

Anne

SPECIAL BULLETIN NUMBER EIGHT

CONTENTS.....

- a) Notes on Convention
- b) On the SWM(Ireland) and the ISGB
- c) Reprint on Women in Industry
- d) Historic Note on Ind/Priority
- e) "Left" Faction perspective for L'ville
- f) Majority Reply to L'ville perspective.
- g) Reprint of CPUSA motion on New Members
- h) Statement by Political Solution Group
- i) Resolving the Crisis Document.

Glenn W.
Sandy B.
Barbara W.
Mike U.

PROVISIONAL AGENDA AND OTHER NOTES ON THE 1977 CONVENTION

Saturday, March 12th. to Monday, March 14th

NOTE.....This will be a residential convention, the site is Leland House at 400 Bagley Avenue in downtown Detroit. Details of how to book accomodation (price, \$24 per night for quad rooms) will be sent out next week. Delegate strength will be one delegate per five members based on branch size in January, there will be no delegate votes for MAL's and no delegates will be seated until the branch has paid its convention assesment of \$25 per member. This money goes mainly on travel expenses for delegates and to a much lesser extent for the other expenses of running the convention.

CONVENTION SESSIONS.

The nature of the period an its effects on the building of a workers organisation.

The Sadlowski campaign and other mass work initiatives on a local basis.

Industrial persepectives for our priority work.

Womens perspectives

Black work perspectives

Building the I.S.

Changes in functioning and organisatáon of the I.S.

Ending the faction fight.

Elections, etc.

There will also be time for meetings of the black and womens caucuses, all the industrial fractions and the political caucuses that have arisen out of the faction fight. IT WILL BE A BUSY,BUSY TIME.

Glenn Wolfe.

The ISGB and the SWM

Over the years the ISGB (now the Socialist Workers' Party) has never set up an ongoing collaborative relationship with the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Movement (SWM) in Ireland. The tendency has been to largely ignore the SWM for long periods of time and intervene only when there is some big internal dispute in the group.

At some times British IS interventions have been very helpful to the SWM. It was the IS's advice that helped convince the founders of the SWM to organize an independent group in Ireland rather than a branch of the IS which had been their initial plan.

But after the SWM was launched the British IS gave it little ongoing help or attention beyond encouraging one experienced Irish member to move back to Ireland. Since very few of the Irish comrades had any political experience except in the Irish Labor Party a political relationship with the leadership of the IS would have been especially valuable in this period when they were dealing with all of the problems of starting a new revolutionary organization.

Several years later when a severe faction fight started in the SWM the British IS intervention followed a similar pattern. A faction had developed in the SWM similar to the RSL in this country calling for action only on the basis of the full Transitional Program. The British IS intervened on the side of the majority and it was in part their advice that won the majority to the need to expel the opposition and put a quick end to the faction fight. It was this decisive action by the SWM majority that prevented the faction fight from destroying the organization.

But again after this brief intervention the British IS largely ignored Ireland and the SWM. At many times the Irish Sub-Committee of the ISGB virtually ceased to function. Even letters from Ireland asking for help were not answered.

Currently the SWM is reduced to about twenty five members. Its newspaper, The Worker, does not even come out monthly on a regular basis even though it is still far and away the best paper on the Irish left. The SWM badly needs an externally directed campaign to begin breaking out of its isolation.

The only advice it has received from the British IS has been to start a Right to Work March from Belfast to Dublin or Dublin to Belfast. The problem with this is that it is an attempt to mechanically transplant something that was successful on Britain to Ireland.

The proposal to march from Belfast to Dublin or the other way round ignores the most fundamental fact of Irish politics - the border. There is no point in an unemployed worker from Belfast marching to Dublin since the Dublin government can't create jobs in Belfast. Similarly the British government is not about to provide jobs for unemployed workers in the South.

This advice also ignores the real situation of the SWM. A group of twenty five comrades however dedicated cannot create a mass Right to Work Campaign.

When Steve Jeffries was in this country he said that the Irish Sub-Committee had been re-organized and that the Socialist Workers' Party planned to do more consistent work in supporting the SWM than the IS had done in the past. But when the newly formed Socialist Workers' Party organized a Bloody Sunday

comemoration and a Day School on Ireland no one from the SWM was invited to speak at either one. The SWM NC voted to complain to the SWP about this.

The SWM like the the ISUS can learn a great deal from the experience of the SWP. An ongoing collaborative political relationship with the SWP would be invaluable to the SWM leadership particularly now that they are taking the first steps to break out of their isolation.

But this will not happen unless the SWP leadership decides to make important changes in the way they relate to the SWM.

They will have to develop a serious understanding of the political situation in Ireland and especially the ways in which it is very diferent from the situation in Britain. Without this their advise on external work will continue to be as misguided as their Belfast to Dublin Right to Work March proposal. This kind of advise can only discredit their corect view that the SWM needs to make a ~~xx~~ decisive turn toward external agitational work.

Second they must take whatever organizational steps are necessary to establish a consistant and colaborative political relationship with the SWM leadership. This means ending the past practise of forgetting about the SWM except when there was some sort of crisis in the group.

It will also mean avoiding all temptations to dictate to the SWM on the basis of their greater political development and vastly superior organizational resources. Instead the SWP must help the SWM develop a leadership capable both of benefiting from the advise and experience of the SWP and charting its own independent course when this is necessary.

Sandy B.

NOTE: This document was written for the National Committee of the IS for its May 1975 Meeting. Sections of it are reprinted here because in several key areas of the politics of women's liberation, this document still represents the official position of the IS. It should clear up at least some of the confusion generated by the present faction fight in the minds of newer members who were not part of the initial debate. The sections that have been removed are a one page introduction which is now largely outdated and a half page section on CLUW which is also of little relevance today. One or two other sentences, which refer back to the introduction have also been removed. The rest is unchanged and very relevant to the present debate within the organization.

Glenn W.

...The IS is the only organization on the left which is committed not only to the creation of a rank and file workers movement, the creation of a revolutionary workers party, but also to the building of an independent working class women's liberation organization as part of the working class fight for socialism. Furthermore, the IS is the only organization that believes that the organization of women fighting for emancipation is neither subsumed by or counterposed to the struggle for workers power. Rather, we argue that only through the self organization and activity can the fight for women's liberation be won.

Because of the special oppression and exploitation that women face in society, women will form their own organizations to fight not just against sexism, but against capitalism as well. That is what is meant by the independent organization of women fighting for women's liberation. The working class women's liberation movement is organizationally independent but part of the working class movement. This is an important point to stress for the working class women's liberation movement will not be formed independent or separate from the class struggle. As the working class goes into motion, and as that rank and file movement is built, it will give impetus to working class women to organize and fight.

As the working class moves against the capitalist crisis, those who are most exploited and oppressed, women, Blacks and other national minorities, will move in a most explosive and revolutionary way. Working class housewives, who are the most isolated, and in periods of capitalist stability, tend to be the most conservative, will see that there is an alternative to their oppression, through organization and struggle can be won to the fight for women's liberation. As women in the work force fight against their exploitation as workers, they will come up against the barriers of sexism and will have to fight both their exploitation as workers and their special oppression as women.

In this way, and others, the working class women's liberation movement will be built in both the shops, the unions and in the streets. The working women's movement will be made up of women in unions and in organizing drives; women's trade union or labor formations, such as CLUW will be formed and be part of this movement; socialist women's organizations, as well as welfare and tenants rights groups, women who are involved in community issues whether they are around the deterioration of the schools, police brutality, regulating food prices etc. will be involved. The creation of women's

auxiliaries such as the Women's Emergency Brigade of the 30's or today's Brookside Women's Clubs point to the role that women, not in the work force, will have in the creation of a working women's movement. In other words, all sections of the female working class, black, white, Latin and Asian, blue collar, white collar, organized, unorganized, and the masses of housewives will be drawn into the fight, will form their own organizations of struggle which will become the working class women's liberation movement.

