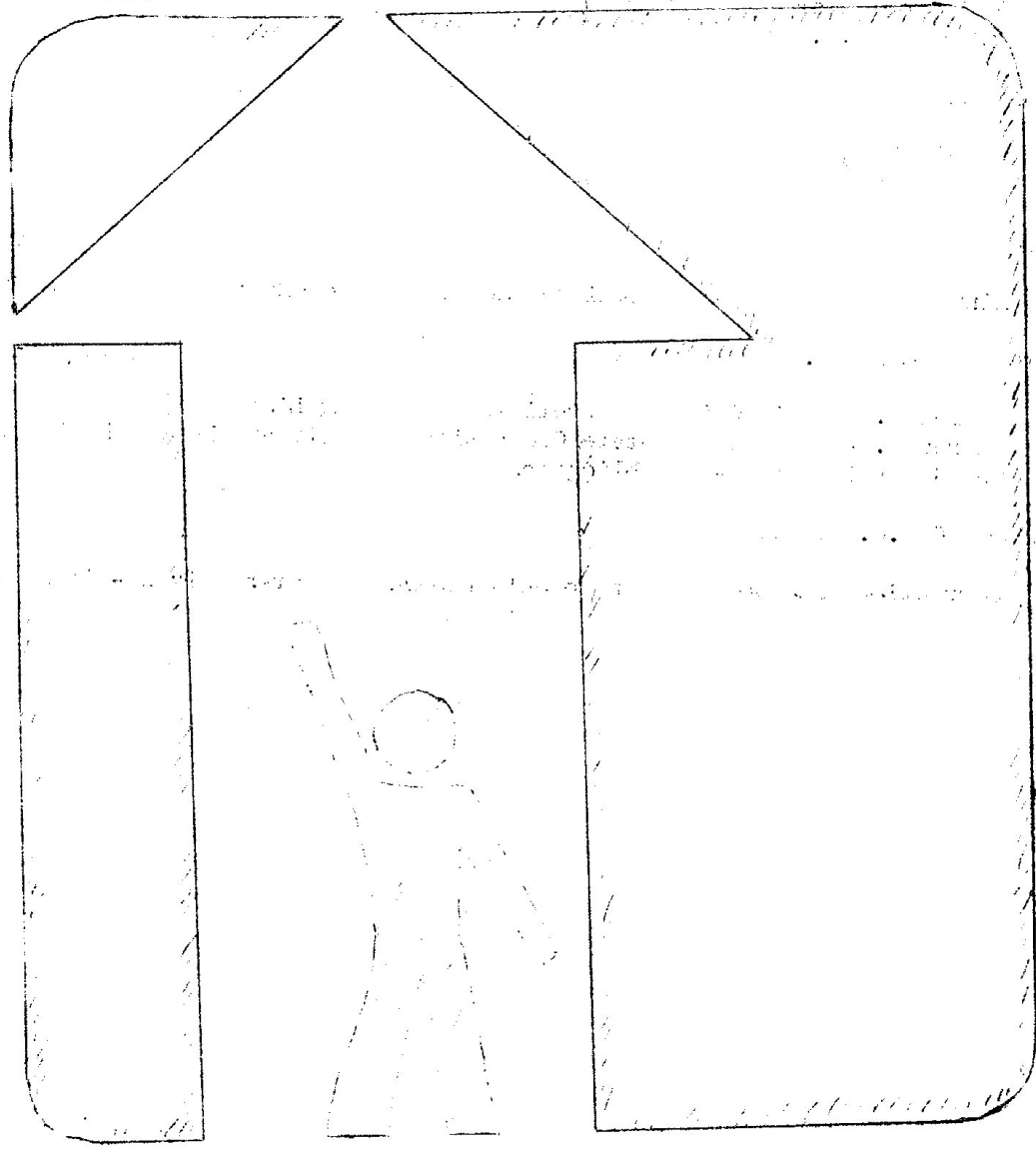


W.

I.S. NATIONAL REPORT

FOR MEMBERS ONLY



NO. 17 - DECEMBER 20, 1972

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NOTICE ON THEORETICAL JOURNAL

Getting our theoretical journal off the ground is going to be a difficult job.

One of the principal difficulties will be figuring out just what our intellectual/writing resources are.

In order to begin planning our first issues of the magazine, we need to know which IS'ers (or contacts) are interested in what, which person has a special concern with or knowledge of which field, who would like to write which articles, etc.

Comrades should, therefore, make it their business to contact the editor-designate (!) immediately, stating their particular interests, "specialties," competence; whether they have a particular article in mind and - if so - how soon it could be submitted. The document by Bruce Landau, in BULLETIN No. 33, entitled "Our Theoretical Journal: Tasks and Perspectives," will give you an idea of what kind of magazine and what kind of articles we have in mind. Feel more than free to ask questions.

Once again: until we have a file of names - i. e., a clear idea of who in the organization can write about what - at hand, we will be severely handicapped in planning the first issues of our magazine. Letters should be addressed to Bruce Landau, c/o the National Office.

BRUCE LANLAU

Detroit, MI
12 December 1972

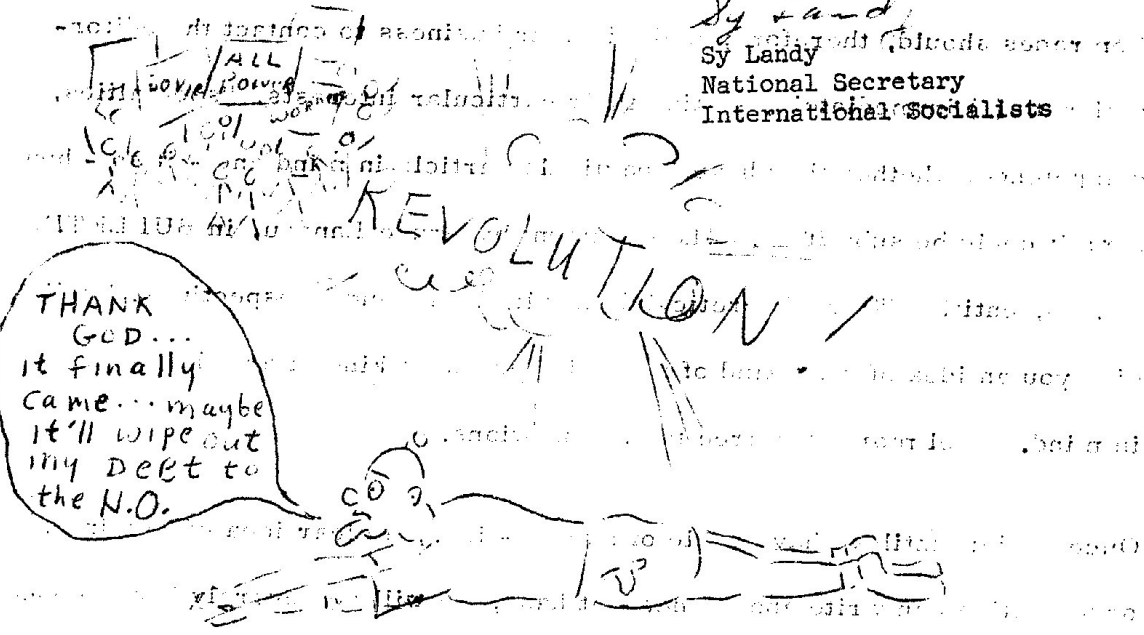
Dear Comrades,

The National Committee at its recent meeting authorized the National Office to conduct an assessment to pay the travel expenses for the N.C. members. As you know this is a regular assessment each time the NC meets and ensures that the membership of the NC is not limited to those who can afford to come to meetings. The assessment this time is \$5 per capita. In view of the recent Fund Drive we are allowing payment of the assessment to be made over a longer period of time than usual. Branches and members have until Feb. 1, 1973. Even if collection is optimal we will be supplying the deficit from our budget. Please don't delay or skimp!

