



BULLETIN

NO 9
JUNE 1
71

NC Minutes ---

New Documents for NC

women's liberation

anti-war movement - NPAC

Trade Unions

United National Caucus

Convention

Instructions for kite flying

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2. New Documents from the NC - not necessarily in order of appearance
 - Jim Gregory - Anti-war perspectives
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 - NAC - United National Caucus - for information only
 - Rose and Anne - For Building Working Women's Committees
 - Judith - Draft proposal on women's liberation
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NOTE ---- the following documents were discussed at the NC and were published in previous bulletins.

- AFT perspectives by Wayne in Bulletin 7
- AFT amendment by Mike S in bulletin 8
- Industrialization by Jack W in bulletin 6
- Industrialization by Ron T in bulletin 7
- ERA by Jack and Wendy in bulletin 8
- ERA by Kit in bulletin 8

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INTRODUCTORY BUSINESS

Welcome to delegates and other members attending the meeting.

Seating of delegates and alternates -- there were three alternates designated for the entire NC - Ted for John L, Chris for Bruce, Steve for Wayne. Judith seated for Joel and Wendy for Joanne at first session.

Objection to seating Chris and Steve as they were not elected as alternates at the convention. Motion to seat them passes 8-4-1.

Agenda: Motion - to have the national secretary's report at first session at which NS is present. Fails - 4-4
Motion - to adopt agenda - passes unanimously.

FIRST SESSION - AFT PERSPECTIVES

(documents - main document by Wayne P, ~~xxxxxx~~ amendments by M. Stewart)

(letter to NC read from Wayne)

Lear NAC and NC,

This is a protest about the way the planned discussion on IS teaching activities has developed.

In spite of the early presentation of M my "Nat'l Teachers' Perspective" no one in the main section of IS teachers - Calif. - has seen fit to respond in any way. This is in line with their general lack of perspective documents and indeed lack of perspective. To this date there has been no analysis of what the teachers in Calif are doing.

Apparently there is just day-to-day empirical decision-making. For example, in spite of events in the teaching ~~xxxxxx~~ arena precipitating the recent split, our only report in NYC ~~xx~~ was from - H. Draper. Oh, yes, Mike P's document has a paragraph.

The only response I've received is from M. Stewart. His amendments are interesting but curiously neglect any explanation or rationale. Why would he drop the 1st paragraph? Since we cannot get more people into industrial unions at the rate we would wish, apparently we should not try to get people into the teachers' union. What perspective does he have toward the radical teachers - ignore them? I am open to dialogue, but there has been none. (incidentally, equal funding per pupil, as in amendment #4, would accentuate the oppression of the poor and working-class districts.)

Under these circumstances, the decisions of the NC - with the National Convention of the AFT coming up - can have no meaning or significance for the teachers' fraction. I recommend that no vote be taken on the document and the amendments.

I demand that this statement be either read to the NC or circulated in mimeoed form, and that it be printed in the next Bulletin.

Fraternally, Wayne P - NYIS

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Motion: (Mike S) That the NC feels existing documents on the AFT are all inadequate. We therefore solicit new documents, especially from Calif. teachers.

Passed

Motion: (amdnment by Steve) That we must have by early July a concrete perspectives document on functioning at the AFT national convention.

Passed

Motion: (Stan) That the NC encourage our people in teaching to get into the radical teachers' groups. (Motivation and extension of motion - 1. to learn more about them; 2. to raise socialist politics more directly than is usually possible in union - ~~where~~ whenever possible; 3. to build concept of the necessity to build a strong union and to make alliances with teachers' unions.

Tabled to the NAC

SECOND SESSION - ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

(documents - Jim Gregory, Coleman and Kindred)

(Judith seated for Joanne, Wendy for Jack B)

Coleman-Kindred document withdrawn.

Motion: Gregory motivation as basis for amendment - Fails - 4-8

Motion: Resolutions (last five points) of Gregory document as basis for amendments - Passes

Motion: (to Gregory pt. 2 by Steve) "Radical caucus in or political focus on NPAC must be coupled with independent or semi-autonomous action and organization, which will relate politically to NPAC and if possible will take part in a national radical caucus. Fails - 2-9

Motion: (to Gregory pt. 2 by Coleman) In addition, we work with local individuals or groups not in NPAC, where we can have a political impact on them. We urge them to relate to NPAC and in particular our caucus. Whether or not they initially accept this, we urge them to carry out actions on a pro-working class basis, not counterposed to the mass mobilization.

Passes - 12-0-2

Motion: (Judith) delete "motivational section" in pt. 2, substitute "6 point program outlined above".

Passes - many-0-0

Motion: (Joel) insert "by the anti-war movement" after independent political action in pt 6 of the program.

Passes - 8-4

IMPLEMENTATION ---

1. That the NAC draw up a call for the caucus immediately. Passes - all for

2. That we begin contacting indiv. and groups to sign the call immediately.

Passes - all for

3. That we push for a meeting of the caucus the night before NPAC starts.

Passes - all for.

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4. That we consider taking out ads in the underground press. Passes - all for
5. Branches try to build local radical caucuses before the NPAC meeting.
Not Voted Upon
6. Appoint Jim Gregory anti-war coordinator - Passes - 5-4
7. NY to appoint anti-war coordinator - Fails - 4-5

THIRD SESSION - INDUSTRIALIZATION

(documents by Jack W and Ron t) (Judith seated for Joanne, Bill for Ilene)

Points 1-6 of Ron's document withdrawn

Motion: Jack W as basis for amendment - Fails 7-7-3
Motion: Ron as basis for amendment - Fails 2-12

Motion: Jack W as a perspective - Fails 6-7-4

Motion: (amdn to Jack W by Judith) 1) To delete paragraphs 3 and 5 on page 1 and paragraphs 1 on page 2. 2) on page 2, paragraph 2, line 5, change to "comrades who want to industrialize at once should be . . .". 3) on page 2 paragraph 2, line 8 change "comrades should" to "those comrades intending to industrialize". All amendments accepted.

Motion: Accept Jack W as amended - Passes - 7-5-3

Role Call vote on this motion;

Voting yes - Jack B, Joel J, Jack W, Stefanie, Marilyn, Kit, Judith

Voting No - Margaret, Kim, Bill, Steve, Chris

Abstaining - Joel G, Jack G, Ted.

Motion: (Coleman) The NC is in favor of proceeding with industrialization through groups of people attempting to enter specific work situations under the guidance of the NAC. The IS does not ask categories of individuals to industrialize on the basis of their present work or life situations. The NAC will set priorities for industrial concentration. We support ~~individuals~~ individuals who industrialize alone and who regard support of their work by the organization as critical.

Fails - 4-9

Motion: From Ron's document, point 8, lines 10-13 - Passes - 7-2

Motion: From Ron's, point 9, lines 8-11. Passes 9-1

(explanation of negative vote on industrialization document by Chris)

Although the most odious portions of the document had been removed, there remained other sections, both in its initial discussion of industrialization and in its specific recommendations, which I could not support.

FOURTH SESSION - TRADE UNION DISCUSSION

(Only major document by Joel G) (Joe F seated for Joanne,)

No action taken on Joel's document

Motion: (stan, titled "enabling motion", see attached documents)
Passes - all for

Motion: (Stan) That the NC adopt the following programmatic demand:

1. End the isolation of Union Rank and File Rebellions
2. For the formation of regional and national rank and file caucuses within each union and/or industry, with subgroupings for corporation, multi-work place or multi-employer collective bargaining groupings.
3. For the formation of city or regional councils of rank and file union caucuses? regardless of union affiliation or industry.
or groups.

1 and 2 tabled to session on the United National Caucus

vote on 3 ----- Passes 13-0-2

Amendment to 3 (Jack W) (to go before 3) For raissig the idea and laying the basis for..... Fails -- 5-7

Motion: (STan) For the formation of Viet Nam veteran committees within each local union.

(Motivation: Vietnam vets will be prominent in leadership of all future social-political movements. They need their own forum and discussion groups and a way to communicate, as people who have experienced a special trauma, with the rest of the people in the work place and the total community. In time, the right wing organizations will provide these vets a forum. The unions must head this off as well as performing this service and developing this leadership area.

Tabled to NAC - 9-1

XCOX FIFTH SESSION - UNITED NATIONAL CAUCUS

(documents - Hasting document only one up for vote, NAC position of Nov 6 put out for informational purposes.)

Motion: First half of Hastings - pt 1 through pt 2 line 22 (up to sentence beginning "IS activities..") Fails - 4-9

Motion: To amend the rest of pt. 2 --- 1. "IS members in the auto industry will work to build the United National Caucus" substituted for sentence "IS activities Caucus" (lines 22-24) continued

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2. to add after "establish the caucus" in line 27 --(i. e. whether or not the local group is originally crystalized as a UNC branch, we will attempt to affiliate the groups we build or participate in with the UNC as local branches.) (both by Jack W)
Both accepted as friendly.

Motion: Hastings pt. 2 as amended, lines 22 - 31 --- Passes 15-0-0

Motions: Hastings point 3 --- Passes -- all for

Motion: Hastings point 4 -- Passes -- 8-4-2

Motion: (Stan) That (in the UAW) the IS support the United National Caucus.
Explanation and Motivation -- This motion is to formalize and make clear our attitude toward the UNC. It is recognized here that this motion may be similar to what is in effect already the IS position ~~xxxx~~ or a position that ~~ixx~~ has been evolving.

The IS supports the UNC because of the positive development that it represents. The growth and firm establishment of the UNC provides the UAW rank and file with a progressive organization alternative from which to oppose the Woodcock-Reuther "do-nothing" policies that are weakening the union, particularly on the questions of speedup, overload of work and numerous other shop ~~six~~ floor issues which include the impossibly high ratio of union shop floor representatives (committeemen) and the unworkably slow and unjust grievance procedure which relies on compulsory arbitration ~~x~~ instead of the right to strike locally.

Withdrawn

SIXTH SESSION - WOMEN'S LIBERATION

(documents - one by Rose V and Anne G, one by Judith. The documents on the ERA and discussion of those documents were tabled to the NAC by a vote of 9-4-2. Only the first four pages of the document by Rose and Anne were up for vote, the rest was only for informatinn.) (Judith seated for John L, Wendy for Joanne)

After the discussion of the documents a motion was made to table both motions.
(Motivation - by Mike Stewart) (I felt that a decision of such importance should not be made without ~~thoox~~ thorough discussion throughout the organization. As it was, these documents were only introduced at the NC meeting, not even giving NC members time to read them carefully and think about them.)

Motion: to table the document by Rose and Anne ----- Fails~~x~~ 7-8-1

Motion: to table document by Judith ----- Fails 0-13-1

Role call vote on moation to talbe Rose and Anne.

For -- Jack W, Joel J, Joel G, Judith, Lyn, Kit

Against -- Marilyn, Heene, Kim, Chris, Jack G, Margaret, Steve, Wendy

Abstain -- Stefanie, Jack B

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~~AMENDMENTS~~

Motion: Rose and Anne as basis for amendment -- Passes - 11-1-4
Role Call -- for - Wendy, Marilyn, Jack B, Jack W, Joel G, Ilene, Kim, Chris,
Jack G, Margaret, Steve

Against - Judith
Abstain - Kit, Lyn, Stefanie, Joel J

Motion: For Judith as basis for amendment -- Fails - 3-11-2

Role call -- For - Lyn, Stefanie, Judith
Against- Wendy, Marilyn, Jack B, Jack W, Joel J, Ilene, Kim, Chris, Jack G,
Margaret, Steve

Abstain - Kit, Joel G

AMENDMENTS -----

Motion: (Margaret) After sentence ending "New York" in line 14 page 1 add:
"This should be coupled with educational campaigns on women's liberation
where this is not being done by other groups.

Passes 9-4-2

Motion: (Wendy) Delete sentence on page 3, lines 24-25 "They should not see their
primary orientation as being a 'pro-working class' wing of the existing
organizations."

Fails - 5-8-2

Role Call - For - Stef, Joel J, Judith, Wendy, Lyn
Against -Marilyn, Jack W, Jack B, Jack G, Chris, Steve, Ilene, Kim
Abstain - Kit, Joel G

Motion: change last word in sentence in previous motion from movements to
organizations. Accepted as friendly

Motion: (Margaret) on page 3, second paragraph, add before sentence beginning
'Although in most cases' - "In initiating these committees in present women's
liberation groups - we motivate this in terms of the working class as the agent
that can effect the liberation of all women. We go to working women - not because
they alone do this - but because they are key in effecting the consciousness of the
class, ~~through independent organizations~~ including housewives, the ~~or~~ unorganized
etc. through independent organizations.

Fails -- 4-9-3

Motion: (Judith) on page 2, paragraph 3, insert: "We can now successfully
emphasize that working women will be the only group to give the women's
liberation movement the stability, strength, and social weight it so desperately
needs, and we urge the women's liberation movement toward working women
above all out of their own self-interest.

