never distinguished between the community and its struggles and workers organized as workers in their struggles. It was no more important to organize among workers than anywhere else. Indeed, they specifically did not see workers as the most important group, but rather the 'blood on the block', or as they correctly called them: the lumpenproletariat.

In the ghetto rebellions it had been the lumpenproletariat which had played the leading role. Even when black workers participated, as they certainly did, it was not as workers with the power that workers have. This group thus appeared as the most militant, most revolutionary. The leadership of the BPP bought the liberal idea that workers were bought off -- an idea reinforced by Fanon, from whom they drew heavily -- and that it was necessary to turn to the most oppressed, the lumpenproletariat. When Huey Newton was finally released from jail, he stated that workers were irrelevant because, due to automation, they would soon be phased out.

The lumpen orientation of the Panthers was given further credence by their community perspective and especially their focus on community control as a central aspect of their strategy. Even though they understood how the community fit into the capitalist system, their almost exclusive focus on it prevented their stress on some of the other social issues such as full employment, which was in their program. Such issues would have given the panthers a much broader base of support, could have put them on the offense when they were on the defense against the police, and could have been the means of launching a working class struggle. This failure, too, followed from their ~~mis~~ misunderstanding of the class relations in the society and specifically from their gross underestimation of the working class and of the centrality of the relations of production.

Furthermore, the Panthers were greatly influenced by the Guevarism and Maoism that floated around the New Left in those days. These ideas did not see the working class as the central agency: rather, they encouraged romantic, substitutionist ideas. The Panthers' own colonial analogy, which they had used quite well to attack the Democratic Party reformist blacks also encouraged them to identify with the anti-colonial struggles and ideologies of Cuba and China, and to want to adopt the method and ideology of guerilla warfare which arose from a peasant base, to the U.S. Once again, this perspective reinforced and was reinforced by their focus on the lumpenproletariat rather than the working class.

The result was that the Panthers made no real effort to embed themselves within the working class. Only one Panther caucus in industry was formed and it was never given any direction or priority from the Panther leadership. On the contrary, it was studiously ignored as being irrelevant.

This failure of the Panthers meant that little real effort was made to encourage and direct working class action by black revolutionaries. Though the lack of motion by the working class in America was fundamentally rooted in its history and in the economy, leadership by the Panthers could have hastened the process of developing working class consciousness, activity and organization on the part of both black and white workers.

It was a vicious circle: the lack of working class activity, which had given leadership to the black petty-bourgeoisie in the early days of the civil rights movement, led the Black Panther Party leadership to adopt a lumpenproletariat orientation. The failure of the Black Panther Party to look to the working class helped to confirm and maintain working class inactivity.

The Panther course, once chosen, had certain consequences in their policies. Their rank and file, following its habits in the streets, tended to be undisciplined, producing a tendency toward adventurism. This tendency was increased by the Panther leadership's bravado in the newspaper, for example, and in their public pronouncements. Some of this appeared because the Black Panther Party was adapting to its base. The rhetoric in its turn laid them open to police military attacks and murders, which they were unable to defend themselves against. The Panther ranks, disorganized and unstable as they were, and without any organized resources other than their guns were no match for the vicious and brutal police repression as it escalated in 1968 and 1969.

Furthermore, as their lumpen orientation became more conscious they began looking around for their white counterparts. For, while they had been clear on the necessity to unite with whites, they had never clearly determined with which sectors of white society to unite. Given their lumpen orientation it was not unreasonable that they should choose the most rotten section of the movement, the Yippies.

The Yippies, cynical, manipulative, personalistic and unstable, could provide no aid to the Panthers, could be no real allies in their struggle against racist capitalism and the state repressive apparatus. Only the working class could have effectively done the job.

The result was that in 1969 the Panthers felt compelled to do an about-face. They held a United Front Against Fascism Conference at which they reversed themselves on many of their policies, joined with the Communist Party (Herbert Aptheker was the keynote speaker) and began feeling their way fitfully back to the Democratic Party.