Make checks payable to IS or Joel Geier.

Comradely,

Sy Landy
Sy Landy
National Secretary
International Socialists



DA 2 1 1000

NAC MINUTES - DECEMBER 12, 1972

PRESENT: ALL except JT, MS

1. NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT; MEMBERSHIP. Report from Chicago Branch by Brent. Branch is active in 5 unions, works with group of women in Chicago Women's Liberation Union trying to organize working women (not highly promising); report on Black Panther Party - drive to put proposal on community control of police on ballot in 1975: first meeting heavily attended, second lightly attended. Other reports by National Secretary. MAL application from Lansing, MI - ALL FOR.

2. N. C. MANDATES AND CONVENTION PREPARATION. (A) International Perspective - SL continuing work on outline. (B) Women's Commission - SL asking Celia E. and Ilene W. for recommendations. (C) Convention - the following proposal presented initially by SL for further discussion and later vote:

(i) In opinion of NAC, most convenient time for convention is July 4 weekend with the following cut-off dates for documents: March 31 for commissioned documents, May 15 for counter-documents and major amendments to commissioned documents, these cut-off dates to be religiously adhered to. Branches are invited to comment on this timing.

(ii) Recommended agenda:

International Perspectives
Tasks and Perspectives
Labor Perspectives
Organizational

From the viewpoint of the National Secretary, Tasks and Perspectives and Labor Perspectives would consist of updating, amendment, and amplification of existing perspectives.

(iii) NAC to commission Chicano perspective, to be discussed at the first full NC meeting following the convention.

3. LABOR NEWSPAPERS. Scheduled discussion of United Justice Train and United National Caucus TABLET to first meeting in January due to absence of some NAC members, some others not having read material. For next meeting: Picket Line.

4. ANTI-STALINISM STUDY GROUP. Report on state of discussions - not discussed at earlier meetings because report arrived in SL's absence and was mislaid. SL to request further information on ASSG's views on national liberation and democratic demands. ALL FOR:

5. TEACHERS' REQUEST. Continuation of discussion at previous meeting on Chris H. response to request for guidance on the organization's line on community control and busing (see BULLETIN No. 34). Statement PASSEL 4-1 (JG).

6. EAST HARLEM SCHOOL BOYCOTT. Discussion of document by Chris H. first introduced last meeting. Section on immediate tactical approach and demands now outdated by end of boycott but political assessment still relevant. Motion to approve document (with section on specific guidance tabled and summary of events updated) PASSEL 4-1 (JG). SEE BULLETIN NO. 35.

Statement (JG): In voting against Chris's resolution, I want to make it clear that I have no disagreement with the East Harlem boycott activities and the role of our comrades in it. My opposition to the motion was not on East Harlem, but on the questions of community control, busing, etc. In general I believe when there are no disagreements on concrete questions, we should have motions which we can vote and collaborate together on, without bringing in our other disagreements for a revote.

Statement (CH): There were indeed no important disagreements about how to relate tactically to the East Harlem situation. Unfortunately, the NAC also has a responsibility to make a political assessment of major developments and here differences may come up. There are indeed differing interpretations, not only on whether East Harlem represented an alternative to a strategy based on community control, but also on whether East Harlem represented a different kind of struggle from the community control struggles or on the contrary a struggle to realize the real meaning of community control. It would be best if the differing interpretations of such an important event could be put before the organization.

8. LA RAZA UNILA PARTY. (LF absent for this and following points). Motion (JG): The branches in California and Texas are requested to submit reports to the NAC on the political and organizational character of the LRUP, including an evaluation of its recent electoral successes, the social composition and base of LRUP, its non-electoral activities ((and the relevant strength of the nationalist and class-oriented tendencies in the party both nationally and locally)), as a basis for discussion on the advisability of collaboration, support, or entry. (Phrase in double parentheses added by Ron T., accepted). PASSED, 4-0. SL to write to branches in question.

9. BAY AREA TELEPHONE. Report by RT on continuing relation between Bell Wringer group and Militant Action Caucus (group led by Spartacist League members), and on the Committee for Elected Stewards in which we were formerly active. RT procuring a fuller report.

10. GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENT. Motion (CH):

1. Since its beginning in 1969, the gay liberation movement has undergone splits and fractures. In the last year these have resulted in the virtually complete disintegration of the radical tendencies in the gay movement and the

THE NATURE OF THE PERIOD (FIRST DRAFT)

By Crox

The end of the 1960's signals definitively that a new decade, the 1970's, has begun. This new decade, which in reality has been in progress for over eighteen months, poses new tasks and opportunities for the revolutionary movement and opens up a perspective for another ten-year period of class struggle.

The movements of the 1960's have been fundamentally transformed in the crucible of events, and find themselves now re-emerging as the movements of the 1970's. In this period it will be the class struggle and the relationship of forces, together with the state of the economy, which will shape the next stage in American history.

It follows from this analysis that the fundamental task of revolutionary Marxists is to integrate themselves in the struggles of the working class.

ascendancy of middle-class based, politically moderate forces looking to an alliance with ruling-class figures to effect modest reforms, mainly legal in nature and mainly beneficial to the gay middle-class and professional elements. In the last six months this process has included a leavening of red-baiting with the SWP mainly, but also the IS, as object. (The SWP is not at present generally active in the gay movement.) In turn, gay radicalism at this point is mainly expressed in terms of lifestyle and consciousness-raising politics, inward-turning and only intermittently political. With a few exceptions, there are no organized groupings in the gay movement open to IS politics in any real sense. The exceptions fall into two categories: (a) the Southern movement, which is just forming, and may be expected to go through a relatively rapid rise and decline; (b) certain newspapers, notably the Detroit Gay Liberator and, at least until recently, San Francisco's Gay Sunshine. In addition numerous individuals are open to our politics in some form.

