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FOR MEMBERS ONLY FOR MEMBERS ONLY--FOR MEMBERS ONLY--FOR MEMBERS ONLY



1. ASSESSMENT OF NC. Report by MD is attached. Final discussion of NC assessment TABLED one week so that it can be more carefully considered.

2. CWA. Report by BM on CWA fraction meeting held during the NC. A discussion of the draft perspective by BM to be held in next couple of weeks.

3. WATERGATE/WP. The Editorial Board has requested that the NAC provide guidance to WP on coverage of the political crisis, which has been deficient since the large centerfold and lead several months ago. A brief preliminary discussion was held with the conclusion that JG is to be pressed to resume work on Watergate, impeachment and so forth immediately on completion of his West Coast tour.

4. MACIST GROUPS. Report by JW on efforts to isolate groups in Detroit to exclude Trotskyists from united front activities, including a broad protest against the fuel companies that was originally proposed by radicals around the staff of the FIFTH ESTATE (local underground press). For further information see report by Detroit organizers which are sent out with Detroit mailings.

5. SECONDARY BOYCOTT. MOTION(BM): The secondary boycott is an important issue for all of labor. It provides a concrete way to discuss class solidarity and to expose the inaction and collaboration of the bureaucracy. The secondary boycott and related issues should be regularly discussed in WP - both as part of our coverage of struggles and in an educational way. Further, we should raise the secondary boycott in those unions, rank and file papers and bulletins that we influence. IS trade unionists should use relevant opportunities (e.g. UFW support or strikes) to raise the secondary boycott in their union in an educational way. PASSED ALL FOR

MOTIVATION: The motion put forward by BM and passed by the NAC was meant to implement a suggestion by Mike P. The formulation by Mike P. that the IS should carry out a "low level but consistent campaign" was seen as too ambitious. While the NAC did not favor any sort of organizational "campaign" around the secondary boycott issue, we agree with Mike that it is an important and useful issue and should be raised educationally.

6. CLUW. Initial discussion of plans for IS intervention in upcoming Conference of Labor Union Women in Chicago. Motions by CRG, GS and BW were discussed; a further discussion and vote is to be taken next week when CRG will attend NAC meeting. The motions are as follows (motivations will be included with next week's minutes):

MOTION(CRG): (i) Our objective is to establish a working relationship with a wing of the trade union leadership on a local level that wants to fight on some issue, such as protective legislation, minimum wage. (ii) That to this end we introduce motions to the conference relevant to the organization and finding local campaigns which we decide could be built. (iii) That we do not focus our intervention in CLUW around the need to build a national organization. The reason is that our constituency at this conference - namely rank and filers and some local trade union leaders - will be unable to organize around such a fight and will reject it as either utopian and abstract, or on the level of byzantine infighting over who will control it. (iv) That we do not pose a national issue such as layoffs. The reasons are: (a) the basis for a national organization to carry this out does not exist, and this is clear to our constituency at this conference; (b) local groups have ~~better~~ particular issues which they can better organize around.



MOTION(GS): That we fight on three issues: (i) the need for building a national membership organization of trade union women; (ii) a national campaign to fight the layoffs; (iii) for this group to undertake ~~xx~~ a campaign to organize the unorganized.

All of the above to be concretized by the WC and NAC. For example, calling upon state AFLs, central labor councils, unions etc. to put up money for organizers around such campaigns.

MOTION(BW): That women in the IS be mobilized to participate in the CLUW meeting in Chicago March 23-25. That the NO held subsidize the \$12 registration fee for those women who cannot afford it. That our presence be twofold: 1) that the IS be there aggressively selling WP, that if possible we have a lit table, that we have a leaflet which on one side outlines what kind of women's organization is needed, the other with what the IS stands for; that the NAC and WC decide in advance as to which members will be explicit ISers. 2) That we fight inside the conference along the lines which GS motion outlines.

7. AUTO. Presentations by JW and BH on JW proposal for class struggle unionism publication groups in our labor work, and discussion. Next week we will discuss the question of auto perspectives proper (BH document); debate on CSU publications to be continued following discussion and recommendation by auto fraction.

8. CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR FASCISTS. Discussion of letters submitted by SF (LA) and EG (SF). The ~~letter~~ political substance of these letters, plus other material on the question of civil liberties from the literature of our political tendency, will be put out as an educational discussion pamphlet in a format yet to be precisely determined. The question arose from an incident involving Nazi participation in school board mtgs in San Francisco, and a discussion in the LA branch at which JW was present. The general view put forward by EG and informally (at this point) endorsed by the NAC, is that the real question is not a distinction between advocacy of ideas on the one hand (e.g. racist speeches) and action (e.g. attacking black people on the street), but rather one of ~~what methods we use~~ who does the repressing - in other words it is not our policy to call on this bourgeois state to suppress the fascists with its weapons which will in reality then be turned against us, but rather we demand that the working class movement be left free to deal with the fascists itself. This is independent of tactical questions which must also be taken into account; e.g. we do not advocate or support the actions of PL in physically attacking the Nazis in San Francisco which was politically and tactically stupid.

9. EDUCATIONAL DISCUSSIONS ON STALINISM. Very brief preliminary report by JT on readings and discussions to be held in preparation for May NC. To be continued.

FINAL NOTE: Disposition of motions tabled to the NAC by the NC will be taken up immediately on retrieving the minutes of the first session of the NC, which were taken out of town by the comrade who recorded them.



February 26, 1974

1. General Organizational: Beginning with this key list mailing, I am instituting a new procedure. Instead of putting directives, recommendations, suggestions, etc. to the branches and organizing committees in this report, they will be on a separate sheet so that they cannot be lost in the report. Branch execs and NC members are requested to take these directives and recommendations seriously and not to ignore them.
2. International Women's Day: Plans around the country are moving ahead fairly well after a slow start, as particularly all the branches and organizing committees have now set up some form of activity around international women's day. In Detroit, it has been especially good for the branch, in as in carrying out the mobilization, the branch has met a number of people in the movement in Detroit, including a black women's group who is participating with us in the IWD activities. This will allow the branch to be more involved in what is happening with the left in the city.
3. Cleveland: The branch held a forum on the recent truckers strike with CW speaking. It was quite successful with nine contacts attending, including some from a collective we're friendly with, a friend from work, and some friends we have met in the course of our UFW activity. Women also attended the Ohio planning meeting for the national CLUW women's meeting.
4. Detroit: Women attended the Detroit (Michigan) planning meeting for the national CLUW meeting in Chicago. There were about 50 women at the meeting, many of whom were rank and filers.



The following notes are based on the NAC discussion on the ~~xxx~~ ISL resolution "Capitalism, Stalinism and the War" reprinted in the "Readings in the Political Economy of Capitalism" pamphlet. The discussion was not based on the resolution as a whole, but only on Part I: "Changes in Capitalist Imperialism".

In the course of the discussion, there was a tendency ~~xxxxxx~~ to raise the whole question of the degeneration of the ISL and the rightward direction of its politics. While the history of the WP/ISL is quite important, I do not believe that this discussion should begin under the rubric of this document. Instead, while there are positions and formulations in the document which should be rejected (see below), the subject of this discussion should be much more limited: i.e. to understand the conception the ISL put forward of the trends in capitalist imperialism and test them against the experience of the last 25 years.

1. The document "Capitalism, Stalinism and the War", taken as a whole, attempts to sum up the main features of the international situation as they appeared in ~~1949~~ 1949. While the following report deals only with capitalist imperialism, a rounded view of the document cannot be established without discussing the other parts as well (which we will do for the discussions to prepare the NC debate on Stalinism). It should be noted, however, that a discussion of the trends in the advanced capitalist countries also entails to some degree an analysis of the role of Stalinism there.

This document was produced at the height of the reorganization of European capital - in effect of world capital - under U.S. auspices, and immediately after the takeover of Eastern Europe by Stalinism following the collapse of the bourgeoisie there. Naturally, therefore, the resolution identifies the struggle for world domination between capitalism and Stalinism as social systems with the imperialist conflict between the US and Russia. This characterization is outdated and unacceptable today (as the complexity of these conflicts becomes much ~~greater~~ greater with the rupturing of the Western Alliance, the ~~xxxxxx~~ Russia-China split, etc.); nonetheless this change should not be allowed to obscure the basic strength of the document. This strength lies in the recognition that in the modern world - the world of the decay of capitalism - there are three forces capable of organizing society, the bourgeoisie, the working class and the Stalinist bureaucracy which first arose out of the unique circumstances of the counterrevolution in Russia. This recognition played an enormous role in making possible the survival of socialist theory.

2. From their correct basic understanding of the nature of class forces ~~xx~~ in the world today, the ISL drew the following fundamental conclusions: (i) the changes in capitalism which they labelled "bureaucratic centralization and militarization of capitalist economy", which are seen partially as a response to the challenge of Stalinism, do not and cannot resolve the contradictions of capitalism itself; (ii) these processes, including sweeping nationalizations of an unprecedented kind under capitalism, cannot be regarded as progressive in the fashion that socialists traditionally considered nationalization of the economy; (iii) the changes occurring in capitalism do not soften the antagonism between the rival social systems, but rather reflect the growing intensity and bitterness of that conflict. These ideas were the basis of the third camp world view advanced by the WP/ISL. The problem for us, then, is to examine more carefully the nature of the processes they perceived.

3. The main difficulty of the resolution/ in analyzing the processes at work in the capitalist world is its ambiguity as to whether or not capitalism is entering



a period of some kind of catastrophic collapse. This, of course, had been the perspective of the Transitional Program - that the shattered world market could not be restored, that nationalistic militarization of a fascist type was an accelerating tendency, that mass unemployment would be increasingly the norm, and so forth. On the one hand, the resolution puts forward the theoretical basis for a correct understanding of the possibility of sustained stability and prosperity through the war economy - "the rapid growth in the economic structure of capitalism of a third great department of production ... the means of destruction, goods which do not re-enter either into the process of reproduction or into the production of labor power".

On the other hand the resolution states categorically that "capitalism is doomed". Of course we understand this to be true in that the permanent survival of this system with all its contradictions is impossible. But in exactly the same sense Stalinism is doomed as well. What the resolution means is different: namely that capitalism is relentlessly degenerating in the direction of (although not into) bureaucratic collectivism in the course of its struggle against Stalinism. Now whatever one may think of this idea (the thesis of the "bureaucratic collectivization of capital" is under discussion in the U.S. today), it is clearly not compatible (especially insofar as it entails encroaching on the power of the bourgeoisie itself) with a period of stability and prosperity, during which capitalism would clearly be strengthened rather than weakened. Yet it was precisely this prosperity which developed in the industrialized countries. Partly as a result of this ambiguity in the analysis, the discussion remains on a very abstract level without much discussion of any concrete situations facing revolutionaries in specific countries.

4. The resolution does correctly perceive the basic change in the structure of world capitalist imperialism: the rise of U.S. "super-imperialism" - not the peaceful division of the world envisioned by Kautsky, but rather a new stage in which the increasingly fierce struggle for the world not only dominates every national economy (including the US), but also requires a hegemonic supreme arbiter for capitalism. This observation is correct, although the resolution failed to point out that this hegemony by the U.S. could not have a permanent but only a historically specific and limited character.

What is more dubious is the proposition that the rise of the "super-imperialism" is necessarily identified with "bureaucratic militarization" of the economy and the whole society. There are, of course, aspects of it that can be pointed to: sweeping nationalizations in Europe, a permanent standing army and the growth of a monstrous state bureaucracy in the U.S. The resolution, however, goes much further than this: "This new character of stratification is founded upon the new dominance of war economy and the new role of the state bureaucracy, tending to substitute state-organized planning for the blind operation of the market, largely at the ~~expense~~ expense of petty capitalism but also partly at the expense of limiting or infringing upon the political and even social power of the bourgeoisie (as in the case of the fascist war economies) (emphasis added)". It is clear that the prognosis put forward is for this process to increase at an accelerating rate - "the prolongation of capitalist degeneration and the continued 'political prostration of the working class' (Trotsky) more and more brings it to the fore and lends it increasing historic weight" - and the growth of the state bureaucracy with a proportional attrition of the bourgeoisie. I do not believe ~~xxx~~ that this conception can be sustained (we are talking about advanced capitalist nations, not about nationalist regimes in Egypt, Syria etc. where actual state ownership of the capitalist economy has been instituted for other reasons).

I think the reason for this is clear: while the growth of the state bureaucracy is indeed associated with the permanent arms economy (as certain aspects of Watergate have made very clear), the very prosperity made possible



made possible by the PAE means that there is no necessity whatever for the capitalist ruling class to submit to any weakening in its own power. Rather than the attrition of the bourgeoisie, then, we have seen a long term period of US hegemony, and the partial subordination of the bourgeoisie of other nations to the US, now to be followed by a revival of sharp national competition. In such a context the development of more powerful state bureaucracies, centralizing capital for both economic and military reasons even at the expense of the bourgeoisie, can be regarded as a theoretical possibility - one which Bukharin even pointed to in IMPERIALISM AND WORLD ECONOMY - but hardly a certainty.

5. Flowing from this analytical problem one can find a large number of easily identifiable political errors - some of them already indicating the growth of "Stalinophobia" and a certain softness toward the social democracy - which need not be discussed in great depth here. Because the decay of capitalism is regarded with a kind of fatalistic inevitability, we are told that it is not reformism, but rather Stalinism, which is the "main enemy" of the working class internationally. Because the analysis itself is so schematic, it is evident that this was meant to apply equally to the United States, France, and elsewhere irrespective of the actual relative strength of social democratic or Communist parties! We are told that the role of the social democracy is often to act, effectively, as a surrogate for Stalinism (i.e. that the social democratic parties, which were the vehicles for a good deal of extensive nationalization and bureaucratic reorganization of capitalist economies) - in that they promote tendencies toward bureaucratic collectivization - but that their working class base would prevent this from being carried through and that therefore revolutionaries orient toward these parties as a matter of general strategy, while avoiding any such orientation toward the CP's as a matter of principle!! No serious consideration is given to the question of what pressure is brought to bear on either of these parties by the working class. But most obviously, it is evident that all of these schemas could give no conceivable realistic guidance to the activity of revolutionaries in the U.S., where neither social democracy nor Stalinism were mass forces. In short, the ISL resolution failed at this juncture to translate its fundamentally correct third camp principles into a real strategy or perspective. Even taking into account the enormous difficulties involved in developing any perspective at that time, and the failure of any other tendencies on the left to do so, we must count this as ~~xxxxx~~ the greatest failure of the resolution.

Two final notes. First, this is not the place for any extended discussion of the nature and politics of Stalinophobia, some of the roots of which can be seen in this resolution. There is a relatively full discussion of these questions in the N/C reply to the statement of the "Third Camp Tendency" several months before the 1972 Convention. Secondly, the section of the resolution on "The Socialist Struggle for Democracy" could have contained the basis of the best perspective for revolutionaries in the 1950's - that is, the energetic championing of all struggles for democracy, attempting to give these struggles a political character independent of the two reactionary camps in the world. Unfortunately, this is only discussed in the most timeless and abstract way and gives no real guide to action. A militant defense of trade union democracy and independence, for example, was extremely important in this period. The resolution even notes quite correctly that an independent political orientation is absolutely vital, noting for example the European working class must choose between subordination to U.S. imperialism or to Stalinism if it fails to break with the reformist assumptions and arguments of its leaders. Nonetheless, the resolution fails to make any concrete discussion of how to pursue these struggles - again because of its schematic, abstract understanding of the actual politics of the SP's and CP's and what they meant.

DIRECTIVES & RECOMMENDATIONS TO BRANCHES FROM THE NATIONAL SECRETARY

X This will be a regularly appearing sheet in your key list mailing from now on, although not necessarily in every mailing. Exec members and NC members should make sure to communicate its contents to the relevant comrades in charge of the various activities to whom certain recommendations, etc are relevant. It is really important that we begin to take seriously tightening up the organization especially in the area of responsiveness to outside political developments, and to organizational procedures suggested from the National Office. If it is not feasible to carry something out, the exec and/or organizer should let me know via the branch mailing why it isn't, rather than ignoring it, which in the final analysis means ignoring at least partially the national office and the national leadership.

1. There should be a national report of some kind at each formal branch meeting. In order to get information, the organizer and/or member of the exec who is responsible for overseeing the branch meetings should contact the NC member in your branch or organizing committee, or anyone who receives the key list mailing. The National Secretary's report always includes some information about what the organization is doing elsewhere, and this information should be passed on to the entire membership, so as to help end some of the parochialism and isolation we have. By and large also such reports can be morale boosters, as there ~~is~~ usually at least one item each week somewhere in the country that we can be proud of.

2. The X Detroit Branch Exec passed the following motion at its meeting of February 20: "That the organization consider it the political responsibility of every industrialized comrade (where security permits) to distribute WP regularly to contacts in the shop, discuss it with them, solicit feedback and in general attempt to cultivate a regular audience for the paper and regular discussions about it. This is to be considered an important part of our work. Any comrade neglecting to do so should be considered derelict." All fractions and execs should take up this motion and seriously discuss it. Those comrades who are beginning to carry this out in Detroit are having very good success in doing so, and they find it an excellent way of raising politics in the shop. The feedback that they have begun to get from contacts in the shop also will aid greatly in improving the paper to make it more useful to our industrial comrades in their day to day work.



### PERSPECTIVES FOR CLUW Gay 3.

The March 23-24 meeting of the Coalition of Trade Union Women, in ~~Chicago~~ Chicago, is one of the most significant events, thus far, toward organizing a working women's movement, since the inception of the women's movement of the 60's. Although late in coming, and run by trade union bureaucrats, CLUW legitimizes the struggle of ~~the~~ working women as women in a way that the middle class and radical movements of the 60's could not.

The ~~potential~~ potential of CLUW is enormous.

For the first time there is (or will be) a national organization that poses as the voice of working women. The existence of CLUW and the publicity an organization of its proposed magnitude will get, can be an important encouragement to working women generally. Local CLUW's can give us a place to bring our contacts. Working women interested in fighting on questions affecting women will have a place to go. Struggles that CLUW ~~involves~~ involves itself in can be catalytic and inspirational to working women everywhere. The mere existence of a national organization of working women challenges the trade union bureaucracy. Although the women at the top are bureaucrats themselves, and will try to use CLUW for their own advancement, the posing of the women's question will create splits and divisions in the bureaucracy itself.

In other words, the existence of CLUW opens up many possibilities for us in posing the women's question in our labor work and beginning to build a working women's movement.

Or CLUW can collapse.

Organized at the top by real bureaucrats and capping off a series of sometimes conflicting conferences on working women around the country, the calling of a national organization may dissolve into the Byzantine in-fighting of the trade union bureaucracy itself.

We are not indifferent to that question however. Although called by top bureaucrats to enhance their own careers, there are other factors involved. CLUW has apparently struck a real response among women around the country. 2-3,000 are expected and registration may be cut-off before the 23rd due to the enormous numbers.

Due to the expense ~~involved~~ involved (registration and transportation) and the real failure to mobilize the rank and file, most participants will probably be low level officials (local officers, women's committee members), staffers, ~~some~~ rank and file and industrialized radicals.

The SWP and CP are also heavily involved. ~~Apparantly~~

Apparantly ~~different~~ different political tendencies in the bureaucracy are divided over what they want and ~~as~~ some want nothing. Nevertheless, several thousand ~~trade~~ trade union women will be coming to Chicago and ~~from~~ from all indications, no matter what the top bureaucrats ~~want~~ want, they want a national organization.

For the reasons listed above - we want one too.

While CLUW opens up many possibilities for us it also poses many problems. The top bureaucrats will not carry out our program. There version of a national organization and ours is very different. They will want a shell controlled at the top. Their main purpose for organizing CLUW is to advance their own careers. They will also try to use CLUW to cut off any movement outside the trade unions and to fend off any serious criticisms of the unions. When push comes to shove, most of them will ally with their ~~male~~ counterparts.

Our job is to make comprehensible why they will not really fight and help build a leadership of working women that will.

The women at the conference that we will be orienting to will predominantly be the rank and filers and some of the local officials who are militants and serious about fighting. Most of them will have some understanding of what a struggle for the needs of working women entails. They will know how few women are organized and how important that is. They will have seen protective legislation eaten away and will understand what the coming recession will mean to working women.

In other words, they will have some sense of the scope of the struggle and some understanding of the need for a national organization.

They may also understand who the bureaucrats at the top are and be leery of having to deal with them. Some of the best people may feel that CLUW is ~~xxxxx~~ too much to deal with and that they are better off taking care of business in wherever they come ~~xxxx~~ from.

Our job is to help them understand that local fights alone cannot win significant gains, and that there is a strategy for building (if not winnable immediately) a strong national organization, capable ~~xxxx~~ of fighting for the needs of working women. Of course this entails building strong locals as part of the process but the existence of a national organization strengthens those possibilities.

People are legitimately impressed with size and will be more likely to believe in the fighting ability ~~xxxx~~ of a national organization of thousands of women than a small local group. In most cases they will be right.

The question of local ~~xxxx~~ and national organization are not necessarily counter posed. A national organization needs real local sections and this is what we are for.

However local struggles and organizations tend to remain isolated and fall apart because of their inherent weakness. If they do last, they become extremely in-groupy and fail to spread beyond themselves.

Things that take off do not proceed in a logical, orderly way - first a local group, then a regional structure than national, but have their own dynamic. The question of national organization will be posed in Chicago, ~~xxxxxxx~~ the need is to build nationally and locally at the same time.

