

SPECIAL BULLETIN NUMBER ELEVEN

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Proposed Agenda for National Women's Caucus Meeting

March, 1977

1. Report from Women's Commission
2. Report on Bay Area Women's Conference
3. Short reports on International Women's Day activities
4. Discussion on maternity campaign
5. Initial discussion on abortion activity
6. Women's Council
7. Women's Commission : Proposed Slate
  - Margaret J.
  - Enid E.
  - Sara B.
  - Karen K.
  - Carolyn P.

We are trying to arrange for a two hour meeting which comes right before dinner so we could go on if we needed to have more time.

During the 1960's and early '70's women made significant gains. Jobs, previously closed to them; were open. Abortion became legal. Affirmative action programs were enacted. Much of the progress came about as a result of the development of the women's movement.

The headlines of the last few months have made clear just how far women have come. Last month the U.S. Civil Rights commission charged that the economic recession has virtually squashed job gains made by blacks and women during the 60's. In many places all the women and blacks hired in the 60's have been dismissed or laid off from their jobs.

Many women who entered the labor force find themselves and unemployment statistic in the 70's. Wages for women are still very low. In 1974 the median income for all female heads was \$6400. Today women earn only 59% as much as men. This is an increasing differential. Women who made up 33% of the work force in 1960 now comprise 40.7%. This is a figure that was not expected to be reached until 1985. Yet women are still concentrated in the lowest jobs.

Today only 12% of working women are unionized. A Bureau of Labor Statistics study of 1300 contracts covering at least 1000 workers found that less than two thirds of them prohibited sex discrimination. Clauses insuring equal pay for equal work were included in 145 contracts and maternity leaves were only in 39% of the contracts. Organized labor has only met women's needs when they have been forced to by their women workers.

The largest proportion of women entering the work force has been between the ages of 25 and 44. Clearly, the increasing attack on real wages has forced more and more women into the work force. Female unemployment has continued to climb. Unemployment of black women has hit recession levels.

Under the pressure of the capitalist crisis the small but significant gains made by the movement of the 60's will continue to decline. Last month's Supreme Court decision on maternity and various decisions against affirmative action are just two more actions in a series designed to erode the gains of the 60's. While the ERA gets closer to enactment, there is the development of a strong right to life movement which threatens the gains made in abortion rights. Many state legislatures have already denied welfare protection for women seeking abortions.

The increased attack on women has created little organized resistance. Most of that which exists is confined to middle class womens groups. The leadership of NOW and the remnants of SCFW have organized a coalition to fight for legislation on maternity benefits. This coalition lacks much of the dynamism that characterized the early fight around abortion reform or ERA ratification. There has been no collective working class womens response to the continuing decline in the conditions of women. Nonetheless, there has been local attempts to respond to the attack on abortion, unemployment or affirmative action. Resistance will continue on the local level for the next period.

Reflected in the IS

The decline of woman's movement has had an impact on the I.S. at all levels. The lack of the woman's movement and the collapse of CLUW has meant there is no one national arena that the majority of women could work in.

The politics of women liberation have not successfully be interpreted into all our work. Women's liberation has frequently been put on the back burner to be revived only when useful.

Everyone recognizes the depoliticization of the organization over the past year. What is often overlooked is the particular impact this has on women comrades. Women took less and less responsibility for the overall political development of the work. Without a strong women's movement there has been little external pressure on the I.S. to develop women's liberation work. The pressure within the organization tended to break down with the general depoliticization of the organization. As a result we have not kept up with developments on women's issues and have not continued to develop and update our politics of women's liberation. We are operating on analyses made as long as 3 years ago, not on a dynamic analysis which we constantly update as we do in our other areas of work, such as our trade union work. We have not kept up on major questions like the changing role of women in the labor force, the ERA, abortion, and have not studied and developed an analysis of the particular oppression of black and other minority women.