However, and to repeat, this motion of working class women will come about as a result of the general motion of the working class, and in particular of a rank and file workers movement.....

....For the past twenty years, the material conditions for a working class women's liberation movement did not exist. But now, with the growing crisis in capitalism which is beginning to radicalize the working class, will aid in the process of building a working women's movement. In the absence of any real working class women's liberation organizations, the task for revolutionaries is to begin now to work out a strategy for building both the rank and file movement and the working class women's liberation movement.

The IS is a revolutionary organization of around 300 members. There are about 75 women members, 11 of whom are in our present industrial priorities. We are still largely a petty bourgeois organization with little roots in the working class, and most our members have no experience in the labor movement. We also realize that we do not have the luxury of time, given our analysis of the period. Therefore, the IS must have a strategy that will place our entire organization where it can have the best impact on the emerging working class movement in order to build the working women's movement.

Also, in terms of organizing working women we must have a strategy where we can be most effective and where we can affect other sections of the class to go into motion to organize and to fight. That is why, for example, we look first to women at the workplace, rather than housewives, as key to building a working women's movement. It is only at the workplace, where women are organized, are exploited collectively and learn through collective actions that reforms can be won. It is women at the workplace who have the greatest social power and can most easily grasp the potential political and social power of the working class to transform society.

This does not mean we minimize or downplay the non workplace struggles of working women, i.e. welfare rights, tenants, housewives etc. The IS, of course, supports, encourages and will help build in whatever way we can any and all struggles of working class women, whether it's over free milk for school children or equality on the job. As far as we are concerned no struggles of working class women are insignificant. We support any activity and organization that builds the self confidence and organization of the working class and of working class women.

The issue at hand, however, is how to strengthen and build all these struggles, and it will be the organization of working women, who can bring added potential power to all of the community issues.

Once it is agreed that the first step is to concentrate upon women in the labor force, then we must decide which section of the female labor force is most strategic in terms of building a working class women's

movement. In this case, as well, we are faced with a number of problems. We cannot have a strategy based upon concentrating solely where there are masses of working women. In the first place, the overwhelming majority of working women, 30 million out of the 34 million are not organized into unions. The masses of working women are located in small, dispersed, isolated backward and unorganized shops; women are concentrated largely in service, clerical and domestic work. These are the facts of life about capitalism. It is a system which discriminated against women. It keeps women out of the basic industries that are well organized and have strategic social power in terms of the working class movement. That is why to have a strategy based simply on being where the masses are would put the IS on the periphery and not at the heart of the workers movement.

Therefore, we must choose our priorities on a whole range of political questions and not just on the question of sex alone. Our present priorities, auto, steel, teamsters, and CWA were chosen because of their strategic importance for the entire working class movement. It will be in these unions and industries that the class struggle takes place on the highest, most decisive political level. Already, the key questions of the rank and file vs. the pro capitalist bureaucracy are posed. It is also in these unions and industries where there is the greatest pressure toward the development of the kind of class struggle rank and file movement upon which the perspectives are based. As we have stated many times, it will be that rank and file movement which will give the impetus to the working women's movement. By being in these key industries and unions, revolutionary women will be bringing women's liberation politics into the most important sections of the rank and file movement. But, more important, in terms of the working women's movement, it will be those women in the key industries that will be getting the best political training, and many will become leaders in the future rank and file movement as well as the working women's movement.

The important political struggles, and organizing that women in the important sectors of the working class are involved in now will also act as a catalyst for other women in the labor movement. While it may be true that women in these key areas are small in numbers, they have an impact upon the class far greater than their numbers. The building of rank and file groups in auto, steel, teamsters and telephone will have a far greater impact on other sections of the class, than with developments of comparable magnitude among, for example, secretaries or hospital workers.

Also important, is that because of this political experience and training, women in basic industry will also be able to provide leadership and guidance for other women in struggle who will not have had this experience. As struggles break out among working women in all areas, women who have already been waging the struggles in their unions, built the rank and file groups, understand the nature of the trade union bureaucracy etc., will have the self confidence and experience to provide the necessary guidance and leadership. They will be in a better position to help and train women in other sections of the workforce.

As the IS grows and becomes a workers organization, we will be intervening in strikes, organizing drives etc., more from the outside than we do now. Right now we must use the tactic of "industrialization" because of the low political consciousness of the working class. The ISGB, for example, did not have to industrialize its cadre because of the higher political level of the British working class. However, we will not be able to intervene from the outside, unless we have a cadre of women with the

necessary political experience and training. It will be precisely these women who have the most to offer unorganized and striking women workers, who will be able to work with and provide the indigenous local leadership involved in struggle.

Chances are the IS will not be located where 99% of all strikes, organizing drives and other struggles take place. That is why we have to be able through our training and experience to intervene from the outside - to provide the necessary political and tactical leadership, to work with the local leaders and to recruit them to the IS. The IS will never be in every hospital, cannery, field or factory. That is why we must have the cadre of women who have the experience and training to effectively intervene. They will only receive that training in the most important unions and industries.

Many people have argued that the impetus for a working women's movement will come from women involved in organizing drives. This may very well be true. In the South and Southwest in particular, mass organizing drives when they take place will have to challenge American capitalism. For involved in the issue of organizing drives will be the question of the union bureaucracy, black liberation, women's liberation and the Democratic Party. Given the importance of such a future movement to organize the unorganized in relationship to a working women's movement, shouldn't we then send women into these unorganized places so that we can be fighting from the inside when the struggle breaks out.

Once again, we must go back to our original premise about the rank and file strategy. It is our conception that the fight for a rank and file movement based on the unions will also lay the basis for the movement to organize the masses of unorganized workers.

With women in the leadership and active in the rank and file movement based in the key industries and union, they will be crucial in providing leadership for organizing drives. In this case, there is even a more pressing political reason for having women get their training and experience in the UAW, IBT, USWA and CWA. As we said earlier, it is in these unions that the important political reason for rank and file vs. the bureaucrats has already been posed. Women who are involved in these unions already understand the political nature of the trade union bureaucracy, and have experience in fighting it. In organizing drives, this is not the case, for usually the interests of the ranks appear to be that of the bureaucracy. Many times, and it is common today, that some of the best militants become staffers for unions such as SEUI, AFSCME or 1199 because they want to be involved in organizing drives. As a result many of them never understand the nature of the trade union bureaucracy, and often end up defending their union leadership over that of the rank and file. In this way, many of the best militants who end up working for the unions, do not understand the union bureaucracy, don't get the experience fighting it by building rank and file groups, which will be critical in building a working women's movement.

Therefore, the point to be stressed is that we want and expect women in the IS to be able to work with the masses of working women, provide leadership, help train and guide all struggles that break out in the coming period. But we will not gain that experience by being in the backward, dispersed, unorganized and isolated sections of the working class, even though that is where the masses of working women are. Rather, we must concentrate our small forces, where they can get the best training in the quickest period of time.

The IS recognizes there are problems when middle class revolutionaries "industrialize." As we mentioned earlier, industrialization is a tactic that we have adopted because we have no other choice. Middle class people have been (mis) educated to be afraid of the working class, and middle class women and men have real fears about being able to do the physical and political work in heavy industry. For women, who are especially oppressed in this society, in particular, because channeling, have greater fears about being able to do the work.