We fight for the conception of a national organization open to all working women (not just trade union women). We recognize that CLUW cannot become this overnight and call for the formation of local groups that ~~xxxx~~ would elect delegates to another national convention in six months. In the meantime a continuations committee of 21 women from across the country, elected at large, should be set up. Its major task would be to implement whatever the conference passes and help the locals publicize CLUW's existence.

Because of the coming recession the single, most important question facing working women is their continued existence. Women's jobs tend to be ~~xxxx~~ some of the least stable and ~~xxxx~~ women are ~~xxxx~~ also the last hired and the first fired. The recession will mean a contraction of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ employed labor force generally, most heavily for women and minorities, and will wipe out the few gains the women's movement achieved for working women.

Therefore we should focus our immediate agitation on the questions of organizing the ~~xxxx~~ unorganized and mobilizing the trade union movement to fight the lay-offs.



also

We will/want to raise the questions of childcare, and upgrades, ~~xxxx~~ However as our intervention should be focused for maximum effect (CLUW could end up passing it everything and doing nothing) those questions should be raised propagandistically now. (If they come to the floor of course we support our positions.)

To concretize the demand for organizing the unorganized we should demand that the local AFL/CIO trade union councils should put up a certain amount of money ~~xxxx~~ or hire organizers. We should also pose support for the farm workers.

To concretize the ~~x~~ questions of layoffs we should demand the unions refuse overtime while their are ~~is~~ layoffs. The unions should also fight ~~xxxx~~ for a shorter work week at the same rate of ~~x~~ pay. We should also ~~xxx~~ propose that CLUW call a mass mobilization in Washington in June against the layoffs.

Our main motivation for these demands should discuss that it ~~is~~ is women and blacks, as well as other minorities, who will be the hardest hit by the recession.

do

We may not expect our positions to win (at least not with out content) But we do expect that they will have an audience. Every point mentioned, national membership organization, organizing the unorganized and fighting the layoffs are questions that ~~are~~ are up ~~are~~ for discussion not abstract "correct" program disseminated from the work of the conference as it sees it.

Most likely some sort of national organization, probably a bureaucratically controlled umbrella group, open only to trade union women, will come out. We will continue to ~~xxxx~~ work in these groups.

Our ability to work in the locals will depend on what else is passed. A ~~x~~ commitment to help organize the unorganized will ~~x~~ give us a handle so will ~~x~~ a mass demo against the layoffs.

A fight to bring more women into the bureaucracy cuts us out.

We hope to help sharpen the divisions in the group; to show that its current leaders will not really fight because they are part of the bureaucracy.

If a real fight demands fighting the layoffs. Woodcock has hardly uttered a peep on ~~the~~ layoffs point dramatically. The UAW bureaucrats at CLUW will be unwilling to take Woodcock on. The same sex organize the unorganized. Where is the AFL/CIO support ~~xxx~~ for the farmworkers.

We do not expect to win on the IS ~~IS~~, but we do expect to win many good people to our conception, who will be willing to continue to fight with us and willing to work with us, locally, in CLUW.

### Implementation

We should mobilize as many women as possible. Those not in unions should run (Y) the lit table, sell the paper and aggressively push the IS line, as ISers.

Different wording and combinations of the various positions should be submitted by all IS women trade unionists around the country.

We should have two leaflets. One, agitational, should push our line for CLUW: why we need a national organization, what we have to fight for, and the unwillingness for the bureaucrats to wage a real fight. On the back it should say who the IS is with an interest blank. The ~~xxxx~~ other leaflet should reprint the "Down and Out in Detroit" article with ~~xxxx~~ introductory sub blank.

~~xxxx~~ The article in WP should be ~~xxxx~~ analytical, going into points above. The paper should be aggressively sold.

The steering committee 2 of the fraction ~~xxxx~~ will be empowered to carry out the line of the NAC and should be the women's commission, voting, plus Carole, Ruth and either Edie, Wendy or Sarah.

We should get a hotel room to use as headquarters. The Chi. branch should make sure that mimeo equipment will be available somewhere. We should attempt to get someone on the continuations committee, probably Ruth.

The steering committee, except Ruth, should meet next week to further concretize plans. Fractions should meet in each branch to discuss implementation. All women going should be briefed on how to fight on the floor. The women's commission should be the floor leaders.

~~Our general orientation towards the CLUW conference~~

AT THE CLUW conference our participation will be on two levels:

- 1) **A Propagandistic presence:** In our leaflets, Workers Power and through women outwardly identified as ISers we will explain what is really necessary to build a national organization that will further the struggle of working women, what kind of organization is necessary, and what kind of leadership is necessary to carry out a program of struggle. We will also explain what is necessary to carry out a real national struggle against layoffs, and what kind of leadership is needed to do this. We do this because it is important for us to explain what is actually necessary and why this conference as it exists now cannot carry it out. This is important because there may be a small number of women that we might attract to us by raising these things.
- 2) **Agitational Presence:** In our agitational work we want to encourage developments that open things up for rank and file activities, and position ourselves in relationship to these developments so that we can be able to participate in them. This means that we put forward motions and resolutions to which there are some actual forces that we will be able to work with in implementing these activities in order to begin building actual working women's organizations of struggle.

In order to accomplish the propagandistic presence, we put forward the following resolution, submitted by a trade union IS woman, and which will be spoken to by an IS speaker (Note the formulations are rough, and the specific resolution, in its form would not be worded in quite the way it appears below, but the political substance would be the same).

Practically everyone, including most bureaucrats, the SWP and the Communist Party, agree that CLUW should be a national membership organization, and that it should wage some sort of campaign against layoffs, therefore to provide a meaningful context for such a campaign and for a real national organization, the IS urges CLUW:

- 1) to demand that the AFL-CIO organize a one day general strike against the layoffs, and to end the practice of supporting the Democratic and Republican Parties. The AFL-CIO instead should build a labor party and trade union action committed to a program of struggle designed to provide working class solutions to the present crisis. These demands include, but are not limited to, 30 for 40, nationalization of the oil industry under workers control and other measures designed to make the capitalist class pay the entire cost of the social crisis it has caused.
- 2) to build support for these demands in the labor movement, local CLUW groups will organize demonstrations to publicize these ideas at factory gates, union meetings and central labor council meetings.
- 3) for a national membership organization with class struggle leadership. In order to carry out such a fight, CLUW must be a national membership organization with a leadership committed to carrying out such a program. No existing international union leadership can or will fight for this program. ~~AN~~ CLUW must have a class struggle leadership of militants with a rank and file base who are not restrained by a commitment to stay within the needs of the capitalist system. The International Socialists stand ready to unite with anyone willing to fight for this program.

In order to accomplish the agitational part of our intervention, we put forward the following resolutions at the conference, to be ~~xxx~~ submitted by those not openly identified as ISers.



1. Union meetings: We are for meetings of all women in a single union. At those meetings we put forward the following (NOTE: These must be concretized for each individual union):

- 1) The group present at the meeting to be constituted as a women's caucus in that union.
- 2) That group ~~present at the meeting~~ will fight to get militant women into the leadership of the union.
- 3) That group fights for the union to fight for women's equality in the contract.
- 4) In order to do this, this group must be an on-going group that will meet again at an appropriate time (eg before the next CLUW national meeting), in order to intensify its on going work. Members of the group will build caucuses and/or organizing committees for caucuses in the locals.
- 5) Representatives elected to the national CLUW steering committee, nominated by these union meetings are recallable by this group.

2. For a campaign to organize the unorganized: We propose a two level campaign, which must be fleshed out and concretized after we arrive at the conference in order to determine if it is a possibility.

- 1) That a national target be chosen to be worked on by all regional and local groups, and that a national committee with militant leadership, and receiving national money will begin to organize this campaign. (Note: If there are not actual forces at the conference who with us could begin to organize such a campaign, we will drop it except as an educational point.)
- 2) At the regional level, we make a similar proposal, that local committees choose a concrete target, and begin actually organizing to carry it out. (Local targets must be chosen on the basis of what these is to be organized, and if there are actual local forces for carrying it out. If so, we fight to get a committee of CLUW with militants who really want to fight to carry this out.

Leaflets: We have two leaflets, one explaining what type of national organization is necessary, the type of leadership necessary for such an organization, and our program for such an organization and leadership. The other leaflet should explain our position on super-seniority, as it is really a concrete issue here, especially with the focus on the questions of layoffs.

#### MOTIVATION FOR THE PRECEDING MOTIONS ON CLUW

Our primary objective is to establish an ongoing working relation with those elements ~~at~~ attending the conference who really ~~are~~ want to fight for the interests of working women. To accomplish this we must pose programs which ~~we~~ have some ability to be carried out by the forces which will actually exist after the conference.

It is ~~xxx~~ essential to establish an ongoing relation with the militants so that we will have a ~~x~~ continuing audience for the more long range of our ideas. Unless we have an ongoing relations with the more militant elements at this conference, we will be unable to work together with them to strengthen militant forces on whose increased size the future of our ideas depends. Therefore the axis of our intervention, setting the context for propagandax work, is the need to develop post conference working relationship with the militants who will be present.

All of us know that this conference will be dominated by an uneasy alliance of mutually suspicious international bureaucrats from different unions add political pats, with the SWP trying to demonstrate its usefulness as a union partner in the bloc. All these people are agreed that the theme of the conference is "unity" and "positive action." This means no politics and no criticism of the chauvinist

practices of the male dominated bureaucracy.

We also know that in spite of the fact that the international bureaucrats will dominate the conference in a heavy handed way, attendance is expected to be large and a number of local groups of trade union women will be represented. Marge Albert or Ora Lee Malone, Union WAGE are examples of leaders and groups of this type. They represent the most militant pan union organized forces which will be there. Although hopefully activists from single union caucuses will also attend.

Most prominent trade union women bureaucrats will be attending the conference. While they know that this conference ~~is~~ has ~~some~~ risks for them, they recognize that staying away would be more dangerous than going. At the conference they will want to (1) present a shadow national organization, (2) channel the activities of local organizations into safe things like ERA lobbying, (3) deflect any effort to pressure the various unions with large female memberships to fight for the needs of their women members.

(1) They can pull off their shadow national organization, since there is no prospect for an alternative leadership on a national level who could challenge them and counterpose a fighting organization to their own.

(2) Channeling the activities of local organizations should be more difficult. In particular, this is an area in which we should fight. The international bureaucrats will not really want to make plans for real pan-union organizations on the local level. Most of this will be left to the SWP and we can fight to set up formal membership organizations the cutting edge of whose activities will be to organize unorganized shops. Thus preparation for the conference should include gathering information and making contacts where such organizing is possible.

(3) There may be such strong sentiment for meetings of all members of the same union, that such meetings will actually take place. In this area too, we can play an active role. We should champion such meetings, and through official and unofficial channels we should try to actively organize them in the industries where we have ~~poor~~ representation - CWA, UAW, AFT, etc.

**EXPOSING THE BUREAUCRATS:** Exposing the bureaucrats in a conference such as this primarily depends upon your ability to confront them with concrete practical alternatives to their own class collaborationist policies. Real exposure will take place in meetings organized on a level that has some rank and file participation, that is, the regional and union caucus level. In the CWA meeting, for example, the contract and issues under it could be discussed in a very effective manner. In a regional meeting, practical plans could be laid for organizing the unorganized, and putting demands on the relevant unions.

At the level of the national conference, the program of a fighting women's trade union organization can be posed only in an educational/propagandistic way. The conference is structured in such a way that programmatic ideas posed to be acted on on a national level will be ignored in one way or another. And the CLUW steering committee will be dominated by exactly the same bureaucrats who organized the conference. To raise demands on them ~~will~~ will seem naive to many, and serve primarily to expose the weakness of the rank and file.

Therefore, the best way to pose the need for a genuine national organization will be through our intervention in the regional and union meetings and through our propaganda - the newspaper and our leaflet. In the regional meetings, we raise concrete ideas for building strong local and/or regional groups the cutting edge of whose work will be to organize the unorganized. Beyond this, we pose the need for links between regional committees doing the same kind of work. For example, everyone trying to organize Sears should meet again in September. Such links will develop meaningful sentiment for a fighting national organization as well as project and develop a militant leadership for it.

X Activities in the union meetings will be very important to future work in the direction of building a real national organization. The reason is that for many union women coming to this conference, the need for women trade unionists to organize nationally is posed most sharply in their own union. CWA is a good example, and the fraction steering committee should be asked to explain how a meeting of all CWA women can get organized.

Our propaganda must explain the significance of this conference, the kind of national organization which is necessary, and how to move in the direction of such a national organization. This propaganda should be divided between Workers Power, and our flyer. Workers Power should prepare a long article or supplement which explains the significance of the trade union women's movement; what THIS conference represents; and why it is necessary to build on-going groups whose base will be capable of carrying out serious struggle in their unions and organizing committees back home. Our leaflet should be focused on the tasks of a real national trade union women's organization; why socialists will build such an organization; and how we propose doing so at this conference and beyond.

Concluding Thought: We must recognize that this conference will be followed by many more organized gatherings of trade union women. The techniques used to intervene in NPAC type affairs are counterproductive here. This conference will not settle the future of the trade union women's movement. Our participation in it, however, may significantly condition our future influence in such a movement.

## MOTIONS ON CLUW

John Weber

For the purpose of implementing the NAC decisions on the CLUW intervention, propose the following:

I. We bring to this conference two lines:

1) For majority of IS women based on our assessment of the real possibilities of this conference designed to encourage the greatest openings toward rank and file developments and toward positioning ourselves in relationship to these.

2) For an explicit IS presence, not different from #1, but an elaboration of it. Addressed not to radicals per se, but to the same kinds of rank and filers and low level officials who we would want to work with in our local work. The purpose of this is ~~not~~ to put forward a line which though comprehensible in the frame work of the goals of the conference cannot be passed by it given the prior commitments of the bureaucrats who control this conference. The purpose for this is to have a presence at the conference where we do not impose on ourselves the limitation of the bureaucratic character of CLUW. We use this to attract to ourselves the best elements there, and if successful, lay the basis for future collaboration.

II. Our general lines should be:

A) Need for a national organization, membership organization, open to all women union members and working women who desire unionization, for loose affiliation procedures, for local regional groups, union groups, organizing committee groups, etc, setting context for local meetings.

B) Commitment to key issues targeted for both local and national action: 1) organize the unorganized; 2) fight layoffs - equal job opportunities and upgrading. specific proposals for local and national actions and for relating local to national activities.

C) Demand whole labor movement support women's rights and women's equality. 1) Money, organizers and policy for organizing the unorganized women. 2) full support for equal job opportunities for women, including fight against layoffs, for upgrading, etc. 3) for strong women's organization in each local and international union.



In carrying out our general line, we urge women doing local work to write resolutions within the framework of the general line which generalize local problems and put them in a national framework (eg ISers in city A are involved with a specific union organizing drive. They should propose a general motion on organizing the unorganized dealing in general terms with the specific local problems encountered.)

III. Our explicit IS line should include everything in II, generalized in the following way:

A) Need for national organization, with emphasis on the involvement of rank and file working women. For control of CLUW by rank and file and not tight domination by high level union officials. Proposals for organization including national convention in 6 months, delegated by local group meetings (6 months membership drive). Procedure for democracy and rank and file control within CLUW. For a group that can oppose the bureaucrats when this is needed to advance women's rights.

B) In addition to points already raised, raise childcare paid by the bosses, full employment for all who wish to work, to be top priority for union political action, for opposition to the Democrats and Republicans, for a labor party and labor direct action, both for trade union women independently, and for the entire labor movement to fight for women's needs and for the needs of all workers.

C) Put forward our analysis that the present trade union leadership will not lead a fight for women's equality, but will be an obstacle. In order to carry out general line, we will have to fight the bureaucracy, who will oppose our line. The fight for women's equality is part of the fight for a rank and file movement in labor. The ~~failure~~ failure of this bureaucracy to fight on women's needs is a reflection of their failures on the real needs of all workers. Demand a pledge of no jurisdictional warfare in organizing the unorganized, but rather coalition organizing - point out that large numbers of organizing drives are lost because of jurisdictional disputes. Biggest obstacle to organizing the unorganized is bureaucratic character and lousy reputation of the unions in the majority of women's industries. To effectively organize the unorganized requires a fight against the conservative male dominated union leadership and a class struggle policy.

The politics of III should be concretized as ~~WB~~ a line (with emphasis on parts in II). It should also be line for IS leaflets. Also resolutions should be written to concretize in III Motion on national organization (A), Motion on Program (B), Motion on Labor Bureaucracy (C).

NAC MINUTES 3/12

Absent: JG

O. NATSEC REPORT. APPROVED.

1. DETROIT. ~~Report~~ Reports by JW on (i) statement being drafted by exec in opposition to Maoist attempts to exclude Trotskyists from united-front activity; (ii) progress in setting up discussions with a group of black revolutionaries we are loosely in contact with.

2. AUTO. Presentation by BH on auto perspectives document, and preliminary discussion

3. SUPERSENIORITY. JW and MD to speak with comrades going to visit St. Louis on how they should raise the question vis-a-vis mass layoffs of black workers in St. Louis GMAD and Chrysler.

0. NATSEC REPORT. APPROVED ALL FOR (attached).

1. MEMBERSHIP. MAL applications from St. Louis APPROVED. (St. Louis is now an O.C. with four members).  
APPLICATION from Bellingham for MAL status APPROVED.

2. CLUW. Following on last week's preliminary discussion (see motions by GS, CRG and BW in last week's minutes), a further and more complete discussion was held, with more complete motions from GS and CRG/MD. (The ~~xxxx~~ texts of these motions are attached). The two motions were voted counterposed, and the GS motion PASSED 4-1 (MD). An amendment to the GS motion was then submitted by JW (text also attached), and TABLED after lengthy discussion. A further meeting of the NAC is to be held along with the leadership of the women's fraction and CRG in order to make final plans on 3/14. The following other ~~xxxx~~ amendments, etc. were introduced:

MOTION(DF): That we submit a motion to CLUW demanding that the labor movement break with the Democratic Party and build an independent labor party. This is not to be a major focus of our intervention, but we will make a fight to get such resolutions onto the floor. ALL FOR

MOTIVATION: The resolution should specify the role of the Republican, Democratic and Wallaceite parties in promoting anti-labor legislation which hits women and blacks first and hardest; that the DP has done nothing to resist layoffs which are throwing women out of industry; that the DP has supported the crushing of protective legislation which provided minimal protection to working women; and that the DP and RP are in fact politically identical in every important respect. Therefore a new political party based on IPA by the labor movement is required.

MOTION(MD,DF):: To call ~~xxxx~~ for meeting time at the CLUW conference for women in specific unions. PASSED.

MOTION(MD): To introduce our position on super-seniority. PASSED 4-0-1 (JT).

IMPLEMENTATION MOTION(JW): (i)NAC to begin aggressively implementing the position passed following this discussion. PASSED 4-0-1 (MD). (ii)CRG to be given permission to submit resolutions based on her point of view, to preserve the possibility of supporting them if we adopt her position after further discussion. PASSED 3-2 (DF, BM). (iii)To schedule a meeting next week (3/14) on IS functioning to include leadership of women's fraction, where CRG will be given additional opportunity to present her position. PASSED 4-1 (BM).

STATEMENT by JW: I withdrew my motion on the following reasons:  
(i)On the basis of the discussion it appeared my motion would receive a majority ~~(MD/JT/JW)~~ (MD/JT/JW). (ii)GS stated that she did not understand my motion and could not implement it. (iii)MD stated that she would support it, but on a lesser evil basis. (iv)If my position were adopted, and if there were no one on the women's leadership prepared to take responsibility for the NAC majority position, it would lead to a disaster in functioning. (v)Although I still believe the withdrawn position is correct, for it to pass under present circumstances would in fact lead to confusion and would in fact sabotage our functioning. If I am convinced that there exist women who agree ~~me~~ with my position and can take effective responsibility for leading its implementation I would resubmit my motion.



3. UAW/DOUG FRAZER. Presentations by BH and JW on the documents "On Schrade". It was moved and voted to accept the report as the basis for organizing actions to aggressively expose Frazer. The points spelling this out (PASSED ALL FOR) are the following:

- (i) We ~~we~~ vigorously insist the UNC convince Jordan Sims to retract his sponsorship of the "Friends of Doug" testimonial dinner being given this month, and his statements that Doug would make a good UAW President - and if this cannot be done, then the UNC repudiate Sims' actions. (NOTE: Frazer is the organizer of last summer's goon squad mobilization to break the Mack walkout).
- (ii) We insist that the UNC make it impossible for Frazer to sweep his thuggery under the rug. Concretely, this means publically reminding the UAW of the Mack operation.
- (iii) If UNC refuses either of these proposals, we are prepared to publically criticize the UNC for this, drawing the implications - i.e. that refusal of this course constitutes backhanded support of Frazer.
- (iv) We press within UNC for a picket of the testimonial dinner, and try to organize it even without the UNC. The purpose of this action is to expose Frazer and his role. This may lead to a confrontation with Sims.

4. WATERGATE. MOTION by DF (attached) PASSED ALL FOR.

NOTE: This motion is not intended to be a definitive statement. It simply puts forward a political line on the question of the impeachment of Nixon and the idea that has been floating around vaguely about some kind of special P residential election. This motion is not considered adequate by itself for the purposes of the educational work we should be continuing to do.