2. This situation dictates a reassessment of our perspective of participation in the gay movement, which has been implemented only in spotty fashion. The NAC notes that comrade Chris H. has initiated correspondence with gay members on the state of the gay movement and requests cooperation with his inquiries. The NAC requests comrade Chris H. to prepare an interim perspective on gay liberation for presentation to the NAC.

3. At present, there are opportunities - which may disappear within a short time as the disintegration of existing radical tendencies in the gay movement continues - to reach radical individuals and groupings with a relatively full presentation of our outlook on gay liberation and its relationship to revolutionary socialism. The NAC therefore authorizes the preparation of a popular presentation on this subject, in the form of a manifesto, to be reproduced as a pamphlet. (It is anticipated that publication in a friendly outside newspaper and direct reproduction of the typeset material from this newspaper should minimize the costs of pamphlet production and make possible quick production without interfering with the schedule for production of other pamphlets.) Jim M. is proposed as author.

Motion DIVIDED for voting; parts I and II PASSEL, 4-0; part III PASSEL, 3-0-1 (RT).

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING - NOVEMBER 24-26, 1972

MINUTES

Agenda as Adopted

Friday morning: National Secretary's Report

Presentation: Sy L.

Counterpresentation: Joel G.

Discussion and voting on amendments

Friday afternoon: SWP Recruitment

Presentations: Joel G. (NAC majority)

Sy L.

Mike P.

Friday evening: International Proposal and Report

Presentation: Sy L.

Friday night: Press and Publications

Presentations: Dave F.

Bruce L.

Saturday morning: Overall Labor Perspective (including wages discussion)

Presentations: Ron T.

Sy L.

Saturday afternoon: IBT/MFA

Presentations: Eric F.

Steve K.

Saturday evening: Auto Perspective

Presentation: John W.

Saturday night: Party

No presentations

Sunday morning: Women's Liberation Perspective

Presentations: Ilene W.

Lynn J.

Margaret B. (amendments)

Celia E.

Emerson pamphlet--presentations: Chris H.

Celia E.

Voting on Natl Secretary's Report as amended

Delegates Present

Sy L.

Rod M.

Ilene W.

Dave F.

Gay S.

Kim M.

Steve Z.

Ron T.

Eric F.

Walter D.

Bill P. (for Stan W.)

Celia E.

John W.

Jack T.

Ken P.

Ken B.

Cal W.

Steve K.

Mike P.

Kevin F.

Chris H.

Mike S. (without vote)

Joel G. (without vote)

National Secretary's Report

AMENDMENT: (Chris H.) The NC reverses the decision of the NAC and directs that in reproducing the documents of the 1972 convention, the "Gay Liberation Addendum" to Labor Perspectives be printed along with the Labor Perspectives Document, as an appendix
Passed (9-4-8) See Motion "A"

AMENDMENT: (Gay S.) 1. That the N.O. initiate an internal black and Latin bulletin and 2. that the N.O. initiate a national literature fund for prisoners.
Tabled to the NAC (unan.)

SWP Recruitment

Alternates seated: Lynn J. for John W.

Changes by Jack T. to his "Amendments on Trotskyist Recruitment" (see NAC minutes, Oct. 10, as printed in Natl Report #15):

- a. In #2, add "Between conventions" before "The NC has final decision-making powers on this matter."
- b. In #3, part 2, change "estimation of the nature of the period" to perspective on the tasks of the period."

MOTION: (Sy L.) to table document and amendments. Passed (13-8) See Motion "B"

MOTION: (Mike P.) Jack T.'s amendment, as follows: "The NAC is the leadership body of the IS responsible to the NC and the convention and membership in general. As such, it should enter into discussion with various tendencies and groups and should make recommendations to the NC regarding the admission of oppositionists. Between conventions, the NC has final decision-making powers on this matter. To facilitate its decision-making abilities, the NAC should circulate documents and positions of such oppositionist tendencies."
Failed (8-13) See Motion "C"

STATEMENTS for minutes:

(Chris H. on Motion "C"): The basic question has not been posed in the debate. That is that the NAC has the power to set a line which the NC or convention can reject, accept or modify. Once the line on recruitment has been set, the NAC should have full power to implement the line, always subject to NC or convention review.

(Dave F. on Motion "C") My presentation in opposition to Jack's amendment-- which calls for all decisions on recruitment of tendencies to be made by the NC instead of the NAC, and was introduced by Mike P. after the main motion were tabled-- has apparently given rise to a very unfortunate misimpression. In particular some comrades apparently felt that I was demanding a "vote of confidence" in the NAC by the NC. This would imply a bureaucratic-parliamentary conception of leadership which is completely foreign to a revolutionary socialist organization.

In no way was this what I presented. Rather, I stated that the NC must elect a NAC which it regards as competent to decide who and which tendencies belong in the I.S. It is impossible for the NAC to conduct discussions, supervise joint work, etc. with other tendencies unless the NAC is also enabled to make commitments on behalf

of the I.S., including recruitment where appropriate (of course the NAC should consider the possibility in any given case of submitting the question to the NC, and will often do so). A NAC which is not considered competent to deal with these questions is not competent to commit the organization to any other course of action either.

I request no "vote of confidence," either from the NC majority or the NC as a whole, on our Trotskyist recruitment perspectives. I urged simply that we have the same ability to function on this question as on others.

A final note: the effect of Jack's amendment would hamstring the NAC even more than appears on the surface, since the difference between a loose grouping of individuals and a political tendency is sometimes difficult to establish. The NAC would not be able to recruit even loose groupings if it were afraid that they might be regarded by some comrades as "tendencies," which would cripple our political efforts to establish a political dialogue.

Comrades who feel that the defeat of Jack's amendment represents a bureaucratic current in the leadership are mistaken, in my opinion. Nevertheless I take such charges seriously, since the danger of bureaucracy is always present, and am committed to fight against any such current which may develop.

International Report and Proposal

Alternates seated: Mike S. for Mike P.

Sy L. document passed (unan.)

Press and Publications

Alternates seated: Joe F. for Steve K.; Bob M. for Jack T.; Steve R. for Steve Z.; Mike P. absent

Dave F. document separated:

Part 1: pages 1 - 11, para 2 passed (10-7-3) See Motion "D"
 Part 2: page 11, para 3 to end passed (14-1-5) See Motion "E"

Overall Labor Perspective

Alternates seated: none

Discussion on the wage question and amendments to Natl Secretary Report:

MOTION: (Jack T.): to table to the NAC the section on wages in the Natl Secretary's Report. Failed (6-11)

AMENDMENT (Ron T.) to Natl Secy Report: Because of the general consciousness of the workers at this immediate juncture. (the illusion created by the shallow recovery the general fear of taking on the Pay Board); we point to the importance of a wage offensive over the next contract cycle, when inflation will almost certainly escalate.

Passed. All for, except: (15-5-3)

NO: Steve K.; Cal W.; Ken B.; Ken P.; Mike P.; (Joel G.)

ABSTAIN: Jack T.; Celia E.; John W.