The IS understands and appreciates the problems, but we have to go beyond that if we are going to build a rank and file movement and a working women's movement. We have a responsibility to convince as many members to get jobs in our industrial priorities, and the organization must be geared to enable the comrades to carry out their tasks in the most efficient and effective way. But we cannot allow the fears middle class people have about industry, stop us from sending as many women into our priority industries. We should try and explain that the fears stem more from channeling than from reality. After all, working class women are not frightened by working in heavy industry. And, as it was pointed out at the Working Women's Conference "Women have always worked at backbreaking jobs. Now with women getting into auto and teamsters at least we're making \$5 an hour instead of the usual \$1.85"

When the IS first sent women into industry we were taking a gamble. Many members thought that women couldn't do the work, couldn't build rank and file groups, and more important couldn't be leaders of men. IS women in industry were, to be sure, forced to confront special problems. But the experience of women in the UAW, IBT, and CWA have proved the opposite. The successful panel at the working women's conference demonstrated that our industrial strategy vis a vis the working women's movement was correct; that women can build rank and file groups, that women can be leaders of men as well as women, and that their rank and file work will have outside the immediate job/union situation, to women in the backwards and unorganized sections of the work force.

At present the IS has four industrial priorities. We plan to move to opening up new industrial priorities as soon as possible. We will have to establish and strengthen our present fractions on a national level as well as grow numerically. In choosing new areas of industrial work, we will use the same criteria that was used in choosing the original four: the strength and importance of the industry and union (s) the history and traditions of militancy, the concentration of women, Blacks and other oppressed national minorities etc. This means of course, that whatever are we move into will be industrial, as opposed to a service, clerical or domestic one. A number of industries and unions have been mentioned for future industrialization, such as garment, electrical (IUE,IBEW), machinists (IAM), postal workers (APWU) and others will be looked into. The opening of a new industrial priority is essential for the expansion of our industrial work and the creation of a working women's movement.

A word should be said about hospitals as a priority, especially in terms of a working women's movement, since a document was written presenting a case for industrializing into hospitals. We will not open up hospitals as a priority industry. However, this does not mean that we regard the struggles of hospital or any other workers for that matter, as irrelevant. Nor do we tell hospital workers we recruit necessarily that they should quit their jobs and go into one of our industrial priorities. We may convince some that they will be more politically effective if they were in our priorities

now. That will depend on a number of political considerations. However, as we grow, we will be intervening more and more from the outside, in terms of strikes and organizing drives. We will also recruit hospital workers to the IS from the outside. However, right now, because we are small, we must utilize our limited resources in the best way. And that is why our priority areas for union work will be in these key unions, so that we can provide leadership not only in these key areas, but wherever there is activity by the working class.

Some comrades have said that while they agree with our industrial priorities, and do not wish them changed. They also state that while we should not alter and change our basic strategy, we should have another priority, on a limited basis, which would enable women to work where there are large concentrations of women. We have to point out the problems with such a plan. In the first place, we will not open up another area of work unless it is of strategic importance in terms of the rank and file movement. We also don't open up limited priorities for women. There is also no point in opening up a new area of work unless the resources of the entire organization will be used to establish a strong fraction that can carry out the political work. If the IS established a priority on a limited basis, one that was not considered as important as the other industrial priorities, not only would the work be done in a half-hearted and slipshod manner, but worse, the women in the fraction would, and rightly so, be able to say that the whole organization did not take the work seriously. This would only lead to further demoralization of women in the group.

As we move to opening a new industrial priority, one that is strategic and one that has a large concentration of women, we will not be setting up a "women's priority." By women's priority we mean an industry/union selected solely for the purposes of building a working women's movement. Secondly, if we sent women into industries and unions by themselves, this in itself would only reinforce the divisions that exist within the IS and add to the oppression that all our women members face.

Some other left wing organizations reject our strategy for building a working class women's liberation movement. In particular, most of the independant left collectives have had or have now an orientation to hospital and other health care workers. Many groups have criticized the IS for concentrating in basic industries while ignoring the areas where there are masses of women. Many of the best people went in to organize hospital and health care workers believing this was the best way to organize women and build a movement. Most now have left, with nothing to show for their years of work in terms of organization self confidence etc. of the workers involved. The result for most has been one of demoralization as the collectives fall back on interpersonal relations as the way to deal with sexism. Others have begun to look for a different strategy. We have a responsibility to point out to these collectives and individuals why their strategy was doomed to fail that in the absence of a strong movement, based in the important unions, all the best work done in the backward and unorganized areas will not produce lasting results; the defeats that are inevitable without a strong rank and file movement behind them will only produce demoralization and defeat. The formation of a strong rank and file movement, based in the important unions and industries will enable sustained organization and activity among the backward, unorganized isolated sections of the class. The task for revolutionaries is to build that rank and file movement.

Because the IS's primary concentration is on our industrial work, some

members feel that unless you are in basic industry, there is no role for you in the IS. A great deal of the dissatisfaction and discontent of the women members comes from this feeling. In the first place, many women who are not in the four priority industries do play leading roles in the organization as the working women's conference proved.* However, at this point, given what we believe the IS must concentrate its work primarily in industry, it is imperative that all our members, men and women, who are not in industry, become involved in the industrial life of the organization through the fractions, selling WP, writing for WP, doing contact work etc. It is the responsibility of the leadership bodies, fraction leaders, execs, organizers to make certain that all the women and men, whether or not they are in industry, play a full role in our industrial work, which is, of course, and as no one has suggested otherwise, at the heart of all our political activities.

As the IS grows not just in numbers, but in terms of our base in the working class, we then will be able to effectively intervene and give leadership to non industrial struggles that will be important for building a working women's movement. For example, if the IS were larger, and more established, we would have tried to initiate a Joanne Little Defense Campaign. The issue would be important in the fight for women's liberation because the issue takes up the questions of rape, racism, the right to self defense etc. More important, we could bring in the strength of an organized rank and file movement into the defense campaign. A struggle like that, or others involving the schools, rising prices, welfare and tenants rights will, of course, be critical in building a working women's movement.

In other words, we expect all members of the IS to be professional revolutionaries whether or not they are in industry. Our industrial strategy will pay off in other non industrial struggles, because not only will we have a cadre which can bring the rank and file into the struggles, but we will also have the women who can provide leadership to the important community struggles as well.

Another argument against our present industrial strategy has been that since we are not located where there are masses of women, we will not be able to recruit women to the IS. Right now, most of our working class contacts are men. This is the consequence of centering all activity around male dominated industries. The argument continues by saying that we have lost more women than men because many women feel if they have no role in industry, they have no role in the IS, and therefore drop out.

Everyone is agreed that the proportion of women to men in the IS is too small. We do not accept the small number of women in the IS as a fact of life, and we are committed to recruiting more women to the IS, and past problems in keeping women are a direct result of our present industrial strategy.

It is true that in the past five years we have lost a larger number of women than men. In the late 60's, when the ISC/IS was largely a student group and when there were mass movements against the war, or for women's liberation etc., there was a larger percentage of women in the group. However, we have gone through 5 years of conservatism and defeat. As a result, many women became demoralized and left. This is due to the special oppression women face in society which makes it more difficult for women active

*In March 1975, the IS women's commission organized the first and very successful working women's conference in Cleveland.

in revolutionary organizations, especially in periods of defeat. It should be pointed out that many of the women who had been leaders in the old ISC/IS left as a result of giving up on the possibility of workers revolution, or because of sectarianism.

It is true that the IS is not now recruiting large numbers of women. Neither are we recruiting large numbers of men. We are recruiting in small numbers, and even more slowly recruiting indigenous workers. It should also be stated again, that given the material conditions of the special oppression women face in society, they tend not to join revolutionary organizations as quickly as men. But as the class goes into motion, the IS will be recruiting large numbers of women, because we will be active both in the rank and file and the working women's movement, and in all the movements of the oppressed.

We do not believe our present industrial strategy prevents us from recruiting working class women to the IS. We believe it has more to do with objective conditions which we are trying to change. However, it has to be proved, that an organization with a strategy of being partially or entirely in the unorganized and backward sections of the working class where defeats, and accompanying demoralization are inevitable, where sustained organization is impossible, will recruit and keep large numbers of women. Almost all the independent left collectives and groups were male dominated in both leadership and membership.