The rest: the split into Cleaver's underground faction and Newton's 'intercommunalism', the emphasis on the black church, the abandonment of independent political action, armed self-defense and the struggle against capitalism all followed from the Panthers' inability to build a revolutionary movement among black workers.

Jack Trautman

Blacks and the IS

a section to be added to the Trautman Black Liberation document, by Jack Trautman.

We are for a unified revolutionary socialist vanguard organization. This is not inconsistent with our favoring an independent black mass organization. It would be a death blow to the prospects for a successful revolution if blacks and whites could not exist together in a revolutionary organization, discuss their differences, take each others' concerns and insights into account in their work. Separate organizations would develop differently. Unity cannot be forged in a revolutionary ~~high~~ situation; it takes some years of learning to work together.

At the same time we recognize that because of the widespread existence of racism in the society and because of the special oppression of blacks, a black caucus within the IS may be necessary or desirable, at least temporarily.

The recruitment of black revolutionary socialist cadre to the IS is an equal priority with industrialization. Our industrialization program cannot be successful unless we can recruit blacks. This is because of the importance we accord to developing unity between blacks and whites, and our failure up to now to recruit many blacks, and to the critical role we expect blacks to play in the social movements prior to the revolution, and to the revolutionary movement itself. In a revolutionary movement a large proportion of the vanguard will be composed of workers coming from the most oppressed strata. They will provide many of the leaders and the most self-sacrificing and idealistic participants. And, they will be the most dynamic elements of the working class. Any revolutionary organization that fails to root itself in this stratum will have failed. In Trotsky's history of the Russian Revolution he noted that by 1917 the Bolsheviks had conquered not the whole working class, but its most oppressed sectors. It was the aristocracy of labor and the petty-bourgeoisie which provided the base of support for the Mensheviks. We must not allow this to happen to the IS.

This recruitment is necessary before almost anything else can be done. We should be helping to build the black workers' organization spoken of earlier, giving direction to black struggles, and so on. But, that task today is virtually impossible for us given our lack of black cadre.

The most serious problem we have today is our isolation from the black community and from the black movement. There has been virtually no contact for any of us since before the black power movement. Others of us, newer to the movement, have had no contact. For this reason our perspectives on building the black movement and our understanding of the relation of blacks to whites in the workers movement are necessarily abstract. The abstractions (and, unquestionably, the errors) make recruitment more difficult. Failure to recruit perpetuates the isolation. Etc., etc.

Thus, first on the agenda is the necessity to go to the black movement. We must make every effort to seek out black groups of individuals who have come or are coming to an understanding of the need for a unified revolutionary socialist organization. Our aims should not be limited to these, but rather we should look to those blacks who have come or are coming to understand the

need for black-white collaboration, even if they are not at present ready to join us.

We should approach them with the attitude that not only do we have knowledge and a theory to bring to them, but also that they have much to teach us. Our experiences in the working class have taught us that we have much to learn -- in fact, we have only begun to understand Trotsky's imperative: "Go to school in the working class". In the same sense we must "go to school" in the black movement.

At present the black movement is in disarray in a way similar to the white movement. It is split and splintered into many small groups; many of these groups are confined to one city and are not aware of other groups. All of this, of course, makes our task more difficult. We must get into contact with these groups and acquaint ourselves with the current state of the black movement: IN New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Seattle, the Bay Area and Los Angeles, in particular; elsewhere where possible. And we must begin to get information on the black movement in the South. Doing this will lay the basis for our concretizing our black liberation perspectives and for integrating them into our general perspectives. The various branches, organizing committees, MALs, etc. are instructed to begin looking into this matter.

This, of course, is only a part of the work we will have to do to acquaint ourselves with the knowledge we will need. A part of what is necessary is an acquaintance and an assessment of the black movement. We must continue the process, begun in this document, of attempting to draw the lessons of the black movement.

Comrades must be educated about black history, theory and intellectual currents. Every branch should hold class series and forums on these topics. There should be regular coverage and analysis in Workers Power and in the Theoretical Journal.

A pre-requisite for recruiting blacks is to become known as fighters for black liberation and to present our ideas and analysis: to demonstrate that our politics provide the best, indeed the only answer to black liberation.