Fails - 3-10-3

Role Call -- For - Stef, Judith, Lyn
Against --Wendy, Marilyn, Margaret, Steve, Chris, Jack W, Ilene, Kim
Jack G, Joel J
Abstain - Jack B, Kit, Joel G

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Motion: (Judith) add to page 2, line 5 of paragraph 2 beginning fortunately --
"as well as the needs of women now in radical women's movement."

Fails -- 4-8-4

Role Call -- For - Lyn, Stef, Jack B, Judith

Against - Wendy, Steve, Chris, Ilene, Kim, Jack G, Margaret, Jack W

Abstain - Joel G, Joel J, Marilyn, Kit

Motion: (Judith) Delete in paragraph 3, page 1 "The thin layer of women..."
and all after "and all sense of a movement which seeks to challenge...."

Passes -- 10-3-2

Motion: (Judith) add to page three, last paragraph after first sentence --
"Not necessarily in order of priority."

Fails -- 5-7-4

Motion: (Judith) on page 1, last paragraph - change feminists to separatists and
add "only" after "organize". n Accepted as friendly

Motion: (Judith) add to (end of?) document - "None of the perspective is intended
to limit IS work in the for women's liberation movement in the period before
the convention, but to focus it."

Passes -- 7-3-6

Roll Call Vote On Document As Amended -----

For -- Ilene, Kim, Chris, Jack G, Marilyn, Jack W, Joel G, Joel J, Steve,
Wendy

Against - Stef, Jack B, Judith, Lyn

Abstain - Kit, Margaret

Motion: (Mike S) That the document not be a disciplined motion before the
convention.

Passes - 11-4-1

Motion: (Ilene) Branches are strongly urged to implement this perspective at
this time.

Passes 9-7-0

Roll Call -- For - Wendy, Marilyn, Ilene, Kim, Chris, Steve, Jack W, Jack G,
Margaret

Against - Stef, Joel J, Joel G, Judith, Kit, Lyn, Jack B

Motion: (Judith) amendment to above motion -- "where they do not have ongoing
women's liberation work which is moving in this direction."

Fails -- 3-9-4

(Note for the minutes by Jack W --- I voted to table the WWC perspective even
though I generally support it for the following reasons. 1- the documents were
unavailable to the organization as a whole prior to the NC making sufficient
discussion and opportunity for adequate amending impossible. 2- individual branches
could have begun testing the perspective even if it had been tabled as a means
of informing a better convention discussion. 3- there was no discussion of prospects
for implementation in individual branches. without this we face the danger of
passing another perspective that the branches will decide they can't implement as
happend at the last NC.)

SEVENTH SESSION - NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

Report by Joel to be written and distributed later.

Motion: To cancel plans for the summer school. Passed - all for

EIGHTH SESSION - WORKERS' POWER

(documents - one by Brian M, x kit to have one later)
(Gay seated for Ilene, Wendy for Joanne, Ted for John)

Motion: (Ilene) Lead articles should be agitational and about a current major political activity. Fails - 5-10

Motion: (Ilene) Cover should be immediately visually comprehensible, either photographs, artwork, or combination of graphics and text. The cover should not be a cartoon which must be read to be understood, or which does not immediately convey a political message. Passes - 10-1-3

Motion: (Ilene) The cover should feature two articles so that the entire paper is not determined by one topic except for exceptional events. Fails - 5-10-1

Motion: (Ilene) The lead article should be agitational. Fails - 4-7-4

Motion: (~~Ilene~~ Brian) In addition, the back page will be laid out in such a way as to be usable as an alternative lead article. Passes - 11-1-4

Motion: (Brian) The front page will include a descriptive list of articles ~~xxx~~ appearing on the inside with page numbers. Passes - many for

Motion: (Brian) The inside editorial box on page 2 shall contain short editorial statements of political position on important current events or struggles. Passes - 8-0-8

Motion: (Ilene) When articles are rejected a written explanation is sent as soon as possible. (counterposed to following motion) Fails - only 2 for

Motion: (Chris) When articles are altered or x rejected the responsibility of Editor will be to communicate the reasons to the Branch Editor and the responsibility of the branch editor will be to communicate the reasons to the author. Passes - many for

Motion: (Stan) That the name Workers Power be the name of the supplement and that the paper's name be I. S. Fails - 1-many -0

Motion: (Chris) The NC regards the highest priority for WP as that of getting more articles from the branches, x particularly on movement and labor struggles but also ~~xxx~~ on international events etc. The responsibility of the Branch Editor

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is to aggressively solicit articles as requested by the NAC and to report back to the NAC promptly. He or she shall also organize regular discussion of the newspaper in the branches. (Motivation - highest priority does not mean excluding all else.)

Passes - many -2-1

Motion: (Steve R) In line with an interventionist approach WP should be planned to systematically present our understanding of central trends of political importance to the working class. This means repeated agitational articles rather than lengthy analytical articles once every few months on such topics as attacks on working conditions, attempts at wage controls, anti-strike legislation, attempts to restrict the independence of unions, attacks on protective legislation, inflation recession, unemployment, cycles, etc. These articles needn't ~~be a simple brief~~ ~~report or comment~~ present a full analysis and perspective, but can be simply brief report and comment on court decisions, bills in Congress, company atrocities, on workers actions intended to make one or two points. It is also critical to suggest a brief course of response that we also attempt to organize where we have people.

To aid in the obtaining of these articles the NAC should assign an individual (not necessarily one of its members) to a given topic.

Passes - 7-2-6

NINTH SESSION - CONVENTION PREPARATION

The following topics were adopted for discussion at the convention -----

1. Labor perspectives - general,
2. International,
3. Women's liberation
4. Black liberation,
5. Gay Liberation

What follows now are the motions -----

Motion: Labor-general - that it be on our trade union perspectives - strategy what we organize, what we hope to accomplish, make specific our IPA approach, what kind of Party, and how we move toward it, program for the shop floor, attitudes toward black workers etc. Passes - all for

Motion: That we also take up labor specifics, i.e. UAW, AFT, CWA, Public employees, etc. Fails - 3-8

Motion: To have specific labor fractions at the convention -- Passes - all for

Motion: To take up specifics at NC meeting - Passes advanced

Motion: International to be perspectives for ~~European~~ capitalist countries, stalinist countries, and third world. Passes - 12-2

Motion: Women's Lib to be on the current state of the women's lib movement, our perspective for the movement, our activities in it and the organizational forms we propose to see develop and to include building the women's lib movement among working women. Passes - all for

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Motion: That the black liberation discussion take up the major w questions raised by the black movement - nationalism, community control, integration, black caucuses, relation of blacks womens' oppression to black liberation etc. and that it also discuss our relation to black movement, how we will recruit blacks etc.
Passes - many for

~~Gay~~ Motion: Gay Liberation to be taken up because of failure of referendum, to be in two parts, the IS position on Gay Liberation and perspectives for the Gay movement.
Passed - many for

Motion: To discuss ~~Chicano~~ Chicano and Puerto Rican liberation at convention if possible.
Fails

Motion: To solicit documents on these ~~and~~ for discussion at NC - Passed

Motion: to have discussion of veterans mvment. --- Tabled

(The NC also assigned ~~several~~ comrades to begin preparation of the various documents, these to be in as soon as possible. This was snot meant to imply that others should not write documents. If you want to write on any of the topics, you can of course do that and submit it to the convention. The NC only tried to assign topics to cemrades who could prepare the documents, and who represented the current majority on the NC as far as was known.)

TENTH SESSION - CARLOS FELICIANO DEFENSE CASE

Motion: The NC is in favor of the IS initiating a national campaign in support of the defense of Carlos Feliciano. The NAC will work out implementation with the NY branch as soon as sufficient info is available.

Passed - all for, 1 abstain

(Note - branches should be receiving more information shortly)

Eleventh SESSION - ASSORTED ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS

FUND DRIVE --- Motion: to have a \$10,000 fund drive this fall to meet expenses for expanded activities by the national office. Passes - 15-1
(I voted against the motion because from the very limited discussion that was held I felt that it was not likely to approach success and to pass such a motion frivolously would be very damaging. --- Jack T)

NAC - report on search for NAC candidates for next year - no action taken.

STAFF - Motion: To increase the national staff by two, one to be a national traveler.
Passed - all for

NC FINANCES -- to have a \$3 per member assessment to pay travel expenses to this NC meeting.
Passed - all for

"ENABLING MOTION"

by Stan

Motion: That in addition to coming out for the right to strike at the local level, the IS raise the slogans:

For the rejection of All Contracts Containing Unconditional No Strike Pledges.

For an End to the Compulsory Arbitration of Grievances.

Elaboration, explanation and motivation: This is an enabling motion, both for our own operation neatness and clarity and to supply the ranks of labor with much needed information that will allow them to stand up to the bureaucracy in debate, that is, to arm them with some facts. The workers in some industries have become victims of the myth that there is no precedent for contracts containing the right to strike at the local level or with a conditional strike clause. Some have even been sold that the alternative to the present type of contract (containing the unconditional no strike pledge) is no contract at all.

There are many kinds of conditional no strike pledges. Some contract reserve the right to strike over a failure to reach an agreement on wages, others over failure of an arbitrator to reach a decision, others still over a changed job rate, over production standards disputes, failure of an employer to contribute the required percentage of payroll to pension or other funds, or because management has sued for money over an unauthorized work stoppage. Reservation of a number of kinds can be made for any number of crisis areas INCLUDING INCENTIVE PAY AND OUTSIDE CONTRACTING OF WORK BELONGING TO THE WORKERS BARGAINING UNIT, providing of course the workers are united within their union and are strong enough to stand up behind the demand. There is precedent for conditional pledges in all the areas listed above.

Probably the most common reservation is that one connected with the grievance procedure. In its agricultural implement dept, the UAW has a number of contracts as has the IUE and the Allied Industrial Workers, which provide the right to strike AFTER the grievance procedure has been fulfilled short of arbitration on those grievances not stipulated for arbitration. In short, to arbitrate or to strike is a decision that the local union can make. The Intl. Harvester workers contract allows strike proceedings to begin after management has given the union its answer in the second step of the grievance procedure and that is a very strong point.

The joker in the UAW contracts, however, is that the strike must have the sanction of the International and so almost everything gained by having a conditional clause is lost.

A second joker in this type of contract is the amount of time in the notice that must be given before strike. Some contracts require up to 30 days. The UAW requires 4.

The goal for the ranks of American labor has to be the elimination of bans on the right to strike during the life of a contract, or just the reverse of the direction of the trend over the last decade. Unconditional no strike pledges were contained in 48% of all contracts in 1960. It went to 53% in 1965, and to 57% in 1970.

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Summation: There is existing precedent for contracts containing the right to strike during the life of a contract over particular reservation(s).

The exact language of the UAW Ag. Implement contracts, for example, could be used by omitting the phrase demanding that the International union give its sanction.

The number of days notice could be shortened to whatever time the negotiators are forced to select. As little as 24 hours is possible even in industries like steel and glass, all that is necessary is that skeleton crews remain inside long enough to bank the furnaces or ovens. For this period, 24 hours is a good transitional figure in most instances.

The UAW Ag. Implement clause allowing strike after the management answer at the second step is hard to improve upon contracturally, in fact, impossible to improve upon.

At the present time the consciousness of the ranks on this question is limited by a lack of information. If it is possible for us to supply a number with a working knowledge of how to raise these demands for the right to strike at the local level in an informed way, being able to supply the details as well as the basic slogan of the right to strike at the local level, we will have participated in helping to turn the tide in this area of contract bargaining. Once the turn occurs new kinds of escalation are possible out of the conscious expansion of what it is possible to do.

At present there are few unions winning more than 25% of the grievances they put into the expensive arbitration procedure before arbitrators who cannot know what life on the job is like for a day or a lifetime. Above is the way to make arbitration ~~voluntary~~ voluntary and to keep arbitrators ~~from~~ from getting rich.

Addendum to Motion: That these slogans, in the main motion be raised in connection with the current steel negotiations.

(The recommended details of a conditional strike clause as outlined above are not included in the motion due to differences from industry to industry. In each case this sort of detail of necessity must be arrived at after discussion with our friends in each industry and in full consideration of their recommendations and decision.)

This is an attempt to assess where the anti-war movement stands since the April-May actions, and to sketch a perspective for our work over the next months. It isn't counterposed to the idea of intervening in the July NPAC conference (see below) but it is an attempt to supplement this; we do disagree with the conception that our intervention at that conference is what will determine whether "we will wind up this fall as marginal to the anti-war movement as we were this spring" (Geier, "Tentative Proposal on Anti-War Functioning," IS Bulletin no. 8) - rather, we feel that the problem of overcoming this isolation can be attacked with a perspective which does not hang everything on the NPAC convention or on functioning inside NPAC, although we are not opposed to these per se.

I. Outcome of the April-May actions. The expectation of the NAC - though unfortunately it was never formalized in a document - could be summed up as an expectation that the April 24 mass demonstration would be quite large, and qualitatively different from past mass demonstrations because of the major trade union participation, while the May Day actions would be a tiny sectarian sideshow. As it turned out, the size of the April 24 demonstration was even larger than predicted, but the trade union side of it was swallowed in the crowd - objectively this remained an important qualitative turn, but one which had little public impact because the whole character of the march was such as to make the unionists seem just another contingent. On the other hand, the events organized by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice were indeed sectarian - the more so as the reasons for competitive organization were never projected politically - but these events were not tiny. Instead of isolated suicide squads of no more than a couple of thousand people, these actions were a mass affair, and despite the complete pointlessness - and indeed anti-working class character - of their chief tactic, the stall-in, they showed the wide appeal of actions which went beyond the "legal mass demonstration."