AMENDMENT (John W.) to Natl Secry Report: Productivity, unemployment, and breaking the control of the Payboard through wage gains etc. should be the three-pronged thrust of our union intervention in the coming bargaining period. In conjunction we will pose the demands: 1) bureaucrats state they will not be limited by NEP guidelines; 2) no price increases to recompense bargaining gains; 3) no wage/productivity trade-offs.

AMENDMENT (Rod M.) to John W. Amendment: Change point 1 to read: "Break the NEP guidelines." Passed (15-2-3)

AMENDMENT (Steve K.) to John W. Amendment: Delete point 1 entirely. Failed (1-many)

John W. Amendment as amended Passed (17-3-1). All for except:

NO: Kevin F.; Chris H.; Steve K.

ABSTAIN: Ron T.

STATEMENT for minutes: (Ron T.) I abstained on the Weber amendment on this question not because I think unemployment, productivity etc. are unimportant, but because I think that the amendment muddies the question. The Natl Secretary position plus my amendment should make the position clear.

IBT/MFA

Alternates seated: Margaret B. for Ilene W.; Bob M. for Celia E.

MFA Perspective Document Passed (20-0-1) (Mike P. abstains)

Auto Perspective

Alternates seated: Lynn J. for Cal W.; Bob M. for Celia E.

MOTION: (Joel G.) to accept Weber document as the basis for discussion. Withdrawn.

MOTION: (Dave F.) to table Weber document. Failed (Dave F., Chris H. for--many against)

MOTION: (Steve Z.) to refer the document back to the UAW fraction to be completed as a fuller perspective document, in the light of today's discussion, and to be returned to the next N.C. meeting or earlier. Passed (all for except Chris H against)

PROCEDURAL MOTION for next session (Jack T.) not to have discussion on the Celia Emerson pamphlet at this N.C. Failed (2-many)

Women's Liberation Perspective

Alternates seated: none

CHANGES: Certain corrections were made and amendments accepted by the author of the Ilene W. Women's Liberation Perspective document. These are listed on the page entitled "Corrections and amendments to Ilene W document."

MOTION (Dave F.): Vote Winkler and Jones-Emerson documents counterposed as basis for amendment. Passed

MOTION (Mike P.): Vote Jones as amendment to Winkler; then vote Margaret B's amendments to Winkler; then vote both Winkler and Jones-Emerson up and down. Failed.

VOTE on document to use as basis for amendment:

Winkler Passed (12-3-6) All for except:

NO: Cal W.; Celia E.; Jack T.; (Joel G.)

ABSTAIN: Kevin F.; Steve K.; John W.; Ken P.; Mike P.; Rod M.

MOTION: Amend Winkler document by adding the Jones document. Document separated into two parts. Part 1 includes entire document except section on super-seniority. Part 2 is section on super-seniority.

Part 1 Failed (8-12-1) See Motion "F"

Part 2 Failed (4-16-1) See Motion "G"

MOTION (Dave F.): the section of the Celia Emerson document entitled "Proposal for IS Women's Commission," AMENDMENT (Gay S.) Delete point 3 ("Women's Caucuses on the Local Level). Accepted. with the following substitution for Section 2, Part D:

"The MAC is instructed to carry out the proposal in the Workers Power document to add a staff writer (part or full-time as available) to undertake a column on basic questions of Women's liberation. The Women's Commission will also contribute frequent articles about women workers, the women's movement, Black and Third World women, struggles involving welfare and tenants' movements, etc. The Editorial Board has political responsibility for ensuring the publication of Women's Liberation material in Workers Power and putting forward the central political line of the I.S. on women's liberation questions. (The same understanding applies to Theoretical Journal articles and pamphlets.)"

Motion divided into two parts:

Part 1: Motivation (first four paragraphs) Passed (8-7-6) See Motion "H"

Part 2: Implementation. Passed (19-0-2) ABSTAIN: Steve K.; Kevin F.; (Joel G)

AMENDMENT (Margaret B.): Page 9 of her printed amendments, "The Working Class Movement--Part 1" Failed. (7-11-3) See Motion "I"

AMENDMENT (Margaret B.): Page 11 of her printed amendments, "The Working Class Movement--Part 4" Failed. (7-10-4). See Motion "J"

AMENDMENT (Margaret B.): Amend to Winkler document, p. 19: "The organization respects the right to self-organization. It is not the province of the committee to pass on whether or not this should occur."

Failed. (7-11-3) See Motion "K"

MOTION (Ken B.): To delete Margaret's amendments which were accepted by Ilene. (Note: this motion was actually made after the discussion on the Emerson pamphlet, but is placed here in the minutes for clarity.)

Failed. All against except:

YES: Ken B.; Jack T.

ABSTAIN: Mike P.; Ken P.; Steve K.; Cal W.; (Joel G.; Mike S.)

FINAL VOTE on entire Winkler document as amended. Passed. All for except:

ABSTAIN: Rod M.; Cal W.; Steve K.; Mike P.; Kevin F.

STATEMENT for minutes (John W., Ken P.): We abstained on the vote on which document was to be the basis for amendment because we object to the counterposition.

DISPOSITION ON EMERSON PAMPHLET:

MOTION (Chris H.): See attached "Motion to National Committee on Celia Emerson pamphlet. Failed. (10-11) See Motion "L"

MOTION (Gay S.): Amendment to NAC majority statement: "Although we agree with the notion that historically there has been a revolutionary wing of the women's liberation struggle which has included revolutionary socialists we feel that the term 'revolutionary feminism' confuses the issue and should not be used."
Failed. (8-8-5) See Motion "M"

DISPOSITION ON NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT (as amended):

MOTION (Mike P.): that we not vote on the report. Failed.

MOTION: to approve the report. Passed. (13-6-1) See Motion "N"

MOTION: That the NC set a \$5 assessment per member to pay for the NC. Passed (unan.)

NC adjourned amid, chaos, confusion, and announcements.

MORE STATEMENTS for the minutes:

On Emerson pamphlet: (Dave F.) I changed my vote on Gay's amendment from "abstain" to "no" in order to allow the author to re-write the pamphlet, incorporating various suggestions which the author has accepted. Under the circumstances this is the only proper course. The NC voted down one motion rejecting the thrust of the pamphlet and the term "revolutionary feminism"; the passage of the amendment would most likely have thwarted this vote by making it impossible for the author to write a pamphlet satisfactory to her or anyone else. I have to take responsibility for the political difficulty posed by the conflicting votes, and resolve the votes accordingly, since I am admittedly and openly unconvinced one way or the other on the term.

(Mike P.): One of the main battles of women's liberation is to rescue the history of women. One aspect of the oppression of women has been to distort and slander the history of women's struggles by identifying feminism with nutty old "battle-axes" smashing saloons.

One of the virtues of the Emerson pamphlet is that it correctly identifies the conflicting tendencies in the Feminist Movement and identifies us with the working class tendency whose struggles led it in the direction of revolutionary politics.