5. NC ASSESSMENT. Report by MD APPROVED 3-1-1 (JT against, JW abstain). Report and statement by JT and BM attached.

6. MAOIST GROUPS. Brief report on offensive taken by Maoists in Detroit to exclude Trotskyists from united-front activities. Detroit branch is working on response to this offensive. Statement was drafted by DF for Detroit ~~xxxxx~~ exec, which is working on fuller statement. TABLED to MD.

7. BRITAIN. BM to attend rank and file conference called by ISGB at end of March.

8. STALINISM. Presentation by JT on educational preparations for Stalinism discussion. Report will be drawn up and sent out. First discussion to be a critique of THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED, presented by JG.

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(See NAC minutes for explanation).

1. The handing down of the Watergate indictments represent the beginning of the last phase of the Nixon Administration. It was only by the restraints imposed by the prosecutors that Nixon himself was not indicted by the Grand Jury. This in itself is the latest in a series of tactical maneuvers aimed toward removing Nixon with the least danger of a real Constitutional crisis. The end of the public Senate Watergate hearings, the care taken by Jaworski to have no further confrontations over White House tapes and documents, and similar "discretion" up to now by the House Judiciary Committee, are similar examples. One could also note the disappearance of the campaign contribution scandals and the Rebozo connection from the newspapers. The forces within the establishment pressing for impeachment are, in fact, assuming that Nixon can be forced out without new bombshells and disruptions.

Nixon, for his part, as proceeding as we predicted - using his remaining time in office to complete the massive destruction of evidence and perhaps figuring on "toughing it out" through his Congressional enemies' cowardice, a trait they have proven to have in great measure. However, every week it becomes clearer that leaving Nixon in office is not tenable.

2. As the final threads of Nixon's hold on power unravel in the next months, it is finally necessary that we put forward a clear line on our attitude toward Nixon's impeachment (before we have essentially put forward an ~~an~~ analysis without really specifying how we would like to intervene in it). On the one hand, we do not want to launch slogans of the kinds advanced by the Maoist groups, such as "Throw the Bum Out" (~~RU~~ RU), or "Dump Nixon, Stem the Fascist Tide" (OL), whose actual content is to replace Nixon with the Democrats. In ~~fact~~ fact, the major usefulness of the Watergate crisis for us is not agitational, but educational and analytical. What we have correctly tried to stress is the connection of Watergate to the whole structure of bourgeois politics. On the other hand, it is important that we do not come across simply as passive commentators indifferent to the impeachment of Nixon. In fact we are not indifferent; we are for the impeachment of Nixon and we are for this taking place in a way that opens up all the issues as much as possible. Of ~~course~~ course, the only reason that Watergate has been allowed to become such a crisis is that there is no mass opposition movement threatening the system from below - nonetheless there is a deep popular hatred of Nixon which should not simply be left for the liberals to capitalize on.

3. Therefore, in the context of what should be a continuing educational campaign around Watergate, and in WP - which should attempt to resume the kind of educational coverage we gave to Watergate several months ago - we should be demanding the impeachment of Nixon and giving critical support to the demand to the demand for a special Presidential election. We counterpose this to simply replacing Nixon with Ford and continuing with business as usual. This is a proposal which ~~the~~ a section of the bourgeois press has discussed, but which we do not believe that the ruling class would seriously consider adopting. The reason for this is precisely that it would open things up too much - it could splinter the Republican Party and have unpredictable consequences inside the DP as well. That is why we should support it, i.e. on the basis of turning it into a campaign to destroy the twin capitalist Watergate parties. That is, we demand an independent labor slate and a labor party ~~as~~ as part of our program for the election. We do not, of course, raise any illusions about the bourgeois parties carrying out such a program - in fact our main purpose for critical support to the demand is to expose their anxiety to retain their monolithic stranglehold on American politics.

4. In the absence of any mass motion or even the remotest trickle of interest in a labor party ~~or~~ or any other kind of political alternative at the present ~~time~~ time, this should not be conceived as a mass agitational slogan or anything of the sort. However, we should recognize that ~~xxx~~ if a special election were called, even without any independent alternative, there would be a relatively much broader opportunity for revolutionaries to discuss the lessons of the whole crisis. On a much smaller scale, raising the demand in a critical fashion today helps us to do the same thing.

STATEMENT BY JT AND RM on ASSESSMENT OF THE NC

We agree with MD that the major problem with the February NC was the lack of leadership provided by the NAC. That problem was manifested, however, not in the that the reports "having been approved by the NAC beforehand, should have been defended and hacked up by that entire body" and the fact that they were not so defended led to the breakdown of those sessions into bickering, etc. The ~~the~~ NAC members did fail in this respect, which undoubtedly did contribute to the breakdown of the session, but the primary problem was the previous failure of the NAC to exercise leadership: in particular to clearly establish a set of priorities and to motivate those priorities. This means choosing to focus on them rather than others, explaining that adding other priorities makes the whole idea of priorities ridiculous and makes it impossible to make the NAC accountable to the NC.

If everything is a "priority" then there are no priorities and the NAC is free to pick and choose what it wishes to concentrate on. The implication of this course of action would have been to make it clear to the NC that criticism if ~~responsibly~~ responsibly presented must be raised in terms of the priorities ~~selected~~ selected: if something must be done it means that something else must not be done. This requires a motion: this priority instead of that priority. This in turn requires thinking things through responsibly and not responding off the top of one's head. (What follows, of course, is the proposal to get the reports out earlier allowing the NAC and NC both time to consider them.

The fact is that although the reports suggested a change in emphasis in the organization by adding more things to do, they did not clearly attempt to put forward a limited set of priorities. That failure was the result of the fault of the whole NAC, not just the authors of the reports - because the NAC failed to set itself that task. This failure of the NAC set the stage for the bickering of the NC members: if no clear priorities are set why should anyone else bother to set them? Instead of proposing hard choices why not just add something to an already unworkable list?

The result was a monstrous set of activities which the NAC is responsible for, but cannot hope to carry out. Thus the NAC will have to choose its priorities as though the NC had not voted - unfortunate, but the most responsible course the NAC could hope to follow. Significantly, the preliminary discussions the NC has had point (appropriately) to a greater limitation of NAC tasks than any proposed in reports to the NC. That effort is a healthy indication that the NAC is beginning to learn the lesson.

Secondly, the NC members themselves must learn to act as a leadership body. The fact that the NAC did not act correctly gave elbow room for NC members to give play to their own indiscipline. But it is no excuse for it. If the NAC was mistaken it should be the task of the NC to correct the mistakes. For that to happen, members of the NC must start thinking in terms of their own responsibility as leaders of the organization as a whole and not simply in terms of their own opinions, desires, etc.



1. NO: We have almost sold out of the Kollontai pamphlet, and there are only 30 more copies of the reprint on the Middle East, so those branches wanting more should order as soon as possible.
2. New York: The branch held a forum on the Truckers Strike with CW (Cleveland) speaking. It was successful with a number of contacts attending.
3. Chicago: Paul A (East Bay) spoke for the branch on two campuses and at a branch meeting on the British Crisis and the Miners' Strike. Around 50 people came to the campus talks.
4. Membership: St. Louis has two new comrades, and we have a ~~new~~ new comrade in Bellingham, Washington.

#### NC ASSESSMENT

The most important aspect of the February NC was that it made clear that the organization as a whole and the NAC and NC especially must come to grips with a number of problems facing the organization. The fact that the NC provided recognition that the leadership of the organization must begin to give concrete direction and guidance to the activity of the organization was a very positive step forward. The National Secretary's Report and the Industrial Secretary's Report especially pointed out that the NAC, and the NC must begin discussions on our labor work, ~~but~~ including women's industrialization, how to implement the industrialization ~~campaign~~ campaign, and to develop perspectives on how to intervene and politically take on the Maoist Movement. In this context, we must begin to concretize our general perspectives through our accumulated experience. This means, assessing past work and generalizing the lessons of that work for the organization as a whole, as well as organizing discussions on those questions which have arisen through our work. The fact that the national leadership now recognizes the importance of clarifying our perspectives and ~~giving~~ beginning to give guidance to the work of the organization is the first big step in beginning to do just that. And the importance of this recognition must not be minimized.

~~XX~~

The two discussions on auto made clear that the NC has much to learn from discussing labor questions, as well as the NAC. But while it is true that the discussions were not the best, even of possible labor questions, it is correct to have begun the process of actually discussing the concrete work of the organization.

One of the better discussions was the one on super-seniority, where the differences were quite clear, and the discussion well focused, as discussions should be.

The discussions of the MS document also represented a good beginning on discussing the questions in an area we are the least well educated in - Marxist economics. ~~The~~ This discussion was the priority NC discussion set by the last NC. For the first time in the life of the IS a convention discussion was organized in advance in a competent manner. While the NC discussion was only the beginning, it was by a large successful and pointed in a healthy direction for a major national discussion. It raised additional

questions, and helped to clarify position. It will force comrades to sharpen their ideas on the basics as well as our general analysis of the period.

Despite these positive accomplishments, several problems arose, especially in the organizational session. It is important to understand these, so that we can learn from them and move forward. The major problem was the lack of leadership role played by the NAC in the NC. The NAC must perceive of itself as the leadership body of the NC, providing direction and guidance for that body. The reports presented, having been approved by the NAC beforehand, should have been defended and backed up by that entire body. This did not happen, and the NAC thus abdicated its role as the national leadership body for those sessions of the NC. That was the primary reason for the almost total breakdown of those sessions into bickering, etc. The sessions would have been difficult enough given that the reports tried to honestly come to grips with some of the real problems of the organization. But what happened did not have to happen and would not have, if the entire NAC had aggressively backed up the reports.

Among other things, the NAC has learned that the reports should have been better prepared for by the NAC. That is, they should have been prepared earlier, and sent out earlier allowing NC members to be better prepared for the discussion possibly preparing amendments and motions in advance. In better preparing for such discussions, the reports and the NAC must come to grips with what its priorities are. And, although these were implicitly stated in the reports, they should have been explicitly made clear, so that to be responsible, NC delegates could not just amend everything good to them, without deleting anything. The NAC in ~~max~~ discussing its assessment of the NC and the problems is now beginning to understand this ~~max~~ problem. But it is important that the NC do likewise. NC members as well as NAC members must also see themselves as responsible leaders of the organization, and must understand that the organization cannot do everything, and must set priorities. One of the most important things that we can learn from this NC is how leadership bodies function responsibly, both the NAC and the NC, and if we learn these lessons well, they will help immensely in the future in coming to grips with the difficult problems that we all understand now, and to which everyone is committed to dealing with.

In summary, this NC can be quite important if it forces us to come to grips with some of the basic problems of the organization, like what is the role of a responsible leadership body (NC and NAC), how do such leadership bodies function responsibly, and how does the national leadership come to grips with the concrete work of the organization today, and begin the process of really directing and guiding it. In this way, this NC will be a giant step forward because it allows us to begin the process of politically developing a real national organization with responsible national leadership.

National Secretary's Report March 12, 1974

1. International Women's Day: The IWD activities in Detroit ~~and Cleveland~~, Cleveland, New York and Seattle were quite successful. In Detroit, the branch in coalition with some other non sect groups had 6 hours of activities including two films, Salt of the Earth and a film about a hospitaliz~~x~~ organizing drive in the ~~south~~ south by black women, a panel discussion with the UFW, and a auto worker (nonIS), 2 black ~~women~~ women from a women's caucus in a Wayne State Study group and a black woman involved with the National Welfare Rights Organization. About 100 people attended, and we sold over \$40 worth of literature. The best thing about the activities here was that it solidified realtions with several groups includ ng two black groups, and for the first timr ahs really put us in touch with the left in Detroit. In Cleveland, the branch had a papnel discussion with the UFW, a domestic worker involved in organizing other domestic workers and several others. Bw spoke for the IS in Cleveland, and GS spoke for the IS in Detroit. ~~In~~ In New York, about 30 non ~~xxx~~ members attended where we spoke and the UFW in addition to others. In Seattle, about 20 non members attended, and in all places the branches found the activity to be quite successful, and well worth the effort, in that it helped to create a periphery and presence for the branches in their cities.

2. Workers Power: In Cleveland newspaper sales continue to be quite good. Workers at the Twinsburg Chrysler stamping plant have their dimes ~~xxx~~ ready as they drive through the gates to buy the paper. 35 copies (all the comrade had) were sold there last week. The LA branch also continues to sell the paper very well. Two comrades sold at the lines at two gas stations, and sold 10 copies in 20 minutes. The Detroit branch sold 130 copies of the last issue, with several people not making their assignments, so, sales should improve with the next issue.

3. New York: The branch has set up a WP study groups with some people from the UFW activity, including some farmworkers, and other contacts.

4. Bay Area: The Bay Area branches have set up a basic Marxism class and 4 non members came to the first meeting.

DIRECTIVES, RECOMMENDATIONS, SUGGESTIONS TO BRANCHES, ORGANIZING COMMITTEES, MALS

1. Branches and organizing committees should plan their forums enough time in advance so as to be able to get them into the What's On column in WP. Branches have reported people showing up for forums that they heard about from the paper, so it will help in advertising. In addition, it gives the paper more of an organizational context, making it more clear that it is the organ of the IS. To find out the deadlines, see National Report, Vol 2, No. 5., Workers Power Report No. 1. The next several deadlines are the following: #94 - 3/21, #95 - 4/4, #96 - 4/18, #97 - 5/2. To give you a sense of when that issue comes out, #93, whose deadline date was 3/7 will be back from the printers on 3/12, and out to most branches by 3/15, so you have to plan about 2 weeks in advance. Include speaker, identification, name of forum, time, place, city.

2. In order to get the ~~reprint~~ reprint series immediately, branches should put in a standing order ~~as~~ with the NO. In that way, as new reprints come out, you will be automatically sent the number you request and billed for them. That will mean that you will get them sooner, and we won't have to call around, etc. in order to let branches know they exist, and find out how many, etc. they want. There will be two ~~new~~ new ones coming out in the next 2 months to aid in the discussion on stalinism.



NAC MINUTES 3/19

Present: All except ~~JK~~ JT

Also present: RV, BW (women's commission)

0. NATSEC REPORT, Attached.

NOTE: BW is to speak with CRG so that next week NAC ~~xxxx~~ can discuss recent developments in the DARE group in Chicago and how to carry out a counter-offensive against Maoists.

1. EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Discussion of three documents submitted; for conditional support of the ERA (Kit L.), for changing our position from opposition to critical support (Carolyn G.), and for continuing opposition (Kevin B.). The KB and KL documents are attached, CG document is printed in Bulletin #47. The CG position was PASSED 3-2 (DF, JG against), the KB position FAILED ~~xxxx~~ 2-3 (DF, JG for), and the KL position FAILED 0-5. It is expected that this question will come up to the next NC. It should be noted by everyone that the I.S. has now voted to change its position on the ERA in the light of the changed conditions since 1970. A fuller document is to be written up by the women's commission to put forward the new line and as the basis for WP articles. NOTE for the minutes: BW and RV support the CG position.

2. CWA. Presentation by BM and discussion. The draft perspective by BM was PASSED 5-0 as the basis for discussion and amended by the fraction (this does not include specific points of implementation which were not discussed or voted on at this time).

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3. INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY. Report by BW on the success of IS activities on IWD. A report to be sent out.

MOTION(BM): To solicit explanations from those branches which organized nothing for the IWD campaign as to why they didn't. Also to ask ~~Ex~~ East Bay branch the reason for poor attendance at its IWD forum. PASSED 4-1 (JG).

MOTION(MD): To request all branches send written reports on their IWD activities, as Detroit has already done. ALL FOR.

4. SEATTLE. MOTION: To subsidize Seattle organizer through the convention. ALL FOR.

5. WATERGATE. The following was presented by Kit L. following editorial board controversy: MOTION(KL): That the IS programmatic position on the Watergate crisis (NB this means new elections and a labor party tied to the impeachment of Nixon - see previous NAC motion) can be appropriate for p.1 WORKERS POWER coverage.

The motion was TABLED back to the E.B. without a vote.

6. CLUW. For handy reference all motions are printed on the next page. This key list ailing should include the Gay S, motions which are the basis for our functioning at the CLUW conference. Full evaluations and reports of our functioning and what occurred at the conference will be included in next week's mailing. The discussion held by the NAC at this meeting fell into the categories of implementation of and amendments to the basic perspective adopted.

SEE NEXT PAGE FOR CLUW MOTIONS

CLUW. Motions on functioning. MOTION(from women's commission): The Commission is empowered to carry out the line as passed by the NAC for the CLUW conference. All comrades are expected to fight for our line at this conference. Also, while there have been disagreements on the ~~WAXX~~ NAC and the Commission as to our proposals, there can be no further debate on this general line and perspective at the conference. The Women's Commission is the voting leadership body for the CLUW fraction.

AMENDMENT(DF): It is the responsibility of the steering committee of the fraction to organize discussions by the fraction on questions which come up at the conference to which we have to respond, AMENDMENT ACCEPTED; MOTION PASSED ALL FOR.

MOTION: That the NAC assigns JG to attend the CLUW conference as a reporter for WORKERS POWER. ALL FOR.

Amendments on perspective. The main question discussed was our orientation toward the meetings of women from specific unions which will be held at the conference. These are intended by the organizers to simply be places to elect union representatives to the CLUW steering committee. Our perspective is to attempt to force them to open up to discuss real issues. The point on union meetings from the CRG/MD motion was introduced as an amendment to the GS motion (see below) and discussed point by point in terms of the issues we want to focus on at these meetings.

AMENDMENT(MD): We are for meetings of all women in a single union. At these meetings we put forward the following (to be concretized for each individual union): (i) We fight to open up these meetings to discuss real issues affecting women in those unions. That is, layoffs and maternity leave in the UAW; maternity and childcare in the AFT; upgrades in the CWA; and in that context we raise the demands for organizing women's caucuses, etc. ALL FOR.

(ii) The group present at that meeting to be constituted as an organizing committee for a women's caucus in the union. PASSED 3-2 (RM, BM, DF against). Consultative WC votes: GS against, BW abstain.

(iii) That group will fight to get militant women into the leadership of the union. FAILED 1-2-2 (MB for; DF, JG abstain). BW, GS both against.

(iv) That group will fight for equality for women in the contract. ALL FOR. (v) (This was a substitute submitted by JW for the original CRG/MD motion) We propose follow-up union meetings prior to the next CLUW conference. We do not specify that these are sections of CLUW although this may be relevant ~~is~~ if the question of structure is already resolved. ~~PASSED 3-2 (RM, BM, DF against)~~ ALL FOR.

(vi) We propose that representatives to the steering committee nominated by these union meetings are recallable by this group. FAILED 1-4 (MD for). GS, BW both against.

MOTION(JW, JG): The thrust of our intervention at the union meetings is the same focus as our overall conference intervention. Within that context, when appropriate, we raise the points passed above. In most cases, the specifics we wish to raise in union mtgs can be raised to concretize the three basic issues we are raising at the conference. ALL FOR.

MOTION to clarify UAW work (JW): To authorize Detroit exec to hold its planned discussion on a follow-up meeting of UAW women, calling on the UAW women's department to call it or, failing that, either the body present at CLUW or ~~an~~ an ad hoc grouping of the UNC to call such a conference. (NOTE this motion does not actually make this proposal but only enables Detroit exec to discuss it). PASSED.

national secretary's report march 19, 1974

1. National Office: New pamphlet out: **Toward Teacher Power**, by Steve ~~Zak~~ Zeluck, 60¢. We will be sending out copies to the branches very soon.
2. St. Louis: BH and BM (Detroit) visited the organizing committee, and had very fruitful discussions with our very close friend there, contacts of his, and a group of black auto workers at the Chrysler plant. The organizing committee is in very good shape, regularly sells approximately 35 copies of WP, by visiting contacts bi-weekly and then discussing the issue with them. They have found this to be quite helpful in regularizing contact work. Also our good friend at GM will begin taking some 4 copies of WP into his plant to distribute to his friends.
3. West Coast Tour: JG's west coast tour was quite successful. All ~~branch~~ branches have developed a real periphery through their work in the UFW, Red Tide in LA, and their labor x work and rank and file papers. There is now the real possibility of a branch in Portland, and three new members plus a comrade will be moving to Louisville at the end of this month. We also have other contacts in Bellingham, and also in Vancouver BC. All in all, JG felt the trip to have been very worth while both from the point of view of the national organization and the west coast branches.
4. Chicago: The Chicago branch held a forum on the CLUW conference with CRG speaking for the IS, and an organizer for CLUW also speaking. The branch felt it to be successful, especially given that the woman from the Chicago Women's Liberation Union who was to speak was withdrawn at the last minute by that organization.

RECOMMENDATIONS, SUGGESTIONS, DIRECTIVES TO BRANCHES, OC'S AND MALs:

1. All branches and ~~Organizing~~ Organizing Committees are requested to assess International Women's Day activity, in terms of general success or failure, contact work, developing a presence in the area, etc. The following branches have already done so through organizers reports (Detroit, Cleveland, New York. It is important that we begin assessing our activities, in order to learn lessons both positive and negative from them. The NAC discussed its assessment, and BW (Women's Commissioner) will be writing that up. But the branches should also do that.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT March 26, 1974

1. NO: Laurie Landy's Women and the Chinese Revolution ~~is~~ is now completed and will be sent out to the branches quite soon.
2. Chicago: The CIWW conference was held last weeked, with over 3,000 women trade unionists attending. Seventeen IS trade union members participated, from NYC, Louisville, mid west and west coast. Included in the mailing is a full report and assessment by the NAC and Women's Commission.
3. Detroit: ~~Month~~ There will be slates of delegates in the Dump Woodcock campaign for the UAW's Constitutional Convention in June at all of the plants we're involved in, in addition to some where we have contacts. The auto fraction is quite please with our progress in this. One comrade fired last fall got her job back!