A third aspect of the April-May activities, not dealt with at all by the NAC, was the occurrence of various actions with more political point than either the April 24 or the PCPJ mass actions. These were organized under PCPJ's banner, however - a point we shall return to. The week of activity by veterans was extremely significant - in a week this group went through a political evolution which took the movement five years; in their lobbying activities, the moderate organizers were continually being prodded further by their rank and file; and the veterans' movement remains politically untouchable, a fact signalled by Nixon's intervening to void the court order for them to vacate their campsite. Another action which should be mentioned, though a local one, was the demonstration at the Warren Tank Plant just outside Detroit on April 30. The expectation of several IS people in Detroit was that this would be sparsely attended - clearly a projection of our expectation regarding the whole PCPJ amalgam, which this demonstration was affiliated to. Instead, over 2,000 people attended. The theme that the working class can end the war was put forward in preliminary propaganda but tended to disappear at the march itself; in addition, nothing was said about reconversion (a political necessity when marching to a tank plant) and there was little or no attempt to reach the workers in the plant beforehand. However, the main address was given by Pete Kelly of the United National Caucus and UAW Local 160 (also in Warren); even though the march was through lily-white suburban Warren, the march was disciplined and there was very little trouble. In sum, except for being organized in counterposition to April 24, this was a very imperfect attempt at an approach we ourselves had urged in editorials, i. e., building independent demonstrations on a pro-working class line.

In summary, (1) we tended to see the mass sentiment gravitating toward April 24, with the PCPJ an unimportant sideshow. Rather, there are, and will continue to be, different levels of

response to the war issue. The mass demonstration drew and future ones will continue to draw a large number of people who simply want to demonstrate, in the literal sense, their feeling about the war. In the heyday of the campus movement (1965-1969) this huge mass of people, previously politically inactive for the most part, mainly melted away after the mass actions, but a significant portion came back to the campuses ready to participate in ongoing radical activity of a variety of kinds (SDS, Resistance, etc.); the hostility of NPAC's predecessor organizations to multi-issue politics and more basically to broad radical organizations which might compete with the SWP meant that the "mobilization" groups, in any case keyed to the semi-annual mobilizations, could not play the role of organizing this radicalized core, and that the role fell to others such as SDS. In the present situation, however, what is most important is that for reasons we have laid out often, the mass radical student-type organizations have fallen apart. Thus there is no radical milieu for the "Washington returnees" to return to. The result is that instead of a bureaucratic organization heading up an organized movement, there is a vacuum where this movement should be, and the bureaucracy heads up an unorganized mass drawn together on a semi-annual basis. All this we are familiar with. The "missing" layer cannot be called into being by an act of will, but will have to grow. Here, the second "level of response" referred to above may be mentioned. In addition to the very large mass drawn to the mobilizations, there will continue to be a wide group of people - including old movement activists but including many people never before involved - who feel a need to do more. The absence of an organizational expression for these people (such as an SDS) doesn't remove them from the scene, remove the political lacks which give rise to them, or make their concern sectarian or irrelevant. What this "more" which they wish for, will be, will vary with their politics. We can expect Davis, Dellinger, etc., to continue to preach that confrontation can by itself "stop the government" - an illusion fully as misleading as NPAC's that peaceful picketing can do so. However we are here concerned with the rank and file attracted to such actions. Essentially, they are animated in varying mixtures by a sense of tactical inadequacy and of political inadequacy of the NPAC approach; the first concern can cut either way, the second is essentially positive, and many people who participated in the PCPJ actions can be reached (in our experience) by criticism of the anti-working class character of the stall-in tactic and of the leaders' politics more generally. In short, this group contains many people whom we can reach with our conceptions of a pro-working class approach and program.

(2) The varied amalgam of "beyond NPAC" approaches, including the first steps of the veterans toward organizing their own movement, tends to be shoved together under the PCPJ umbrella rather than following our advice to organize for April 24 in their own way, simply because of the hostility of NPAC to anything varying from their own approach. This means that while we can (and in my view should) continue to urge these people, in circumstances like those of this spring, to relate to the mass actions, nevertheless we will continue to find them organized independently, most often in competing groups under leadership which wishes to distinguish itself from NPAC for their own sectarian reasons, and that if we are to work with these people, we will have to go to them there. In no case should we ourselves take a sectarian attitude, that is, that since these people's leaders haven't followed our advice to relate to NPAC, the actions are irrelevant; rather, we should recognize the strong and positive impulse which will impel people into such groups, and base our action on that. This means that whether we work with such a group should be based on (a) how rotten its politics are, and (b) the fact that we expect such groups to be drawing in significant lots of people looking for a viable radicalism.

II. The immediate future. (1) NPAC. It has been suggested that we should mobilize our members for the NPAC convention in July; more ambitiously, that we should have the orientation of an ongoing effort to build an opposition in NPAC, working in local NPAC groups to do so. With

the first we have no quarrel, although the character of our intervention should be determined by what we think, realistically, the prospects are; the second we feel would be a mistake. The first thing to note is that NPAC isn't - and can't be until after its approach was radically changed - the sort of organization in which playing an opposition role, even unsuccessfully, would be a mechanism for reaching the rank and file. This would be the case for example in a reformist working class party. However, as noted above, NPAC's rank and file is unorganized; the organization's methods of operation are such, moreover, that activists who differ from the SWP-YSA approach will be found outside unless they are as iron-bellied as we are. In other words, the idea we have apparently had previously, that NPAC conferences and locals will contain, on an ongoing basis, significant numbers of people drawn to activity but looking for a different kind, is probably wrong. In the past, the "independent forces" we have met in our year and a half of trying this approach have consisted of (a) people with the mass-mobilization approach but who aren't in SWP or YSA, and (b) 12 sects - six old left and six new left - and the results of our year and a half has fallen somewhere between one and three, on a scale of ten thousand. It may be that this is changing and that this year for the first time there will be a large opposition on other than a localized basis; if so we will be happy, but there has been no analysis to show why this would be so - on the contrary, the circumstances are simply that the war and the opposition are continuing, factors which continue to produce mobilizations but not the kind of opposition in NPAC we have expected in the past. Accordingly, we do not expect to be able to use the July conference to begin building an ongoing opposition in NPAC nationally (locally will be dealt with below). Nor would any program we outlined - even a "broad" one such as is in Geier's document - be a basis for agreement among the 12 sects, and thus for forming a radical caucus on this basis. Rather, such a call would be, essentially, for a workshop around our approach. With the addition of a final point on the independent implementation of this approach, Geier's program would be usable for such a workshop. The orientation would be that our plenary intervention and our workshop would be designed essentially to win us contacts who might be amenable to forming groups to carry out political work on this basis, hopefully within the NPAC framework. Locally, in city and regional NPACs, the situation will be too variable to adopt a uniform perspective of entry or abstention. In many areas, entry will be a waste of time (it has proven so in most of the places we have tried it in a serious, ongoing, consistent way). In some areas, however - probably these are the exception at present - there may be a significant independent rank and file, possibly including trade-unionists; there, we should certainly be active on an ongoing basis.

(2) PCPJ. PCPJ's future plans are unclear at this point. There has been mention of holding a national conference of their own, merging with NPAC, and everything in between. In any case, we should have an orientation toward this group, not of trying to build an opposition within it or trying to function alongside it in a joint NPAC opposition, but of presenting our approach, organizing a workshop, and attempting to line up contacts who might work with us in the same way as we attempt to do in NPAC.

(3) Regardless of what PCPJ as a national coterie of political entrepreneurs may do, there will continue to be an impetus toward organizing "radical" actions on the local level independently of NPAC. Our basic orientation toward such actions remains unchanged, i.e., we are for them ^{or against} on the basis of what their politics may be, but organized in relation to the mass marches and not in counterposition. We should enter such committees where it seems promising, i.e., in any area where one is started, we should approach it initially with our approach, and stay in to the degree that our work appears fruitful. For example, in a case like that of the Warren Tank Plant demonstration, we should have been in from start to finish. Regardless of our participation in the planning, we should judge these actions on a specific basis and participate in them if they

are not politically unacceptable.

In sum, I am suggesting that our approach to the anti-war movement be freed from our obsession with the mass marches. We should continue to support these marches, take part in them, etc.; we should continue, also, to present our alternative approach at conventions of NPAC or its successor organizations. However, the way to make sure we are not "as marginal in the fall as we were this spring" is to find and work with people who can be reached with our pro-working class approach, whether or not this is within the framework of NPAC. The huge numbers of people attracted to the NPAC marches do not in themselves constitute a rank and file we can reach through NPAC; rather, they constitute a constituency, which can be influenced to the extent that actions with better politics are built. We should urge groups we work with to act independently but orient toward NPAC, although we should not regard this as a sine qua non. In sum:

(1) We do not orient toward building an ongoing opposition in NPAC nationally, regarding this as unlikely to succeed because of the bureaucratic nature of the operation and the political character of the mass sentiment it draws on. Rather, our national intervention is geared to drawing out a group of contacts who may be interested in local actions of a semi-independent character. Locally, we judge specifically whether a given NPAC offers the opportunity for fruitful opposition work. We expect these to be the exceptions, but favor entry where this is the case.

(2) Our orientation to PCPJ and other independent groups remains that of urging pro-working class actions in conjunction with the mass demonstrations. We intervene with this approach if a national PCPJ meeting is held, in much the same way as in national NPAC. We intervene in local PCPJ or independent groups to urge our orientation, but we don't refuse to work with these groups if they insist on remaining counterposed to the mass mobilization, rather, we judge our participation on the politics of the actions we are planning. Finally, with regard to the veterans' movement, this subject needs separate discussion

ANTI-WAR PERSPECTIVES

Jim Gregory
NY IS

July 2-4 in New York NPAC is holding its national convention. At least 2,000 will attend, reflective of NPAC's clear hegemony in the anti-war movement, which probably was best illustrated by the success of the April 24 demonstrations.

The IS has not related to NPAC this year, save for a few sporadic attempts in one or two branches. Our attitude has been to test the water, complain that it was muddled by SWP bureaucrats, and retreat. Workers Power has carried virtually nothing on the anti-war movement. The overall effect is that we are now outsiders to the movement. The special April 24 supplement makes this clear. It contains long analytical articles, and short analytical articles. It contains very little, if any, concrete steps for the movement (or even sectors of the movement).

If we expect to have anything concrete to say in the anti-war movement, we must first participate in it. And if we have nothing concrete to say, we can expect to have the same smashing impact we have had to date this year--none. The contention of this paper is that we should get involved in the anti-war movement, and that this can be done effectively only by entering NPAC.

There is no excuse for our lack of participation. It is true that industrialization has shifted priorities in the organization. The Reorient fight had crippled sections of the IS in the fall. Nevertheless, in many clubs there were and still are a large number of comrades who are not in the shops and who could play a role in anti-war work. What has been lacking is a perspective.

LAST YEAR-

In developing a perspective, we must consider the basis on which we have formerly engaged in anti-war work. In 1969-70, we actually had two perspectives. The first was to raise anti-imperialism, anti-repression, and support for black liberation. The idea behind this conception was that the anti-war movement had to be impelled into struggle around issues that were near the political consciousness of most movement activists. In this perspective, actionable points for the movement to engage in were frequently raised. However, no clear perspective for orienting the movement towards the working class was integrated with the action points.

The second perspective was that the IS should raise to the anti-war movement the need for a working-class orientation by pressing the need for a workers' party and reconversion of the arms industry. This perspective did raise a strategy for orienting the movement to the working class. However, possibly in reaction to the first perspective, actionable points for the movement as a whole were usually absent. In New York, the centrality of the workers' party slogan was the theme. In Los Angeles, the focus was a reconversion program. In both of these cases the central slogans should have been viewed as educational. Actionable programs

connecting immediate withdrawal and anti-imperialism with the need to orient to workers' struggles should have been developed. Unfortunately, they were not.

Recapitulating, what was really at fault with both approaches was a failure to synthesize actionable and educational planks in a program to move the anti-war movement towards the working class, given the level of consciousness of the anti-war movement. We cannot expect to have any impact on the movement if we fail to show people that we are serious about building it. But to demonstrate that we want to build the movement we must address our program in consideration with current consciousness in the anti-war movement.

In other words, we present actionable program for the movement as a whole, actionable programs for radical sectors of the movement, and educational activity. Our failure to do this last year resulted in the IS having little effect in the anti-war movement in most locales. And as we have seen, the situation this year has been even worse.

ENTERING THE MOVEMENT

If we are to benefit from knowledge accrued through past errors, we must correct our biggest present mistake and get into the anti-war movement. This can only be done by entering NPAC now and preparing for the July convention. For years, we have approached NAC and its successor in mobilizations, NPAC, inconsistently. We have hardly ever worked inside them. This was correct when the student movement was strong and we were mainly student based. Today it is not.