We should proudly identify with this tendency in the feminist movement despite the modern day tendency to distort the term. There is always an attempt to distort or coopt every good name by various forces precisely because the name and the movement with which it is identified legitimately have mass appeal. Opponents wish to distort and coopt the meaning to deny oppressed groups a sense of their own history and thus hide the correct road to struggle.

We do not shy away from the term Communism in discussing the Bolsheviks, the Spartacus League. We use the term and we explain it, and how the term has become distorted, because we identify with these movements.

STATEMENTS, Cont'd. On the Natl Secretary Report:

(Mike S.): I abstained because I do not believe that the report provided any real evaluation of the functioning of the NAC since the convention. Specifically I believe that the failure of the NAC to spend serious amounts of time on labor questions and on the significant political questions which are in dispute. There has been no discussion of documents in the Bulletin such as Stan's, nor on the whole question of the Transitional Program. While I am equally guilty for not raising these issues, I believe this should have been acknowledged and a commitment made to spend more time on these.

(Steve K.): The procedure of voting on the National Secretary's report is a new one and unclear in its meaning to me. I voted against taking the vote and voted against the report.

Motion:	Voting Record													
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Sy L.	A	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rod M.	A	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	A	A	A	A	Y	A	Y
Ilene W.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Dave F.	A	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Gay S.	Y	Y	N	A	A	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Kim M.	Y	Y	N	A	A	N	N	A	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Steve Z.	N	Y	N	Y ¹	Y ¹	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ron T.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Eric F.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Walter D.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bill H.	Y	Y	N	A	Y	N	N	N	N	A	N	Y	Y	Y
Celia E.	A	N	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	A
John W.	A	N ²	Y ²	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	not voting
Jack T.	N	N	Y	N ³	Y ³	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Ken P.	A	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Ken B.	A	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Cal W.	N	N	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	N	N	N
Steve K.	Y	N	Y	N ⁴	A ⁴	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	A
Mike P.	N	N	Y	Absent		Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Kevin F.	A	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Chris H.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Advisory votes:														
Mike S.	N	N	Y	Absent		Y	Y	A	A	A	N	N	A	A
Joel G.	N	N	Y	A	A	Y	Y	A	N	N	N	N	N	N
yes	9	13	8	10	14	8	4	8	7	7	7	10	8	13
no	4	8	13	7	1	12	16	7	11	10	11	11	8	6
abstain	8	-	-	3	5	1	1	6	3	4	3	-	5	1

Alternates voting: ¹Steve R.; ²Lynn J.; ³Bob M.; ⁴Joe F.

MOTION TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON CELIA EMERSON PAMPHLET

1. The NC rejects the use of the term "revolutionary feminism" to describe our theory of women's liberation. "Feminism" ordinarily refers to ideas of women's liberation which start from the analysis of women's place in society alone, and/or a strategy based on women's struggles alone. Revolutionary Marxism as a world outlook presents an integrated theory of the relation between the basic class divisions and class struggles in society, and the oppression of special groups and their specific struggles. While Marxist theory degenerated at various junctures (the Second International, Stalinism) in its treatment of the subject of women's oppression, revolutionary Marxism is the only theoretical framework and method for an analysis of women's oppression which leads to a consistently revolutionary resolution of that oppression, and revolutionary Marxist socialism presents the only consistent revolutionary theoretical and political solution to the problem of women's oppression.

2. The NC finds much of value in the body of historical example and discussion covered in the Emerson pamphlet. (This motion does not deal with specific criticisms.) In particular, the NC agrees with the pamphlet's positive assessment of the role played by independent working-class women's movements and struggles.

3. The NC recommends in revision of the pamphlet a critical attention to the contributions of Engels and Bebel to revolutionary socialist theory on the oppression of women and a critical assessment of the views of Lenin.

4. The NC directs that the pamphlet shall be revised in its theoretical presentation in accordance with motion (1) above. The NC requests the Pamphlet Director in consultation with the NAC to consult with the author on revisions.

Submitted by Chris H.

NOTE: Line 4 of motion should read: "...in society, and/or a strategy based first and foremost on women's struggles."

Motion FAILED.

MOTIVATION ON "REVOLUTIONARY FEMINISM" MOTION ... Chris H.

(Note: This was the motivation presented at the N. C. It is included here to attempt to clarify the debate.)

First we must distinguish what the debate is not about. It is not about whether historically an independent working-class women's movement has existed, or whether we make a positive assessment of this; it is not about whether there has been a revolutionary current within the women's movement as a whole, though I view that current as having existed only intermittently, and as one which has found a consistent direction only under the leadership of conscious revolutionary Marxist socialists. Nor is it a debate about whether revolutionary Marxists ought to play a leading role in the movement of working-class women - that is assumed.

There is disagreement about whether the currents discussed in the pamphlet represent an "historically identifiable working class, women's liberation tendency" and an "historically identifiable women's liberation struggle," as argued by Dave F. in his motivation for accepting the interpretation in the pamphlet. I believe the currents discussed in the pamphlet represented a variety of different struggles, with different class content; historically the women's struggle has tended to be discontinuous. But that's not the main point of debate.

The debate is about whether the current - or currents - discussed in the pamphlet, and the leaders who emerged, should be described, or can be correctly and rigorously described, as "revolutionary feminism" and "revolutionary feminists." Feminism must mean a view which starts from an analysis of women's oppression, women's role in society. Marxism starts from an analysis of society and its divisions as a whole. There is a jump or leap from one to the other - a revolutionary extension of feminism, understanding the need for revolution to end women's oppression, can bring you to the point of analysing the make-up of society as a whole, but then if you put forward an analysis in which class is the primary division, you are a Marxist and no longer a feminist, properly speaking. Marxism in principle - and in practice, in its revolutionary expression, is a theory which is an integrated view of the basic class division and the way in which the oppression of special groups fits into that. This doesn't mean that individual Marxists haven't been bad on the question, but we are talking about the theory as a theory. Our view - which is substantially what the pamphlet presents under the name "revolutionary feminism" - is not an extension of feminism any more than it is an extension of democratic theory - both of those are partial views, an "ideology," whereas Marxism is a unified and coherent world-view.

What is involved is not simply a question of the word. If there were a feminist movement which moved in a revolutionary direction and called itself "revolutionary feminist," this would be an enormously positive step. But so long as the movement was feminist - so long as its world view was

based on the position of women in society rather than on a socialist view integrating that into a class analysis - the movement would be ambiguous in theory and goals, and would ultimately either fall apart or go over to the bourgeoisie. Thus the only world view which can provide consistently revolutionary leadership for such a movement is revolutionary Marxism. This distinction the pamphlet draft does not make clear, because it treats both the mass movement and the revolutionary theory under the same heading, "revolutionary feminism." On the contrary, the mass movement has sometimes been feminist and sometimes not, but the revolutionary theory is in no sense feminist, but revolutionary Marxist. For a mass movement to move toward "revolutionary feminism" is highly positive, but for revolutionary Marxists to present their theory under this name is to offer our theory in "flavored" form, as a "next step," to present as our theory what should be viewed as a partial, and positive, step toward our theory.