Presently most of our caucuses are dormant. Already in 1975 the caucuses played less of an internal role. By the Workers Membership Campaign a good portion of the organization viewed them solely as a vehicle for recruiting women. Since the demise of our CLUW work the role of the caucuses has been unclear. With the intense activity of TDU and the total external orientation of the organization, the development of the caucuses was severely neglected.

Women's caucuses, which once had as one of its goals the development of women comrades and the fight against sexism ceased to play that role. The very existence of the women's caucus was questioned by many. In many branches women stopped attending meetings since there was little definition and direction for the caucus.

The failure of the women's commission to point a clear direction and definition for the women's caucus when our CLUW perspective proved untenable exacerbated the situation. Clearly the woman's caucuses declined and with it so did our formal woman's work.

In spite of this gloomy picture and charges by the Left Faction that "the IS having turned its back on the real struggle for women's liberation...finds itself with virtually no women's work, no women's periphery, and no women's perspective," it is important to note that a significant portion of good work around women's issues has gone on in the last year.

This work has been almost exclusively the result of initiatives of local caucuses or individuals. If we are to move ahead and develop our perspectives we must have an accurate assessment of the present state of our work. At this point we would do well to review the concrete advances we have made.

#### Industrial Work

Our women's work in industry has been far more successful than most comrades are aware. Many of our industrial women began to develop in CLUW. After that women in industry were forced to lead and in doing so developed as leaders in our external work, becoming confident and learning to take initiative. Several women became mass leaders. These women have become leaders in our industrial fractions, though not enough of them have become political leaders of the organization as a whole. Unfortunately since the caucuses have not been functioning, these industrial women have not been able to bring their new knowledge and skills to the other women in the organization and have not been able to use the rest of the women to discuss their situations and get political guidance from the rest of the women in the caucuses. During this period we began to bring our women's liberation politics into our industrial work. It was in the last year that our policy of women's industrialization began to pay off, particularly in steel and IBT. We successfully began to be involved in struggles with other women in our priorities. Now, for the first time, we are working with significant numbers of working class women around women's issues.

TEAMSTERS--The opposition states "Already the IS has insisted that there can be no special demands for blacks and women in the 'broad, mass campaign that it organizes'." Let us offer some facts. One of PUSurges's contract demands was for fully-paid maternity leave with no loss of seniority, length of time to be determined by the employee's doctor. In the recently ratified Eastern UPS contract, this provision was partially won, excluding that the leave be paid.

In building TDC the fraction chose an agitational program through which it was possible to activate large numbers of Teamsters. Issues were chosen which spoke to the pressing needs of members of the IBT. Within the context of the contract campaign we introduced the issues of sexism and racism and the need to build unity to beat Fitz and the companies. Through our rank and file publications we systematically discussed the particular oppression of women and Blacks in the IBT. It was once people were in motion during the contract campaign that the need to build unity and fight racism and sexism made the most sense--not just an abstract principle for the record.

Many TDCers were moved politically on the issues making it possible for TDU members themselves to overwhelmingly approve a platform at the TDU convention with strong positions on racism and sexism.

Last, there exists two TDU women's/wives' groups, in Pittsburgh and Detroit. The goal in both has been to move beyond auxiliary-type activity, toward integrating and training women in the actual work. There has been mixed success. In Detroit one of the women edits the local TDU paper and two women are on the TDU steering committee. The wives group is now actively working to recruit working women Teamsters. In Pittsburgh the group has not been this successful. But even so the groups should continue. They will be more or less auxiliary, but will be very important when struggles break out. IS women made a critical difference in bringing these groups about and moving them politically.

In Pittsburgh a male comrade has won over white, male workers to the importance of fighting for affirmative action in the area. In LA one of our comrades is working with others in her local to bring women clericals who work in the industry who are presently unorganized into the IBT.

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We have a significant number of women Teamster contacts. The Bay Area and LA and LA are planning a women's conference soon, one of its main aims is the recruiting of Teamster women.

In Local 278 in the Bay Area, a local-wide women's caucus has formed. Their first project has been the defense of a woman UPS worker fired for supposedly violating hair standards.