NAC 3/27/73

Absent: BM, JT

0. NATSEC REPORT. Attached. APPROVED.

1. CLUW. Report by BW and discussion in two parts: (i) Assessment of the conference; (ii) perspectives for future activity. A separate discussion to be held next week to evaluate NAC functioning with respect to guiding CLUW work. It is generally agreed that activity in CLUW is to become a major arena for the IS and that we must begin immediately to carry it out. All motions put forward are attached for handy reference ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ below.

2. EDUCATION CONFERENCE. Proposal by Cal W. for an educational conference to be hosted by the Cleveland branch to help draw in other small Midwest branches. CW to report back to the NAC after the proposal is discussed ~~XXXXX~~ in Cleveland.

3. WORKERS POWER. The following motion was submitted by Kit L.: The article "Dangerous Left Mystics" (this article, which was rejected by the WP editorial board, is attached) is accepted for publication in WORKERS POWER. FAILED 0-3-1 (JG abstain).

4. NATIONALIZATION. Both David Shoemaker (see attached letter and letter to WP printed in #94) and several branch execs have requested that the NAC discuss the attitude of the organization toward the question of nationalization of the oil industry as raised in two recent lead articles on the front page of WP. In particular, objections have been raised to the call for nationalization without coupling it to workers' control. A preliminary discussion was held, and a document by DF is attached (NOTE no vote was taken, this document was submitted as the basis for discussion). JG is to be responsible for assigning to the NAC a series of readings on this question as the basis for further discussion.

5. WEST COAST. Report and discussion of West Coast tour by JG. Motions on west coast perspectives are to be written up for consideration at future meetings.

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MOTIONS ON CLUW PERSPECTIVE

Motion from Women's Commission:

- 1) The NAC is to discuss perspectives for local CLUW chapters immediately.
  - 2) We are for immediately and aggressively building local CLUWs. BW to call women ~~in~~ in all branches instructing that women get involved in organizing local CLUWs.
  - 3) We should get out a pamphlet within the next three weeks on CLUW.
  - 4) NAC to establish a national CLUW fraction with the ~~women's~~ women's commission as the leadership body. A national speaking tour to be arranged over the next three weeks to build the national fraction and reach out to other radicals and militants involved in CLUW.
  - 5) We should get UNC women to send out letter to all contacts with a copy of the UNC leaflet, saying who they are, an assessment of the conference, and wanting to build a rank and file network.
  - 6) IS schools to be set up in the Midwest, East and West Coasts on how to function at conventions: how to deal with parliamentary procedure, redbaiting, how to argue for our position, etc.
  - 7) Women's commission to regularly follow and report on coverage of CLUW in the left and union press.
  - 8) All IS women to attempt to get union cards.
  - 9) Research be set up to help us expose background and record of CLUW leadership.
- Point (5) PASSED 2-1-1 (MD against, JG abstain); point (8) PASSED 3-0-1 (MD abstain); rest of motion PASSED AIL FOR. (GS and BW for all points).

MOTION(MD): (1)That IS women aggressively build local CLUWs in their own areas, / to begin immediately by contacting contacts etc. for this purpose. Each exec is to discuss strategy for how to do this in the framework of the general IS line. PASSED ALL FOR.

(2)That this strategy be geared to building local struggles around issues affecting women - i.e. maternity, childcare, equal pay, protective legislation, etc. that are either in progress now around the country or are possibilities. Specific proposals are to be tied to these issues (e.g. demos, campaigns, etc.). TABLED.

MOTION(JW):(This is put forward as a tentative motion to serve as the basis for further discussion):

- 1)We publish a pamphlet on CLUW within the next few weeks including a conference report, the farmworker fight, teamsters' role, the role of the left, and the great opportunities that have been opened up.
  - 2)The pamphlet to announce the launching of a journal or newsletter to report on developments in CLUW and things in labor generally pertaining to women; to discuss ideas and programs for action, perspectives and controversy; and to carry educational articles on relevant topics.
  - 3)This journal is to be independent, but will be edited by IS members (but not an IS publication).
  - 4)The speaking tour will have as a major objective the ~~the~~ building of this journal.
  - 5)This publication will be a vehicle for making our CLUW intervention national and not just a sum of local activities. It will also be a vehicle for propagating our general ~~xxxxx~~ line on CLUW.
  - 6)Establish a committee to investigate resources, personnel, etc. to round out perspectives for further discussion.
- ALL FOR.

Comrades,

I am more than a little disturbed by the front page of Workers Power #92, headlines "Take Them Over"

The article simply called for nationalizing the energy industry by the "government". That is, this government, this state.

There was no mention of either of two workers' mechanisms for giving the nationalization demand a revolutionary thrust - workers control or workers party (by implication, workers government).

Therefore I sense a contradiction between the headline and the content of the article. Exactly as if the headline had called for a strike while the body of the article explained why this is necessary then called for a lock out!

"Take Them Over" - yes, that is necessary. A first step to that would be for the OCAW workers to force opening the books. They might, for example, occupy the offices of their respective refineries and pilfer and publish the material flow data. They might shut down the refineries until the books are opened. That would be a step to "Take Them Over."

Workers on freighters would call a press conference every time they made an oil delivery. Longshoremen, truckers and tank workers could follow suit, furnishing a public overview of actual oil flow.

The labor movement could, conceivably, be embarrassed into proposing guidelines for energy development. They could make the idea of an energy public utility palpable to common sense.

Such measures could delineate a context in which we could at least see what would have to be done in the energy industry to make it a useful service.

The alternative is saying that we don't have to take these steps, because someone already has this overview; the government, or those capable of influencing it. That is, the capitalist's ~~executive~~ executive committee or the diverse capitalist interests themselves. No doubt the GM plant in St. Louis which had to cut back production due to the truckers' energy strike would have, at that time, been happy to see the US army making its deliveries. I'm sure you take the point. Now, why is the IS putting forward a ~~statement~~ capitalist program - unvarnished - identical to Chuck Dewey's letters in the Free Press and News (Detroit newspapers) - not only insidiously in respect to our audience, but insidiously in regards to our own line?

Audience - workers, radicals, socialists : it is they, not Nixon, who does not subscribe to WP - who must respond to a ~~line~~ call to "Take Them Over."

Line - we are on paper, innumerable times for "nationalization of inflation producing monopolies under workers control."

None of the obvious excuses hold a drop of water : 1) the cover is agitational, it doesn't try to explain everything in one piece. If so, then we have junked internationalist socialism for national state capitalism. The only defense ever offered for an unhappy amalgam such as "nationalization under workers control" in IS discussions was that it was clearly a propagandistic educational call. The idea that we should every be in a position where it was impossible to raise the full slogan and would call for nationalization was universally pooh-pooed. And now here we are.

2) everyone knows what we stand for. It's elsewhere in the paper. They don't. And that doesn't help. Especially since "workers control" has been dropped from the blurb.

3) It was a mistake. Mistakes like this are not like printing errors. They develop from habits of mind which refuse to think through the concepts of nationalization, workers control, and state capitalism. In short, its only the kind of mistake made by someone who does not mean what he says. One who sees the "transitional method" as, chiefly, a verbal strategy for progressively replacing liberal slogans with socialist ones.

We are approaching a discussion, at long last, of the international questions. That will require us to define what we mean by international socialism and why. We have claimed that socialism in one country is not possible. Did we mean that as a necessary fact, based on the nature of socialism and capitalism, or as a contingent fact, based on the geographical distribution of resources?

We have to know the answer to that if we are to explain how capitalist nationalization of a materials industry is necessary for all people - including those without the ~~the~~ national boundary. We must be able to argue that statization is not an abstract process of centralization under ~~capitalist~~ capitalist conditions, but always ~~nationalization~~ national state - ization. And how that changes the impact.

~~We~~ Returning to the article in questions, I read: "The energy industry is owned and run for immense private profit." Question is: is that why we object to it? Profit - ok, private profit - nix? It must be - otherwise instead of nationalization, we would merely call for a 100% tax on energy profits, or for open books and ~~the~~ monthly rebating in the form of price cuts of all previous ~~the~~ months net ~~the~~ income.

It is understandable that the organization finds it difficult to express "transitional politics" when it does not endorse 'the' transition Program in the light of the period. I for one believe there is a way out - minimal and maximum program. I also believe that failure to make such distinctions creates an unremitting pressure towards reformism. That is, as the transitional 'idea' is adapted for popular and agitational purposes, it comes more and more to mean its opposite. Our ideas essentially require looking at the world in a qualitatively different way than that available to fake consciousness. ~~There~~ There is no escalator of concepts which can carry the reformist to socialist ideas, nor a socialist core meaning which we can prove here and there until it becomes a ~~digestible~~ digestible pill.

We have a valid propagandistic concept of a paper which is both agitational and conceptual. Once upon a time we argued that the concepts we offer become meaningful in, and only in, the course of struggle. Our agitation is meant to push those struggles. We do not see them as watered-down socialist struggles, but as partial resistance - under the still general ideology of false consciousness - to conditions which broadly and beyond the conscious level ("objectively") are generators of socialist struggle. In jargon: by labeling the objective needs of the working class with semi-socialist ~~the~~ slogans in order to mobilize the masses, we do not develop consciousness. (Nor, of course, mobilize the masses.). Rather we denature our slogans.

David Shoemaker



The demand for "nationalization of inflation-producing monopolies under workers' control" (to use one of several common formulations) is part of the fundamental program of the IS and is a demand that we raise whenever we believe it helps to expose the workings of the capitalist system and the need for a revolutionary alternative based on workers' democracy. But there seems to be some confusion as to what the meaning of this demand is and what aspects of it should receive the greatest emphasis under various circumstances. In particular, a number of comrades apparently hold the view that it is never permissible to raise the demand for nationalization in a concrete case without immediately coupling it to the demand for workers' control. This is mainly what I want to argue against.

First, however, it should be made clear that "nationalization under workers' control" does not mean that the enterprise should be "turned over to the workers" to be run as some kind of workers' cooperative. In a revolutionary situation such as existed in Chile, of course, we would be advocating direct seizure of the plants by the workers, linked not simply to controlling production but more importantly to overthrowing the government, taking state power and instituting national planning through a workers' government. But we are discussing something else here: short of socialist revolution, we do not propose some scheme for the workers to "run the industry" within the framework of capitalist property relations (if that were our meaning, then David Shoemaker's objections would be relevant). The demand does not mean that workers should receive the deed to the factory, which is utopian, or that they should take responsibility for its profitability, about which we do not care at all, but rather that the enterprise must be taken over ~~xxxx~~ by the state (yes, the capitalist state - that's who we're raising the demand on) and then that it be subsidized by the state to meet the needs of the workers rather than to socialize the losses of the capitalists. This is possible only under conditions of "workers' control" - i.e. that the workers' organizations take over organizing production, controlling working conditions, and other measures including taking away from the capitalists their monopoly of access to information about the industry. Clearly the actual implementation of this demand corresponds to what Trotsky calls "a sort of economic dual power in the factory, the bank, the commercial enterprise, and so forth".

The conditions under which this part of our program can actually be fought for are spelled out by Trotsky in the following way (STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN GERMANY, p.78):

What state ~~xxxxxx~~ regime corresponds to workers' control of production? Clearly state power ~~xxxxxxx~~ is not yet in the hands of the proletariat, otherwise we would have not workers' control of production but the control of production by the workers' state as an introduction to a regime of state production on the foundations of nationalization. What we are talking about is workers' control under the capitalist regime, under the power of the bourgeoisie. However, a bourgeoisie that feels it is firmly in the saddle will never tolerate dual power in its enterprises. Workers' control, consequently, can be carried out only under the condition of an abrupt change in the relationship of forces unfavorable to the bourgeoisie and its state.....

It is not completely clear what precise definition Trotsky gives under various conditions to the notion of workers' control and whether it has precisely the same technical meaning for us, but the idea is clear - this is a demand which, if ~~it~~ fought for, directly undermines the economic and thereby the political power of the bourgeoisie. This means that we know it cannot be won under "normal" conditions, but it is a very useful demand to be raised when concrete circumstances make

it comprehensible to people. This happens most often in the case of bankruptcies or claims by corporations (or fears of workers) that the corporations can't meet the demands of workers in that industry for wage increases, health and safety, or whatnot.

The idea of undermining the power of the bourgeoisie is one reason why we emphasize, in general, the question of workers' control in our propaganda for nationalization. There is another critical reason ~~xxxx~~ as well: we are not for increasing the power of this bourgeois state whether by nationalization or other means. Whenever nationalization is posed in a way that is intended to strengthen the hand of the state, we directly counterpose workers' control to this bourgeois nationalization. Both the rise of Stalinism (nationalization in the service of a new bureaucratic ruling class) and the sweeping nationalizations carried out by social democratic governments in the service of capitalism have proven that nationalization in an of itself is not necessarily progressive if its divorced from the struggle for workers' power (which can be concretized through the demand for workers' control). Thus our attitude toward any given nationalization is based on the politics and political consequences of that particular nationalization, depending on which class forces are strengthened or weakened by it (to give just one example, we consistently warn against and oppose all nationalizations which entail restricting or wiping out the right to strike).

These considerations, however, cannot be turned into a blanket injunction against ever demanding nationalization without immediately coupling it to workers' control. In the particular case of the oil companies and the energy crisis, precisely because of the politics of this crisis and the level of working class consciousness in this country, it is wrong and sectarian to emphasize the "workers' control" aspect of the demand. To do so in this case does not strengthen the demand, but only weakens it by reducing it from an action demand to a standard educational propaganda notion used for all occasions. Naturally, there is nothing wrong in principle with demanding "nationalization of the energy industry under workers' control", and this should be the content of educational articles on the question, but the emphasis must be on nationalization: take the oil corporations out of private hands immediately! There are two reasons for this.

First, we live in a country where not only is private property enshrined as sacred, but where the working class by and large approves of this. It is not as if we were contemplating the nationalization of steel in Britain, for example, where we would unquestionably pose workers' control inseparably from nationalization right from the start. The question of nationalization itself has a cutting edge here it does not have elsewhere - where, for example, the bourgeoisie goes to such absurd lengths including massive government giveaways to avoid nationalizing the railroads when this would be so much cheaper and more efficient - on political and ideological grounds.

Second, and more important for this particular debate, is the nature of the energy crisis. As not only Marxists but the television networks have pointed out, it is a contrived shortage for the sole purpose of driving up world prices and destroying environmental restrictions on coal and oil extraction. It derives exclusively from the totally monopolistic structure of the US-based international oil industry. In other words, as a solution to the energy crisis, it is precisely nationalization - yes, that's right, by the bourgeois state! - which would be the answer. Some comrades have complained: workers don't think that Nixon and Simon should have more power than they do now! Besides, look at the mess they've made of the post office! While these arguments are raised by workers, they originate with Milton Friedmann. But they're really beside the point here. Our purpose is to defend neither Nixon or the post office. Nor do we deny that there would be plenty

of bureaucratic inefficiency. But the fact is that under government control, there would be no incentive to cut production in order to drive up prices for private profit - and that's the energy crisis! Naturally, there are a dozen other problems that it wouldn't solve, but it would solve the "energy crisis" in a matter of days. There has never been such a clear-cut case, precisely because there has never been such a chemically pure example of capitalist monopoly as the oil industry. Our main job here is to expose the fact that this bourgeois government won't nationalize it and explain why.

The oil industry is the most fabulously wealthy industry in the whole history of capitalism. The question of nationalizing it, if seriously fought for, would be the most powerful challenge ever made to the sanctity of private property relations in this country. We have not abandoned workers' democracy or gone over to "national state capitalism" by raising it in the most direct and blunt way possible.

NAC MINUTES April 4, 1974

Present; all except Dave F. (excused)

1. Minutes - approved
2. NAC Priorities: Motion (MD)
  1. The following ~~are~~ all have equal priority as tops, and to be ongoing discussions:
    - a) women's trade union activity (CLUW, women's industrialization)
    - b) auto (perspectives, assessment of intervention in constitutional convention & dump Woodcock campaign, class struggle unionism question, bulletins, etc.)
    - c) Maoist movement (developing analysis of the politics of the Maoist groups (OL, CL, RU especially) and a strategy as to how most effectively to take them on so as to be in the position to win over their periphery)
  2. Educational discussions on stalinism for the May NC and National Convention
  3. UFW
  4. Outlining and delineating these priorities is not meant to prohibit other political discussions, eg as on nationalization, or on the Seldon-Shanker split in the AFT, but, the above are to clearly take top priority when something ~~is~~ has to be cut. These priorities are to be reassessed at the time of the May NC.  
Amendment: JG & JW: Drop Pt. 4 and add new pt. 4: Evaluation of organization functioning including branch functioning, branch organizers, national IS functioning, etc.  
Amendment: JT: Drop Pt. 4 as is, and add new Pt 4: The Seldon-Shanker fight:  
Voting: JW/JG amendment passes 3-2 JT, KM, JT amendment fails 2-3 JG, JW, MD, Motion passes as amended
3. Report on Kim's trip to England, ISGB rankd and file conference, and ISGB in general. Full report to be written up for the next key list mailing.
4. Proposal for NAC discussions on perspectives towards the Maoist Movement MD
  1. The following proposal is a way of organizing NAC discussion aimed at developing a perspective and strategy for taking on the Maoist movement politically, and thereby making it possible for us to intervene politically so as to be able to win away the best of the periphery of the Maoist sects.
  2. That Enid E. give a full presentation on the politics of the OL, RU, CL emphasizing the major political points of analysis of these groups especially on the following: party building, united front against imperialism, national question and blacks, strategy toward the labor movement and relationship to China. This to be based upon the presentation she and Joe F. gave to the Detroit Branch and also on the west coast, to provide an introduction to the NAC on the basic politics of these groups.
  3. That members of the NAC are then to take responsibility for presentations scheduled for the near future (to begin in 2 weeks following Enid's presentation), on the following. These presentations to include a fuller analysis of the political question and our political answer to their analysis. (Note: the second is as, if not more important as the first, because it is important that we begin to educate comrades to take on these groups fully). The presentations to include:
    - a) China and Chinese foreign policy, b) blacks and the national question, c) the role of the party and how to build it, d) the united front against imperialism, its role in Maoist methodology, & e) the labor movement, relationship to the bureaucracy, strategy, tactics.



(Note this may be should be divided into two presentations given the scope of it.)

4. That a final discussion be held by the NAC on which of these is most important for us strategically to take the sects on first, based on a determination about which will enable us to open the other questions up, and which will have the best chance of winning the periphery & of those groups to us.

5. The presentations given to the NAC are to be written up for the membership, and become the basis of external publications in the form of pamphlets, answers to the Maoist groupings, etc.

VOTING: Passes Unanimously. MD to make assignments to NAC members concerning topics.

5. MAY NC: Proposal for May NC (MD)

1. The following is a tentative agenda proposal to be finalized at the latest by April 28 (One month prior to the NC)
  - a) Organizational Session (Note see motions at end pertaining to structuring this discussion)
  - b) Women's TU activity, CLUW, Women's Industrialization
  - c) Auto: Perspectives, class struggle unionism, assessment of delegates states, etc.
  - d) Stalinism: 1 session on theory based upon a section of MP document, and 1 session on Maoism, if possible on the cultural revolution, if not, on the Maoist Movement based upon NAC discussions.
  - e) Fractions: UFW, UAW
2. All major documents to be discussed at this NC to be out to the membership by May 1, 1974, major amendments by May 18.
3. Motions on the organizational session:
  - a) Organizational reports to be out 1 month in advance of the NC, after a full NAC discussion (Note this means by April 28 for the May NC)
  - b) NC delegates requested to write specific amendments, and to discuss the reports with other NC delegates
  - c) Major amendments and/or motions not allowed after the beginning of the NC
  - d) Organizational session to be the last session.

Amendments: JT: Drop Women's Industrialization from women's TU discussion  
Passes 4-1 (MD)

KM: Drop auto, schedule discussion on class struggle unionism as a substitution Passes 2-1(MD) 2(JW, JT)

JG: Drop class struggle unionism, discuss auto only. Fails 1(JG)-4

JG: Add report on delegates elections in auto. Passes 5-0

JG: Schedule CLUW fraction in place of UAW fraction. Passes 5-0. Note the Auto fraction steering committee hopes to meet with any auto cdes from outside Detroit during the NC.

Agenda PASSES as amended, including the motions on organizational session.

6. Joel's Vacation: Joel granted a 1 month vacation to begin right after the May NC. (Note JG had no vacation over the past two years.)
7. Convention: MotionS: (KM) that it be July 4; (JG) that it be labor day Labor day passes 3-1(KM)-1(JW). There was general sentiment that it was too late to try to have the Convention July 4, although many thought that that was abstractly preferable.
7. There was no time for the Nat. Sec. Report due to scheduling problems. There will be a full one at the next meeting (MD)

NAC MINUTES 4/11

Present: All

0. NATSEC REPORT. Enclosed

1. UPW: Secondary Boycott. Discussion of UPW decision to drop secondary boycott under AFLCIO pressure and what it means for the future, BM to send out letter to instruct that we include coverage of UPW boycott in rank and file papers and bulletins. Discussion to be continued (document by Kevin Bradley to be discussed).