NPAC is the mass organization of the anti-war movement. True, it is bureaucratically dominated by the SWP. True, it flirts with Democratic Party politicians. But it also mobilized hundreds of thousands. It also has attracted some support from organized labor. It also has consistently built the anti-war movement--not always healthily, but built it nonetheless.

From NAC minutes, it is clear that there is some dispute in Detroit as to whether NPAC or PCPJ is the more viable for us. The posing of this question in itself reveals a wrong approach.

If we are talking about trying to pick up a handful of contacts in a minor raid, we can ask which organization to enter. We may or may not pick up a couple of people in such an action, but when it's over we'll still be frozen out of the movement.

PCPJ, in contrast to NPAC, organizes relatively small moralistic demonstrations. It has attracted no support from organized labor. Its recent Washington adventure was exemplary action at its worst--none could understand it save the demonstrators themselves. PCPJ realized its weakness and is trying to enter NPAC. It would be folly for us to close our eyes to something that PCPJ itself recognizes and choose PCPJ as the group to enter.

The IS must therefore enter NPAC. We can expect to find some sympathetic people already in NYPAC, but if we expect to put up a decent fight we must attempt to bring other radicals in with us. In New York, we are trying to bring people from NUC chapters, liberation movements, GI groups, etc. in with us to give a broader basis than ourselves to the radical caucus we are attempting to form.

There is a basis for our believing that we can bring significant radical strength in with us. For one thing, it is becoming increasingly clear that the SWP leadership in NPAC will neither orient in any sense to rank and file worker struggles or fight the Democratic party. Given the clear organizational hegemony of NPAC, radicals can no longer ignore it in favor of SDS or some local radical group. In New York we have found that all that's needed to cohere real strength is for radicals to believe that we're serious about putting up a fight in NPAC.

We look for the formation of a national radical caucus. The IS nationally will take the lead in forming such a caucus around the following points:

- 1) orientation to rank and file workers
- 2) opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties
- 3) opposition to U.S. imperialism. For the right of self-determination everywhere.
- 4) for a democratic membership organization
- 5) a programmatic (as opposed to a contingent) approach to the movements of oppressed peoples.
- 6) independent political action on a pro-working class basis.

BUILDING THE CAUCUS

In carrying this program to NPAC, we must be careful that the proper emphases are placed on what is agitational and what is educational. To begin with, we must overcome one major pitfall of all groupings that have attempted to take on the SWP in the anti-war movement.

The SWP, for all its failings, has played the major role in building the anti-war movement to its current state. We must not make the mistake which every opposition to the SWP in the past has made in denouncing everything that the SWP has done in the anti-war movement. Rather, we must openly state that building the anti-war movement has been overall a positive thing, and it is to the SWP's credit. At the same time we must attack the failing of the SWP to fight for class politics, to fight the Democrats, and to do political education work in the anti-war movement.

The SWP's three principles for the anti-war movement are mass action, immediate withdrawal, and a non-exclusionary policy for participation in the anti-war movement. Not surprisingly, these are the three main principles of NPAC.

We can take off from this and argue that the SWP is not effectively carrying out these principles. We are for mass action--the

SWP, through NPAC, builds mass rallies which are at the most militant open-air teach-ins. We are for mobilizing rank-and-file workers. But when we called in NYPAC for a mass labor rally before April 24 to mobilize rank-and-file in unions whose leaders were not endorsing April 24, the SWP opposed us. We are for NPAC propagandizing about the effect of the war on working people and building for work stoppages against the war. These kinds of mass actions the SWP argues against. Finally, the SWP argues against all confrontations. We are not against all confrontations. We are for building a mass anti-war movement with the power to pose a real threat. Such a movement will be forced to defend itself. The SWP is not building such a movement, and hence can and does cater to pacifism. We must show that a mass militant movement can and must be built.

We are for immediate withdrawal. The SWP does not effectively fight for immediate withdrawal because they do not take on the challenge of the liberal Democrats. They invite Hartke, McGovern, Abzug and company to be the major speakers at their rallies, and do not challenge them at these rallies about their role in the Democratic party. Moreover, they do no education whatsoever about the role of the Democratic Party in channeling protest. Therefore the SWP is actually leading the mass movement into grave trouble as the liberals try to get the movement into the Democratic Party campaigns in '72.

More on immediate withdrawal. Ruth Gage-Colby, an old liberal and up to now a dupe of the SWP, recently spoke to Madame Binh of the NLF. Madame Binh told her that while the Vietnamese people really want immediate withdrawal in their hearts, in their practical heads they realize that the American anti-war movement must unite around "set the date". This will be brought up at the July convention of NPAC. Given the SWP's general unwillingness to fight sharply against positions to the right of them in the anti-war movement, and given the Democratic Party presence, "set the date" will certainly have a real chance of being adopted. This gives us an opportunity to indict the way in which NPAC has put immediate withdrawal forward. In addition, we can begin to break down some of the "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh" fan club mentality.

We are for non-exclusion. But the SWP undermines the policy of non-exclusion by not fighting the attempts of the liberals to take over the anti-war movement. It is the liberals who will attempt to make the movement exclusionary through red-baiting once they gain hegemony. Hence to keep the movement open, the liberals must be fought hard and fought early.

One more point on non-exclusion. We must come out for a democratic membership organization. As presently constituted, NPAC locals in many constituencies operate on an ad hoc basis, with the staff making all major decisions. We must demand political membership meetings in which real attempts for broad participation is made, as well as political, elected steering committees.

Along with the approach to the three principles, we demand that NPAC solidify labor involvement in the anti-war movement. We call for NPAC building actions in the direction of a one-day work

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stoppage against the war. Included in the types of actions proposed will be organizing mass labor rallies against the war, organizing marches through major cities calling for work stoppage against the war, and fighting for speaking time at NPAC rallies and conventions for representatives of major rank-and-file caucuses (such as the United National Caucus). We raise the economic effect of the war on American workers as an important focus for anti-war work. Educationally, we raise reconversion, although parts of reconversion may at times be agitational. Industrialized comrades will (where their work situations allow and it does not interfere with on-going organizing) raise support for NPAC mobilizations in their shops and unions.

In so far as it is possible, the radical caucus should actively build the trade union section of NPAC on a rank and file basis. An important aspect of this will be bringing women, blacks, and Third World workers into the section. This is necessary to make the union section more relevant to these groups and can provide links with liberation movement which are now isolated from the trade unionists or not involved in NPAC at all.

It must be emphasized at this point that the six slogans around which the radical caucus is to be formed are not necessarily to be raised to NPAC in the form in which they were listed above. For example, while anti-imperialism is one of the founding points of the caucus, we will not ask NPAC to declare itself anti-imperialist. Rather, we raise specific agitational points such as troops out of all foreign countries, self-determination for East Bengal, etc. But the caucus will be formed around opposition to all forms of U.S. imperialism and support for the fight of self-determination everywhere. We attempt to build the caucus around the six-point program, while the caucus does both agitational and education work in NPAC as a whole.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

The most difficult point to be elaborated is independent political action. Currently, there are three main electoral strategies in the anti-war movement. The Democratic Party liberals of course have a clear strategy of channeling the movement into Democratic Party electoral work. The SWP urges the anti-war movement as a whole to refrain from electoral endorsements and urges individuals in the movement to vote SWP. The third strategy is ultra-left anti-electoralism.

We do not expect that a mass independent electoral alternative will be formed by the anti-war movement in '72. Certainly the sentiment for one is not present at this time. The IS can, of course, attempt to pull together another PFP. Rather than going into the PFP controversy which consumed so much time last year, we'll just state the result: at the convention, we decided not to organize another PFP. We decided that any IPA we initiate must be on a working class basis.

We have the general perspective of calling for an independent party of labor. Given the involvement of labor in NPAC, we can now realistically expect to have some propagandistic impact when we put forward the call for such a formation.

The radical caucus should call upon the trade union sections of NPAC to take

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the initiative in beginning to form an independent political party based on the labor movement and the movements of oppressed peoples. It should call on NPAC as a whole to urge its trade union sections to take this step.

We should also urge NPAC to engage in political campaigns aimed at catalysing the type of political party discussed above. Such campaigns would be around such things as equal pay for equal work, 30 for 40, etc., as well as immediate withdrawal, and would be carried on in locations where it has some potential. For example, we would urge such intervention in a municipal employee layoffs in New York, or against anti-labor legislation.

The distinction which must be maintained is that we call for NPAC to carry on campaigns, not to form a political party based on the anti-war movement. We put forward as primary the independent party of labor slogan, and cannot be arguing for two separate types of political parties. To do so would only impair our ability to clearly propagandize for either.

Should the radical caucus cohere sufficient strength in any given location, we would be for it concretely proposing that the local NPAC chapter engage in the kind of campaigns described above. We do not, however, call upon the radical caucus to form a political party. If an independent political party of the anti-war movement develops, we will work in it. We do not initiate such a formation.

RESOLUTION: 1. That the IS enter NPAC on a national scale.

2. That the IS attempt to form a radical caucus in NPAC along the lines put forward in the motivational section.

3. That the NY branch will coordinate preparations for the NPAC convention, but the entire organization will build for it and the NO will send people to the convention.

4. A W.P. supplement will be prepared for the convention.

5. The IS will send representatives to the next NPAC Steering Committee in Chicago on June 12th, and call for a representative of the United National Caucus to be one of the keynote speakers of the July NPAC convention.

Resolution on the United National Caucus

by W. Hastings, endorsed by NY exec 5/24/71

1. Given the present state of the auto industry, especially in terms of the increasing efforts by the capitalists to squeeze more production out of the workers and the high rate of profit in the auto industry, and the state of the UAW including the death of Reuther, we foresee major developments occurring among the rank and file of the UAW.

2. The United National Caucus, which has grown in size to over 500 and which has shown that it is a serious union caucus, is the best manifestation at present of the growing rebellion among auto workers. Although we have certain criticisms of the group (such as their functioning during the beginning of the 1970 strike), the direction it has moved in since its formation more than warrants our participation in it. In particular, the United National Caucus has attempted to move away from its (predominantly white male) skilled-trade base to orient more and more towards production line and black workers. The caucus has taken positions in ~~fox~~ favor of immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, 30 for 40, the independent organization of black workers (including defending DRUM from attacks by both the companies and the union), retaining protective legislation for women, 30 and out, and for rank and file control of the union against the bureaucratization of the UAW. The caucus has shown that it has a national perspective (running A. Fox against Reuther at the 1970 convention), although this is an area in which the IS can make a substantial contribution to the growth and development of the caucus. (While we're not sure of their stand on women, we must push for a strong stand against the UAW's position on protective legislation and the ERA, and on the independent organization of women.) A portion of the caucus leadership has introduced motions at caucus conferences for a labor party. IS activities in the auto industry will concentrate on work in the United National Caucus. This means concretely that in places where the UNC exists, ISers work to build it and push for a more formal and national existence for the caucus (in terms of meetings, etc.). In places where it does not exist, the IS works to establish the caucus. At all times we work to build it along the lines we would like to see (that is, as outlined in the labor section of the Tasks and Perspectives document). However, this is not a condition for our participation.

3. The NC mandates a meeting before the IS convention of comrades working in auto to discuss our perspectives more fully, and to establish a functioning national auto fraction as soon as practicable. This must take place soon in order to have some idea of what we wish to do prior to the 1972 UAW convention.

4. The IS accepts the UNC leadership's informal offer to have an IS comrade work on the UNC newspaper. The NAC is instructed to delegate this to a comrade, preferably one who is going into auto in the not-too-distant future. In addition, members of the NAC are to attempt to maintain regular collaboration with members of the caucus, especially A. Fox, E. Fox, and P. Kelly.

ON THE UNITED NATIONAL CAUCUS

(What follows is the resolution on our relationship to the United National Caucus passed at an NAC meeting last November 6. We are putting this out so members may have in front of them the position of the organization now. It is not clear whether or to what extent the new proposal by Hastings is a change from this orientation.)

1. The IS is for building rank and file committees on the shop floor. We are also for the eventual link up of these committees across shop and industry lines.
2. The United National Caucus is the only rank and file caucus to exist on a national basis in the auto industry. It is a coalition of various independent rank and file caucuses and individuals. The leadership is mainly dissident local officers, bargaining committeemen, etc., some old politicoes who have had in the past a rank and file caucus approach. It has contacts throughout the country. It is currently very weak and has been dormant until very recently.
3. We reject the general orientation towards activities that the United National Caucus has: its general limitation to militant trade unionism, conception that its main activity is around contract bargaining and union meetings and conventions. We are also critical of its lack of a program to reach production workers and hence its limitation mainly to skilled workers, and its almost total abdication on the race issue.
4. We do not initially attempt to build a United Caucus in the plants where we are active. Rather, we attempt to build a ~~rank~~ rank and file group based on our orientation, i. e. a struggle group. This is a group that is committed to carrying on activities on the shop floor on a day to day basis, which is committed to leading struggles where and when the union won't, and which aims at taking the struggle beyond the shop floor and into the political arena.
5. When we get such committees going, we are for affiliation with the United National Caucus in order to fight for our program and orientation on a national basis. Due to the nature of the United National Caucus, it has a rather loose character, affiliation to it does not commit one to their program or orientation.
6. In circumstances of the present strike, any dissident group open to the rank and file is useful as a place where rank and file opposition can crystallize, especially in the event of a contract rejection movement. This depends on what the United National Caucus is putting forward, in Detroit they have for the first time advanced good demands around working conditions as a major part of their program and are open to including demands on racism. Our propaganda will continue to be on the need for shop-floor struggle committees but we regard the ability of the UNC to serve as a focus for immediate opposition as a positive development, ~~we~~ we will cooperate with the UNC supplementary to other work and on a politically open basis.