STEEL--During the past year we have begun to organize and work with other women in steel. We campaigned, applying our mass work perspective, in a campaign to fight for women's washrooms. Through this campaign we came into contact with numerous women in the mills. We recruited a woman in Gary. In Gary we were able to build a women's group which was destroyed by the OL and RSL.

In both Gary and Pittsburgh there has been ongoing women's work despite the demise of the washroom groups. There is work in Pittsburgh around firings and discriminatory layoffs. Already we have begun to build a periphery of women through our work in the Sadlowski campaign, Steel Workers Stand Up and WP. An article on the maternity issue has already appeared in our Pittsburgh Steel newsletter.

In Gary we used the Sadlowski campaign to meet women in District 31. In January, we were instrumental in setting up the meeting which established the women's caucus in District 31. Approximately 60 women attended. Attempts will now be made to set up women's committees in the local unions.

CWA--Despite uneven work in the CWA some excellent work has been carried out. In Seattle we were employed and organized in Traffic. We raised many women's demands there and involved many of the women in CLUW.

The national fraction held a weekend meeting recently. Much of the discussion centered on the upcoming contract. Two of the major demands around which the fraction recommended to wage the fight are: 1) upgrading from traffic to the pay level of craft (which speaks to women's rights for the higher paying jobs), and 2) paid maternity leave. The Louisville fraction has begun a limited campaign around the issue of paid maternity leave. Mary B. plans to submit a letter to her Local union's paper on the maternity issue and begin a petition drive to get the issue put on the national bargaining table. The Louisville fraction's approach to the contract will center on demands of importance to women. Out of this contract work Mary believes it will be possible to organize a Women's committee in the Local.

UAW--Up to this point there has been no ongoing women's work in the UAW. The lack of movement generated by the 1976 contract meant very few workers became involved in the rank and file movement. This meant that even fewer women were involved.

At every stage of our work we pushed particularly hard for women to be involved. A quick survey of local literature shows local groups attempted to involve women through articles in their newsletters on maternity benefits, short work week and general health and safety matters.

In two locals, 51 and 235, we managed to develop a number of women who are becoming involved in our rank and file groups. In all our plants numerous women regularly read WP. There are some contacts that we have around as a result of our contract work. Recent events give us reason to believe that we may be able to begin some more clearly delineated women's work (more later).

END--

POSTAL--In postal we have not been directly involved in organizing women around women's issues. We have run several articles in the Rank and File Postal Worker dealing with sexual discrimination in both the post office and the union. There are several handles which we may be able to use to organize and work with women. The issue of scheduling is a big one in the post office. Scheduling is done arbitrarily and with no consideration to the needs of the workers. This is a great problem for parents since it makes for real problems with childcare. The maternity issue is also a possible area for work in the post office.

NON-PRIORITIES--Valuable women's work has also gone outside of our priorities. Unfortunately it has not been coordinated or helped by the Women's Commission and has not been communicated or generalized throughout the organization.

In Detroit W.A.R. proved to be a valuable vehicle for developing non-industrialized women. These women developed perspectives for their work and led women in Detroit around the issues of Gary Tyler and busing. Significantly our community work brought black women around the organization. Other branches (Pitts. and Cleveland to name two) have had similar experiences with community work. While community work is not synonymous with women's work, and must not be confined to women, our experience shows us that we attract many women in our fights against racism in the community. Many of the women do not work and are interested in fighting for better schools, in defending their children as well as other people's children, and other issues to improve their lives in the community. While many women we meet suffer from typical women's problems--problems with childcare, hassles with welfare, etc which make it difficult for them to be active, there is tremendous potential in this work to meet and recruit women, particularly minority women.

Other efforts which have been, or are now taking place: Seattle, Yvonne Wanrow defense Bay Area, Snow Lion; Portland, health care workers; NYC, teachers; Atlanta, some work with hospital workers as well as beginning to look into JP Stevens work; Pittsburgh women are helping a woman steward in a laundry to organize a rank and file caucus.