2. PAMPHLETS. Presentation by JT and brief discussion on solving bottlenecks of pamphlet production that have been coming up because of shortage of personnel.

3. CLUW. GS and BW present. Preliminary discussion on perspectives.

4. NC MEETING AGENDA.

i) Class Struggle Unionism. MOTION(MD): That documents on class struggle unionism by ~~XXXXXX~~ BM (to be written), along with the more general sections of JW auto doct and KS teamster doct, to be the basis of NC discussion. (NOTE: for this NC all documents are to be out a month in advance).

TABLED to discussion to be held by BM and JW on how to structure the NC discussion and what the controversial questions are likely to be.

ii) Stalinism. Report on slow progress of draft document by MP. MOTION(ME): To discuss next week sections on Stalinism from Hal Draper's 1967 document "The Independent Socialist World Outlook" as a possible basis for part of the NC discussion if necessary. PASSED ALL FOR.

April 11, 1974

1. NO: JB:made a trip to Chicago and Madison. In Chicago he met with the Exec, and gave a class to the branch on the German Revolution. In Madison, he gave a forum by invitation to our members there and a dozen contacts, and also a history of the IS to the members, and a couple of close contacts. Two people have applied to join from Madison. He considered the trip in general to be successful. DF made a trip to Carbondale Ill. and St. Louis. In Carbondale he spoke on a panel with other groups on the middle east. In St. Louis, he met with some of the contacts around us.
2. Cleveland: The Cleveland branch mobilized for a mass march in support of the UFW. Seven comrades from Detroit went down to help out. The march was only moderately successful (about 500), but the labor turn-out which was supposed to be high was disappointing. We sold about \$20.00 worth of lit and approximately 25 copies of WP.
3. St. Louis: The organizing committee participated in a successful panel discussion of terrorism with approximately 25 non-members attending.
4. Los Angeles: The branch has set up a Chicano fraction for work with the Chicano movement in LA. Major arena activities to include the Sloane Strike support committee (United Rubber workers on strike for some months now, mainly Chicano) and work around immigration. Comrades participated in a conference on immigration sponsored by a loose colation of chicanos and left groups with 75% participants chicano. The conference sponsored a demonstration to protest 13 deportees killed in a border patrol incident which we helped to build. See the LA organizers report for ~~more~~ details.
5. Seattle: The branch has set up a Marxist study group for non members. Six attended the first meeting and the response to it was favorable. A couple of friends said they would invite friends to come next time. The branch is also in dialogue with a chicano group that is mainly influenced by the RU and the CP, but which is hostile now to the RU/ The first talk with them went quite well and they expressed interest in learning more about Trotsky's ideas.
6. Portland: We have a discussion group going there with ~~25~~ 15 to 18 people based around IS politics. The Seattle branch is helping out in this endeavor with our one member there.
7. Vancouver: PD(~~Pat~~ Portland) went up and ~~pat~~ spoke along with a member of the Mandel group in Canada to about 100 people. Pat with the help of a sympathizer there and some comrades from Seattle who attended helped to set up a study group based around our politics of some 6-8 people. ~~xx~~ The Seattle branch will also help out with this group.

IMPORTANT    IMPORTANT    IMPORTANT    IMPORTANT    IMPORTANT    IMPORTANT

The NAC voted unanimously to postpone the May NC one month from the weekend of May 24-27 to the weekend of June 21-23. This was not a decision made lightly.

First and foremost the NAC unanimously understands that it must begin to give real leadership to the organization. This NC must reflect this. Thus, we have altered somewhat the agenda for the NC. The discussion scheduled on class struggle unionism has been broadened to a discussion on general perspectives for which the NAC will have a document which it will put forward. The organizational session will be ~~replaced~~ discussion of a single document presented by the NAC assessing forthrightly the state of the organization, including the real problems, and propose some steps aimed at solving some of these problems. Because of the full realization of the need to alter the agenda, more time is necessary in order that the NAC and the membership be fully prepared for the discussions. This was the basic reason for moving to postpone the NC for a month.

Secondarily, the document on Stalinism has been delayed due to problems beyond the control of the NAC. The extra time hopefully will allow for a better discussion on this topic.

Again, let me reiterate: The NAC collectively takes this decision very seriously, and intends to follow through to the best of its ability. We hope that the NC delegates and members will likewise take this seriously, and will work with us to bring about the necessary changes in the organization. The postponement of the NC is to make this possible.

The deadline for documents to be out to the membership is now May 24. The perspectives document and the organizational report from the NAC will be out by that date at the very latest.

Marilyn D.  
for the NAC

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT      April 18, 1974

1. NO: IMPORTANT: Branch organizers and others on the key list mailing should pass this along to the general membership: The NO desperately needs a typesetter. If there is any comrade who is not key to on-going branch activity and/or industrialized and is willing to come to Detroit ~~to~~ please let me know. The only skill necessary is to know how to type. You will be trained on the new fancy typesetter. Our pamphlet publication program rests to a great extent on finding a typesetter. At present there is no one in Detroit who has the time to do it. I repeat, please take this request seriously, the problem is quite serious.
2. UFW: Attention fraction coordinators: St. Louis and Madison should be added as IS organizations involved in UFW activity, and should be sent any communications sent out to other fractions: use the addresses in WP as the mailing address.
3. Bloomington: The Bloomington branch has recruited two new members.
4. East Bay: The East Bay branch has recruited one of the leaders of a high school group we've been working with for some time. The exec will be working with him to help him recruit others from the group.

NOTE: The reason the National Report and Bulletin haven't come out is that the mimeo has been broken, which is also the reason why recent mailings have been so messy. It will be fixed this week and the B. and NR. will come out with WP 97.



1. NC MEETING. Timing and agenda of the spring NV were discussed. Given the poor state of preparations (partly due to the accident to JT which has slowed down educational preparations for the discussion of Stalinism), partly due to the topics coming up for discussion, the following motions were adopted:

MOTION: To postpone the date of the spring NC approximately one month (i.e. to some weekend in late June). PASSED

MOTION: The discussion of class struggle unionism/teamster/auto perspectives to be replaced by a discussion, to be initiated by the NAC, on how to move the political work ~~xxxx~~ of the organization in a more effective direction. Reports in preparation. PASSED.

MOTION: To ask Mike P. for a definite date regarding the completion of his document on Stalinism. If it cannot be completed in time, we will ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ discuss the old document Independent Socialist World Outlook and assign major amendments to be written to it. PASSED.

2. Preliminary discussion of Independent Socialist World Outlook document (sections on Stalinism) as part of preparation for Stalinism ~~xxxx~~ discussion.

3. CLUW. Discussion of perspectives. The document from the women's commission (attached) was passed as a working perspective around which branches should begin to organize activity. Discussions of various specific questions of activity, possible publication etc. to be continued.

4. UFW. MOTION: The NAC accepts the general line of the documents by KB and JG (both attached). PASSED. (NB: JG motion passed with one deletion; see below).

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#### MOTION BY JG ON FARM WORKER PERSPECTIVES

1. The NAC endorses the line of the Bradley document "New Developments in the Farm Workers" (attached).

2. Decisive to the success of the organizing drive of the UFW is the strike in the valley, and an active militant union in the field. Until now this has been subordinated to boycott activity. In an industry with a short harvest season and a large pool of unskilled labor, it is relatively easy to withstand and break strikes. A post-strike weapon, the secondary boycott is a necessary complement to militant strikes and active rank and file organization and support. The boycott should be subsidiary to the latter. It has often been boycott activities, and the drain of active militants from the fields to the boycott staffs, which has weakened the union in the fields and helps open the back door to the teamster-grower alliance. The current retreat on the secondary boycott should be the occasion to argue not just for the secondary boycott, but for a policy of militant strikes to win, and rank and file involvement as the key to victory. Indeed, the union's previous retreats on these questions, in favor of the secondary boycott, laid the basis for the union's current weak position, ~~xxxx~~ which has forced it to accept Meany's position and give up the secondary boycott. The last strategy of the leadership has now had to be abandoned.

3. Our criticism of the retreat on the secondary boycott is overwhelmingly directed at the reactionary strike-breaking leadership of Meany, the Meatcutters, the Retail Clerks and Distillery Workers who prefer to see a defeated UFW rather than one which can use the secondary boycott, and thereby revive the use of a weapon which is necessary for all workers but which in reality the Meany's don't want. We are sympathetic in understanding that it was the weakness of the union which forced it to accept Meany's pressure. We make clear that this is a setback, not an advance as it is being advertised by the leadership. The ranks have the right to know the truth, and to demand to know what they

have gotten in return for giving up the secondary boycott. We know they may be forced to accept all sorts of terms from the growers, or their so-called friend Meany. But we want to get out of the situation in which we are weak and forced to give into Meany's pressures. We are critical of the Chavez leadership -- not for being in weak position, but for those policies which contributed to the weakening of the union's position; that is, the weakening of the strikes/ and the union activity in the fields for the boycott, which has eventually forced a reliance on Meany and giving up the secondary boycott. We are critical of their passing off a defeat as a victory, and thereby not taking the steps which can prepare new victories.

4. We believe that a primary boycott will prove to be less effective and may, in the long run, lead to a decline in boycott work and demoralization among boycott supporters. We should point out that to be victorious, the union will be forced to go back to the secondary boycott and to break with Meany, just as it is now being forced back to strike activity in Coachella. The boycott committees should prepare for that. Working in the ranks and the unions for support for the new strikes, and laying the groundwork for counterpressure to Meany's policies by systematically winning unions and rank and file support for the UFW and the tactics necessary to win its strikes, including the secondary boycott. Our members should raise this in the unions, and we should attempt to get local boycott groups to carry out such campaigns.

5. NOTE: THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH WAS DELETED BY THE NAC, ON THE GROUNDS THAT WE FEEL IT DOES NOT PROVIDE A FEASIBLE GUIDE TO ACTIVITY, AND UNDERESTIMATES AT LEAST THE SHORT-TERM POSSIBILITIES FOR A PRIMARY BOYCOTT.

We expect the primary boycott will be ineffectual, leading to many people dropping away from boycott activity. Our members should try to make the primary boycott activities as close to a secondary boycott as we can, to make it as effective as possible within its new limitations, while recognizing we will probably not be able to do much to change it currently.

6. Our members should remain active in the boycott committees, even if they become demoralized and support starts to dry up. Our support is not dependent on the amount of support the UFW gets from other people, it is not based on the ~~enthusiasm~~ enthusiasm or demoralization of the boycott supporters, but on ~~the~~ our commitment to the ranks of the UFW. Our support is not based on their accepting our views, but on our support for the class battle which the farmworkers are waging and which is helping to build a heightened class consciousness among militants throughout industry. We should be aware that even if there is an immediate demoralization and dropping away in the next months, there will be an eventual upturn in farmworkers' support groups - based on the dynamic of the struggle in the fields and the commitment of the union's ranks - particularly if any of the summer strikes explode. We are in for the duration of the struggle, and do not shift our perspective and commitment with every up and down in the support groups. Steady work during a down period will ~~enable~~ prepare the basis for added respect in the next upsurge - it will also open farmworkers to our views and criticisms of the leadership, if we prove that unlike many of the radical groups who are currently leeching on them as "the action", that we are committed supporters even when it does not follow our advice.

Points 1-4 and 6 PASSED ALL FOR; Point 5 ~~EXCLUDED~~ DELETED.

NAC MINUTES 4/24

Present: All

0. NATSEC REPPORT APPROVED.

BM is to write to investigate situation of the FIFTH WHEEL, which has not been appearing.

Budget report for next year to be drawn up. In preparation, JG will prepare nine-month report on this year's expenses.

1. NY. Report by JG on his trip.

2. EVALUATION OF DUMP WOODCOCK CAMPAIGN. Presentation by BM and preliminary assessment of the Dump Woodcock campaign. Final assessment will be made after results of elections at all locals are known and can be analyzed, however are success in helping to form relatively credible opposition forces in several locals is a very positive development.

3. THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. Discussion of Trotsky's theory on the class nature of Stalinism. Presentation by JG to be written up to be sent out in two weeks.

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NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT April 26, 1974

1. NO: JG went to NYC and gave a very successful forum on the economic crisis and the need to build a revolutionary party. Forth to fifty people attended. He also met with the branch and the exec. KM went to Chicago to discuss some of the labor work, and met with the branch and exec.
2. Detroit: The comrades in auto are all actively involved in renning delegates slates for the UAW convention as part of the Dump Woodcock campaign. Preliminary assessment indicates that the campaign in the various locals have been moderately successful in bringing people around us in the plants, and laying the basis for more solid on-going groups and publications after the convention. There will be a full report to the organization with a full assessment following the end of the campaign.
3. The Madison Organizing Committee now has two new members. They are now four in total, since LH has moved to Chicago to be full time organizer.
4. Bay Area: The group we have been working with in the Oakland AFT local has now started putting out a newsletter and is growing.

## CLASS SERIES ON MARXISM AND THE WOMAN QUESTION

NOTE: This is an ambitious class series on the woman question. People may wish to omit some of the readings. This outline can also be used if we wish to set up outside type of classes on Marxism and Women's Liberation. Readings marked with an asterisk \* denote materials that can be run off by the NO. classes on women and the trade unions, and racism and sexism will be forthcoming.

This class series is designed not only to familiarize members with the basic Marxist principles on the question of women's liberation, but also to acquaint ourselves with the debates that have and are still going on within the women's and radical movements. I have not yet found readings on what the Stalinist left, i.e., RU, OL, CL etc. have produced.

### I. ORIGINS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION: THE FAMILY

#### Readings:

Engels, Fredrick, Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State, Chapters, introduction, 1,2 and 9.

Kollontai, Alexandra, Communism and the Family.

Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, Part I, Feuerbach

Schlesinger, Rudolf, Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia: The Family, Part I., "Exerpts from the Writings of Alexandra Kollontai." \*

This session should focus on:

1. The origins of women's oppression in society arising from the division of labor within the family, from the development of private property and not from any inherent weakness in women, or inherent bad ideas of men.
2. The development of the family throughout history; the origins of marriage etc. as an institution.
3. The exclusion of women from social production is one reason for her subordinate position in society. What measures are needed to involve or reintroduce women into productive work.
4. Women's liberation necessitates the socialization of housework. How did the Russian revolution attempt to deal with the problems of women's domestic slavery?
5. How did the Russian revolution deal with both problems of involving women in social production and at the same time, freeing her from the home.

### II. WOMEN'S EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION UNDER CAPITALISM

Laurie Landy, Women in Capitalist Society: Exploitation and Oppression\*

Mitchell, Juliet, Women: The Longest Revolution

Benston, Margaret, The Political Economy of Women's Liberation



This session should focus on:

1. The class nature of women's oppression. How the exploitation of women is linked with the exploitation of the working class under capitalism.
2. The difference between exploitation and oppression, with an understanding of why the differences are important to understand.
3. Why Marxists concentrate on exploitation in terms of a strategy for women's liberation.
4. A critique of Mitchell and Jenkinson.

### III. WOMEN'S LIBERATION, SOCIALISM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

Readings, Celia Emerson, Revolutionary Feminism

Lenin, On the Emancipation of Women, "From a caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," "The Tasks of the Working Women's Movement in the Soviet Republic," Speech given at the Fourth Moscow City Conference of non-working Party Women," and Clara Zetkin's "Reminiscences of Lenin."  
Alexandra Kollontai, Women Workers Struggle for their Rights.

This session should focus on:

1. A brief history of the working women's movement; the conservative character of the middle class woman suffrage movement.
2. The relationship between the struggle for socialism and the struggle for women's liberation; the relationship between the women's liberation movement and the revolutionary party.

### IV. THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Readings: NOW's statement of purpose found in Kraditor, Up From the Pedestal.  
(Bourgeois feminism)

Robin Morgan "Goodby to All That," and her introduction in Sisterhood is Powerful.

Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, all or any of it.

Radical America, issue on Women and Labor

Ilene Winkler, Women Workers: The Forgotten Third of the Working Class

This session should focus on:

1. The strategy of bourgeois feminist feminism: Why both are dead ends in terms of women's liberation.
2. An understanding of the differences in approaches in terms of women's labor work. In particular, understanding the approach of the IS.

MINUTES OF THE FEBRUARY NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING  
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

FIRST SESSION  
Sat. 2/16/74

Seating of Delegates--Not available for minutes

Agenda Changes

- a. NAC reports should come in first session--PASSED (7 for, 3 against, 6 abst.)
  - b. Drop world economic crisis from NC--FAILED (4-4-8)
  - c. Add session on superseniority (MD)--PASSED (8-3-5)
  - d. Add report from UFW fraction and proposal from DW--PASSED (8-4-4)  
motion to table d. failed, 5-6-5
  - e. Reconsideration of motion B. PASSED (9-3-4)
- Agenda Changes approved (13-0-3)

2. NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT (MD)

Motion: (KB) "The National Secretary will communicate on a regular basis with the organizers of the branches and Organizing Committees on the following points and include a separate Black and Latin section in the National Secretary's Report:

1. Report on Black & Latin contacts. The NS to request regular reports or visits with these contacts. They are to be seen before any other contacts.
  2. Each branch and OC to have a subscriber to the leading Black and Latin papers in the city.
  3. Once a month the Execs will hold a political discussion on Black and Latin problems.
  4. Once a week each branch and OC will set up a literature table at a Black school and sell WP. "
- TABLED favorably 4-1 (MP)-1 (MD)

Motion: (SF) "The National Secretary will report to the membership on the political divisions and points of view within the NAC after the latter goes into executive sessions dealing with personnel problems, such as for example where comrades should move and why."

FAILS 4-9-3 For: MP,MS,SF,KB. Against: JT,JG,KM,BH,DF,KP,JW,CW, MD. Abst: IW,KL,SZ.

Motion: (SZ): "That NAC give immediate top priority to publication of pamphlets on Marxism and Black movement, and to a campaign for the use of these pamphlets leading to nationally organized work in these two areas."--Tabled to Ed. Sec. Report. For: JT,JW, KM, KP, IW, MP, MS,CW, BH. Against: MD, JG, SF, KB, DF. Abst.: KL, SZ.

Motion: (MS) Amendment to No. 4 in NS report. "Substitute 'perspectives' for 'quotas' ".

FAILS, 3-10-3. For: MP,MS,BH. Against: JT,JG, KM,JW,SF,DF,KB,CW, MD, KL. Abst: SZ,IW,KP.

Motion: (KB) "The NC recognizes the necessity of the continuing development of our theory and backs the past preparation of the discussion on the Advanced Capitalist Countries by the NAC. The same procedure should be used to prepare for the next NC. The NAC from now on should put Labor work and political developments in the Black and Latin movements up to equal priority, if necessary delegating organizational questions to an administrative sub-committee."

**TABLED 8-6-2.** For: MP, MS, JG, KM, KP, SF, DF, IW. Against: JT, BH, JW, SZ, MD, KB. Abst: CW, KL.

**Motion:** (JW): "If a conflict arises over organization's priorities in terms of demand on leadership time and energy LABOR LEADERSHIP should be elevated above: 1) Theoretical Advancement 2) General Keeping up with national and world developments 3) Publication program."

**TABLED 8-6-2.** Same vote as no. 5 above.

**Statement** by JW on Tabling of motions 5 & 6. "On every trivial motion presented, the NC permitted one speaker for and one against before voting. On the question of priorities, a speaker against my motion (MP) was permitted under rubric of arguing for tabling. No speaker for was permitted, although the topic was one that took up most of the round speaking time. In particular, Mike P. stated that my opinion that labor should be given top priority was some kind of ephemeral bee in my bonnet. No, I have had and fought for this position for years. In fact, Labor is 5th or 6th priority and I know ~~mix~~ no other way of trying to change this. I believe Labor should come before imperialism discussion. NAC disagrees--NC refused to permit speaker in favor of this."

**Statement:** by Dave F. on Tabling of KB and JW motions on priorities.

"While I voted for tabling these motions, I wish to state that I agree with KB's motion and disagree with JW's. The reason I voted for tabling is that other motions already passed, especially the NATSEC report, indicate the correct priorities for the NAC."

**Motions from National Secretary and amendments to her motions.** (See Nat Sec report, published separately, National Report Vol II No. 5, March. Motions from end of report reprinted here with votes.)

**Motion no. 1** (MD) That the NAC push forward on the promised industrialization campaign, and report concretely to the MAY NC on what it has accomplished in this campaign. Specifically:

- a) that industrialization quotas for branches be established by the branches in consultation with the NAC.
- b) That the NAC consider the question of reopening steel as a national priority.
- c) That attempts be made to find alternatives during the recession where national priorities are not a possibility for industrialization. To also be carried out through consultation with the NAC.

1. PASSED, 16-0-0. a.) PASSED, 15-1 (MP)-0. b.) PASSED, 6-5-5  
For: JG, DF, KL, SZ, CW, MD. Against: MP, JW, KP, SF, KB. Abst: MS, JT, BH, JW, KM. Note: Amendment (SZ) to add to b.) "in at least one local" failed 2-14-0, no roll call.