Because Marxism is imbedded in society, in reformist or reactionary periods it becomes encrusted with social scum. This is true of Marxism in all its aspects, and just as we do not avoid the term "Marxism" or call ourselves "revolutionary democrats" because Stalinists and Social-Lemocrats call themselves Marxists, so we do not let the bureaucratic degeneration of Marxism on the woman question stop us from asserting that Marxism includes all the positive content of feminism - an end to the oppression of women by men - while resolving the contradictions of feminism.

It's for this reason that the motion asks for a rewritten pamphlet to take up Engels, Bebel, and Lenin in critical fashion. I do not believe the author can refer to them as "revolutionary feminists," yet they made enormous contributions - though contradictory ones - to the cause of women's liberation. They were able to contribute theoretically and practically to the advance of women's liberation because they were revolutionary socialists and they discussed the woman question from this standpoint.

To present our view under the name "revolutionary feminism" is either to present the same theory as our own under a more palatable name - which is a concession to backward consciousness, specifically to the consciousness of today's women's movement - or it is to make the case for a distinct theory which can properly be so described. But in that case one of the two, revolutionary socialism or revolutionary feminism, is wrong and we'd better say which. I argue that as imperfect as socialist theory has been, its theoretical foundations are correct while the theoretical foundations of feminism are wrong. As a loose formulation to describe women moving from feminism to revolutionary Marxism, "revolutionary feminism" may have some validity - but no tendency or theory which is properly described as a variety of feminism, no matter how revolutionary, can be a stable historical or coherent theoretical phenomenon.

(Note: some phrases and a few sentences from the original written motivation, deleted in N. C. presentation because of time considerations, are restored here.)

MAO'S CHINA: A PRELIMINARY READING LIST**

by Andrew B.
December 3, 1972

1. Harold R. Isaacs. The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. 2nd Revised Edition. Stanford Paperback. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961.
2. Leon Trotsky. Problems of The Chinese Revolution; With Appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovitch, Nassonov and Others. Translated and with a new Foreward by Max Schactman. Ann Arbor Paperbacks for the Study of Communism and Marxism. Originally published, 1932; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967. \$3.25.
3. C.L.R. James. "Peasants and Workers," Radical America, V, no. 6 (December, 1971), pp. 5-49.
4. Janet Weitzner Saleff and Judith Merkle. "Women and Revolution: The Lessons of the Soviet Union and China," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, XV (1970); reprinted in Socialist Revolution, I, no. 4 (July-August, 1970), pp. 39-72. See especially pages 55-70.
5. L. Landy. Women In The Chinese Revolution. I.S. Book Service. \$0.40.
6. Martin Glaberman. "Mao As a Dialectician," International Philosophical Quarterly, VIII, no. 1 (March, 1968); reprinted in Mao AS A Dialectician (Detroit: BEWICK/ED, 1971), pp. 1-19. Available @ \$0.50 from Barbara's Book Store, 1434 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.
7. William Hinton. Fanshen; A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village. Vintage Books. New York: Random House, 1966. Study of one village during six-month period in 1948; sections of the student New Left and of the Women's Liberation Movement ahistorically took this vignette as a picture of the totality of Chinese society in the 1960's.
8. William Hinton. China's Continuing Revolution (London: China Policy Study Group, 1969). Revised edition of his February, 1969, article in Progressive Labor. Available @ \$0.35 from CPSG, 62 Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3, England.
9. Ernest Haberkern. "Maoism and the Working Class," I.S., no. 15 (January, 1970), pp. 4-5. See also "Feedback," I.S., no. 17 (March, 1970), p. 22, for a comment and a rejoinder.
10. Franz Schurmann. Ideology and Organization In Communist China. 2nd, Revised edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969. Paperback. Only difference from the first edition is the addition of a final section on the Cultural Revolution; relies heavily on PRC government sources and is quite sympathetic (not gushy, however), making comparisons with the course of political and economic development in Russia during the Twentieth Century.
11. Chris Harmon, "Mao's China: Part 2-From the Great Leap Forward to the Nixon Banquet," Workers' Power, no. 55 (April 14-27, 1972), p. 13.

** Note on the readings: The books and articles listed here are presented in the order in which they should be read most profitably. If forced to say which are most essential, I suggest that #'s 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, and 9 are more valuable than the others. The order in which the readings are presented is roughly chronological. Sections of some of these readings could be used for internal/external class series or for study groups for "soft-core" semi-Maoist contacts.

FEDERAL AND STATE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH LEGISLATION
AND ADMINISTRATION: ACCESSIBLE LEGAL AND MEDICAL RESOURCES
AND INFORMATION SYSTEMS

by Andrew B.
September 22, 1972

This research guide is necessitated by the inadequacies of an article by a similar title which appeared in the BULLETIN, no. 30 (September 10, 1972). The revised guide outlines a systematic series of shortcuts whereby interested members in the I.S. may develop some sophistication in locating politically valuable legal and medical information. With an orientation toward industrialization in particular and toward workingclass work in general, individual and organizational competency in legal and medical aspects of the job safety scene is not only attainable but an imperative. Specifically, this competency should connect (a) a political critique of what the government (federal and state) and unions are(n't) doing, to (b) knowledge about how best to take advantage of the existing resources and recourses.

Questions that may be asked are grouped below under the following general types: (1) What are the health and safety hazards common to a given industry? What may exposure to a specific chemical substance for a specific length of time under given circumstances do to you? (2) What are the federal/state laws and standards applicable to a specific work situation? (3) What are government agencies doing about health and safety on the job? (4) What are workers' organizations doing about health and safety on the job? and (5) What are accident/fatality rates in a given industry?

Unfortunately, there is no one convenient index that references all the material likely to help answer these questions. To answer these kinds of questions is to "plug into" many disparate and disconnected series of information systems. (Virtually all of them, however, are quite accessible, i.e., if one knows about them.) As it is, necessary information-gathering is impeded by this primitive state of affairs and is one reflection of the low priority given to occupational health and safety under capitalism. This primitive state of affairs also necessitates a research guide.

I. What are the health and safety hazards common to a given industry? What may exposure to a specific chemical substance for a specific length of time under given circumstances do to you?

- a. Alice Watts, "Industrial and Safety Information," BULLETIN, no. 28 (July 28, 1972).
- b. Council on Occupational Health, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610. Request a copy of their Publications List. Beginning in 1941, the AMA has held an Annual Congress

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on Occupational Health. The most recent, held in Chicago on September 11-12, 1972, was open (no registration fee or AHA membership requirements) to anyone interested. In addition to company doctors, there were a few doctors working for unions or in hospital/ university settings at the 1972 Congress. Also, the AMA publishes the Medical Socioeconomic Research Sources (monthly); it should be available in a good university library.