Along with the problem of recruiting women to the IS is the accompanying question of women leaders in the group. While the working women's conference demonstrated that the IS has a real and not token cadre and leadership of women, we still want more. We believe as the rank and file movement and the working women's movement grows, the leaders of both, will also be leaders of the IS. That is why, if we do not have women now located in these key industries and unions, where important political questions will be fought, these women will not be able to be leaders of the rank and file movement and of the IS.

A good case in point is the ISGB which has been notoriously bad on the woman question. In spite of their tremendous accomplishments, they do not have women in their national leadership. The reason for this is that they do not have women in the unions that were instrumental in building the rank and file movement -- miners, engineers(carworkers), dockers, members of the transport workers union. Women are leaders in the teachers and hospital workers fractions. The leadership of the ISGB is now being based on the rank and file movement, which was based on the key industries and unions mentioned above. Many of the leaders of the rank and file movement are leaders of the ISGB. If there were women rank and file leaders in basic industries there would be national IS women rank and file leaders despite the bad attitudes of the group. In fact, the attitudes of the group would have been forced to change.

It is true that in revolutionary organizations, women who are not in industry are leaders. An excellent example of this is Arlette Laguiller a bank clerk, who was Lutte Ouvrier's presidential candidate. However those leaders, like other non industrial male leaders are exceptions rather than rules. LO, for example, does not concentrate on bank clerks, but rather autoworkers as key to building a rank and file movement and revolutionary party.

A revolutionary organization unfortunately suffers from all the distortions

of capitalist society. All efforts must be waged to rid an organization of sexism and racism. But the problems of sexism can never be solved with a strategy that places men in the important industries and unions, whereas the rank and file movement will be built, and places women in the backward sections of the class. Such a strategy will only prevent the development of a leadership and cadre of women capable of playing leadership roles in the rank and file movement and the movements of the oppressed. The leadership of both the rank and file movement and the movements of the oppressed will also provide the leadership of the revolutionary party. Unless there is women's leadership and equality in the rank and file movement, there will not be women's leadership and equality in the revolutionary party.

The rank and file movement is the only mass movement that can bring about a fundamental change in the structure of the capitalist system. It is the only movement that can bring about a fundamental change in the structure of the capitalist system. It is the only movement that can bring about a fundamental change in the structure of the capitalist system. It is the only movement that can bring about a fundamental change in the structure of the capitalist system.

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FOR THE RECORD - NOTES FROM THE PAST ON PRIORITIES AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

The policies of the IS with regard to priorities and industrialization are not something new to our tradition, something that was dreamed up by some comrades in the late 60's. Rather they are policies that our tendency has always had as a means of transforming the social composition of the organization.

As an example I offer a resolution passed by the Workers' Party in Nov. 1946 (printed in the Party Builder Vol I, No. 6).

"Our previous program of Action declared that 'the over-all problem which is central and the key to our tasks is that of changing the social composition of the Party'. This remains central task. We also reiterate these lines from the previous Program of Action: 'We cannot expect to make our party a proletarian party within a three or a six or a twelve month period. But every month of the period ahead must show progress in this direction.' In the past four months the Party has made advances in this direction. The Party will continue systematic efforts to industrialize the Party. Branch executive committees and, where necessary, special activities committees should interview members who are not already in industry and who are (or should be) available for industrialization. This work should continue until every party member who has no valid reason for not being in industry is placed in a factory. Simultaneously, recruitment should be directed primarily toward shop workers.

"In placing comrades in industry, branches must keep in mind that wherever possible these should be basic industries and, where feasible, the Party industrial concentrations. The next period should show, not only a percentage increase in the number of workers in the Party but also an increase in the number of comrades in the concentration industries."

Colonization was also an issue for the Workers' Party in 1946: "For several years the Party has conducted a program of colonization...The over-all colonization policy had primary objectives: (1) The organization or strengthening of branches in the 'industrial quadrangle' (Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland-Akron); (2) The strengthening of weak units in the Party by providing them with qualified and active members....A program of colonization cannot be a continuous process but must proceed in waves: first, as colonization is demanded by the developments of the Party nationally and locally; and second, to provide organizations sapped an opportunity to recoup their losses and to replace the lost cadres with new corps of trained comrades."

And then there is Trotsky's letter suggesting drastic steps to take to change the social composition of the Party (p.90, Struggle for a Proletarian Party).

"A radical and courageous change is necessary as a condition of success. The paper is too wise, too scholarly, too aristocratic for the American workers and tends to reflect the party more as it is than prepare it for its future.

"Of course it is not only a question of the paper, but of the whole course of policy. I continue to be of the opinion that you have too many petty-bourgeois boys and girls who are very good and devoted to the party, but who do not fully realize that their duty is not to discuss among themselves, but to penetrate into the fresh milieu of the workers. I repeat my proposition: Every petty-bourgeois member of the party who, during a certain time, let us say three or six months, does not win a worker for the party should be demoted to the rank of candidate and after another three months expelled

from the party. In some cases it might be unjust, but the party as a whole would receive a salutary shock which it needs very much. A very radical change is necessary."

Mike U.

LOUISVILLE BRANCH PERSPECTIVES ("LEFT OPPOSITION") OF JANUARY, 1977

Our last set of branch perspectives covered the period of the Periphery Campaign. My organizer's report attempted to analyze our successes and failures in carrying out those perspectives, and also tried to point the way forward. The current task is to lay out a set of perspectives for the next few months based on who we have and what is going on in the real world around us.

At this point we have 14 active members, several close contacts, a broader number of less close contacts who are not now being consistently talked with, and a small periphery. Our goals should be building in numbers through consistent contact work and solidifying ourselves as a branch through serious political education. To succeed in these goals we must turn away from an internal focus of task-oriented committees and gear instead toward informal contact work, activity around live issues, and political classes and discussions which can attract contacts and periphery.

What I am suggesting is a refocussing of our work. Given the above stated goals, our "priority" work in this period should be South Africa work, education in the form of study groups and one shot deals, an externally focussed women's caucus and Worker's Power.

SOUTH AFRICA WORK - We have every reason to believe that South Africa or southern Africa will be the Vietnam of the '70's and 80's. Already it is an issue around which people all over the country, black and white, are beginning to rally. There are other left groups who have been doing some type of South Africa work for years. We have a lot of catching up to do both in external work and in educating ourselves on the issues involved: Which of the five factions in ZANU are we supporting? What does ZAPU stand for? What does SASO's work consist of? etc. I am proposing that we set up a South African Support Committee to consist of several interested comrades from our black work committee, and as many of the contacts from "Last Grave" as we can get to come. I suggest we hold the first committee meeting on Jan. 19 and propose the following activities to be put forward at that meeting: 1) Regular educationals and discussions on specific topics to be researched by members of the committee; 2) Discussions of WP coverage on South Africa; 3) Setting up a Worker's Power literature table on a weekly basis at U of L to feature WP, South Africa literature and posters; 4) Organizing future showings of "Last Grave" and other films (La Lutte Continue, for example) and demonstrations.

WOMEN'S WORK - We should see our current women's work in the context of the growing attack on working women. All protection against sexual harassment on the job has been lost; the recent ruling on maternity leaves is a major setback, the ability of divorced women to get Social Security benefits has been called into question. As yet there hasn't been much of a response to this attack. Our job is to place ourselves where the struggles are; therefore our perspectives are modest. Our main goal in this work is the recruitment of women.