**Motion no. 2:** MD. "That the NC endorse and help to see that the campaign around International Women's Day be carried out nationally."

**TABLED** until after Women's Commission Report.

**Motion No. 3:** (MD) "That branches, organizing committees communicate with the NO twice a month. These can be in the form of letters, organizations reports, or other more expensive means, though the latter written form are much preferable."

PASSED unan.

**Motion No. 4.** (MD) That each branch and organizing committee develop realistic recruitment quotas, and a program for achieving them, and report this to the National Secretary. (Note, the NAC passed such a motion, but few branches, oc's, have carried it out.)

PASSES, 14-0-2 (MP, SZ) Amdnd. (MS) substitute "perspectives" for quotas in no. 4. FAILED 4-11-1. For: MP,MS,IW,BH. Against: JT,JG,KM,JW,SF,DF,KB,CW,MD,KL,KP. Abst: SZ.

Motions on who should be present at NC meetings.

1. NC Meetings should be closed to non-members except for those who are cleared by the NatSec.  
FAILED, 7-7-2. For: JT,KM,BH,IW,JW,SF,MD. Against: ~~XXXXXX~~ MP,MS, JG,KP,DF,SZ,KB. Abst: CW,KL.
2. NC Meetings should be closed to non-members.  
FAILED, 5-7-4. For: MS, JG, KP, DF, KB. Against: JT, KM, BH, IW, JW, BF, MD. Abst: CW,MP,KL,SZ.
3. That the NAC have final determination for each NC, whether non-members may attend particular sessions (MP)  
FAILED 1 (MP)-14-1(CW)
4. Motions 2 and 3 reconsidered.  
Motion 2 PASSED 8-6-2. For: MS, HG, KP, DF, KL, SZ, KB, CW. Against: JT, KM, BH, IW, SF, MD. Abst: MP, JW.  
Motion 3 FAILED, 2 (MP, JW)-13-1 (KL)

Motion to approve Nat Sec Report: Passed 14-0-2 (MP, JW)

#### INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY REPORT

##### Amendments to Report.

Motion: (KB) Due to the ~~xx~~ expected severe layoffs in Detroit auto the Detroit branch should prepare members for industrialization in Teamsters and CWA. (Motivation: Both these industries are much less affected by recessions but such industrialization in Detroit is needed to balance the outlook of the national leadership and in the leading branch and is necessary for our national fraction work. Teamster industrialization may be in grocery, outside the leading local, but should be done in consultation with the Teamster fraction coordinators in Cleveland.)

PASSED, 9-3-4. For: MP, KM, IW, JW, KP, SF, SZ, DB, MD. Against: JG, BH, DF. Abst: CW, JT, KL, MS.

Motion: (BM) The NAC shall take up the following topics in the weeks immediately following the NC: CWA contract perspectives, Auto persp., AFT (Selden-Shanker fight), UFW boycott/ perspective, IBT fraction report.

PASSED 14-1 (MP)-1(SZ)

Motion: To approve Industrial Secretary Report. Passed, 15-0-1 (JW).

#### SECOND SESSION

#### EDUCATION SECRETARY REPORT

Motion # 1 (SZ)--see motion #3 under NatSec report. (It was tabled from there to here.) Tabled to NAC. For: JT, JW, KM, KP, IW, MP, MS, CW, BH. Against: MD, JG, SF, KB, DF, SZ. Abst: KL.

Motion: (MS) That the next NC adopt a basic class series for all new members of the I.S. (Motivation: The following class series is proposed as the basic class series for members of the IS. I am not committed to the specific topics listed here, though I do believe that this list of a similar one is necessary as a national standard for the organization. It may be necessary that more than one class be devoted to some of the topics listed here. That can only be determined when we develop the actual class material. However, unnecessary expansion of the length of the class series should be avoided, since it is already quite long, consisting of 34 topics.

This class series should be required for all new members of the organization, and should take priority over other reading or class series for them until it is completed. Implementation of the class series should be left up to the individual branches initially, with the only provision being that new members should complete the series in less than two years.

The long run aim should be a situation where all cadre of the organization are capable of giving this series to new members. To develop the various issues in more depth, and train cadre in them, educational weekends, summer schools etc., should be organized by the center.

Material for each topic should be provided by the center including the following points: a list of required readings which are short, a list of suggested further readings which is annotated, an outline of basic questions to be covered in each class.

This is too much for any one individual to accomplish in any reasonable amount of time. Therefore it is suggested that the topics be farmed out to various individuals throughout the organization to be developed by them under the guidance of the national education director.)

FAILED, 5-7-4. For: JXXX MS, KP, SF, KB, MP. Against: ~~KEE~~ MD, JG, KM, BH, HT, DF, CW. Abst: IW, JW, KL, SZ.

NOTE: (from typist) In a box with the motion were the words, "Delete section on required classes." Whether this refers to the section in MS's motivation or to something in the Ed sec report, I don't know. Perhaps NC delegates can enlighten.)

Motion: (KB) To add two pamphlets--What is Socialism; Class Struggle Unionism.

PASSED. For: MS, IW, KM, JW, KP, SF, KL, SZ, KB. Against: DF. Abst: MP, JT, BH, CW, MD, JG.

Motion: (SF) To explore possibility of production of Socialism pamphlet in Spanish.

TABLED. No roll call.

Motion: (KB) The NAC solicit from the members recommendations on how to handle literature in Spanish.

PASSED, 9-1-6. No roll call.

Motion: (JT) Dates of everything promised but pamphlets be delayed back one time, (if promised for next NC ~~we~~ it go to the convention; if for the convention it go to the following NC) so that I can be released to work ~~we~~ with the China study group on the current events in China.

~~PASSED~~ FAILED. 6-4-6. For: MD, JG, BH, JT, CW, DF. Against: IW, SF, ~~EX~~ KL, KB. Abst: MP, KM, ~~KEE~~ MS, JW, KP, SZ.



Motion: (BH) That the Theoretical Journal's Editorial Board be chosen. by May NC.

FAILED, 3-7-6. For: BH,CW,DF. Against: MD,~~EX~~ MS,JG,SZ,SF,MP, JT. Abst: MP,KM,KL,JW,KP,IW.

Motion: ~~That~~ To approve report as amended. PASSED, 13-3 (MS,~~EX~~ IW, KB)-0.

REPORT ON NATIONAL DUES STRUCTURE (JG)

Motion: (KP) The NC should draft a national dues structure that provides a uniform minimum dues tax for all branches, cc's and CAL's. Branches should pay into the central fund on a sliding scale.

FAILED. 5-11-0. For: MP,EX MD,,JW,KP,SF. No: All others.

Motion: (DF) The NC believes that the IS should move to a centralized national dues structure and will work to win the organization to this conception politically. (This includes ending local dues structures.)

PASSED. 11-1(ME)-4(BH,JW,KP,JT.)

Motion: (IW) That this question come back to the next NC with a budget.

FAILED. For: MD,IW,SF,JT,MP. Against: JG,JW,SE,KB,CW,DF.  
Abst: MS,KM,PH,KL,KP.

REPORT ON WORKERS POWER. GS seated for MP.

Report approved unam.

rest of minutes continue on next page..

SUNDAY A.M.

Seating of Delegates : All present. (Kit seated for Mickie)

MOTION: (Jack T.) That auto workers in 5 plants not represented on the NC have speaking rights in the auto discussions,

FOR: JT, KP, JW, KB

COUNTER-MOTION (NAC): That speaking riaghts be granted to mon members of the NC only if a different view from Chicago were present (which isnt.)

FOR: Majority. Abst: CW, KL. PASSES.

PRESENTATION by Kim on Dump Woodcock Campaign.

Questions. 10 min.

4 min. discussion round. (65 min.)

SUMMARY by Kim (8 min.)

10 Minute break.

LAYOFFS AND UNEMPLOYMENT --2 hours.

Motion(KB): to drop.

Speaker agaisnt: Kim

For: KB, MP, JW, SF, CW. AGAINST: KM, BH, SZ, DF, IW, MD. FAILS

PRESENTATION by BH. 20 min. (took 15.)

Questions.

3 min. round.

Summary. (BH) 5 min.

SUPERSENIORITY--1 hour.

PRESENTATIONS -- Jack T. & MD, 7 min. each.

30 min. discussion, 4 min. round, 4 each side.

Motion (Jack T.) Give SZ presentation time.

Speaker against--IW Speaker for: MD

PASSED

Motion: Speaker for each position, 4 min. PASSED.

Motion: (SZ) to delete last 6 lines (last sentence) of MD motion.

MOTION: (Amalgamated MD & JW):

AMENDMENT: Where layoffs hit blacks disproportionately, we emphasize in the struggles against the layoff its racist character. We point out that the disproportionality stmes from the company's traditional racist hiring policies and therefore insist that it be the company that bear the burden and price of layoffs--not the discriminated against blacks nor higher seniority white workers. This can be concretized through roatation layoffs, special and extended SUB payments. It can be concretized through demands

for over-manning of positions. We always insist on permanent recall rights. We refuse to take responsibility for specific workers, black or white, being forced to pay the price for the corporations past discriminatory hiring policies. In particular, we consider supporting specific proposals which violate strict seniority under conditions where layoffs threaten to qualitatively reverse a trend in the direction of equality for blacks in employment in a particular plant after all of the above means to prevent and/or share the burden of layoffs have been tried and have failed.

Motion: (MP) Delete "is applicable after all the above means. . ." and replace with, "may be applicable.," so that MD's motion now reads, "If layoffs mean qualitatively. . . some form of modified superseniority may be applicable."

PRESENTATIONS. JT, MD, SZ.

Motion: (BH) for general discussion round. PASSED.

Discussion. 1 hour.

Motion: (CW) suspend summaries. FAILED.

SUMMARIES (4 min.) In reverse order.

Motion: (JT) Last 2 paragraphs on page 6 "On Superseniority"

Ruled out of order.

Ruling overridden by vote.

Motion: (KB) to vote all questions, PASSED.

Motion: (JW) to have 1 speaker for, 1 against new JT motion. FAILED.

#### VOTING

MP Amendment. For: MP, MS, JT, BH, JW, KP, SF. Against: MD.

PASSED.

SZ Motion. For: SZ, JW. Abs. 0. Against: ALL other. FAILED.

MD as amended. For: MP, MS, BH, JW, SZ, KP, MD. Against: All others. FAILED.

JT Motion. For: KM, JT, JG, DF, KB, CW. No Abst. FAILED.

ALL MOTIONS FAILED.

Motion: (KB) To reconsider tomorrow. FAILED.

Motion: (KM) To vote MD's amended motion and JT's counterposed. (Motion with highest votes passes.) PASSED.

MD Amended. For: MP, MS, BH, JW, KP, SZ, SF, MD. PASSED.

JT Motion. For: KM, JT, JG, KL, DF, KB, CW. FAILED.

Abstention: JW.

Note for Minutes: (JW) My vote on superseniority was based on the clear sides in the discussion, not specific wording. 1. There were several last minute changes (just before NC discussion) in MD's motion. 2. JT introduced in summary a new motion, contrary to the remarks made by his supporters during the round.

Jack W.

FEBRUARY 1974 N.C.

MINUTES

SUNDAY P.M.

Called to order 8:15. Chair MD.  
Seated Alternates. BW for IW, KL for MS,

POST WAR STABILITY

PRESENTATIONS: MS, 20 min. KB 10 min.

Motion: (KB) Allow MP and KP to be seated late. PASSED.

Motion: Discussion of Bureaucratic Collectivization of Capital be put off to Monday morning. PASSED.

10 min. of questions on presentations.

4 min. round on general theory.

Motion: 2nd round on general theory. PASSED.

3 min. discussion round.

PRESENTATIONS of amendments to MS document.

JT 4 min.

4 speakers for 3 min. each on JT amendment.

Motion: (MP) To proceed after 1 speaker. PASSED.

DF 4 min.

Session ADJOURNED 10:10.

MONDAY A.M.

Call to order, 10:25 a.m. MD Chairing.

Seated: JT, JW, MD, JG, KM, DF, KP, KB, IW, SF, SZ, MP, MS, CW, KL, BH.

GROWING INSTABILITY OF CAPITALISM.

PRESENTATION: MS, 20 min.

MS accepts Bradley amendment # 2 and no others.

General Discussion round (4 min.)

Second Round: BUREAUCRATIC COLLECTIVIZATION OF CAPITAL. (3 min.)

SUMMARY (KB) 5 min.

JB Amendment # 3--accepted in substance.

JB Amendment # 4--JB 2 min. MS 2 min.

DF Amendment discussed previous session; not re-introduced. (#1)

DF Amendment # 3--not presented.

DF Amendment # 4. 1 min. reading time. DF 3 min. MS 3 min. TABLED  
back to NAC.

SF Motion--divide out section "End of Stability". \$0 sec. motivation.

For: 1. Against: Many.

Motion: Pass document as basis for amendment. All FOR with exception  
of Abstentions: MD, SZ, JW.

Motion: (JT) Major substantive amendments and counter-documents  
requested by NC to be in by May NC. For: All but CW (abst.)

FEBRUARY 1974 NC

9

MINUTES

Motion: MS. NAC establish commission to write final draft. PASSED.  
Motion: JT. Take no break. FAILED.  
Request (JT) Mike P. Motion on NAC functioning be first point on agenda.

Statement by SF (LA) on Stewart Document: Yes with reservations particularly in regard to section, "The End of Stability." (pp. 11-14).

ADJOURNED 12:25 pm until 1:00 pm/.

MONDAY P.M.

Same seating except GS for KL; BW for JT.

Agenda: Mike P. Motion--15 min.  
Women's Commission--45 min.  
UFW Report--30 Min.

1 for 1 against Mike P. Motion. JT (1 min.) for. MD (1min.) against.  
Chair upheld on procedure.  
For Mike P. on agenda--FAILED.  
For: MP, JT, BH. Against: MD, JG, SF, SZ, KM, IW, CW, DF, MS. Not Voting: KL, JW, KP, KB.

WOMEN'S COMMISSION REPORT--BW. 10 min.  
10 speakers-- 3 min each.  
Motion: CRG to speak on the round--all for. PASSED.  
Summary--5 min.  
Motion: Approve Report: All for. PASSED.

UFW REPORT FROM FRACTION. Mike P. 20 min.

Questions--10 min. No questions.  
Motion: 25 min. discussion.  
Summary--MP. 5 min.

JG Motion: Organizational Reports procedures always come last at NC's. (3 min.)  
2 speakers against: JW. (No second speakers.)  
1 speaker for (mp)  
For: JG, MP, MS, BH, GS, kl, KB, DF. Against: MD, JW, KM, KP, IW, SZ, BW/JT.  
Abst: SF, CW.  
Motion FAILED on tie vote.

Motion (Mike P.) That future NC's be organized so yhat the political discussions precede the organizatio nal discussions and decisions.  
Motion: Table to NAC. 7 For, 4 Against. PASSED.

Announcements.

NC adjourned at ~~xxx~~ 3:?? pm/.



COMMENTS ON FARBER ON BRITISH IS, AND ON BRITISH IS

ON THE ULSTER QUESTION

December 1973

Robert St-Cyr

I was just able to read Sam Farber's two articles (on ISGB and UZ) and think they are absolutely first rate. On ISGB, he obviously has a much broader and deeper experience than I do, but from my lengthier acquaintance (in 1972-73) with only two London branches I could add an additional problem. That is the inclination of the central leadership to rely on "central office clique" members, including central office and SW employees, in the branches and regional organizations for both information and the implementation of certain actions, rather than giving heed or responsibility to the elected branch officers and regional delegates. Geographic distance makes this practice less feasible outside of London, but for metropolitan branches it has led to bitterness, the loss of developing branch talent, and declining confidence in the functioning of the central leadership. One, above-averagely active London branch (of 1972) was reduced to worthlessness by mid-1973 through the systematic application of this "policy." At a point probably beyond return, when some individual leaders realized it was the worker members (including two shop stewards - one of them a chief - in the same plant) who were being squeezed out of the branch, they then attempted to redress the situation which certain of them had initially caused. Under circumstances such as this - and not the lack of industrial opportunities in London - some of the best London comrades have sought refuge in the provincial branches. Unfortunately, worker comrades with families and living in council houses (such as the chief steward in this case) do not have this option.

I must differ with Sam somewhat on the Left faction and Ulster. He says their most distinctive position "of critical support for the Provos." This is not untrue, the point is that this is also the position of the majority of IS leadership especially as articulated in the press and on public platforms by the chief Irish spokesmen, Chris Harman and John Palmer. The Left faction criticizes the leadership for "scabbing on the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland." They don't - so far as I understand from them - differ with the definition of the question (as I and those of similar persuasion most definitely do) but with the implementation of the group line. The Left faction wants more emphasis placed on Ulster and less criticism of the Provo IRA.

My view (particularly when I was working in Belfast) and that of a few British comrades who have contributed to SW letters and their internal bulletin is that Harman has been altogether uncritical of the Provos just at the times when clarification was needed. He follows this policy because he believes the Provos are, in effect, the only genuine national liberation fighters in Ulster, and therefore to criticize their "actions" as opposed to their "lack of politics", which he does permit -- is de facto to support Ulster being retained within the British state. Most objectionable of all his practices in this regard has been the policy of encouraging the printing of Provo excuses for their atrocities in the pages of SW as if they were necessarily factual.

I agree with all sectors of opinion in British IS that the "Official"

wing of the IRA need be given little consideration in the Ulster question and that the Provos - however they are defined - are "where it's at." Some of us do not agree, however, with the Irish Republican assertion that theirs is a "legitimate" national liberation struggle. On the contrary, we recognize that the Ulster Protestants are - as they have always claimed - British. Indeed, for as long as it could be considered relevant to speak of a British nation, embracing the Scottish and Welsh people as well as the English, the Ulster Protestants have been a part of it. Ulster's industrialization in the 19th century took place as an integral part of Britain's and not as some colonial appendage. This process served to cement the previous linguistic and cultural ties which the Ulster majority (both its capitalists and workers) had with the rest of the British people.

The ruling class and public opinion in the larger of the British islands has usually wanted to treat Ireland as a whole. At one time they insisted on keeping all of Ireland within the United Kingdom. As the Irish Catholics grew increasingly hostile to the British connection and assertive of a distinctly Irish nationality, so the central British ruling class came round to the view that their economic interests would be better served by a Catholic bourgeoisie separate from the British state. This, understandably, offended the British Irish concentrated in east Ulster. They opposed this for historical, cultural and religious reasons; but in the developed, export-orientated sector of industry centring on Belfast, there was the additional fear of the economic protectionist trends which were popular among the nationalists of the Catholic and non-industrial South.

Partition was the compromise finally reached. But it proved to be no solution because one-third of the Ulster population is Catholic and sympathetic to a state in which they would be the majority. This sympathy, while allowed cultural expression in the North (e.g., state support for a Catholic school system which teaches Irish nationalism, state aid to cultural nationalist activities), was also used as an excuse for economic discrimination against Catholics. A (deceptively) easy means - so the Protestant capitalists figured - to keep the support of the (Protestant) majority workers in a situation of declining industry (since 1918).

The priority demand of the Northern Catholic masses is now for security from Protestant terrorists and, secondly, for equal rights. Protestants insist upon an end to IRA terror and the retention of the UK. At one point, the IRA - quite necessarily - was able to pose itself as the defenders of the Catholics. The overwhelming number of the Ulster Catholics have now shown that they realize this (however necessary at one time) was a political mistake of disastrous consequences.

But even prior to this consideration, the Republicans or other Catholic nationalists can make no absolute, historical or democratic claim on socialists for support. The Ulster question is not a colonial or imperial question. There is nothing more weird, outrageous or foreign about the fact that Ulster Protestants consider themselves British than the fact that Irish Catholics, though they had lost virtually every claim to "objective" nationality distinct from the British, rejected the integration into the British nation which was (be grudgingly and belatedly) offered them in the late 19th century.

While most British IS comrades would still go along with severing Ulster from Britain, they do not agree with Harman-Palmer that it is a question of first principles for socialists. The Left faction claims that this "lackadaisical" attitude can be largely blamed on the leadership for not stressing the issue, and not "clarifying" it as a matter of first principles. Though I prefer an uncertain commitment to a wrong position (such as the rank and file holds) to a militantly wrong position (Harman-Palmer and the Left), the "fault" does largely lay with the leadership. Prior to August 1971 (the period when I accepted a good deal of leadership on Ireland from British IS and worked closely with Palmer) ISGB stressed that the interests of a united Ulster working class were paramount, before the demand for "national" unification. It was assumed (by all of us) that once significant numbers of Protestant and Catholic workers had united on class demands that a movement toward a united Ireland apart from Britain would follow effortlessly. No one ever worked this out - we were all too busy trying to push for proletarian-wide demands inside of the Catholic, bourgeois-dominated civil rights movement), no one ever did any serious historical research; we just skimmed over the books - Irish and otherwise - which uncritically swallowed the romantic, ahistorical version of Irish "history" propagated by Republicanism, and accepted its (apparent) reasonableness. Because I knew Irish Protestantism from the inside I was more critical of Connolly on Ulster than other comrades. But I was so caught up in my own emotional rejection of the bigotry in my people, that I made less criticism than I should have of Connolly's short-comings on this score. This is especially galling now that I have seen Connolly cited ad nauseam as the final word on the Ulster problem. (Back in those halcyon days - 1969-70 - I never really noticed that every fact Lenin reported on Ulster, 1912-14, was completely wrong! Not so much politically erroneous as factually confused.)