RED TIDE--Through the Gary Tyler work the Red Tide has attracted many young women. Despite problems of sexism within the group there has begun to develop a women's leadership. Recently the Detroit Red Tide established a women's caucus which will begin to deal with some of the problems and participate with newer IS women members in an educational series on women's liberation organized by the IS caucus. The Women's Commission has assigned an IS member to work with the RT women.

#### The Road Forward

Resisting the Attack--Our External Work

Rising unemployment among women, a growing wage differential and the recent Supreme Court decision are all part of the general employers offensive. These attacks will create growing resentment and anger among working class women. This anger will create a more receptive audience for our ideas and politics among women.

While there will be several significant openings for us we do not predict the development of a working class women's movement in the foreseeable future. Yet organized resistance to the recent court decision and other attacks will increase the confidence of working women. This will bring us one step closer to the eventual development of a working class women's movement.

At this point there is no national organization that can be an arena for us in the way

CLUW was. On the other hand there are key national issues that can provide national focus and coordination to our work over the next period.

One such issue is maternity leave and benefits. The recent court decision was clearly a setback for all working women. Organizing against this decision has already begun. Remnants of CLUW along with NOW and 41 other organizations have formed a national Coalition to Fight Discrimination Against Pregnancy. Their focus is purely legislative.

As a result of the court decision, the media is covering the issue of pregnancy leaves more than ever, raising people's awareness on the question and helping women realize that the problem is not an individual one, but one affecting many other women. This makes it possible for us to build agitational campaigns on the issue, mainly in our industrial work, but in coalition with other groups where the possibility exists.

The development of a limited campaign around this decision will provide us with a national issue to organize around in both our unions and local areas. We have a strategy that is different from the purely legislative approach of the Olga Madars and Betty Friedans. We will attempt to take this question into our unions and demand protection.

Our industrial women will be in the best position to take on this fight, but it is an issue of importance to all working women, and can be carried into every work place, whether in public or private sector.

Already we have found in several instances women ready and willing to move to defend or win their pregnancy benefits. In UAW Local 51 we ran an article about the right of women to get pregnancy leaves and reported on therecent Supreme Court attack on this right. We reached wome in the plant as we had never done before. Many women commented on the article and we now have the basis for setting up a watchdog committee to help women who are having problems getting leaves, which are satisfactory to them. In Los Angeles there are real possibilities to organize a campaign to fight for improved maternity coverage.

In CWA in Louisville when we raised the issue at a union meeting several women talked to us about doing something, so we are preparing a letter for the Local paper and will start a petition drive. In St. Louis, welfare workers are ready to fight to improve their benefits.

Within the industrial fractions the campaigns will not be the same. In some instances<sup>a</sup> the campaign will center around contract demands and in other areas it will be around the grievance procedure. In auto where 6 weeks paid maternity leave exists the fight will be to insure women the right to remain on leave and not be forced back to work following the delivery. In California the fight will take place within the context of state funded disability insurance. In CWA the possibility of an agitational campaign around the contract is real. Glenn Watts, president of the CWA, has stated this is a key contract demand.

In Steel our members are uncertain at this time whether the maternity issue can be raised in the contract since all contract issues had to be submitted wome time ago and negotiations have already begun. Basic Steel currently has 6 weeks paid leave, but other aspects of maternity leave are very restrictive; women in many other workplaces covered by the USW don't have any benefits. The issue has been raised in the Pittsburgh newsletter. It will be something the District 31 Women's Committee can work on. Maternity will probably be used as a local issue where committees could be set up to defend women's rights to maternity leave.

As mentioned before the campaign will take different forms in different industries and localities. It will be both an issue for contract campaigns and between contract



campaigns. Whenever possible we will try to organize women to fight around this issue which affects them so profoundly. But we will not limit the struggle just to women. Where we are successful in getting women organized to fight for maternity we will encourage them to involve men workers in the fight too. We will include articles on the issue in our rank and file papers, both in situations where women are organized to fight and where they are not.