1. We should sell WP where there are large concentrations of working women. Phone sales must be regularized. We should start sales at GE.
2. We should consider a WP leaflet concerning the recent pregnancy ruling to be distributed at the Phone Co.
3. We should try, after distributing WP and WP leaflets, to get interviews with working women for the paper.
4. Our women's caucus meetings should be externally focused. We should hold an evening discussion (coffee and dessert) each month on the growing attack on women, the crisis in the cities and social services, women

under apartheid, etc. Also at these meetings we will set up our WP and WP leaflet distributions.

5. International Women's Day event with a focus on the economic attack on women.

EDUCATION

1. Our black work committee is, primarily, a study group. Most of the people involved in the group will also be involved in the South Africa work and in community sales of WP, but those are separate. This group should finish the Basic Ed. Series, discuss the WP articles, read Politics of Lenin and other pamphlets and always be bringing around new interested people. Attendance has always been irregular, but that in no way lessens the importance of this group as it is the only ongoing work that we presently have in our periphery. The group will be discussing what other work it wants to be a part of.
2. Lenin series: 3 sessions have been held for interested branch members. We will continue to carry this out on a weekly basis.
3. One shot educationals - education series bring along with them a whole host of organizational problems. Very often the people who can attend one week can't the next. We should begin having one shot deals to which members and contacts alike are encouraged to come but which will be useful whether 5 come, or 20. There are many talented people in our area who would be glad to come give classes on the international economic crisis, women's history, etc. With an eye to the overall branch schedule, I will begin setting these up and we'll see how it goes.
4. Film series - the center will be providing us with a film catalogue which we can use to set up a modest series. Our emphasis should be on living room showings rather than full-scale forums. Each film could be shown a number of times.
5. We will be compiling a booklist. Each member of the branch should write up a list of books they are willing to loan out from their own home. Each loaner can set up her/his own system for keeping track of the books. The masterlist will let people know what is available and from whom.

WORKERS' POWER - Much too much, our orientation to WP has been a very mechanical one. I believe that use of WP in the black committee will encourage more enthusiastic and creative use of the paper. Also community sales and sales of the paper at a literature table will force us to talk with people in the real world about our paper and our politics. This too should generate more interest in writing for the paper and discussing it seriously among ourselves.

1. Sales at UPS should be continued and those at the Phone Co. regularized. Followup on UPS sales will be explored (see Teamster work section).
2. Community sales to be tested. June and Fred should pick one small area that can be hit by say 6 people in one afternoon. We'll see how that goes and take it from there.
3. Paper routes to contacts to be designed by each member.

TEAMSTER WORK - At present this is our largest committee, although it is not necessarily the area of work with the greatest returns. First let's take a look at what we have. We have one full time freight worker and one casual. We have 3 other people with Teamster cards, one laid off and 2 out of work. So we have one full time Teamster with the potential of organizing something FROM THE INSIDE. The main job of this fraction is bringing Teamsters around the I.S. To do this, the best thing we have going is a largely untested periphery at UPS. The fraction should see UPS contact work as its main responsibility since our odds on real gains are good. WP sales have been solid and consistent. The WP salesperson should be active in followup

work, attempting to link up our rank and file work with the I.S.

The other job of the fraction is the building of a local TDU; but going at the present rate, this is in danger of becoming the only work of the fraction. Louisville Lip is our most promising tool for building a local TDU chapter. The response for help in distribution was quite good at the January 16 meeting. We should continue putting out the paper, and always be on the lookout for issues around which people can be rallied.

TELEPHONE - At this time we have one active member working in telephone. She has a few contacts around her that should be brought into the broader political life of the branch; South Africa work, women's work, and maybe a WP study group. Instead of having an entire fraction around the work of one member, I would suggest having one member work with her on telephone work. Other branch members should be called upon to help when needed. In addition to Mary's continuing attempt to build a base where she works, there are a few things we can do. WP should be sold. We should consider putting out a WP leaflet concerning the recent pregnancy ruling, and more generally the growing attack on working women. If we can we should try to get interviews with women telephone workers on these and related issues.

Christina B.
Organizer

...best thing we have going is a largely...
...on real gains are good. WP sales have...
...should see UPS contact work as the...
...job of this fraction is bringing teaming...
...with the potential of generating some...
...cards, one half and I would...
...one full time freight worker...
...the greatest returns. First let's talk...
...committee, although...

MAJORITY RESPONSE TO LEFT FACTION LOUISVILLE BRANCH PERSPECTIVES 1/22/77

Our branch is faced with a crisis over what direction we as an organization should be heading in. The so called 'left' faction has put forward their perspective which takes us off the course we decided on at the last convention. All without discussion in the fractions, and without waiting until the March convention. In order to take on the problems faced by our branch in this period, we have no choice but to defeat their perspectives, put forward an alternative, and really begin to move forward.

In order to resolve the many internal problems we face, we need a thorough discussion within the branch. We need to come to agreement on the solutions and elect leaders who will carry them out. One of our most serious problems is that the work of the branch has not been led for several months. The present leadership is organized, but has been trying to lead in the wrong direction. For two months now, the 'left' faction has been talking to themselves in a vacuum, in an attempt to manipulate the direction of the branch. They have either ignored areas of external work (defense of Jeffries Moody), neglected taking any action in others (S. Africa and women's work), or simply dragged ass behind leads taken in the fraction (TDU work).

In the IBT fraction we've made some break-throughs despite the foot-dragging of the convenor and the organizer. Contrary to their claims, this is our area of greatest returns. It's our best industrial and external work, with several active contacts and a relatively large periphery. It's the only fraction that's larger than it was at last May's reorganizations - it has lost no one and it recruited two people.

The women's caucus, headed by a member of the 'left' still has not met. Another (majority) member put forward a beginning perspective on work around the maternity issue which was not incorporated into their branch perspectives, apparently because it proposes mass work and work tied to rank and file organizing in an industrial priority.

In the black fraction the convenor has had nothing to report for some time, and now we know why. Instead of the fraction having an external focus, it has become a study group under the leadership of the left faction exclusively. (A majority exec member was excluded, for example, from teaching a basic education class on the trade unions to the black fraction. He'd been asked to do that by the person in charge of basic education). To what extent the study group has been meeting regularly is another question. The only role for our new members in the black fraction is apparently to study, sell papers, snag contacts and bring them to forums to listen to our 'resident prof.'

As for telephone, it's true that we can't have a fullblown fraction at this point. However, we are also more or less told to ignore our national perspective which is to build local activity around contract issues and build a political periphery out of that work. Instead the 'left' would have us focus our limited resources on bringing our I.S. contacts into study groups. Period.

All in all the 'left' faction's lack of action and their exclusively internal focus has slowly withdrawn them from that 'real world' they claim to be looking for. Their branch perspective has many problems to be worked out - the first being the way it was formulated. They chose to skip the past practice of having full discussion in the fractions or with members involved in areas of work, to avoid the danger of having to convince the

branch in the context of what we should be or are carrying out through our fractions.

Their perspective is weak in what's missing as well as what is there, because it leads in the wrong direction. It is no accident that they have no strategy for building or becoming a part of the growing struggle against police terrorism in the black community. No one in their right mind would dare organize a fight against white police terrorists WITHOUT ORGANIZING A MASS MOVEMENT! Organizing or taking part in a movement broader than ourselves involves working with people who probably do not share our politics. In the black community of Louisville it means working with ministers, NAACP, black protective parents, OL, RU, CP, Burning Spear, ETC. No purist would dare get their hands dirty in that barrel of bad apples. While other organizations build a movement to recruit from, the 'left' is busy making sure their stage is set and sound system ready to address the masses with its 'correct ideas'.

One of the worst failings locally, since busing got played out, was the failure to establish the IS as a force in the city. Leaflets and newspaper sales can and have attracted a periphery that we can recruit from. We can recruit from it IF we have a strategy for building a fight against the growing racist movement. The strategy of the 'left' is to use leaflets and the paper like a piece of bait on a hook. With it, we can pull workers to us, give them our devine training - without getting wet ourselves! (How nice it would be if this comfortable road to revolution were possible. It reminds one of 'getting in touch with the African people the American way' by riding through the continent in an insulated, air conditioned scenic cruiser while the well-educated-in America travel guide reads fascinating passages from National Geographic...) And when we accumulate a large enough number of workers (or students) by this method, then maybe we can jump in and fight or swim against the stream.