- c. American Public Health Association, 1015 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. One may join the APHA and its Occupational Health section (Section 15) simultaneously for a total minimum dues of \$5.00 annually. Membership blanks may be removed (or xeroxed) from any issue of the American Journal of Public Health or The Nation's Health. Both publications carry articles on occupational disease and on relevant government activity and are included among the benefits of membership. The APHA's Annual Meetings are held in the final calendar quarter of the year and have one or more panels devoted to occupational safety and health. In 1972, the Annual Meetings will be held the week of November 13-17 in Atlantic City, New Jersey.
- d. Public Health associations in the several states.
- e. American Industrial Hygiene Association, 210 Haddon Avenue, Westmont, New Jersey 08108. Publishes Hygienic Guides of the American Industrial Hygiene Association. (Price?)
- f. Industrial Medical Association, 150 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606. Publishes Journal of Occupational Medicine, Request their Publications List.
- g. National Safety Council, 425 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611. Request list of publications for the industry you are interested in.
- h. American Conference of Governmental Industrial Hygienists, 1014 Broadway, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202. Request list of publications currently available.
- i. American Association of Industrial Hygiene Nurses, Inc., 79 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016. Request list of available publications.
- j. American Hospital Association, 840 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois. Publishes Hospital Literature Index, which excellently complements MSRS (see I, b, above) and should be available in a university or medical school library.
- k. Index Medicus, available at medical school libraries.
1. U.S., Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1.) National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland 20852. Also has regional offices.

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(2.) Scientific Reference Service, NIOSH, 1014 Broadway, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202.

m. International headquarters of relevant unions. Write to safety department.

n. Business Periodicals Index.

o. Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications.

II. What are the federal and state laws and standards applicable to a specific industry or workplace?

a. "Nixon, the Business Community, and the 1970 Job Safety Law," BULLETIN, no. 18 (February 25, 1972).

b. U.S., Department of Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, Washington, D.C. 20210.

Also, there are ten Regions and 51 area offices.

(1.) Request a copy of "Occupational Safety and Health Standards; National Consensus Standards and Established Federal Standards," Federal Register, XXXVI, no. 105-Part 2 (May 29, 1971), pages 10465-10714. These are the first listings of temporary standards promulgated under Public Law 91-596, but do not include revisions or emergency standards subsequently published.

(2.) Assistant Secretary of Labor Guenther has announced that one will soon be able to subscribe to a (looseleaf?) service listing health and safety standards and classifying them by the industry of most relevance. Subscribers would receive regular notices of revisions. Check the OSHA office nearest you or your local government bookstore to see if this service is available.

c. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Order a copy of The Williams-Steiger Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970; A Handy Reference Guide. (\$0.20).

d. U.S., Public Law 91-596. Unless you're a coal miner or a federal employee, this law probably applies to your workplace. Request a (free) copy from OSHA or from a local Congressman (woman).

e. Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 4025 West Peterson, Chicago, Illinois 60646. Order a copy of Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970; Law and Explanation (\$3.50), a publication directed to employers.

f. AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Request (free) copies of Occupational Safety and Health Act; What It Covers (September, 1971).

g. NIOSH (address above). Request a (free) copy of Occupational Safety and Health Legislation.

h. Bureau of National Affairs, 1231 Twenty-Fifth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Publishes Occupational Safety and Health Reporter. Expensive (\$176.00 per year), but should be available in law or business school libraries. Publishes new federal regulations as

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they are promulgated. (Weekly)

- i. Gershon W. Fishbein, Publisher, 1097 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004. Publishes Occupational Health and Safety Letter (twice monthly); expensive (\$60.00 per year), but should be in law school libraries or in chamber of commerce libraries.
 - j. National Association of Manufacturers, Law Department, 1133 Fifteenth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. Request copies of "Summary Analysis of Public Law 91-596: The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970," Memo, January 28, 1971 (25 pages). Say your attorney recommended it highly, and request list of any other relevant publications and reprints they may have.
 - k. M & M Consultants, Marsh & McLennan Incorporated, Marleman Plaza, 222 South Riverside, Chicago, Illinois 60606. Request a copy of Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, Public Law 91-596; A Status Review-- April, 1972. Say one of their policyholders recommended it.
 - l. Legislative reference bureaus of the state governments will often provide copies of relevant proposed legislation.
 - m. Commerce Clearing House (address above) publishes loose-leaf law reporters, which are available in law and business school libraries and in some public libraries:
 - (1.) Employment, Safety, and Health Guide;
 - (2.) Labor Law Guide;
 - (3.) Labor Law Reports.
 - n. Local chambers of commerce (often in collusion with the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and/or the National Association of Manufacturers) have been sponsoring seminars on Public Law 91-596 and how not to get zapped. Request to be notified of such events, and try to get invited.
- III. What are federal and state governments doing about enforcing (or unloading) job safety programs?
- a. Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Request to be placed on the mailing list of Spotlight on Health and Safety (a quarterly; free).
 - b. OSHA (address above). Request a copy of Implementation of the Williams-Steiger Act; A Six-Month Report-- April 28-October 31, 1971. This report is not for sale, nor is its existence widely known. Say you read about it in the financial pages of the Chicago Tribune in November of 1971.
 - c. U.S. Government Printing Office (address above). Nixon made a report to Congress on OSHA's performance during the first twelve months P.L. 91-596 was in effect, i.e., April 28, 1971-April 28, 1972. This report was to be on sale by early July, 1972, for \$1.50 or \$1.75.

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Check your local government bookstore or write to USGPO. Should also be in the documents section of public libraries.

d. See II, k, above.

IV. What has been the response of workers' organizations?

- a. The AFL-CIO (address above) Labor Studies Center, in cooperation with the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department and the AFL-CIO Standing Committee on Occupational Safety and Health, have conducted a series of seminars on P.L. 91-596. One is planned for the University of Alabama in Birmingham in January, 1973.
- b. Standing Committee on Occupational Safety and Health, AFL-CIO (address above) distributes "Basic Provisions of a State Occupational Safety and Health Act" (18 pages), free for the asking. Ignores some of the loopholes in the law. Released December 13, 1971.
- c. Center for the Study of Responsive Law, Post Office Box 19367, Washington, D.C. 20036. Order (\$15.00 prepaid) a pre-publication copy of Joseph Page (editor), Occupational Epidemic. Highly critical of the manner in which unions have failed to educate their members and to take advantage of the law.
- d. See IV, b, above. The AFL-CIO has been monitoring and evaluating the proposed state occupational safety and health plans which are being submitted to the U.S. Department of Labor. Write to George H.R. Taylor if you're not sure how far along your state government is in developing such a plan.
- e. Wall Street Journal Index.
- f. Business Periodicals Index.
- g. Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service.
- h. Occupational Health Project, Medical Committee for Human Rights, 710 South Marshfield Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612. For \$2.00, subscribe to Occupational Health Report, which has appeared every six to nine weeks since late 1971. Request a copy of their literature list, too.
- i. Funk & Scott's Index of Corporations.
- j. New York Times Index.
- k. Christian Science Monitor Index.
- l. Health Policy Advisory Center, 17 Murray Street, New York, New York 10007. Publish Health-PAC Bulletin (monthly; \$7.00 a year); direct internships (open to non-M.D.'s in particular); may have good files, particularly for information on the health hazards of hospital workers.
- m. United Auto Workers, Safety Department, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48214. Request copies (free) of Health and Safety Provisions in UAW Agreements and Safety Equipment and Wearing Apparel Provisions in UAW Agreements.
- n. Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers, Citizenship-Legislative Department, 1126 Sixteenth Street. N.W., Washington,

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D.C. Request (free) copy of Model OCAW Health and Safety Clauses.