We must increase our coverage of issues of black concern in Workers Power and make the paper into more of a black paper. Similarly, we must have serious and regular discussion of these issues in our Journal. We must become known at our places of work and in the cities where we are found as principled fighters for black liberation. We must aggressively attempt to carry out the policies outlined in this document and not wait for blacks to raise black issues.

Our potential sources of recruitment are twofold: black workers whom we will be meeting and working with and blacks in the movement. The following are general guidelines for an approach to blacks.

In order to bring blacks in and make them a permanent part of the IS, which means transforming the all-white, still petty-bourgeois character of the organization, we must develop a black leadership. In the long run we can and will train blacks to be leaders, but that is a lengthy process.
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We must, therefore, plan to recruit those who will be able to enter our leadership in a short period of time. This does not mean that we will recruit a black and place him or her on our National Committee. Qualification for leadership bodies is the same for blacks as for others, making, of course, that black representation is extremely important.

We should not approach blacks exclusively as blacks, only discuss black issues with them, etc. We want blacks to join us as and develop into Third Camp revolutionary socialist black leaders. A prime source for such recruitment is the black collectives and/or study groups where discussion and development is and has been taking place. (There are, of course, individuals, as well). Unfortunately, we have not produced written material that could have an influence on the political blacks. We must attempt to enter into discussion with them, bearing in mind that we want to learn as well as to teach. We must, in particular, search for radical and revolutionary blacks who are anti-stalinist: those who may have been influenced by CLR James are the likeliest. And, we must produce literature. This should include the production of pieces on Stalinism and Maoism and blacks in America.

Of course, much of our contact with blacks will be in the workplaces. There, we must be continually raising black questions, attempting to bring blacks into our caucuses and into the leadership of those caucuses. The caucuses must become identified with no mistake as fighters for black liberation. We must carry out systematic contact work and do a thorough job of educating these black contacts in our general labor perspectives and in our perspectives on black liberation as part of our training a leadership cadre for the workers movement. And, of course, we must educate them in revolutionary socialist politics.

Joel Jordan,

AMENDMENT to Trautman, BLACK LIBERATION PERSPECTIVES

p. 34, after Paragraph 2, insert:

At the same time we call for and support all genuine community control struggles within minority communities as a step in the direction of parent-student-teacher control and as a legitimate expression of the desire of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, etc. to mitigate the effects of racism, cultural chauvinism, etc. in the educational system. We do not place the condition of full democratic control upon a legitimate community control struggle, but instead raise it along side of our support for community control, much in the manner that we call for preferential hiring and jobs for all. Teacher comrades have a special rôle to play in building teacher-parent-student alliances through teacher support of parent efforts as well as pressing for full democratic control of the schools.

A legitimate community control struggle is one whose central thrust is the transfer of power to democratically elected representatives of the minority communities for the purpose of providing schools unencumbered by an unresponsive and usually racist administrative bureaucracy. Struggles whose basic thrust is to ~~destroy~~ destroy teacher unions in alliance with school boards, as in Newark, have nothing in common with a progressive struggle for community control. Just as we call for and support only strikes ~~with~~ for progressive ends, we support only progressive community control struggles.

David Miller, AMENDMENT TO FINKEL DOCUMENT ON BLACK LIBERATION

While recognizing the necessity of advocating preferential hiring for women and blacks, care must be taken in doing so to make it clear that such jobs are not to be provided at the expense of workers already on the job -- otherwise we would indeed be capitulating to white skin privilege, i. e., asking the working class to pay for its privileged position by tolerating a situation in which, in compensation, a part of the working class (white) would in effect be pulled down, via less jobs, etc. We therefore always demand that preferential hiring be linked to demand for additional jobs, to be distributed by preferential hiring, opening the union, etc.

Even greater danger from the careless use of the demand for preferential hiring would arise in a period of severe unemployment. Here, the logical outgrowth of preferential hiring, in the form raised by some, is preferential firing, super-seniority. This course would be disastrous for the entire working class and its socialist organizations. On the contrary, in a situation of severe unemployment, our demands would revolve around No Layoffs, No Overtime, 30 for 40.