Passed unanimously by the NAC

1. ~~From~~ For twenty years and more the revolutionary Marxist movement has been cut off from the working class. This divorce between the class and the movement for its self-emancipation proves in its own way the Leninist contention that the class struggle does not automatically produce a socialist ideology - but rather that socialist consciousness must be injected into the class struggle by revolutionary socialists. The lack of a socialist presence in the working class is the result of long historical defeats - the failure of the European revolution, the triumph of Stalinism and fascism, the destruction of World War II, immediately followed by a Cold war which polarized and subordinated the unions and parties based in the working class to the foreign policy needs of one of the two imperialist camps. The long period of sustained economic growth and relative prosperity, based upon a permanent war economy provided a material basis for reformist acceptance of the capitalist system. - Joined to the Cold War ideology it produced the "military - industrial - welfare" state.

2. These conditions led to the dampening of class struggles and with it the further bureaucratization and conservatization of the trade unions internationally. In the U.S. the revolutionary movement, never very strong, was unable to withstand the pressures created by a relatively quiescent, conservatized working class. It declined by its inability to play a strong role in the class struggle. The small groups of socialists who continued to maintain revolutionary proletarian politics did so in isolation from the working class, and existed marginally on the peripheries of the radical student movement. As a tendency with a working class ideology we were distinguished politically, ideologically, and strategically from the other radical currents which developed in the student radicalization of the 60s. Yet we were an anomaly - a working class tendency based in the student movement, not the working class. Others who have been in this position have proven its unviability for a lengthy period by the Shachtmanites who were transformed into a political appendage of the trade union bureaucracy, and the SWP-YSA which has come to glorify its isolation from the working class as its transformation itself into a student and petty-bourgeois radical tendency.

3. Our decision to attempt to change ourselves into a political tendency rooted in the working class arose not only from our subjectively felt political needs, but also as a result of changes in the famous "objective conditions". U.S. capitalism has been weakened internationally as it faces the increasing pressures of international competition from capitalist rivals whose relative strength vis a vis the U.S. has improved enormously from the period when the U.S. was the only healthy going capitalist concern. Its growing difficulties in dominating the world is true not only in the advanced countries, but also in the underdeveloped world as shown by its political defeat in Vietnam. The permanent war economy which acts as the stabilizer of the system has revealed its contradictions which produces stagnation, inflation and decay of social services. These conditions have produced a situation in which domestic class struggle, and political conflict will intensify. Coupled to the already existing social turmoil produced by the black liberation movement, students, the anti-war and women's liberation movements, there has arisen a decay of belief in the authority and ideology of the ruling class which permeates all layers of society.

Internationally there has been the resurgence of militancy and revolutionary traditions in the working class. Starting in France in May 68 it is unique in including workers in both West and East Europe - spreading to Czechoslovakia, to Italy in 69, to Poland in 70, to the series of political strikes in Britain, to Northern Ireland, and to lesser but significant extents in Spain, Yugoslavia, Sweden and other countries. In the U. S. the struggle has not taken as sharp or radical a form as workers struggles in some of the European countries due to the enormous prosperity and layers of surplus fat on American capitalism. Nonetheless militancy has expressed itself in the growing number ~~ox~~ strikes, length of strikes, wildcats, contract rejections, the size of first year contract wage gains, and the spread of militancy to ever wider layers of the working class, to traditionally the most conservative white collar and civil service employees.

4. The decision to transform ourselves into a revolutionary tendency based in the working class is not only difficult to implement, it requires years of the hardest, most patient work with no short-cuts and little of the excitement associated with the student movement. With few, albeit invaluable exceptions, we have no cadre with working class or union experience. We have no clearly worked out program for trade union work. We recognize that it is impossible to "pick up business" where it was left off twenty years ~~ago~~ ago and mechanically repeat the trade union program of the revolutionary movement of those days. The economic, political and social changes of the last decades have had their profound impact, transforming many of the traditional workers organizations. It is necessary for us to outline and develop a new trade union program which while based upon past material and ideological conquests, addresses itself to those changes and to today's ~~pragk~~ problems. Only such a program can arm the vanguard of the workers in their struggles. Such a program will take form only as we engage in systematic industrial and union work - learning from our experiences, testing ideas in practice, and applying the corrections which can only come from involvement in the struggles of the mass movement. Although many mistakes and incorrect ideas are unavoidable in our initial work, we are convinced that a resolute, self-confident, non-sectarian attitude and the desire to learn from the struggles of the workers themselves will put us on the right road and overcome the abstractness of many of our formulations, analysis and slogans. While a meaningful trade union program will only develop in such a fashion it is necessary to start by developing our ideas, assessing our limited experiences, and to bring our ideas and program, however incomplete or half formulated, to the struggles we will be taking part in.

5. Although our own self-conception ~~at~~ at this stage is and must be relatively modest, we recognize that the IS has certain advantages possessed by no other organized political tendency. Our commitment to revolutionary Marxism, to the centrality to it of the idea of socialism from below and the self-emancipation of the working class, means that there are no restraints from our giving ourselves wholeheartedly to the independent self-activity of the working class, to the development of its combativity, self-confidence, consciousness, and to the struggle for workers' control. There is nothing in our politics, unlike those of the social democratic or stalinoid tendencies, which leads to the necessity of subordinating the workers struggle or restraining it, due to the subservience to either of the imperialist camps, the Democratic Party, or the

trade union bureaucracy. We are not apologists for any ruling class whose hostilities to workers control and power has produced such a devastating echo in derailing the politics of so many radicals. Moreover our past practice within the radical movement which combined a non-sectarian approach to the mass movement and its level of consciousness and struggle, without in any way subordinating our own revolutionary politics and organizational independence offers experiences which will help us to grow and develop with the workers struggles. In addition, we must learn to profit from the "advantages of backwardness". A vacuum exists in the working class today - the absence of a leadership which champions a militant, independent, class struggle approach. Aside from ourselves, the only other radical tendencies which are now attempting to implant themselves in the working class are the CP whose bureaucratic, conservative approach and orientation to the trade union bureaucracy resulted in its promising rank and file group being still born, various Maoist groups whose sectarianism and Stalinism lead them to try to trim workers struggles to fit the requirements of their narrow political and organizational conceptions, and some scattered independent radicals and radical collectives whose work is limited by their local, fragmented character, and many of whom suffer from the sectarianism produced by the dissipation of the student movement. Among those independent radicals we will find many with whom we can cooperate with, and who will be among the first people we will be able to recruit if we prove in practice ~~that~~ our serious ~~xxxx~~ approach and the relevance of our program. Given our small size today we cannot hope to fill this vacuum - but we can begin to develop a revolutionary working class cadre firmly implanted in existing struggles, helping to organize the existing consciousness and militancy of workers to higher levels of struggle and organization, and grouping together those militants who are today created by the struggle itself.

The evolution of capitalism, the changes in the economy, effects all aspects, the trade unions as well. With the growth of monopoly, the state and the giant monopolies have come to view things from the same vantage point - that of centralized command. The decline of competition in a monopoly economy, and the growth in importance of international trade and international competition results in the state viewing the "national interest" as the interest of the monopolies and their competitive position internationally. The permanent war economy, which has acted as the regulator of the entire system, has enormously increased the role of the state in the economy. The state itself is the largest employer, and the largest supplier of contracts to many key companies and whole industries. The increasing interdependence of the economy means that the disruption of key industries (and sometimes even of a few key plants) can be felt throughout the system. The state is forced to intervene in simple trade union disputes just to maintain the equilibrium of a complex, interrelated, internationally competitive, and threatened national economy.

The growth of state intervention and regulation of the economy, the greater integration of the state with the economy, the necessity to solve capitalist crisis by non-capitalist means, which we have in the past termed the bureaucratic collectivization of capital (which to be sure is only a tendency) has resulted in greater collaboration between the state, the capitalist class, and the trade union bureaucracy. State collaboration with the union bureaucracy is no longer

confined to periods when there is a Democratic Party "friend of labor" administration (or in Europe, when labor parties are in the government). Union officials are in the government corridors, labor administrative offices and courts, under conservative administrations almost as much as when their "own" parties form the government. The economic needs of maintaining the equilibrium of the system have seriously undermined those differences which did exist between the political parties. State collaboration with the union bureaucracy also produced the situation in which the union apparatus was among the most fervent supporters of American imperialism, acting as its junior partners at home, and as its agents internationally in the unions of other countries.

The growing loss of independence of the unions occurred at the same time as the rank and file lost control over the unions. Union contracts today are long (usually 3 ~~years~~ years, sometimes 5) legally enforceable, and almost always contain provisions outlawing strikes during the life of the contract. The grievance procedure has become long, cumbersome, and removed from rank and file control. To process grievances often takes months, years, and longer, providing little protection for the ranks on deteriorating working conditions and speed-up. The union bureaucracy has ~~largely~~ largely abandoned the shop floor and shop floor struggles, concentrating on wage and fringe bargaining. The struggle for wages is one that only has to be waged every few years, whereas the struggle over working conditions is a daily fight, poses questions of control and power, and demands an active, aggressive rank and file - a situation which would threaten the position of the bureaucracy. Moreover, the corporate monopolies have not been adverse at times to ~~fix~~ giving substantial wage gains - which can be planned out as part of the cost of production and passed on to the consumer by the monopolies (a situation which is now changing as the declining position of the U.S. in international competition produces pressures to hold wages down more than in the past). The price the corporations demand for this is higher productivity produced by ~~sex~~ speed-up and deteriorating working conditions, and the collaboration of the union bureaucracy in maintaining this arrangement. ~~sex~~ In the bureaucracy the corporations have a new policeman in the productive process, an agent from the ranks of the workers themselves to control the work force, to discipline it, to make it live up to the terms of the contract.

The union bureaucracy has been well paid for its collaboration with the capitalists and the state. Top officials draw ~~sex~~ salaries comparable to those of government and corporate executives. Closed shop and dues checkoff, originally union victories, have given the bureaucracy a captive membership producing the per capita they measure their success in. They have control over huge pension funds. The resources of the union provide them political influence. Their jobs

are usually "secure", often for life, in some unions even beyond with unions posts passed from father to son. The state and corporations intervene to protect the bureaucracy from the ranks - whether in the form of timely concessions, or through legal and administrative ruling from the Labor Dept., and other governmental agencies. 60,000 full time officials, one for every 300 workers, makes the American the most bureaucracy ridden union movement in the advanced capitalist world. (In Britain, for comparison, there are only 3000 full time union officials, 1 for every 2500 workers). Yet this bureaucratic mass has organized a smaller proportion of the non-agricultural work force into unions, than in any advanced capitalist country. Bureaucracy has created a self-perpetuating apparatus. With the decline of union democracy full time officials are often appointed from above. Their careers and advancement are not dependent upon their leading the ranks, but on the union apparatus, playing by its rules which include no disagreements before the ranks.

The loss of control by the ranks over the unions has produced a situation in which the unions have a dual character. On the one hand they act to discipline the workers for the corporations and the state, on the other hand they remain the primary defensive organizations of the working class - in this country the only mass organizations of the workers. Union protection is the only thing that stands between the workers and the total arbitrariness of the boss. Unions, however inadequate even on this level, are the only organizations workers have to defend job security, seniority, wages or working conditions. Even these degenerated unions provide the security which makes struggle possible and therefore even the worst unions are better than no unions at all. As a result trade union consciousness, the necessity for unions, has permeated the working class - but so has the alienation of the workers from the unions.

The degeneration of the unions, the absence of the unions from the shop floor, the lack of union democracy, all severely handicap the work of revolutionaries. None of this can in any release us from our duty to defend unions from attack, attacks which under whatever guise are usually attacks on the working class and its ability to defend itself and its struggles. Any attempt to give up trade union work, particularly in America, where no other workers' organizations exist, is no matter what the rationalization a turning of one's back on the working class, and an aid in maintaining the control of the bureaucracy. The degeneration of the unions makes our tasks immensely more difficult, but in no way releases us from the necessity for fighting for socialist politics within the unions, even if the main focus of our activity is not within the union structure.

With the degeneration of the unions, and the absence of the unions from leadership in shop floor struggles, the ranks have created their own forms of struggle in job actions, wildcats, slow downs, etc. It is these struggles which we see as the most important expression of independent working class activity. In these struggles we see the potential for the development of working class consciousness and for a transformed union movement. We recognize them as a genuine, although unofficial union movement. We do not glorify them as the best, only or highest form of struggle. They are fragmented, sporadic, find it difficult to maintain their gains, and are the reflection of the organizational weakness of the workers today - their inability to control the unions and make them serve the ends of the workers.