August 1971 brought in the internment policy against Catholics, and the most vicious side of the British army "presence" (I'd gladly use occupation if it didn't imply a foreign army) in Northern Ireland. It also brought a decisive change in IS policy; the hard-line "national liberationists" took charge in the press, where before their view had vacillated with that of the "class unity firsters." But this change (and it would probably be more accurate to describe it as a rectification, or ironing out of wrinkles) was never clearly explained to the ranks. Rather, if and when pressed, the Irish spokesmen prefer to have the best of both worlds. Something like this: "Irish unity - though it will have to be forced down the throats of the Protestant workers - will be best for even them in the long run." Since, however, they have presented absolutely no evidence that the short-term or long-term, economist or socialist, position of the Ulster working class would be advanced by forcefully, and anti-democratically, putting it under an All-Ireland government; they resort to one-sided reporting which is designed to stir up emotional opposition to the Protestants, thereby obscuring the communication of information and the possibility of political analysis. The worst of this appears in SW under the name of "Mike Miller" reporting from Belfast. He has hidden the fact that Provo gunmen have fired on workers - Prot. and Catholic - coming out of their factories, and apologized (in effect) for Provo firings on the Belfast hospital (which has troops stationed on its grounds) by suggesting that it is the secret base for army counter-terrorists.

I fear that those comrades (British or American) who can accept the Harman-Falmer line on Ulster (unless they persist in total ignorance of the facts) are likely to apply the same mis-reasoning to the position of a far more oppressed national minority, Afro-Americans. The consequences for us and American socialism would be, practically and in principle, appallingly wrong and disastrous.

.....

In 1973 the usual ruling party in the Irish Republic (Fianna Fail) failed to win a majority of the parliamentary seats and was replaced by a coalition of Fine Gael with Labour. Another example of the romantic and ill-informed "history" which circulates around the Irish Left, is the myth that Fine Gael - because of its early '30s connection with a would-be fascist movement - is a right-wing party as opposed to the 40-years predominant Fianna Fail which is seen as somehow to the left because of its 1920s association with the IRA. (Lest one be confused; the IRA of the '20s or '30s was in no manner explicitly social-radical - which is nominally the case today.) This left-right confusion stems from the confusion of Irish nationalism with Catholicity. In the '20s-'30s it was meaningful to see FF & FG in left-right terms. But as FF became the established party it was saddled with (and was overjoyed to accept) the twin shibboleths of (rhetorical commitment to) Gaelic revivalism and deference to the demands of the Catholic hierarchy.

If one looks at the performance of the coalition government (ca. 1950) which was headed by FG, one will see a slight willingness (as compared with FF before and since) to challenge the bishops in matters of social welfare and health legislation. Now, in December 1973, an Eire court has found it permissible (at least for a woman whose pregnancy would likely cause her death) to import contraceptives from Britain. The sale of such within Eire remains forbidden. (Another example: divorce was outlawed by FG in 1920s. When the left-wing, Republican FF came to power in the '30s they put divorce prohibition into the constitution - making it that much harder ever to amend.)

On the language question too, FG has demonstrated a more liberal policy. But "liberal" inevitably means, in the Eire context, a de facto pro-anglicizing policy, and thus a subversion of the second point of dogma of Irish nationalism, i.e., Gaelic revival.

As Eire now becomes slightly more liberal (i.e., more like Ulster) in regard to Catholic moral laws and cultural legislation, the intelligent observer might expect Ulster Protestant opposition to Irish unity separate from Britain to likewise decline. This is valid but irrelevant because it does nothing to explain why British-conscious Ulstermen should feel themselves in any measure estranged from Britain because Eire is becoming slightly more like Britain. Those Ulster Protestants who have become anti-British (and even most of them call for an "independent British Ulster") are those who are most fearful that London is betraying them into the hands of the Catholic South. They want an independent Ulster as the only means they see of keeping the border against Eire. They are often the most fiercely Ulster-parochial but are in no sense pan-Irish. Other Protestants and Catholics - noting the "liberalization in Eire - foresee the gradual return of the Republic into a re-united Brit-

ish Isles. If this were to happen most Ulster Protestants would welcome the eradication of the borders.

e1

London has now restored limited local self-government to Ulster with the promise that as the middle class Catholics and Protestants learn to co-operate more powers will follow. (The new Ulster constitution grants that province approximately the same powers that an American state has under the US federal system. There is talk of extending this sort of home rule to Scotland and Wales as well. At present these countries have representative authority

no

apart from the pan-British Parliament in Westminster; yet this Parliament does often make different laws for Scotland and Wales as opposed to England. Electoral support for nationalists in Scotland and Wales has been growing since the '60s, especially as disillusionment with the Labour Party increases. Central Scotland and South Wales are important bastions of Labour strength particularly associated with leftist traditions.)

London has also established a Council of Ireland with representatives of the Eire and Ulster governments designed to work on common problems. A large bloc of Protestant politicians refuse to accept governmental responsibility with Catholic nationalists, and reject the Council as a step toward Dublin control over Ulster. It is very uncertain whether the fragile coalition at Stormont can survive with each party's worst enemies now to be found in the chauvinist-extremists of its own camp. The Provos are much reduced in support but still murderously effective. (Indeed the "success" of their bombing campaign in England should require Tony Cliff to revise some of the things he said about them in Spring 1972. He then argued that their extensive terrorism in Ulster indicated that they had widespread popular support among the Catholic minority. But they represent no significant sector of opinion in England.). The Protestant ultras are more bloody-minded than ever and even more ruthless than the Provos, though now (unlike 1972) they are seen by most Protestants as more the cause than the solution to the troubles.

Which way does the socialist road lie? We all agree the future is appallingly dismal - while I see signs of decided improvement, the "national liberationists" must be disheartened. But it is ridiculous to even discuss the way forward until IS examines the past and discards the errors and myths of "socialist-Republicanism." The Ulster working class should have been drawn closer to the changing currents in the rest of the British class these last few years, instead of being told - as IS tells them - that they are - or should become - an integral part of a different struggle, and furthermore, a "colonial" struggle.



## ON THE OCTOBER 1973 WAR

from MIDDLE EASTERN COMRADES

The root cause of the October 1973 war - as of the previous Middle East wars - is the Zionist implantation, in alliance with imperialism, which created the Palestinian problem and which engendered occupation. Peace in the Middle East is impossible as long as Zionism is not overthrown.

The denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people brought about the ~~the~~ creation of the Palestinian resistance movement. But the limitations of that movement and its failure the revolutionary forces in the entire region left the game once more to the existing state powers. The further expansion of Zionism and the occupation of large Arab territories in 1967, and the de facto annexation of these territories by Israel, enhanced the demand of the Arab masses to regain the occupied territories and to wipe-out the defeat of 1967 by a war of liberation. The Arab regimes were forced to wage the present war in order to prevent their downfall. But the interests of the masses and the aims of the ruling classes are opposed to one another.

The interests of the masses lies in a revolutionary solution of the contradictions in order to achieve social emancipation, as well as national liberation by unification of the Arab nation, and at the same time resolving the problems of non-Arab nationalities within the region \* fully respecting their rights. Here, as throughout the world, the interests of the masses of both belligerent sides are the same.

The aim of the ruling classes is to maintain their exploitive and oppressive power. They are fighting for their lives: the Arab ruling classes, especially in the countries most directly concerned (Egypt and Syria), are under immense pressure to satisfy the just, immediate, concrete popular demand - recovery of the occupied territories; the Zionist ruling class can maintain their hold only within their own dynamics of military supremacy and continued expansion. For the ruling classes the only possible compromise is through a settlement imposed by the great powers; in fact, such a settlement was the conscious aim of Sadat and Assad in waging the present war. This compromise - even if it includes the creation of a pseudo-Palestine-Jordanian state - can only mean sacrifice of the interest of the Palestinian people and the labouring masses of the region.

In the present events the masses are the big losers. The Arab masses, whose liberation is at stake, have been and are bypassed in the preparation, direction and unfolding of the war. The only rôle assigned to them by the states is to sacrifice thousands of workers and peasants and to foot the bill. The Israeli masses continue to pay the heavy toll for their own Zionist delusions and the interests of imperialism.

The only positive result of this war - which will come about ~~the~~

despite the intentions of the regimes in both belligerent camps - will be that the myth of Zionist invincibility has received a severe blow; the barrier created by this myth, inhibiting popular struggle in the Arab world and inside Israel, has been removed; it has shown that struggle is possible.

Our task, as internationalist revolutionaries, is to define the aims of the struggle and to mobilize the masses for them. Class struggle and popular war must have their own defined aims. In the Arab world - comprising the Arab national majority and other nationalities - barriers which at present divide different parts of the Arab nation, and also divide Arab and Israeli, and the establishment of the Socialist Union of the Arab world based on the rule of workers' and peasants' councils.

(--@- correction from above: "these aims are: overthrow of imperialist domination and Zionist power, dissolution of state barriers"..then as is)

It is only in this framework that the various forms of national oppression will disappear.

It is the only way out of the mire of repeated wars, out of the continual reproduction of the bloody and repulsive present reality. This is not only a long-term aim but also the guide for every step we take and every position we take.

(October 21, 1973) Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen),  
Councils' Power (Arab Group), Algerian Group for  
the Propagation of Marxism

(\*) R.St-Cyr: This document was sent by Moshe Machover, a founding member of Matzpen and "publisher" (i.e., legally responsible for) of its paper. ISO has ~~not~~ accepted the contention of Arab nationalism that Palestine/Israel cannot be separated from its integral place as part of the Arab country. Therefore they reject a bi-national (i.e. Arab Jewish) solution within the 1948 Palestine boundaries as frustrating the legitimate demands of Arab nationalism. ISO has sought to win Arab revolutionaries to the position of self-determination for, and national recognition of, the Israelis within (but only within) united Arabia. The Arab Left generally recognizes this obligation as applied to Kurds and the non-Arabs of southern Sudan, but denies it to Israeli Jews as "foreigners" and oppressors - whereas the Kurds, etc., are "indigenes" and oppressed by Arabs. (The claim for the same status is sometimes made by socialist Armenians in Lebanon-Syria.) ISO has found such common ground with Marxist sectors of the Palestinian resistance and their allies. They usually speak of a united socialist Arab East (or Masharek - rendered variously) from Egypt and Sudan eastward. Other trends of Pan-Arabism call for one state for the whole Arab-speaking world. The inclusion of an Algerian group (in Europe) in this statement would imply the latter. In that case, at least one other national minority might be considered, the Berbers of northwest Africa.

THE FOLLOWING IS FROM A PRIVATE LETTER OF M. MACHOVER to R. St-Cyr  
(December 1973 - Machover has been living in London for about three years, and has worked closely with British IS.)

"... I certainly have not joined the IMG/the British section of the same 4th to which SWP belongs/; I have not modified my political views and my dislike of the 4th Int'l. Perhaps I should explain that I wrote

the article /published by IMG in fall 1973/ two years ago together with Said /an Arab member of ISO/, who is an old member of the 4th. This was before the split in Matzpen, which was caused by the sectarianism of some of the people in Matzpen who were also in the 4th. By the time the article was finished, the split had occurred. But since both Said and I were not happy about the split and remained on very good personal terms, and since we still stood by what we had written, we decided that each of us will get the article published in his own channels. It was in fact published long ago in Hebrew and Arabic, both by Matzpen and by the 4th Int'l group, that split away from Matzpen (and is calling itself Matzpen-Marxist, just to confuse people). Said also submitted it to the IMG journal here /in Britain/, who for some reason delayed publication for nearly two years -- and then published it without a word of explanation. ... as for the war, the problem of correct position is very difficult. Of course, one must not take a symmetric attitude to Israel and the Arab states. Also, one has to stand by the right of the Arab to liberate their territory. Nevertheless, I was against calling for support of the Arab states (Egypt and Syria) in this war. My reason is that one cannot separate the war waged by those countries from the general political strategy, of which this war was merely one manifestation. This strategy consists in trying to work not against but through and with American imperialism. This war was not meant by Sadat as a means of directly liberating his territories, but as a means of showing the Americans that, from their own point of view, it was wrong to rely exclusively on Israel, and that they should be more even-handed, i.e., with the Arab regimes as well. Thus his aim was to get the US closer to him and to induce the US to exert pressure on Israel. This was evident right from the start, and is becoming more evident all the time (e.g., the spectacular renewal of diplomatic relations, which makes sense only as part of this strategy). In other words, it seems clear to me that on Egypt's part the war was an integral part of the right-wing and pro-imperialist trend in Egyptian politics, and not at all a progressive move. Of course, I don't deny that the war may have (in fact, is already having) some good consequences -- which does not mean that we should cheer it publicly. The position we took therefore consisted in blaming Israel for the war and for the whole conflict, and in saying that liberation of the occupied territories is a just demand of the Arab masses but we took a rather cool position about the Arab side in this war...."



and tried to get UW into CLUW. She called a meeting and we were not 'officially' informed of it. Kay found out about it and got 14 women there. There were fights over the question on non trade union women being members of CLUW that was not fully resolved as all votes for and against went 15-15. There is going to be a larger meeting at the end of H y.

IF WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A SUCCESS CLUW F ACTION IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT ALL FRACTIONS REGULARLY CORRESPOND WITH THE WOMEN'S COMMISSION.

5. The NC. There will be a CLUW fraction called atx the NC



Information for all comrades attending CLUW Conference . (Please excuse messy typing for we are terribly rushed.

1. The CLUW fraction steering committee consists of the women's commission, Barbara W., Gay, and Marilyn plus, Ruth from NY, Carol from Chi., and Kay E. from the Bay area. The women's commission is the leadership of the fraction and has the voting rights. The WC will also be floor leaders at the conference.

2. The WC will be staying at the Hotel Pick Congress. If you need to call, ask for Barbara Winston (The hotel made the mistake, its not a 'party name') at 312-427-3000.

3. Barbara W. and Joel (who will be one of the WP reporters) will be in Chi. some time in the afternoon. We should be able to get our hotel room at 8AM Saturday morning. There will be a fraction meeting in Detroit and in Chi on Friday afternoon and evenings.

4. The first CLUW fraction meeting will begin at 8AM sharp in Barbara's hotel room. It must begin on time for the agenda for CLUW begins with women's caucuses at 8:30AM.

5. Comrades should dress properly; Blue jeans are not in order; comrades should also bring sleeping bags, and notebooks for taking down names and addresses of people we meet. (Given the nature of this conference it may be difficult to stop and have chats with people. We will have to get their names, addresses etc., and write them later.

6. In Chicago, the number to call for rides or anything else is Sandy's which is 312-528-7357.

7. Child care will be provided by CLUW. It costs \$5 a day; on Saturday it will be from 8AM to 6PM, and then also in the afternoon. On Sunday it will be from 8AM to 2PM.

8. Tentative agenda for the CLUW conference. We spoke with Addie Wyatt today, she could not give out all the specifics for she said that everything ~~xxxxxx~~ could be changed. However, the agenda we think that will be proposed suggests the kind of conference this will be:

Fri: 6-8 REGISTRATION. All comrades who have sent in their registration forms will pick them up at the hotel. Nothing has been sent out in advance.

8-10PM Social evening. We will not be going to that. In fact most of the chartered busses won't come in until midnote or early AM.

#### SATURDAY

##### 8AM Registration

8:30-9:30 AM coffee hour and women's caucuses. There will be (one guesses) social coffee hour based upon women's caucuses in unions.

9:30 - 10:30 or 11. General Plenary. Apparently there will be no major speakers, such as Abzug or Chisolm, said Wyatt, although there are rumors to the contrary.

From 10-30 ~~tax~~, 11 or whenever the general session is over there will be workshops. The workshops will in all probability deal with the questions of the structure for a national organization. It is estimated that there will be 30 w/shops focussing on three topics - Guidelines for local cluws, Natl structure, and statement of purpose.



The issue we want to fight on with the farmworkers in the secondary boycott.

MOTIONS

This is the motion being put forward by CLUW - this is not ours!

1. Representation;

There will be a natl. coordinating c/tee comprised of 250 women; 4 from each intl. the remainder from local cluws. The Natl CC will meet 2x a year.

there will be a 15 person steering c/tee ~~xxxxxxx~~ elected by coordinating c/tee which will carry out policies made by natl CC

Natl officers will be elected by the ~~xxxxxxx~~ 250 member coordinating c/tee

2. Local CLUWS

In order for a local CLUW to be chartered there must be 15 people eligible.

There also must be 5 Intl's represented and 2 members of the National coordinating c/tee must sign the charter.

You also may be a member of natl. CLUW. It costs \$5. You can be a natl. member and not be in a local CLUW.

\*\*\*\*\*

Comrades should easily see the obvious undemocratic element of this proposal

1. It makes clear that local CLUWs will be dominated and controlled by the Intl's, something we do not want; this proposal also discourages local CLUW chapters from forming -- whether based upon unions etc.

2. a 250 Natl. CC would in effect be another mini convention ( or maxi convention) which would get nothing done.

3. The structure is not based upon the local CLUWS, or upon the membership at large. There would be no way for r/f control of CLUW.

MOTIVATION FOR IS MOTIONS : This is schematic. However, we include it to help comrades prepare themselves for raising the arguments and aggressively pushing them. NAC MOTIONS ARE ENCLOSED

1. For the Motion on a Natl. Organization. Further points to raise:

The question of women's liberation and democracy is not an abstract question; that is, ~~the question of women's liberation and democracy is not an abstract question;~~ democratic structures are important for a working women's org. For too long, as a result of undemocratic structures and procedure, carried out by the TU bureaucracy, women have been pushed out of active participation in the labor movement.

What we need is an organization democratically structures that will actively encourage women's participation --- not stifle it.

We need the kind of women's org. that can train r/f women workers to be leadets, to organize and fight and speak out on all questions. An undemocratic ally structured org. cannot accomplish that.

This convention has been set up to discourage participation; it has not been set up in any democratic fashion.

That's why we need a delegated convention, based and controlled by the local CLUWS, by the membership, and not by the Intl. unions.

We want CLUW to orient to r/f working women. ~~xxxxxxx~~ That should be its major concern and not of appeasing George Meaby, Fitz and other

44444444 CLUW,

misleaders.

We can also use this discussion to point out that only the masses of working can win the fight for women's liberation. The trade union officials can't.

It would be important to point out that in the 60's Blacks ~~were~~ were able to raise the fight for Black liberation, by taking to the streets, thru mass demonstrations etc. By not relying on the NAACP, and the Urban league to lobby and sue in courts.

CLUW also cannot be an org, that sees itself as a polite lobbying & group. In their conference call they say they want to wage the fight for women's rights in the unions, on the job, and in society. If they are serious (which we know they are not) it would take a mass org, of working women; an org. committed to actively fight on the questions.

We also want CLUW to be open to a non organized working women, ince 80% or more of working women are not in unions. Any woman who is either in a tu or in an organizing campaign or who wishes to be so, and agrees with the principles of CLUW should be admitted for membership.

NOTE There have been some suggestions for amendments to our resolution.

1. If we cannot get our resolution to the floor (which is most likely, we try to amend theirs, altho' we probably won't be able to do that either)

2. By delegated convention, we mean delegated from CLUW chapters and not from unions. Unions are welcomes to send sorotital observers.

## 2. MOTION ON THE LAYOFFS

The women;s movement raised the consciousness of working women in many important ways, i.e. the idea that women do not work for pin money, that they are as capable of doing any job as any man; that they are not unfit mothers if they work etc etc. As a result in part, working women have gained access to many tradition 'male' jobs, i.e auto, telephone crafts, truck driving, etc. As a result of the recession, all these gains are being lost.

This os not th e first time this has happened. As we all are well aware it happened after WWII, The forcing of 3 million women out the plants and into the home was followed by a wave of consrevativism - Betty Freidan called it the Fem inine mystique

We believe that it is a woman's right to work, regardless of how the govt. and the companies screw up the economy. Women should not be forced to pay. In this vein, we can also raise other questions involving women's right to work such as maternity leaves etc. ~~How can we fight the recession if we have working women who are not working? The labor movement has not done a thing about this. That is why we need a natl. org to fight for the needs fo working women, in the needs of working med. Calling for a shorter work weck, in no ways is counterposed to the needs of mal e workers~~

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We also want to say that it is the companies and the govt that is responsible for the recession. It isn't women --- on the lowest rungs of the pay scales -- who should be forced to pay, but rather we should make the companies pay.

It's Nixon, Meny, Fitz and Woodcock who should be laid off - not women in the auto plants.

Yes, we want a natl. demo on, Washington, we know Meany doesn't so that's why CLUW has to call and organize it. We have to wage a fight in our unions for such a proposal.

Finally, we should point out, who has a program for this recession. Nixon says that there isn't one. What do the democrats say? N<sup>O</sup>thing! Perhaps they have a new war to get us out the the economic mess --- like what they did in Vietnam

## ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

The present union leadership is so sexist it cannot organize the masses of unorganized women. When they do, they do it ~~fix~~ to increase their dues base; that is, they organize them into a union and then do nothing for them. In one case, i.e. the IBT, Fitz., tries to use the women IBT'ers to offset the militancy of the truckers.

It is estimated that women in bus earn from 20-40% more than unorganized ~~women workers~~ women workers.