Well, that is not how it works, comrades. The perspective that we will put forward in opposition to the 'left' will be a perspective for mass work. If we are to be taken seriously by the black community or by those already in struggle against the racists, against union bureaucrats, against their bosses - we must become a part of those struggles., no matter how low a level a given struggle is at., There is no other way for the branch to play a role in organizing the fight and to be in a position to give it a lead as the ante gets higher. We cannot afford to ignore and separate ourselves from the growing movement within the black community here. We must get involved to help build it, and to recruit in the process. We can raise our revolutionary socialist ideas in that process as well, but face it - we will be judged by our actions before our ideas are listened to.

Our priorities in the coming period should be building a periphery around the IS thru our intervention in the struggles taking place locally where we are in a position to intervene. Instead of saying we can't do anything (aside from sell WP and hold educational forums), we need to be clear on what there is to do and what we can do given our resources. We can do something, on some level in the following priority areas.

- 1) Build a local TDU chapter This includes pinpointing activity for a chapter to begin doing, around national and local aspects of the employers offensive in freight and UPS - the situation at Krogers, for example.

2. Join the growing fight against racist attacks and police terrorism locally. This should include beginning this coming week to participate (as a branch) in activities around Moody trial - get a full story with pictures for WP as well.
3. Build active support for the Liberation Movement in South Africa. This should include a lit table and WP sales at one campus (Consider resources - JCC might be best place) but focus on building action vs. debate factions in ZANU.
4. Organize around contract issues at the phone company - womens issues in particular (upgrades, personal leave days, maternity policies). This would include a shop floor bulletin to be put out monthly by MB, petition campaign and stacking local meetings to pass resolutions for bargaining.
5. Explore the chances for a broader coalition in the community around the maternity issue. This would be the major external focus for the womens caucus for the next 3-4 months and can include a monthly dinner discussions which set this issue in its broader political context; the political and economic attack on working women as well as the task of building a working womens movement.

These perspectives should be expanded, of course, following fullblown discussion in the branch, in the fractions and among individuals. There will also be a perspective around Dave's work in the bakery and a strategy for bringing his periphery around the IS. Whether or not he can continue to function actively in the teamster fraction will depend on the demands of the bakery work. We will also have to focus on developing the use, sales and coverage of WP as our most important organizer and educational tool - tactics for doing this should arise out of the plans for our areas of work. Education and cadre training are also key for the internal development of our members as well as for their functioning as revolutionaries in our external work as well as the basic educational needs of individual members.

PROPOSALS! Our differences are too fundamental to simply amend the 'left' faction branch perspectives and we are in the process of formulating alternate perspectives. The proposed document was handled undemocratically and contrary to past practice. Fractions weren't notified and consulted for their views. Proposed amendments by the majority exec member were omitted. The document came out 4 or 5 days ago instead of the customary week or two ahead of the branch meeting.

The perspective is also contrary to the one adopted at the 1976 National Convention and represents no more than the politics of the Left Faction in practice - how they would run a branch. It lacks a conception of external activity and how to build it. It focuses on propaganda, education and contacts - 'building the Is' in the abstract - but always leaves the question "Get together and do what?" It ignores and makes slurs against the TDU and telephone work and does not reflect the views of people involved in that work. Therefore we propose the following:

1. Vote down the branch perspectives of the 'left' faction - it says too little and leads in the wrong direction.
2. In order to end the paralysis of leadership, elect a new exec: Christina as organizer; John E, Dan T, Mary B, and Jon H. This is a large exec, but we need a strong and committed leadership for the tasks of the next period. We also need an exec that will better reflect the majority politics of the IS. In this Interum period, those politics are NOT the politics of the Left Faction.

3. Call for a branch meeting in two weeks to discuss and vote on a new branch perspective based on the outline contained in this document as well as on full discussion in the fractions.

Editors Note

These two documents were printed at the request of members of the Louisville majority caucus. Those comrades have also requested that we publish in the next bulletin their full perspective which was put forward as the next step in the debate that these documents began.

The "left" faction members are, of course, welcome to add more of their material to this debate, indeed they are encouraged to do so. For this is one of the few situations where the political differences of this faction fight can be viewed thru the lens of practical activity.

G. Wolfe.

Seventh National Convention
CPUSA - 1930

Resolution on Keeping New Members
(Minus Introductory Sections 1,2, and 3(a)).

.....3.(b) Already the effects of these and other Party weaknesses in connection with the new members is clearly evident. In nearly every District there is a great disproportion between the reported new members and the number of initiation stamps purchased from the Central Office of the Party during the Drive. Similarly the dues sales have not increased to the same ratio with the recruiting of new members. New members generally speaking are not sufficiently followed up by the sections units. Only to a very limited extent were they drawn into Party work. Classes for new members, except Detroit, were very late in starting in all Districts, and even yet there are Districts (Pittsburgh, Anthracite, Boston, Kansas City) where absolutely no classes have been started. In the Districts where classes have been started the attendance is by no means satisfactory.

4. This confronts us with a serious problem in connection with the keeping of the new members recruited for the Party. It confronts us with the twofold task of overcoming the weaknesses of the Party and of giving a bolshevik training to the new members. The most determined and energetic measures must therefore be taken in the first place to change the inner life of the Party and its method of functioning.

(a) The political activization of the nuclei and their orientation on the basic industries must be made the first aim of all Districts. Regular and systematic discussion of Party problems and campaigns must be systematically conducted at all nuclei meetings, all leading comrades from the District and Section Committee should be attached to shop nuclei to give them political and organizational assistance. Reports and discussions must be so prepared as to closely link up the political aims of the Party with the daily struggles of the workers in the factories. Not long, abstract, tiring discussions, but concrete discussions on how to bring the campaigns and activities of the Party closer to the struggles of the workers, must be developed and stimulated, especially by the new members.

(b) Every nucleus, guided by the Section and District Committee, must outline for itself concrete daily activity to carry through in the factories and in working class neighborhoods, the political and organizational tasks of the Party. At the following meeting a check-up should be made on the extent to which the work has been carried through and of the results obtained, and a further plan of work prepared. This method of planned, systematic, continuous work must henceforth receive the persistent attention of all leading committees.

(c) Improvement in the functioning of nuclei must be secured. Meetings must be held regularly and on time. The nucleus executive must always meet before the nucleus meetings, handle all technical matters, select reporters on principal questions and organize and plan the nucleus meeting. The practice of reading long communications and killing the nuclei meetings with technical routine must be stamped out. The nuclei must be turned into sources of preparation and direction of the Party members for their work among the masses.

(d) Sharp political criticism of all opportunist errors and deviations as well as neglect of work, of all Party members and of leading committees and functionaries must provide the basis for serious and con-

tinuous self-criticism. Self-criticism of our mistakes and weaknesses will convince the new members of the seriousness and earnestness of the Party more than anything else and must be fully and freely developed in a thorough, systematic way.

(e) All bureaucratic tendencies in our Party must be ruthlessly fought and overcome. The methods of mass work must be systematically developed.

5. Simultaneously with the campaign to improve the inner life and to activize the Party, the most thorough, systematic and continuous effort must be made to train and develop the new members, to overcome their lack of understanding of Communist theory and practice as well as the many petty bourgeois prejudices instilled artificially by the bourgeoisie. The absorption and activization of the new members recruited by the Party is one of the most important phases of Party every-day work.