The shop floor struggles until now have found no expression in the formal, organized groups, nor have they attempted to take over, control, and transform the existing unions. The union reform caucuses, neither numerous nor powerful, have not championed or become the vehicle of the shop-floor struggle. They generally exist only on a local level, and are usually confined to local issues - only in rare instances are they national caucuses. For the most part they accept

accept the union structure and function exclusively within it. They have little or no connection with the shop floor struggles, and consequently usually lack any base on the factory floor. They exist either primarily or exclusively as electoral oppositions to incumbent administrations. As such they often attract careerists whose oppositional sentiment is mainly a springboard for their own social mobility out of the shops and into the ranks of the bureaucracy. Even the best elements in these caucuses who are committed to militant, democratic unionism find that upon election without a conscious, active base on the factory floor, they become prisoners of the existing union structure with its imperatives to enforce the contract and discipline the ranks.

Our perspective is to break through the limitations created by the unorganized character of the shop floor struggle, and the limited character of the existing rank and file caucuses. We are for the formation of struggle groups, caucuses which base themselves on ~~the~~ organizing the shop floor struggle, and are armed with a program for transforming the existing unions and contract system. Such groups must of necessity function inside and outside of the existing union structure. If they are to lead and organize on the job struggles they will have to function outside union legality, outside the sight and grip of the union bureaucracy which will collaborate with the companies to crush them. If they are to be ongoing, to institutionalize gains, or just to avoid being destroyed they cannot ignore the unions. Such groups must act when and where the unions won't. But they will have to work within the unions to restore workers control over them, or they will be crushed by the union apparatus. The experiences of recent working class upsurges in France and Italy showed that spontaneous militancy of the workers had to go outside the union structure to find expression, but its inability to take over the unions doomed it to eventual disintegration.

The difficulties posed by the union apparatus cannot be escaped by ignoring the unions, but neither can the difficulties of working within the unions be ignored. The temptation exists to win support, and union elections, on the basis of simple trade union militancy which today finds a ready response among the ranks. The harder job is to organize active support for a program and leadership which can transform the unions and the existing contract system. Contracts are necessary, as the basis for institutionalizing victories, for renewing organization as the prelude to renewed struggle. But acceptance of the existing contract system which makes the union act as a disciplinary agent can only lead to a growing gap between the ranks and progressive union officials, and their gradual transformation into a part of the union apparatus. Difficult as it maybe we can only accept ^{election to} union office on the basis of active rank and file support for breaking through the existing system and restoring the right to strike during the life of the contract. Moreover, we are convinced that such struggle groups or caucuses must be more political in their approach than previous rank and file formations. The role of the government in the economy, the bargaining process, labor arbitration, the growing popularity of compulsory arbitration and wage controls as an idea in government, corporate and union bureaucrat circles all indicate that questions that start on the shop floor cannot find their ultimate solution there. The racial crisis within the working class, the war in Vietnam and its impact on the economy, the deterioration of the cities and social services which form an important part of working class living standards, unemployment and automation, all demand the necessity of a political solution. We are for workers organizations, struggle groups and caucuses taking positions on these questions, ~~not~~ engaging in independent political action and initiating the process of forming an independent workers party controlled by the ranks.

One of the key tasks of struggle groups would be fighting for the introduction of a shop

steward system as a means of formalizing the shop floor struggle. We are for a steward system which breaks through the limitations of the existing grievance procedure which often turns even the stewards into "the local cop on the beat". We see as central the demand for a steward for every foreman, supplanting the existing system of full time ~~foremen~~ stewards removed from the ranks. A steward for every foreman (approximately 1 for every 15-20 workers in place of the usual 1 for every 300, and more, workers) would mean a steward who worked with, felt the same pressures, and was more easily controlled by the ranks. To ~~the~~ end the situation in which stewards are often only cogs in the union machine, we are for the organization of stewards into steward councils with the right to negotiate and call strikes over local working conditions.

Our key programmatic demands are:

1. For Workers Control of the Unions: Right to vote on all union contracts; right to strike on all local shop issues, right to strike during the life of the contract. One year contracts. Union protection for all strikes. Election of all union officials, for 1 year terms, right to immediate recall. No union official to make more than the average skilled worker. Union meetings to be held at work place during working day. Union press open to all workers. A majority of all executive boards to be rank and file workers.
2. For Union Independence from the State: No compulsory arbitration, no wage controls, fight the government attacks on the unions. For an independent workers party controlled by the ranks.
3. For Workers Control of Production: End the speed-up, right to strike on line speeds and work norms. Make the grievance procedure work, no change in working conditions until negotiated. Innocent until proven guilty. Humanize working conditions. Right to ~~strike~~ immediate cease work when unsafe conditions exist. Rank and file to elect safety officers. End compulsory overtime - voluntary overtime at double-time rates, triple time on weekends, plus time off for all overtime to be taken at workers convenience. Equal opportunity to all overtime.
4. For Militant Unionism: Minimum wage of \$4 an hour, cost of living clause in all contracts. End unemployment, for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, 4 day work week. Guaranteed wage against layoff, full unemployment compensation until new job. 4 weeks paid vacation for all workers. Open the books, wage increases without price increases.
5. End Racism in the Factories and Unions. Open up the skilled trades, upgrading on basis of seniority and special seniority provisions to overcome years of racial discrimination. Govt. financed programs to upgrade black workers to skills they have been excluded from. Fire racist foremen, right to strike on racial grievances. Job discrimination against blacks to be a punishable crime. For black caucuses and black representation in the unions.
6. End ~~Discrimination~~ inferior position of women workers. Equal pay for equal work. End job discrimination - all jobs open to women workers, discrimination against women workers to be a punishable crime; special programs financed by the government to upgrade women workers to skilled jobs they have been excluded from. Save protective legislation - extend it to men. Day Care centers, 24 hours, paid by company, controlled by parents. Paid maternity and paternity leaves, no loss in seniority. End the discrimination of unions against women, full representation in executive committees and hiring halls. For a working women's organization to fight for the interests of women workers.

Draft Resolution on Women's Liberation Perspectives: May 1971

Introduction: This draft resolution seeks to extend the basic position taken by the national convention in 1970. It is presented as a discussion document for the May NC. Adopting the perspective outlined would mean IS making a very deep commitment. This cannot possibly be done seriously without the fullest discussion and debate by the whole organization, and discussion by a delegated national women's fraction. The purpose, then, of opening discussion at this time is to try to insure that extensive pre-convention discussion takes place on this and the alternative perspectives for women's liberation that will come forward.

1. We re-affirm the basic position taken by the IS National Convention of 1970. In particular we regard these statements from the Tasks and Perspectives as central to our outlook and functioning:

"Thus, while we recognize the grave problems of the current movement, we will continue to work within in and build it because it is a liberation movement whose struggle is important in itself. In order for the movement to grow, we must simultaneously try to develop a strong pro-working class orientation for it. While we do not hesitate to fight for our conception of socialism, and to recruit women on the basis of our full politics, we are primarily concerned with the building of an outward-directed, action-oriented, pro-working class movement. In order to do this, we put forward an action-oriented program which will be presented in the context of our analysis of the oppression and exploitation of women." (Page 24)

"We initiate and organize around these programs in the radical women's liberation movement. We take leadership when support has been crystallized in a significant section of the movement for our program. We continue to work in the movement even if there is not substantial support for our program in the hope of crystallizing such support in the future."

2. These broad phrases may not, however (indeed, have not) provided much guide for concrete action. We want to suggest here what sort of groups IS women should seek to crystallize and build. It is very clear that we should be working for the formation of a national group, made up of these local groups. We do this, above all, because we understand the critical role as a pole of attraction that a national group can play--witness the damaging role of NOW. A national group could also carry out co-ordinated campaigns not now possible.

The first steps in setting up a national group would be the building of links by local groups across the country. While IS can play a critical role in developing these groups, helping make the links, arguing for our perspective, we should look toward the founding of a national group by the local groups themselves largely. It is the local groups where our first work lies, where our work lies now. If it is they who will call the founding convention of a national organization, if it is they who will be its heart and soul, we should be clear on what these groups, ideally, will be like.

3. Well, what sort of groups are we seeking to build? We argue there that we call for, help build, and pull existing groups in the following direction:

A) rank and file membership groups, with some fair degree of democratic structure and some idea of leadership (membership meetings with votes at regular intervals, steering committees, some notion that there is such a thing as membership, insurance of democratic rights, an ongoing character).

B) groups which come to recognize that working women will be the only group to give the women's liberation movement the stability, strength, and social weight it so desperately needs. These groups, in taking up any issue, will orient it toward working women, without in any way denying the needs of the women who now make up the radical women's liberation movement, even in its disorganized, fragmented, amorphous form.

For example, in action around a coalition abortion campaign, the immediate instinct of our ideal group would be A) To address its work primarily to women workers; B) To take up seriously, not just as a slogan, those aspects of the abortion question--cost, availability rights of women in actuality to choose--which are critical to working class women. C) To point out, to other women in the abortion campaign, and to the working women addressed, that the abortion campaign will come and go, but only an ongoing movement can keep and extend meaningful change. And only a movement of working women, rooted where women work, can give the women's liberation movement... (see above, underlined).

The women in these groups will choose to address working women because they want to win. In short, these groups, made up of students, working women, housewives, welfare mothers, will orient toward the working class, above all, out of self interest... They will also, thus, seek to work in a way which will make the groups attractive to increasing numbers of working women. This means both that there will be issues at the core of its program which speak to working women primarily, and also that the whole style of operation, the whole atmosphere, must appeal to working women.

C) Our ideal group would recognize that only a certain sort of issue can be attacked directly, programmatically as we would say; it would also recognize that it could not take on an unlimited number of projects, and would choose priorities with care. It would understand the central importance of acting to change the world, and would understand how that would develop and strengthen women.

But the group would also recognize that the oppression and exploitation of women is woven into a whole cloth. No single thread, or indeed no set of threads (program) fully expresses the goals and struggles of the women's liberation movement. So while the group focuses on action around a set of issues, it also sees as important a broader range of subjects. It also talks about, writes about, propagandizes about, debates, subjects like the family, women in fiction or movies, women and crime, social and psychological oppression, channeling, ads, medical problems of women (the pill, too), and health care. The means for this are varied and open--forums, small discussion groups ("rap groups"), more standard consciousness-raising groups which do not become in-grown, newspapers and newsletters, leaflets, and leaflet series, access to mass media, where possible, from letters to the editor to TV.)

D) Our groups would be, to repeat, outward-directed, action oriented groups. They would be pro-working class groups-- that is groups which work to involve, and succeed in involving working women, but which are not limited to working class women in the paid labor force, plus socialist sympathizers.

The group, when large enough, ideally at the start, would have a labor committee or working women's committee. This committee would involve itself principally with issues that directly relate to employment, wages, unions, and contacts. It would be defined by the issues it takes up, not its class composition. On the one hand, it should not be the automatic "natural home" for working women (and IS-ers) separating them out from the other women; on the other hand, it need not be limited to working women, but to those who want to do such work. The only stricture here is that those in the group, worker and non-worker alike, will probably have to be especially sensitive to style of work. That can't be handled mechanically.

But we do expect working women (and IS-ers) to be involved in other committees and work--like child care, abortion, tracking, women's studies, newsletter or outreach groups. We may expect that both working women and non-working IS-ers will find the labor committees of prime interest. Again, this does not mean that there should be a mechanical separation, with all working women feeling they "belong" in the working women's committees, don't belong elsewhere. Same for IS-ers, working or non-working.

Note: For continuity, a few more concrete characteristics follow. But the discussion in section 5 below is directly relevant to this point above.

E) groups which seek to build and grow while establishing, or maintaining, some sort of stable identity and presence. Obviously this is much harder in larger cities, and in places dominated by multiple sects. New York City, having both, is the hardest area in which to implement this proposal. Some special treatment may be needed. In fact no national perspective should ever again be taken to be mechanically applied across the board. This often leads our elevating our local problems into political principles. But we must also avoid easy "exceptionalism" by spelling out the factors which make an area different.

F) groups which seek to maintain an open, alive, atmosphere, with active political discussion in a broad "radical" spectrum. In short, groups which neither are hostile to socialists (or "male-dominated women"--that is, women in groups like IS) nor make women who are not (yet) entirely clear in their political perspective uncomfortable.

Once a group has established its identity, an opening talk at meetings can be very helpful in setting this tone, while establishing the character described in point E immediately above. Written introductory material is also helpful. Even before a group has completely jelled, tentative and vague introductions are better than none, and a good precedent. At a minimum, the spectrum of on-going activities can be described, and a tone set.

G) groups which seek to address both the broader movement, and to work within it, helping to build coalitions and intervene in them with its perspective, and to co-operate with groups of working women.