Historically, the drives to organize the unorganized were carried on not by labor officials the Gompers and Meany's but by radicals and socialists. And today, when attempts are being made to organize agricultural workers --- neglected by the AFL-CIO leaders --- what does Meany do? Stab them in the back by opposing the secondary boycott, and doing little to help in the efforts. How do the IBT help, by making raids on the UFW, organizing workers into sweetheart contracts etc.

Quite often when unions try to organize women, they merely get into jurisdiction fights i.e. AFT vs. AFSCME over the question of Teaching assistants, IBT vs. UFW, district #65 vs. CWA in NYC.

It was the result of the mass civil rights and Black liberation movements, the growth of the Chicago movement that spurred organizing drives in this country. Martin Luther King was shot while involved in helping in an organizing drive of garbage workers in Memphis; Chavez started out in a civil rights org. for Chicanos. The growth of a women's movement too can help spur on drives to organize the unorganized.

The employers reap huge profits from the labor of unorganized working women. The trade union leadership is unwilling to take on the employers on this question.

That is why CLUW has to demand and fight for money to hire thousands of women organizers to take seriously the question of organizing million of working women into the labor movement.

The Demo. party through legislative and other acts have excluded large sections of the labor force from minimum wage and other social security benefits, such as domestic, service and agricultural workers.

THE FARMWORKERS

Hopefully all comrades are prepared to argue on most question. However, we want to stress the issue of the secondary boycott. We feel that may be the fight in the workshops.

That Meany is willing to drop labor's use of the secondary boycott, and CLUW has to wage the fight. The boycott was won through labor's struggles and remains ~~is~~ a very effective weapon. (Comrades should reread David Miller's article in WP on secondary boycott, also #8)

The Farah strike was in part successful due to the use of the boycott; so was the ~~women workers~~ women strike in England; dockers refused to load fuel. ~~has been and~~

The UFW is under attack by both political parties thru anti-labor laws. The UFW has made tremendous strides for women workers - increase in wages, child care, and fighting against child labor, combating illiteracy, fighting use of pesticides; it is in our interests to make sure that the UFW continues to grow as the union for farmworkers in the country.

Big business in this country uses the secondary boycott, i.e. in the case of the airlines, when one airline is on strike, the other companies pool their profits to make sure that the striked company does not suffer.

Labor will win more victories for itself through the active use of the secondary boycott.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Hopefully, everyone is prepared on this question.

CLUW 6666666666666666

However, there are a few points:

Democratic party supported the wage freeze -- which froze women's wages at 59% of men's.

The NWPC has proven to be a dead end for women in terms of political activity for women.

The democratic party is the party of Shirley Chisolm and George Wallace. Chisolm paid a condolence visit to Wallace after he had his ~~C#~~\$% shot off.

The Abzugs, Chisolms, Farenthals etc are just a sop to keep women in the demo. party. They are our crumbs (and they are crumbly too!)

Remember the demo. party gave us the war in Vietnam.

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OTHER THINGS WE FORGOT TO MENTION.

1. Carolyn Greene's position on the ERA passed the NAC 3-2 (DF, JG); consultative votes by BW and GS supported the Greene position. Our position is for critical support to the ERA. A more substantial document will be drafted for the NAC.

2. The meetings at the CLUW conference have been set up for the purpose of electing leaders for the Natl. CC. We will go to the meetings for the purpose of fighting for our general perspectives. We probably won't be able to do that. We wish to try and get some of our members elected to the Natl SCC. Further explanations and personnel to be given out at the fraction meeting.

3. ALL PERSONAELL ASSIGNMENTS, for fractions, union caucus state etc. mygs will be made on Thursday.



## REPORT ON THE CLUW CONFERENCE

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) conference that was held over the March 23-24th weekend attracted 3200 trade union women. Over 1000 more women came than was expected. It is obvious that the question of women's rights and women's liberation struck a responsive note for hundreds of working women. It must be remembered that the conference was an expensive affair, \$12 registration, hotel rooms and eating expenses mounted up, unless your union (or organization) was willing to subsidize you.

The CLUW conference was a success for all involved. For the IS it represents a tremendous opening. For the first time in many years our perspective on trade union work, women's liberation and our orientation to the Maoists will have an audience. It is even more apparent that we must aggressively work out our strategy for women's industrialization, and encourage for greater industrialization of our women comrades.

### I. THE CONFERENCE ITSELF

The conference membership is best broken into 3 categories: a) the bureaucracy, b) the trade union militants, c) the radicals

The bureaucracy represented about 1/3 of the conference membership. They had done what no one else had been able to do and that was to organize a national trade union women's group. For the most part, although with exceptions, they had the respect of the other militants there.

The second grouping, the 'trade union militants' were comprised of local union staffers, local officials, plus some rank and file women. Many of them were older women who may have been radicals when they were younger. Most of the younger Black women fell into this category, especially women from AFSCME and UAW locals. These women had respect for the bureaucracy for setting up CLUW, but were not completely tied to them. They were won to the left on a number of issues, in particular, the fight over the farmworkers.

The third grouping was the left. Approximately 20% of the group were from the left, in particular industrialized radicals who are Maoists of varying stripes.

The UAW sent the largest contingent of women, about 300 - 400. The majority had been mobilized by Olga Madar, Vice President of the UAW, now president of CLUW, and Edith Van Horne, another UAW bureaucrat, to be as Madar said in one of her speeches "a cheering section." Other large contingents were from the AFT, and from AFSCME. (Note: there were a large number of dissidents in the UAW section).

One of the important unions present was of course the IBT. At first on Saturday, the first day of the conference, there were about 30 IBTers present. The majority were rank and filers who wanted to fight on the farmworker question. The two most prominent women were from Pittsburgh NAM, and they spoke from the floor in support of the Farmworkers. Clara Day when confronted by the fact that the IBT leadership was going to be outvoted brought in a number of IBTers to offset the radicals. Fitz was on the phone with Clara Day, and told her that under no circumstances could a resolution in support of the farmworkers be voted upon (it was clear that if a vote came to the floor, the majority would support the UFW). All forms of coercion were used. All the IBT women were photographed; Day told them that if any IBTer spoke publically in support of the UFW that they would be expelled from the union; that every woman's card was being checked;

that if anyone spoke from the floor as an IBTer in support of the UFW, ~~they would~~ Clara would get up and say they were not members of the IBT bus outside agitators. The IBT rank and file stood up well against this. At the Teamster dinner for all the IBTers the radicals stood up at the restaurant and demanded to know why farmworkers lettuce was not being served, and sent it back etc. etc. The IBT leaders started screaming at the telling them they were tired of all that "Grapes and lettuce ~~xxx~~ shit." In other words, there was a big fight in the IBT. Clara Day, made it very clear that Fitz would use all his pressure to force other intl' unions out of CLUW if a resolution in support of the UFW passed. For this reason, the bureaucrats of this convention made sure that a resolution never came to the floor.

It also must be said that the racial composition of the conference was 20 - 25% Black, with only a few Puerto Rican and Chicanas there.

The Bureaucracy's program for CLUW, their real program was of course ~~to~~ to use CLUW as a pressure group to strengthen their own position within the trade union leadership, to build a stronger base for themselves, and to encourage some other women to get more involved in trade union questions. This program they did not present at the CLUW conference. All they wanted to come out of the founding convention was a structure with them at the leadership. And this they did. In this way, the bureaucrats got what they wanted out of CLUW -- they are in the leadership of a large, national organization of trade union women.

The bureaucrats did not want any political issues to be discussed on the floor and voted upon. They did not have any program of action for CLUW, no proposals for what sort of ~~xxx~~ campaigns CLUW should be fighting for (except in the abstract). The leadership of CLUW provided no direction and no sense of purpose. Instead they structured the day and a half conference so that women were rushing from 8AM to 11PM from workshops to caucus to plenary to lunch to workshop, to statewide meeting, etc etc. The bureaucracy did so in order to prevent substantive political questions from being discussed; and in order to prevent any other organized opposition to them to form. They also deliberately chaired the meetings abysmally, so that nothing could get done. The Left (and more of this in a minute) played right into the hands of the bureaucrats by spending two and three hours in procedural hassles. The leaders allowed the meetings to degenerate so that every political question would have to be referred back to the national leadership.

Addie Wyatt of the Meatcutters was the most popular bureaucrat there. She is the Women's director for the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union and is now v.p. of CLUW. She is Black, an excellent and effective speaker. She stayed outside many of the fights, i.e. the farmworkers, and in no way endangered her position of strength with the union militants who really think she is great. Other leaders of CLUW are the following: Olga Madar, who is retiring as v.p. of the UAW is the natl. chairwoman of CLUW. There were a lot of boos from the UAW section when this was announced. She had antagonized many women; Joyce Miller of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Elinor Glenn of SEIU, Clara Day, IBT, Dana Dunham a rank and file from the CWA, Linda Tarr-Whelan from AFSCME and Gloris Johnson, IUE are all national officers. These women are the decision making body of CLUW. A 200 person National Coordinating was elected based upon 4 members from each intl. plus 'leaders' of each local CLUW. The IS has one person on the NCC, Francis from NY.

The left was there and showed that it still remains too sectarian, too suspicious to be able to act together, with the exception of the farmworkers question. However, when it came to the question of support for the UFW the left could act together, was effective in moving people, in disciplining itself, in

knowing how to maneuver etc. However, the left demonstrated that they could not speak to trade union questions, that they had no knowledge of how to behave in conferences, how to use parliamentary procedures etc. The left was also unable to reach the young Black trade union militants that were there. There were few visible Black left wingers.

A brief run down on the left wing groups:

the CP. It played no visible role there although there were a lot of CPers present. TUAD leaflets, Labor today and IMPEACH NIXON buttons were distributed. The CP divided its vote on the question of the farmworkers (Explained on section on UFW)

The SWP was also underground and played absolutely no role at all in CLUW. In fact, they did nothing in fighting on the UFW question. While they all may have voted for the UFW, they did not speak from either the floor or the workshops aggressively on this (if at all). It seems that all they wanted was to get at least one woman elected, and they did Paula Reimer from the Detroit (AFT)

The SIP's (the old TCTers) sent Joanne Landy, Lois Weiner and Alexis to come. They started the fight for the UFW by handing out petitions in support of the UFW. ~~How~~ Joanne also spoke from the floor aggressively for the UFW. However, the SIPs were not going to fight for the secondary boycott; they claimed it would only confuse the issue and besides the UFW wasn't raising it. Also the SIPs were not able to take the lead in the workshops and in the caucus meetings on the UFW. They also did not fight on other issues at the conference.

The RSL sent one person.

The NCLC, PL, WL, if they were there we didn't see them at all.

There were perhaps 20 women from NAM, Cleveland (working for What She Wants women's newspaper) the IBTers in Pittsburgh, a few from Durham NC, and perhaps others. They for the most part worked very well with us, had good tactical sense, were not sectarian. In short we want to work with them.

ISCO - was represented by Ann Lipow who came in on the UFW question (we don't want to divide the conference etc.)

Union WAGE, not necessary in the 'left', was also divided on the UFW question.

United Workers Union - Independent. The front group for the Freedom Socialist Party in Seattle sent 5 women, who just acted stupid. They had two women in the IBT who could have played a more aggressive role in the UFW question. They spent their time in the procedural hassles.

The Maoists. The RU, CL and OL were there. They provided no leadership at all for the left. Instead it appears that they were mainly doing contact work. The vast majority of women there were working class Maoists, however, the 3 major groups in no way tried to have an influence. According to one undisclosed source, the Maoists did not speak from the floor or any of the questions.

YAWF was there (and did not have a huge banner). They have some staffers in the CWA and one of their people was elected to the NCC from NY.

The Spartacists were there and they were the most visible, as well as the most despised group there. Their strategy was to polarize the CLUW conference immediately, which they did. At the first major plenary, they spoke to a motion regarding International Working class solidarity (which everyone supported), and they spoke to that question by denouncing Bella Abzug, calling for ~~wxxx~~ armed workers militias, and workers governments everywhere. They were a disciplined group, that knew what they were doing, were able to grab the mikes, but their political methodology is to alienate yourself from everyone as much as possible. The actions of the Sparts made it more difficult for us. Many in CWA had to dissociate herself from them; and it made it more difficult for us as a whole to raise some of the political questions thanks to them. The Sparts did exactly what the Maoists and bureaucrats want --- that's what the left is, or what do you expect from Trots. They were wreckers at the conference; and only showed that they are a thoroughly petty-bourgeois group with nothing but contempt for the working class.

CLUW

The left was also responsible to allowing the bureaucrats to prevent political discussions from coming to the floor. At the plenary sessions, it was the left that spent all its time on points of information, clarification, personal privilege, order etc. This played into the hands of the bureaucrats, who could after a three hour session of x hassling with all these points, move and have passed all the substantive questions back to the steering committee.

In comparison with all other groups, the IS did very well. We were the only group that had a leaflet in its name. Our UFW leaflet (see last weeks key list mailing for all the leaflets). The leaflet was well received. Through the UNC leaflet, which was the only other counterposition for CLUW, we were able to speak to the issues of the conference. While the SIPs took the lead in the UFW fight it was the IS that got the IBT rank and filers together, who were leaders in the caucus meetings on the UFW etc. (more on this later) In comparison with all other groups, it is fair to say that the IS emerged from the conference with a better name for itself than when it came in, and had an effective political presence.

#### THE UFW

The question of the UFW was the cutting edge of the CLUW conference. Our UFW leaflet was successful because it spoke to all the issues involved. The UFW women were willing to put up a fight, and so the left got together and planned their strategy. The first plenary session, the IS women helped organized a floor demonstration for Dolores Huerta. The chairwoman was reading off all the names of women and their union who had built CLUW. When Dolores and the UFW was mentioned there was cheering and vivas and etc. It was a very good start. The second fight was about the conference rules. One of the guidelines for CLUW was that it would take no sides in an issue where one union claimed it was a jurisdictional dispute. The left's strategy was that at the plenary it should be deleted. When this was finally voted upon, it won 3 to 1. This meant that a motion in support of the UFW and (perhaps) the secondary boycott would win, but by a small majority. The IBT officials as well as other CLUW leaders had decided that the vote would never take place. The IBT vowed to break CLUW up over this (IT WAS NOT THE LEFT THAT WOULD BREAK CLUW UP), and the officials bowed to the IBT. They then began putting tremendous pressure on the UFW women. (We are trying to get in touch with the UFW women for their are conflicting stories) & However, we do know that Clara Day met with the UFW women (who were all photographed as they walked into the first meeting. They walked out immediately and a new meeting had to be scheduled), and made a number of compromises. What finally happened was that ~~xx~~ the last session, opened with a UFW striker who spoke, and gave a moving speech saying that the enemy was not her teamster sisters, about how we have to work together, and then talked about the strike, and why people must boycott scab grapes, lettuce and wine. The younger IBTer who supported Day spoke and said that the IBT supported their sisters in the fields. (not the UFW) Then Clara Day got up to speak, but Josephina, the UFW woman grabbed Day and hugged her. (the press was shooting all this and evidently Day was 'shitting bricks' at this embrace by the UFW. She has to answer to Fitz. Once this was over, Joanne Landy grabbed the mike and moved that CLUW go on record as supporting the UFW. (At this point there are conflicting stories which we must find out which one is true) According to one story, Andrea O'Malley of the UFW was going to speak for Joanne's resolution, but in the confusion never got to it. But what happened was that Olga Madar of the UAW grabbed the mike and said that the UFW didn't want to move this; that they thought CLUW should go on with their work etc. Once Madar said this, the UFW's fate was sealed. The middle group would go with the bureaucracy.) The officials then had to diffuse the situation which they did (A funny note was that in trying to diffuse the situation, they said that

there were all these trade unionists from other countries here and they would like to send greetings. So this woman from New ~~Zealand~~ Zealand got up to speak and halfway through the speech it was apparent to all that this New Zealand unionist was a Spart! It was very funny.)

The failure of the UFW to fight on this question was a defeat. (Whether or not they agreed to the compromise, whether or not Andrea was just confused and didn't get to the mike is not really the question here.) The defeat on the UFW question is more important for it shows that the UFW can't and won't fight Meany. They are giving up the secondary boycott, did not fight for it at this conference. Even though they would have won on the question; they were not willing to wage that fight. Their refusal to fight also had a demoralizing effect on some of the IBT women, who were confused and couldn't understand why the UFW'ers gave up.

On Saturday night the UFW had won, had they continued to fight, and to fight the officials CLUW would have supported them. They were defeated on Sunday, and this was also a defeat for the left as well.

## II. THE IS AT CLUW

For the most part, the IS intervention at the CLUW conference was good. However there were problems and our successes, as well as our failures have to be thoroughly discussed.

In the first place our line, our approach and our assessment of the conference was, for the most part, correct. The two issues of the conference, were as we predicted the UFW and the question of a democratic rank and file organization. Our two leaflets, on the UFW and the UNC leaflet, which was in fact our program for CLUW also touched base with people, and spoke to the issues of the conference. We were able to use the UNC leaflets to argue for our politics and to make an intervention in many instances.

I have spoken about our intervention on the UFW, but to repeat. We were the only group that had a leaflet on the question, and the leaflet was well received. It was the IS that helped organize that first floor demonstration in support of the UFW and Dolores Huerta. It was the IS that first made the IBT contacts, that distributed the (very popular) bumper sticker on this Teamster supports the farmworkers) At the UFW planning session, largely through interventions of Joan and Ilene ~~xxxx~~ from NY, we were able to take the lead in planning the strategy. We fought in the workshops for the UFW, and in many cases, our workshops came out in support of deleting resolution 14.

The IS also did not just speak on the issue of the UFW. We were the only other visible group that spoke to other questions as well. In particular, in the workshops we introduced motions on the UNC leaflets, and many passed, in particular, the motions on structure, and the UFW, on organizing the unorganized. There also was an amendment to the CLUW statement of purpose on support for women's caucuses which passed in the workshops, and in the plenary.

The women in the IS spoke out aggressively in the workshops and were able to speak on a number of trade union questions.

The women did excellent contact work. For the most part, the women were aggressively seeking out women, getting names and addresses using the UNC leaflet as a way to get our ideas across.

The IS women were somewhat slow in terms of speaking out at first, but very soon, all were actively involved.

The major failure in terms of intervention was that we were not aggressive enough at the plenaries. Only two women spoke, Sara about child care, and Barbara W. about trade union democracy. ~~xxxxxxx~~ We did not even speak to our own motion which did get to the floor - the one on women's caucuses.

There were problems. One which will be discussed by the NAC in a much fuller way, was its failure



There were problems:

One was due to the functioning of the NAC. The NAC will be taking this up in greater detail. However, the NAC should have set the line, and should have aggressively fought for that line. Instead, it waited for a period of time, giving people with opposing viewpoints a chance to come and speak to the NAC etc. All this led to confusion, especially by the women planning to attend the conference as to what was our line, and to what did this mean. The NAC motions, through some oversight were not included in the first key list mailings on the questions which only added to the confusion.

The second major handicap was that we did not have enough women present, and that many of the women leaders could not be active. For the next CLUW conference we have to mobilize every IS woman, and we wish every IS woman to get a union card. This means, we also have to encourage and work out a strategy for women's industrialization. ~~xxxxxxMargaritaxxxxxxMartyxxxxxxBianca~~  
 If the women could have come from the west coast, it would have been a big help

However, we were faced with the problems that Gay, Ilene, Marilyn, Wendy ~~xx~~ Enid and Kay, all for various reasons had to be either quiet in their union situations, or as with the case of Marilyn, Kay and Gay, couldn't register as unionists, and could not function at all, except to hand out WP, and IS leaflets. This unfortunate situation placed most of the burden on Barbara W. who had to be floor leader, plenary speaker and contact worker at the same time. The women ~~xxxxxxMartyxxxxxxBianca~~ of the AFT provided the important leadership on questions of speaking from the floor. The reason ~~xxxx~~ that only two women spoke on political questions at the plenary was in part due to some of the problems related to lack of leadership that gave people confidence in the line and how to fight for it.

In spite of the problems we faced, the WC must learn to function anyway. And to some extent it failed to provide enough political and tactical leadership for the entire fraction. We are hoping to hear from all the women in the fraction for more specifics, suggestions for improvement, criticisms etc,

There were some other things we did not do. WP was not sold aggressively. We could have sold several hundred, but we didn't. We can learn some things from the SWP, too. i.e. they set up their lit. table 1/2 hour before the conference ended; we can do the same. Also, we should have (and see WC motions to the NAC) sent in people to be staffers, i.e. workers for CLUW.) Also, we underestimated the state-wide meetings. Perhaps if we had run people in the state-wide conferences we would have won. We also did not have our women campaign, in particular, Manya from CWA and Ruth from the AFT. They probably would have been elected to the NCC if they had done some campaigning in advance. The campaigning ~~xxxx~~ would take two forms; i.e. speaking from the floor and winning a base and two doing contact work. Both Ruth and Manya faced problems. Manya was in the same locals with the Sparts and had problems with that; Ruth had been fingered as both an ISer and a Spart.

In spite of the many problems, the IS worked well together, and was able to make an effective presence, especially with the UFW and with many industrialized radicals. We have a long way to go before we can operate in a smooth way, but it must be pointed ~~xxxxxx~~ out that this was our first intervention in many years; that the IS has gone through 4 years of defeat, splits and demoralization, which takes its toll on the membership. We do not yet have a ~~xx~~ large cadre of women leaders. However, we are beginning to work on this, and for the most part, our functioning at CLUW was better than we expected.