To accomplish our task it is necessary that:

(a) Every single member of the Party and especially the new members must be assigned specific work in the nuclei of the Party as well as in the trade unions and other proletarian mass organizations. The new members should be especially drawn into active work for the campaign of the Party, such as struggle against unemployment, building the Trade Union Unity League, Daily Worker Drive, etc., and into active work in the nuclei, giving them a direct function to fulfill according to their ability and experience. The nuclei are to guide the new members in their work, giving to them the most comradly help, guidance, cooperation in carrying through the tasks assigned them. The fear of hesitancy manifested in any Districts to assign the new members to active work must be combatted. The practice burdening a few active comrades with a multiplicity of functions instead of distributing the work amongst all members must be discontinued.

(b) The most developed and promising forces among the new members should be drawn into direct and in some cases leading work in the auxiliary organizations, such as ILD, WIR, FSU, Labor Sports Union, etc. In this way the Party can both develop and train the new members and diminish the lack of cadres which now exists.

(c) Systematic class work and political discussions must immediately be developed among the new members. Drawing them into work should not become a substitute for systematic theoretical training, and classes should not become a substitute for practical participation in Party work. Both must go hand in hand.

Discussion meetings and classes at which all new members must participate must be organized in every city. This must not be done in a haphazard, disconnected manner, but thoroughly and systematically building their political education step by step until they succeed in absorbing and assimilating the theoretical foundation and strategy of our movement.

This training of the new members must take several forms:

1. In connection with the campaigns of the Party, into which the new members must fully be drawn, meetings of Party members must be called at which a reporter explains in detail the political problems and objectives of the campaign and the tactical aims of the Party, etc. This form of developing the new members should be widely developed.

2. In all Districts it is necessary to systematically develop and fully carry through educational work among the members, particularly among the new members. This educational work must not have as its objective

merely the "education" of the members, but rather the securing of more successful results from all Party members in mass work, the drawing in and developing of the new members and the training of new leading cadres for the Party. In addition to discussion meetings, reading circles, lectures, etc., the district agitprop committee must set up the following study classes in every District. (The new members especially must be brought into the first two classes.)

(a) Short Classes, four or five weeks, primarily for new recruits, on the "Fundamentals of Party Organization," which will simply but clearly explain the role of the Party, the duties of Party members, the relationship of the Communist Party to other organizations (TUUL, A.F. of L., S. P., existing Negro organizations, etc.); Party structure, discipline, forms of activity in the shop and mass organizations, etc.

(b) Elementary classes in "Marxism and Leninism," based on the textbooks "Elements of Political Economy" by Berdnikoff and Svetloff, and the "A B C of Communism," by Bukharin and Preobrajensky. (With special reference to the particular points of the Program of the CPUSA - attitude on Negro question, agrarian question, responsibilities towards people of American colonies.)

(c) Classes on the "Program of the Communist International," which must clearly bring out the principles of the Communist movement as opposed to the Socialists and reformist organizations and make clear the strategy and tactics of our Party.

(d) Classes on First, Second and Third International, With Specific Reference to the Russian Revolution and History of the American Working Class Movement, bringing out clearly the conditions which made possible and the principles, strategy and tactics of the International Workingmen's Association of Marx and Engels, the struggle against the Anarchists and the reasons for its death and the reasons for further growth of the Socialist parties in the various countries, the establishment of the Second Socialist International, the corresponding growth of opportunism and its social base, the revolutionary Marxist wing, the collapse of the Second International in 1914 on the war issue, and the establishment of the Third International under the leadership of Lenin, after the victorious Russian Revolution, etc., also showing the development of the American working class movement, showing the origin, program and policies of difference between various workers' organizations (A.F. of L., S.P., I.W.W., CP., etc.), the extent to which their form, program and policies were influenced by purely American conditions as well as by European influences, etc., etc.

(e) Class on Trade Unions combatting "Economist" theories and showing clearly the various forms of Trade Unions (non-political, social-democratic, syndicalist and revolutionary unionism).

The organization and carrying through of these classes must be an immediate and one of the principal tasks of the District Agitprop Committee. Reports must immediately be made to the center on the steps taken to carry out this work.

3. One of the most effective means of conducting this permanent training work is under the direction of the Party Agitprop Department. Study groups are a guarantee of the comrades getting in at regular intervals and through joint efforts certain knowledge on the theory of Marxism and

Leninism and through active Party work training themselves to become competent fighters in the class struggles and more able to fill the task as Party members. The task of training the new members and thoroughly assimilating them into the life and work of the Party is a task that will stand before us, not for a few weeks but for months. To make this period as short as possible a thorough and continuous training must be carried on amongst the membership, concentrating on the new members until they clearly understand the basic political and tactical lines of the Party.

When organizing study groups the following points, among others, must be taken into consideration:

1. The study groups can be organized in each nucleus. They can also be organized in non-Party proletarian organizations of mass character. The study group should have at its disposal - if possible - a room (private or in a Party Headquarters or in some building belonging to a sympathetic organization).

2. Do not permit the group to consist of too many members, never more than eight or ten, not less than four or five.

3. The best way for a more advanced study group is to work in close cooperation with the nearest District or Section Party school. All study groups must function under the direction of the Agitprop Department of the District or Section Committee.

4. New Party members should always be propagandized until they join one of the study groups working in the nucleus.

5. All members of a study group should be brought in closest contact with the practical work of the Party, not least in bettering and improving the programs and agenda of the nuclei meetings. The meeting of a study group should never be permitted to interfere with nuclei meetings.

There are various kinds of study groups varying a great deal according to methods under which it is carried on, to problems that confront the students, etc. Comradship, leadership, punctuality, discipline, should never be missing in a study group, if its work is to be successful. Every comrade who is registered in a study group must attend its every meeting and carry out the tasks assigned him by the group, these tasks being study in conjunction with practical Party work.

Some of the various types of study groups are as follows:

(a) Reading Circle Groups. This is a simple type of study group and is based on each member of the group reading a section of an assignment and there will then be a general discussion. The book or text to be selected from a list prepared by the Secretary of the Agitprop Department.

(b) Discussion Study Group. This is an extension of the reading circle type and takes up some specific daily problem of the class struggle or of the Party specifically. One member of the group is assigned to read and discuss a particular subject. This comrade should be changed from meeting to meeting.

(c) Reporting Study Group. This is a type of class of a more thorough and systematic method than either one of the foregoing and must have an outline of study already prepared which forms the basis of the work of the group over a period of weeks. For each point on the outline a member

of the group be assigned to prepare material and report, to the course, discussion, question, etc., follow. All members of the course have read the material and have suggestions.

(d) Lecture Study Group. This is a type of group where one comrade prepares a series of lectures, covering four or five meetings. For each meeting the member of the group should be assigned some specific material on the same subject. After the lecture, questions and discussion follows. It is most advisable to have the series of lectures all deal with specific phases of one subject.

(e) The Course Group. Considered a higher development of the report group. The tasks are more definite and the self activity of the members must be more intense. Special attention should be given to the selection of a competent study leader who in this sort of course serves as a teacher. This comrade must have a broader knowledge of the subject to be studied than the other members of the group. Greater demand for home study and preparation work should be made upon the members of this type of group.

The Districts should vary this program and add specific questions according to the local situation.

4. Together with the work of training the new members must go a systematic campaign to raise the theoretical level of the entire Party membership by means of study classes, lectures, functionaries' conferences, etc., and by increasing the circulation of the Communist, Communist International magazine, Inprecor, Daily Worker, Party Organizer, as well as other Party organs and theoretical journals.

The following are members of the "Political Solution Group."
They are signers of either the L.A. document (Resolving the Crisis
in the I.S.) or the New York document (Toward a Political Solution...
The better Courts for the I.S.) or are signers of both documents.