H) This is related, but not a characteristic of the group proper: its women

within the group change, problems, which differ from group to group to group, will arise. The most common one will be that free-floating new radicals will want to paste their whole politics on the group--a not uncommon problem in our past work. Our answer to them cannot simply be "Join ID, or the sect and/or vanguard of your choice" or just "Join IS" if we're really sectarian. In addition to education on why the group should remain open (how did they get to where they're at?) we must encourage, not just not discourage, socialist or Marxist or similar discussion groups, caucuses, etc. We should not worry about such "half-way houses" being stopping points rather than ferries. If we regard such groupings as competing with us, that attitude may well turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy. Obviously, where our general perspective (the other points above, and others as they develop) has not yet been adopted in a group we should encourage all those who share our perspective to work with us, generally in a caucus, to get the perspective across. This point, and other difficulties which have been encountered by active women's liberation groups, will be taken up in an expanded document.

... It is not a principled point whether we work in existing groups which have not yet adopted our full perspective, or if we call for new groups. It depends on our assessment of the best way to get to our "ideal," involving the most people. But we should carefully examine all groups, including amorphous ones where that is the only work possible. In such groups a large number of women may well have a "what's wrong" feeling, but no analysis of self-confidence. If they are silent, we mustn't assume they don't exist. At the worst, we can stand by the door and get the names of those who exit early.

... The 1970 Tasks and Perspectives also says:

"Since we view direct work with the working class to be the highest priority for the I.S. in the coming period, so we also view the highest priority of I.S. women to be direct work with working class women."

We wish to re-affirm that; we want however, to add our interpretation to that, which may or may not have been the intent of the original or subsidiary authors.

A) Industrialization is the basic form of direct work with working class women. Working women's committees are rarely a substitute for that, where it is possible.

B) Highest priority never means excluding all else. Highest priority never means excluding all else. Highest priority never means excluding all else.

C) Where direct work is roundabout, and pickings slim more fruitful "indirect" work may be more direct. For non-industrialized women, for example, orienting a whole broader group or coalition may be much more important than standing around the edges of developing women's caucuses or cross-union groups. Where we can be more in the center, that is, of course, different. That is rare, but possible, for non-industrialized IS-ers.

D) Working women's committees or labor committees cannot be seen as levers to get us, IS, in touch with working women. They are committees to reach

working women around issues which involve them primarily on the job, and which develop the struggle for women's liberation. If they become crosses between cross-union women's groups (like Union WAGE in California) and women's liberation groups of the kind described here, we believe THEY WILL FAIL IN BOTH TASKS.

6. We recognize that in order for working women--or more technically, working class women in the paid labor force--and the women's liberation movement to reach each other, both must be in motion--complementary motion. If there is no working class motion that women's liberationists can relate to, we will find it far more difficult to press our arguments about self-interest in our outlook for the movement. We can only point to potential. If there is not women's liberation movement which strikes a responsive chord among working women, the possibilities of action there are lessened. Hostility may even (has) developed. Since we are committed both to direct working class activity and to the independent women's liberation movement, we cannot ignore one or the other. In our work, we have to give priority to that which is least likely to develop without us, that activity which is likely to have the best results for both. In general, this does mean doing both sorts of work. Where we simply do not have the manpower we understand any choice, say toward direct working class work only, as a regrettable necessity, to be remedied as soon as humanly possible.

7. We do not want to re-affirm one portion of the Tasks and Perspectives: "The next period will be marked by an increase in the struggles and organization of women workers...however, we do not anticipate that there will be a development parallel to that of the Black movement. (emphasis added, deletions for brevity).

We want to suggest that there can be a parallel (which does not mean identical) development.

We understand the many differences--outstanding among them that Blacks are endogamous generally, while women are in general exogamous (got those?). In addition, the period of development is, clearly, one of intensified class struggle in general, the issues are different, women are found more broadly scattered class-wise the radical movement is in a different period, the women's liberation movement has gotten a more-anti-working class or "crank" reputation---all this and more. But this does not mean that we cannot expect, are already getting the first signs of, some direct effect--which surprised most IS-ers. All this must be examined and expanded upon further.

8. Also to be developed, perhaps by others, most sections to be brief are
A) The relation of our sort of groups to "radical feminism" and to B) "anti-imperialist" women C) NCWL "minority women" (differentiated E) The YSA, the other group besides NCWL with a national perspective F) gay women G) Economic developments--and protective legislation and the ERA H) Women's liberation and direct work with working class women--concretely. I) Program--see, for starters, the old Tasks and Perspectives program.

In all this changes, help, additional or substitute sections are anxiously invited. So far as possible, we should pool our accumulated experience. JCS

PERSPECTIVE FOR BUILDING WORKING WOMEN'S COMMITTEES

by Rose V. and Anne G.

Although we disagree with the decision made at the January NC to initiate a national campaign on protective legislation and the ERA, we think that the motion pointed in essentially the correct direction -- that is, it attempted to find an issue which could bring women from the women's liberation movement together with working class militant women around a common program and action. We think, though, that it was a mistake to concretize this orientation solely in terms of protective legislation and the ERA. Firstly, this issue is not actionable in many areas. Secondly, and more important, we feel that it is a mistake to form a group around one issue alone. As an alternative, we propose that IS women across the country initiate the formation of Working Women's Committees, similar to the one we and other women are trying to form in New York. Protective legislation may be one of the major campaigns of these committees, but they should have a broader approach and deal with a number of issues relevant to working women.

The situation in the women's movement and in the working class has changed in the past year, making it possible to implement this perspective at this time. In the first place, a process of political differentiation has occurred in the movement as the initial expectations most women had that sisterhood would unite all women have evaporated; it is now possible for us to raise alternative strategies within the movement without being attacked for being divisive -- the movement has already divided. Secondly, increasingly numbers of women, like their male radical counterparts, are developing a pro-working class orientation in response to the growing militancy of the working class itself. Most important, however, is the fact that the women's movement is running into serious difficulties across the country; groups like Working Women's Committees (from now on referred to as WWC) can now appeal to large numbers of women who are becoming disillusioned by the failure of the women's movement to grow or develop meaningful actions.

The organized women's lib movement has reached a point of hard stagnation almost everywhere over the last year. The thin layer of women (mainly educated, white middle-class) who could be moved into action around questions of psychological oppression alone have already been reached, to one degree or another. Although groups rise to replace those which collapse and there are bursts of activity, the movement has failed to either involve other sections of the population -- notably working class women -- or to develop stable organizations (national or local), and all sense of a movement which seeks to challenge existing institutions and fight for liberation has been lost.

None of the strategies adopted by the various wings of the movement has been capable of building a mass movement. The feminists continue to organize small rap groups and hold forums on issues such as rape and prostitution. Radical womens groups have revived the old community organizing approach -- they are opening daycare centers, food coops and womens service centers, generally

2. WWC PERSPECTIVE

in black and Third World neighborhoods. Many have given up all but a rhetorical struggle in their own right, orienting instead to serving their more oppressed sisters (and often brothers), and, of course, supporting their oppressed sisters in Vietnam. Besides perpetuating the traditional roles of women, albeit in a collective way -- childcare, cooking, and, in Vietnam, traditional home-front support work -- much of this work comes down to "revolutionary" social work (similar to all other social work in that it attempts to make conditions more tolerable for "these less fortunate" while not challenging the causes of those conditions). And both wings of the movement, feminists and radicals, increasingly focus on getting into yourself, dealing with yourself, understanding your body, etc., not on struggling against your oppression. The same has been true, on the whole, of the gay women's groups.

The groups which do have more of a perspective of reaching most women -- primarily NOW and the SWP -- have not provided any more of a solution. NOW's emphasis on individual advancement, court suits, lobbying, and support for liberal Democrats, their reliance on the media rather than on collective struggle to build actions, and their disregard for the needs of most working class women have meant that they are able to create a milieu, but not a movement. The SWP, which often orients towards NOW for lack of anything else, espouses the principle of mass action but has adopted a strategy which guarantees that the section of the movement they control will be irrelevant to most women. They are now focusing all their attention on a national abortion campaign (where they are not even raising the demand for free abortions) -- they recently attempted unsuccessfully to dissolve their Strike Coalition in NYC into the abortion action -- and have refused to fight around other demands such as no welfare cuts or equal pay. And, not unexpectedly, they have tried to keep politics at a minimum and, in New York at least, have counterposed their bureaucratically run coalitions and demonstrations to the rest of the movement.

Fortunately, an increasing number of women are recognizing that another strategy is needed if the women's movement is to survive as more than an atmosphere, a series of court cases, or groups of women trying to hold each other up. For the first time, the idea of building the women's movement around the power and the needs of working women is making sense to a large number of women, not just to a small handful of socialists. We feel, therefore, that a large number of women from the movement can be attracted to groups like WWC's, and that for the IS to build them at this point would not mean that we were setting up front groups, but that we were catalysing an existing sentiment within the movement.

Furthermore, we feel that such groups can appeal directly to working women themselves, and can from the beginning involve many in the groups. Almost in spite of the organized movement, working women are beginning to talk to each other about how they are being screwed -- as women and as workers. Secretaries talk about how much they resent making men's phone calls, operators talk about deserving pay equal to the craftsmen. In a few cases -- only a few -- women are organizing caucuses in unions or fighting around equal pay or for individual advancement to skilled jobs. Although most working class women find the women's lib movement incomprehensible or are hostile to it, seeing it as a bunch of man-hating bra-burn-

3. WWC PERSPECTIVE

ers, many of the ideas the movement has raised have lent a certain legitimacy to the idea of women struggling for parity with men. The organized women's lib movement has never really tried to address itself to working women, on the whole; we feel that it is possible for the movement to successfully address itself to working women, if its demands are made relevant and comprehensible. And, in fact, we feel that it is possible to begin building the kind of womens groups which will be able to involve militant women workers in the work of the group itself, rather than merely "orienting toward the working class" from outside of it. This last point is crucial -- what we are proposing is that we begin to implement what we have been telling the movement it should be doing, but not actually doing ourselves: that we begin to build the kind of womens liberation group which can become directly involved in the struggles of working class women.

In line with this, we propose that IS women begin to build Working Women's Committees which focus around issues which are relevant to working class women, especially job-centered issues. Such committees can be either separate organizations or subcommittees within broader women's groups, depending on local circumstances. Although in most cases these groups will be begun primarily by women from the woman's liberation movement, they should attempt from the beginning to bring working women into the group. They should not see their primary orientation as being a "pro-working class" wing of the existing movement. IS women should propose that WWCs have the following general goals: (a) to bring the ideas of womens liberation to working class women, (b) to involve working class women in the struggle for womens liberation and (c) to raise a proworking class orientation in the broader womens liberation movement.

The following types of activities should be emphasized:

(a) actions around women's lib issues which relate to working class women, such as equal employment or extension of protective legislation to all workers. For example, groups could initiate campaigns to open up "male" jobs to women in large industries such as telephone (see attached draft proposal on the NY WWC campaign at NY Tel).

(b) Strike support: giving support to women involved in strikes or other job actions by helping to maintain picket lines, getting media coverage and publicity, helping to set up childcare, etc. This would involve developing communications with unions having large numbers of women members and with women in struggle on the job, so the WWC is able to intervene effectively.

(c) Relating the issues of the womens lib movement to working women: free childcare, free abortion and health services, equal jobs, independent organization of women, women's caucuses and so on. Publicizing movement actions by such means as leaflets or lunch-time rallies in order to involve women workers in relevant movement activities.

(d) In the broader womens movement, raising programs and actions which will turn it in a pro-working class direction, such as orienting abortion and health campaigns toward involving women hospital workers, changing the nature of broad conferences so working women can be brought to them (more emphasis on workshops on work conditions, for example), involving the broader movement

4 WWC PERSPECTIVE

in such WWC-sponsored actions as campaigns for equal work or strike support rallies, raising issues on campus such as tracking which have a pro-working class content, etc.

(e) literature: publishing lit which will keep women informed of struggles taking place and will agitate around relevant issues. A newsletter could be started, with a newspaper a possibility if the group becomes large and viable. In either case, the goal should be to make the WWC public and useful to the women we want to reach. Additional lit could include a "Know Your Rights" pamphlet, explaining what rights women have (and should have) on the job and listing organization to contact for help (including the WWC), or agitational pamphlets around particular issues, such as protective legislation or equal work, or exposes of particular companies. Articles should also be submitted to the womens press and to any local community or ethnic-type papers which are read by working class women. (Community groups, by the way, ranging from anti-poverty coalitions to consumer or housing action groups, should be kept in mind as contact groups in general, as they may be able to put us in contact with many militant working class women.)

(f) speakouts, conferences: from small informal raps where WWCers and their friends get a chance to talk about their feelings about their jobs, to larger public "speakouts" which are publicized heavily. When groups become more stable and have developed contacts, one-day conferences could be called around organizing problems of women workers or around particular issues such as protective legislation. Such conferences could provide a way for militants to get in contact with each and begin working out common activities on a scale larger than the WWC itself could provide, and could bring the WWC into contact with many women militants.