V. What are current and past accident/fatality rates for the U.S. as a whole? For a given industry? For a given state?

a. U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics.

b. Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications.

c. Labor departments of state governments.

d. Industrial commissions of state governments

e. Jerome B. Gordon, Allan Akmen, and Michael L. Brooks, Industrial Safety Statistics; A Re-Examination-- A

Critical Report Prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor, Praeger Special Studies in U.S. Economic and Social Development (New York, Washington, and London: Praeger Publishers, 1971). Expensive (about \$17.50), but should be in a good public library or university collection.

f. Allen Akmen, Michael Brooks, and Jerome Gordon, "Use of Work Injury Rate Tables in Estimating Disabling Work Injuries," American Journal of Public Health, LXII, no. 7 (July, 1972), pages 917-923. Request reprint from the authors at: Gordon Associates, Inc., 2500 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

NOTE: While the above research guide represents a definite improvement (qualitative as well as quantitative) over the previous attempt (see BULLETIN, no. 30), the general lack of full annotations does render this guide less than super-useful. First, not all of the items are of equal value. And, second, the special virtues of some items were not adequately stressed. If there is a further revision (say, in three or four months), this self-criticism will be incorporated therein.

ADDITIONAL TITLE:

The President's Report on Occupational Safety and Health Including Reports on Occupational Safety and Health by the United States Department of Labor (Page 1) and By the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. \$1.75. Stock number 2914-0011.

THE GENERAL STRIKE - a bibliography

*General Works:

Crook, Wilfrid H. Communism and the General Strike (Hamden, Conn., 1960) Crook covers not only general strikes in the United States but also those in numerous foreign countries.

Lewis, Arthur D. Syndicalism and the General Strike (Boston, 1912)

Luxemburg, Rosa The Mass Strike. The Political Party and The Trade Unions (1906)

*St. Louis, 1877:

Burbank, David T. City of Little Bread: The St Louis General Strike of 1877 (St Louis, 1957)

*New Orleans, 1892:

Shugg, Roger Wallace, "The New Orleans General Strike of 1892", Louisiana Historical Quarterly Vol. 21 (1937)

*Philadelphia, 1910:

Cohen, Joseph C. "The General Strike in Philadelphia", International Socialist Review (April 1910)

*Seattle, 1919:

Friedheim, Robert L. The Seattle General Strike (Seattle, 1964)

Gambs, John S. The Decline of the IWW (New York, 1932)

O'Connor, Harvey. Revolution in Seattle (New York, 1964)

Seattle General Strike Committee, The Seattle General Strike (Seattle, 1920)

Simmons, William "Lessons of the 1919 Seattle General Strike," Fourth International (Dec. 1945)

Strong, Anna Louise I Change Worlds (New York, 1935) and The Seattle General Strike (Seattle, Union Record Publishing Co., n.d.)

*Toledo, 1934:

Bernstein, Irving. Turbulent Years (1970)

*Minneapolis, 1934:

Dobbs, Farrell. Teamster Rebellion (1972)

Walker, Charles Rumford. American City (New York, 1937)

Bernstein, Irving. Turbulent Years (1970)

San Francisco, 1934:

- Bernstein, Irving. Turbulent Years (1970)
 Eliel, Paul. The Waterfront and General
 Strikes (San Francisco, 1934)
 Galenson, Walter. CIO Challenge (Cambridge,
 1960)
 Goldberg, Joseph P. The Maritime Story
 (Cambridge, 1958).
 Quin, Mike. The Big Strike (Olema, Calif.,
 1949)

An additional work on the general strike and other major labor
 struggles in the United States is Jeremy Brecher's Strike
 (San Francisco 1972).

A number of small and often forgotten general strikes have
 taken place in the United States since the 1930's depression.
 They hit such cities as Lancaster, Pa. (1946); Oakland (1946);
 Pekin, Ill., (1934); Rochester, N.Y., (1946); Stamford, Conn.,
 (1946); and Terre Haute, Ind., (1935). These are all mentioned
 and some information given in Crook's work.

For the older labor historians around it might be noted that
 the first general strike in the U.S. occurred in Philadelphia
 in 1835. The issue then was the reduction of the length of
 the working day. In 1872 there was a general strike of building
 trades workers in New York City also for a reduction in hours.
 Not to be forgotten was the struggle for the eight hour day
 and the May Day general strike of 1886. Much less has been
 written on these struggles and generally we have to depend on
 accounts given by such labor historians as Commons and Foner.

CORRECTIONS AND AMENDMENTS TO ILENE W. DOCUMENT:

CORRECTIONS:

- p. 4, para 3 is garbled--the point is that the move into the DP by NOW is a further refinement of their strategy, not a decisive break
- p. 10: for retyping, please move section on I.S. work (p.16-19) to go in after SWP section
- p. 11: last para: should have read that women played important support roles in 1930's
- p. 12: IMPORTANT: the word "some" was left out of para 2, the sentence in ()'s. It should read "some white working-class women"
- p. 19: next to last para: change "nuclear family" to "bourgeois family"
- p. 30: para about local coordinators is left out

On the Margaret B. amendments pp. 8-14 (the others, which I disagree with, are not being put forward):

- The Working Class section: Her number 12--disagree
- Number 13: reject because point already in document and doesn't fit in the way it's amended
 - Number 14: accept
 - 15: stylistic, depends on 13
 - 16: accept with following change: line 4, delete "for the purpose of carrying out our general perspective"
 - 17: accept
 - 18: accept, but to go on page 23 after program, not on page 21, and with the deletion in the last sentence of "most fundamentally" (our call for independent groups is based on other things too)
 - 19: reject
 - 20: reject--it is unclear and I believe it is incorrect
 - 21: accept with the change on her page 12, para 2: last sentence to read "Is not a narrow organizational one but us based on common struggle and program."
 - 22: I would like to divide this: accept 2nd para. but not first

Her section IV: reject

Note: I agree with the proposal in the CE document for a women's commission but think it should be set up by the NAC not the NC and will so move if it comes to the floor.

IW