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| L.A. | Boston |
| Joel J. | Peter L. |
| Bob B. | Joan B. |
| Johana B. | |
| Craig Z. | |
| Harry S. | Indianapolis |
| Harlan P. | Phyllis |
| Brad B. | Brew |
| | |
| Detroit | Bay Area |
| Dave W. | Pat M. |
| Pete C. | Shiela G. |
| Ann T. | Tom P. |
| Fritz N. | Margie |
| Joe N. | Chris J. |
| Cathy W. | Ron T. |
| | Geoff C. |
| Chicago | Ed W. |
| Laura H. | David D. |
| Lorette F. | |
| Wayne H. | New York |
| Bobby Ho. | Steve Z. |
| Matt | Barbara Z. |
| Morlene R. | Peter D. |
| Dan L. | Sam F. |
| Ken B. | Nancy R. |
| Red W. | Shiela A. |
| Gretta B. | Florence D. |
| | Chris R. |
| Portland | Tom M. |
| John M. | Steve B. |
| John R. | Anita B. |
| David S. | Dave B. |
| David H. | |
| Steve P. | |
| Denise S. | |
| Richard L. | Pittsburg |
| Steve M. | Maggie |

44720

- New Jersey
Sam F.
Howard C.
Larry L.
Stewart R.

Anne

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL SOLUTION GROUP

(Steering committee: Peter D, New York; Laura H., Chicago; Dave W., Detroit; Joel J., Los Angeles)

On January 29 and 30, 20 supporters of the Los Angeles document ("Resolving the Crisis in the IS") and the New York document ("Toward a Political Solution...The Better Course for the IS") met in Chicago. We represented supporters in Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Madison, New York, Los Angeles, Oakland, and Portland. Groups in Boston, New Jersey, and Indianapolis were unable to send representatives. Those attending took the following steps:

1) We unanimously agreed that the NY and LA documents express fundamentally the same point of view and are fully compatible.

2) We discussed and adopted a full set of political resolutions for the convention on IS external work and internal functioning, to be submitted to the Internal Bulletin in coming weeks,

3) We voted overwhelmingly to form an independent caucus for the convention based on the politics of the two documents and the adopted resolutions. (We would suggest that the Majority Faction now be renamed so as to not confuse the membership regarding its numerical strength.)

4) We voted to immediately seek a coalition with the Majority Faction in order to defend the need for industrialization, priorities, and mass work, and to carry on the external work of the IS in the present difficult factional situation. That means that we propose continuing to meet with the members of the Majority Faction for the purpose of carrying on the work and to discuss our respective political points of view. We propose that part of the February 19 weekend be used to have joint discussion toward these ends between us and the majority faction.

5) We voted that we would not bloc with the Left Faction to form new leadership for the IS, or on the three issues of industrialization, priorities, and mass work.

Our decision to leave the majority caucus in no way represents a retreat from the need to defend the organization and the need for industrialization, priorities, and mass work, or to further factionalize the IS. Nor is it in any way a move towards the Left Faction, whose politics would, if implemented, mark a sectarian retreat from our task of building a workers movement and party in the US. On the contrary, our forming an independent caucus now makes it possible to go into a genuine coalition or united front with the Majority Faction -- together constituting the great majority of the organization -- to defend industrialization, priorities, and agitation as well as our ongoing work. At the same time, we are making it perfectly clear that the purpose of this coalition is only to make this defense and that all points of view on other matters, such as the roots of as well as the solution to the crisis in the IS, should be discussed by the whole organization, not just inside the majority faction.

We had originally been part of the Majority Caucus because we believed that it was to be formed on just such a united front or coalition basis. However, it eventually became clear that the rules and procedures adopted by the caucus served to confine within the caucus any discussion of political differences about changes in the IS. We felt that it was politically wrong for the Majority Caucus to constitute itself as the body to decide the way forward for the IS.

In spite of the fact that the Majority Faction steering committee acceded to specific requests we make, we found that the fact of belonging to a disciplined faction together with the EC was a political liability for our efforts to ~~an~~ cohere a distinct pole that could get a full hearing throughout the organization. A crucial factor in our final decision to go independent was the prospect communicated to us by the continuations committee that our documents would be decided on at a delegated Majority Faction meeting 2/19 and that we would be disciplined to abide by any decisions regarding our freedom to promote our views to the rest of the organization just a few weeks before the 3/12 convention. This prospect we were unwilling to accept. Our independent status therefore indicates simply that on those crucial areas for which we have distinct political solutions to offer, we will henceforth be totally unrestricted in advancing our ideas to everyone in the IS. In particular, we believe that our ideas can win over significant numbers of those comrades now in the Left Faction because we speak specifically to many of their concerns about the need for making the IS more flexible, more political, and more democratic without tying them to the Left Faction's disastrous rejection of the need for industrialization, priorities, and agitation work to build and develop the ~~IS~~ IS.

Just as importantly, we were alarmed with some of the proposals coming from the Majority Faction which we feel would pull the IS even further in the same wrong political direction which created the crisis in the first place. The Majority Faction ~~which~~ proposals to prioritize four Midwest branches (no longer industries now, but branches) and to create a central committee drawn only from the Midwest is a ~~further~~ further step away from developing ~~the~~ a national organization with a national leadership. While we agree that the Midwest is the most crucial area to develop, this proposal sounds to us like even more of the same neglect of other non-priority areas of work which do not involve competing resources (eg. womenswork, and local non-priority work in such non industrial centers as New York and the Bay Area) as well as priority work in the non-priority branches. That the CC would be drawn exclusively from the Midwest tends to confirm this suspicion. This proposal then appears to increase inflexibility when what we need now is a stronger NC. Finally, it is likely that this ~~brly~~ proposal will decrease democracy because it proposes that the CC will be disciplined. We are opposed to any disciplined central leadership bodies. (This is not to say that some other form of a CC, more democratic and representative, might not be a good idea.)

Must add that for the EC, the Majority caucus was an attempt to cement, in a politically unprincipled manner, the EC and its supporters with elements of last years convention opposition to the EC. Any doubts about this are dispelled with the EC's proposals to the Jan 1 meeting which state: "The goal of the (Jan.1 meeting) is to hammer out a basis of political agreement which can unite the EC and its supporters into a common leadership with a common program."

This is the meaning of the Majority Caucus' organizational, but not political proposals for the Midwest based CC. We believe that such a bloc cannot carry the organization forward because it will prevent the political development of the organization which we think is necessary. Further the Jan. 1 EC proposal was aimed at ensuring that the entire present personnel of the EC remain intact: Proposals for expanding the EC should be discussed and decided as soon as possible by the leadership of the majority. This expansion should be achieved on the basis of retaining every member of the present EC who all play indispensable roles in the central leadership process. (our emphasis)

Not only do we disagree with these majority caucus proposals and the implicit motivation behind them, but by establishing ourselves as an independent political pole within the IS, we hope to encourage greater political clarification among all elements of the organization, rather than helping to create a false sense of unity within the majority. We may all agree the adoption of the Left Faction's conclusions would mark a huge step backward. But we should not give the false impression that we have yet cleared up for ourselves and agreed upon the way forward.

We are confident that our political position--toward integrating our politics within our mass work, toward seeing agitation and propaganda as complementary, toward developing a more flexible and political view of industrialization and its priorities, toward democratizing the IS--will serve as a rallying point for all IS members who insist that we honestly and critically assess our past perspectives and chart a realistic road forward which develops a role for all our members. At the same time, by our formation we are creating an alternative to the development to two mutually isolating, hermetically sealed disciplined factions, formed around incomplete or erroneous programs, and thus minimizing the likelihood and the extent of losses resulting from any possible splits or expulsions.

We believe that we are far from having all the answers to the difficult problems of building a workers organization, but we believe that if the IS is to grow and grow stronger in the coming years, our political method and perspectives at least put us on the right track.

If you agree, join with us to make sure it happens.