(g) developing contacts with women in other cities. We feel that the idea which has been raised in the IS of forming a national womens organization is premature, but WWCs should be encouraged to develop contacts with each other, independently of the IS communications, and if appropriate to begin to work together -- on such activities as calling regional conferences, statewide demonstrations, coordinated campaigns against a particular company, coordinated work within a particular union, and so on. As it becomes possible in the future, WWCs can assist women in other cities in forming such groups, with the long-range goal of becoming a national organization, or at least tendency, within the womens movement. Such a perspective, however, is not actionable until stable local groups are established and should not be a major orientation at this time.

IS Functioning:

We are proposing that the IS itself initiate these groups, along with other women we attract. This means that IS women must have a clear perspective on what they want the groups to do, so that the groups do not flounder initially for lack of leadership. ISers should, for example, ensure that committees they are on actually function, should have action proposals which can get the group started, and not be afraid to present the other women with a clearly worked out perspective of our ideas (there is a difference between bureaucratic domination and political leadership!)

Lastly, this perspective implies the development of a functioning national caucus, discussion bulletin, etc.

SOME COMMENTS ON THE N.Y. WWC

The WWC in New York began almost accidentally. We handed out a leaflet at a women's conference in March suggesting such a group, expecting to make a few contacts. The response to our ideas was so enthusiastic, though, that we called a meeting to which 40-50 women came, and the group was launched. We weren't very clear on our perspective; this has led to a number of problems which other branches should be able to avoid.

(Parenthetically, it should be noted that the reason we were able to reach so many women at this conference was more than the leaflet. We had participated heavily in the SWP-dominated planning meetings for a month, making contacts with independents, fighting unsuccessfully for a political decision-making conference, and getting workshops on women workers and socialism scheduled which enabled us to make solid contacts with many women who formed the core of the WWC along with us.)

The most basic problem has been the nature of the women in the group. Because the WWC was formed at a student-oriented conference, nearly all the women in it are radicals or socialists who are not themselves involved in job-related struggles or in contact with them. We did not anticipate quickly enough that this would be a problem, and did not try to contact working women in any systematic way to involve them. The result has been that the WWC is starting to look like a sect. Phrases like "as socialists we should" are used, and discussions increasingly focus on how the group can bring a certain line to struggles, and on what that line should be. Our hope is that we can reorient the group so that it is possible to bring working class women to meetings; we still feel that it is possible to reverse this trend and, along with it, reverse the recent tendency of the group to solidify at a hard core of about 20 women (a result of its problems).

We were afraid at first to dominate the group, and were unwilling to play leadership roles. Most of the women in the group, although generally excellent, were far more confused than we, and when we abdicated leadership, they were totally unprepared to assume it. For example, we were shy about proposing actions around telephone because we were afraid it would look as if we were using the WWC as a support for our work, but telephone has proved to be the action which most of the group want to emphasize; it also was the only action which could immediately relate to the work situations of women in the group, so we were wrong in not proposing it initially.

We also had difficulty dealing with the question of program. When the Spartacists proposed adoption of a full program, we overreacted and did not push discussions of perspective hard enough. As a result, the group still contains within it a small group of women who want to focus on serving their oppressed welfare sisters, a perspective far different than the rest of the group, but one which has not actually been voted down because of lack of clear discussion, presentation of positions, etc. We are now beginning to write documents for the group, both on perspectives and on concrete actions, and we hope that this will focus discussions and provide a basis for decision-making.

A further problem, developing in the last couple of meetings in particular, is that because many women in the group are becoming confused about perspectives and because questions are not being discussed sharply or fully, women are becoming reluctant to act.

Decisions are put off, or people are slow to get involved in activity. Also, the group has had trouble publicizing itself and becoming known in the movement as a viable group -- partly because the NY movement is so fragmented, partly because we were afraid at first to push WWCers to join us in meetings such as the Strike Coalition, partly because we haven't been clear on what actions we want to take.

Underlying all of this has been a problem in the IS caucus. We did not settle on specific personnel quickly enough, so that we were never sure who would attend meetings; WWC assignments were not worked out in any systematic way and some women over-committed themselves and could not follow through on all the responsibilities they assumed; fraction meetings were held less frequently than needed, and we often came to meeting without a clear idea of what we wanted to happen and ended up disagreeing with each other at length. Ideas were raised, too, which had not been discussed by any part of the I.S., so that other IS women did not know how to respond to them. We have now begun to meet weekly, have constituted a specific WWC fraction, and are holding caucus perspectives discussions, which should solve the problems of IS functioning.

In spite of all the difficulties, we still feel that the basic orientation we have outlined is correct, and still are optimistic that we can correct the problems in the N.Y. WWC. The rest of the women in the group also recognize that there are problems, and have a strong commitment to keeping the group alive, and are receptive to our ideas on how to change it. In addition, we are starting to work out concrete action programs, such as the attached telephone proposal (now under discussion in the NY caucus), and we held a very successful speakup on jobs involving about 30 women last week which changed the tone of the group quite a lot. Some women are starting to bring their work contacts or trade union militants they know to meetings, which should further change the drift towards isolation.

May 1971

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THE IMPOTENCE OF WORKERS' POWER

by Brian H., New York IS

At long last the IS is beginning to emerge from total isolation from movement and working class struggles. Several chapters have intervened effectively in local arenas, and a general feeling of pick-up is in the air. This reflects the re-emergence of the anti-war movement, certain developments in the women's movement, and our increasing though still marginal involvement in working class struggles. Regrettably, Workers' Power does not reflect these developments. As a result, more and more comrades have felt that, in spite of the presence of some excellent articles, WP is at best peripheral to arena work or, in the case of some issues, unusable.

In some ways WP has drifted backward -- away from consistent comment on struggles and events toward longer "objective overview" essays. In short, it has drifted back in the direction of the old IS. This has led some to say that we should succumb to this drift (that is, accept the isolation of working only in an intellectual milieu) and go back to the old monthly IS format.

This is more than a mistake in terms of the style of our only public organ. It is a retreat from an interventionist perspective at a time when that perspective is finally becoming viable on a serious scale and when we are beginning to grow on that basis. Parenthetically, we would insist that all the arguments for such a retreat for the newspaper are really arguments for a theoretical journal (even without Trotsky, Shachtman, Draper, et al, to edit it) if one has an interventionist (i.e., growth) perspective for the IS.

Clearly we are a long way from a perspective of mass random distribution among any constituency. Nonetheless, we do have a large audience of potential readers for a newspaper (as opposed to a magazine in newspaper form). This audience includes young workers (male, female, black, Latino, etc.), women in motion, blacks more generally, and students -- not necessarily in that order, but including all these groups. The development of consciousness among these groups has been sufficiently overlapping so that a newspaper directed toward all of them is not self-contradictory. To be effective, however, it has to address these groups on the basis of their motion and from the point of view of participants (as opposed to observers) in crucial events. This does not require the pretense that article writers are personally involved in each and every event, but that we view these events, struggles, etc. as things that are of immediate and vital interest to us. The outcome of struggles or events is not a matter for distant analysis, but of crucial concern to us. That is, we speak to those involved in struggles as though their struggles affected our destiny -- which in fact they do, both as socialists and as people living under the yoke of capitalism.

One of the lessons that comrades involved in real struggles learn rapidly -- because we do not view ourselves as "outsiders" -- is that you simply cannot get across all of your ideas, or even all the most important ideas, at one time. These ideas must be prioritized and presented over time as the struggle unfolds. This is how transitional program is actually applied in struggle. The newspaper should reflect this. Lest this be misunderstood, this does not imply any retreat from presenting explicitly revolutionary socialist ideas. To

give an example, it does not mean aping Wildcat. Wildcat does not unfold transitional program (much less present socialist ideas), but rather remains consistently populist in orientation. All that is implied here is that each article on a subject should not attempt to talk about everything at one time. For example, if the April 24 and Mayday events had been covered regularly, it would not have been necessary to try to present a complete critique and alternative program in one article -- an article which is too long for a newspaper, and too short to really cover everything. To put it another way, each article and each issue should not be seen as a masterpiece in itself, but as a prelude to the next issue, just as each action we take and each proposal we make in any movement is a step toward the next, and all are seen as having a specific direction. To clarify what direction the paper should take, we offer the following specific criticisms and suggestions.

FOUR MAJOR FAULTS AND NEEDS

1. Priority of lead articles. The choice and arrangement of lead articles (those associated with the cover headline and those on the back) sets the tone and context of each issue. More often than not, this has spelled disaster for the effectiveness of WP. If our audience is viewed as young workers, blacks, women and students currently moving in a radical and militant direction under the pressure of events, then the lead articles should concentrate on these events. Articles directed toward ideologies ("Politics of Ping-Pong") or highly analytical articles ("Dollar under Attack") should not be lead articles. Clearly, the lead articles of both #35 and #36 should have been on the anti-war events.

2. The articles themselves. Particularly in the case of articles from the National Office, there is still a tendency (a growing one) to write essays that throw all our ideas into one article. It is possible to present our ideas over two or more issues as events unfold, rather than waiting until they are over to analyze them in retrospect. This is as true of articles on foreign affairs or those directed at ideological radicals as it is of labor articles. It is possible to develop a regular readership if there is continuity in reporting and analyzing central events. To some degree this has improved in terms of labor articles, though all of us are to blame for still falling short on this score. So far, only UFWOC, Poland, and sports are consistently presented from issue to issue. There is, of course, always something on women, but these articles are generally either historical or comments on pop-culture. These are good, but there is a need for articles on the women's movement -- particularly the groups we play a role in.

Related to this is the tendency to clump topics in specific issues. One issue contained a number of articles on international events by James Coleman, while another had nothing on international affairs. Clearly, J.C.'s voluminous (and commendable) output could be spread over time.

3. Topics. Certain topics seldom appear in WP at all. Among these are regular articles on the struggles of blacks, Chicanos (outside of UFWOC), Puerto Ricans, etc., and particularly black and Latino workers. The lack of such articles cripples WP's effect among young workers as much as among students. The lack of such articles has

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alienated what small regular readership did exist in NY Tel; the lack of telephone articles, for which the New York and San Francisco labor fractions are responsible, has also worsened matters. Similarly, articles on "movement" conferences and events are almost totally absent, e.g., the Winter Soldier conference in Detroit was never covered.

4. Format. The present format of WP dictates that the paper be sold on the basis of the lead article. Every issue is cast in the light of the cartoon and headline. The list of other articles below is incomprehensible to those not familiar with stream of consciousness writing. The back page is usually just another page. A newspaper format which started the lead article, and possibly another priority article, on the front page and still another important article on the back (in the manner of #36) would allow for more flexibility in appealing to the various arenas we are involved in. The perpetuation of the modified New York Review of Books format offers no advantage (particularly given our restriction to black and white covers) and inhibits sales where the lead article is not relevant or timely. Furthermore, there are sound political and stylistic reasons for believing that the entire content of the paper should not be cast in the light of one enormous cartoon.

WHAT AN AVERAGE ISSUE OF WP SHOULD BE

The political tasks we face in the context of an interventionist perspective (even allowing for different interpretations of that perspective) informs the mix of articles in any one issue of WP. To begin with, the lead articles should reflect the most important current events or struggles of general interest to our audience. These should be oriented towards existing struggles rather than the type of "event" (dollar crisis) that requires a relatively high level of analytical abstraction and presentation. Such articles should appear regularly, but not as lead articles. The bulk of articles should be -- and to be fair, often are -- shorter articles on movement and labor events. Historical, cultural, and mood pieces should appear regularly, but not as substitutes for more political or even agitation-al articles. The number of articles on black, Latino, and women's movements events must be increased "by any means necessary". Articles, short and to the point, on those events that illustrate the crisis in U.S. capitalism should appear regularly in series, e.g., regular coverage of the budget crisis, welfare, education, public and private employee layoffs, wage controls, and government intervention, etc. It is better to have one small paragraph on such events than nothing. Simple reports can always be followed-up with longer analyses. International events and articles directed towards exposing Maoism, etc., should appear regularly, but should be short and hard-hitting -- as are the reprints from the British Socialist Worker. Of course, occasionally priority international events such as Poland will dictate longer articles, which may be one of the (front and back page) lead articles. In general, at least one of the lead articles should be on labor.

AN IMMEDIATE STEP THE N.O. CAN TAKE

It will be argued -- somewhat justifiably -- that WP usually does contain this sort of mix. Insofar as this is true, it only points out that a very great step could be taken immediately by simply altering the front and back pages along the lines proposed earlier. We are

aware that the N.O. has made some efforts to obtain articles on blacks, labor, etc., but they have resisted taking the simplest and perhaps most important step of altering the format in such a way as to make WP more usable to comrades engaged in arena work. This step is entirely within their power, now. To paraphrase the sage, "we have no readers to lose by such a change, but a world to gain".

--May 1971

^{+ reasons}
 goal ^{interlocking} ^{staying - possibilities}
^{growing}
^{influence}
 ① ind. of class ^{organised labor interest}
 ② all pol. groupings reflect class ideology

~~third party could cat. w.r. if contains demands/ issues of class~~

~~m.c. party must have clear class analysis + perspective on working class. (Populist) actively seek working-class base~~

wayne: movements build

m.c. party do more than protest

① black left - politics (wrong) → Stalinist
P.L. notes + white liberals

J.W. questions fail to assess.