In some unions the issue may be limited to educational campaigns or using the grievance procedure to make individual fights. One key element of any campaign will be politically explaining that it will only be through women organizing themselves and fighting for their demands will their needs be met. We will also need to explain that the very existence of women in the workforce is under attack, that this is an obvious attempt to drive women out of the workforce and into the home.

Activity around this issue can give emerging women's groups an issue to move the groups forward. Where women's groups do not exist this might give them an impetus to form. Each industrial fraction is mandated to discuss and develop perspectives for activity around maternity benefits.

We want non-industrialized members to become involved in this issue too wherever possible. We have asked local caucuses to investigate the following areas; what organizing has emerged following the decision? What do state and local laws have to say on the matter? Reports we have obtained so far indicate that other than the legislative lobbying by NOW and CLW in Washington D.C., there is little activity going on or planned by local women's groups which we could link up to. We still might consider the possibility of linking women's groups which exist or might form in our industrial areas to more general groups such as Union WAGE and be the instigators of a coalition to fight for the issue in local areas. If we can pull coalitions together events such as news conferences and informational pickets at Federal Courthouses are worth exploring. Once the Women's commission has more information we will attempt to aid local caucuses in developing local activities.

This campaign is a very limited one for several reasons. We do not project massive resistance, thus indicating how low the level of women's organization is. It is a campaign that will depend most on what the local situation and union situation is. In some places it will take off. At the minimum it is a national issue that all our industrial fractions can be working on at the same time. On that level it provides some focus for orienting our work among women. It gives us a handle to introduce many other ideas--the sexist nature of the courts, paternity leave, who takes care of children, responsibility of the corporations to a future generation. We want to work with women who are organizing around this decision; such work will create new possibilities in the future.

A second area of activity we need to look into is abortion. When we say there is no working class women's movement we are not being accurate. The Right-to-Life movement is a working class movement which is growing, but must be countered. Caucuses should research and find out if there is any pro-abortion activity in their areas, as well as, find out the extent of the anti-abortion organizing. If feasible we should organize pro-abortion activities. Once we have information the Women's Commission will assist local caucuses in planning campaigns if needed.

#### Rebuild the Women's Caucuses

Our ability to move ahead and develop our external work depends on rebuilding the women's caucuses and reintegrating the politics of women's liberation into our work. We realize that the caucuses cannot be sustained solely on the basis of internal activity. Without external work women's politics will not be real in the organization and the caucuses

will once again fade away. But we find ourselves removed from the external work now., and out of touch with what is going on. We must reactivate the caucuses now to begin further development of our politics and do the necessary research on specific problems created by the employer's offensive against women so we can develop viable perspectives for our work.. We can do two things at once; revitalize the caucuses by having them begin this important work, and at the same time develop our external perspectives. This research and study period cannot go on too long. As soon as possible we will have to begin serious external campaigns. We have already begun this process around the issue of maternity leaves.

Without an existing women's movement there is no magical formula to build one. This perspective should be seen as an attempt to come to grips with some of the failings of the past, and to develop some means to move ahead., both in external work on women's liberation and integrating women's liberation into all our politics and functioning.

If there is one slogan that characterizes what is needed in the next six months it is the need to rebuild the women's caucuses. We have attempted to, and had mixed successes, make the women's caucuses play an external role through the women's dinners and discussions. But the women's caucus also exists to deal with the special problems women face in a revolution.

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any organization. It is the role of the caucus to campaign throughout the organization against sexism and for the development of women within the group. If women do not do it no one will do it for them. The caucus should also provide political support for women in their external work, train leadership for the IS and the external work. The caucus is also the place where we discuss and develop our politics and strategy for women's liberation.

The women's caucuses must begin to have an internal function again. In short it is the development of strong functioning women's caucuses that can begin a campaign to take women's liberation off the back burner and bring it back into the mainstream of the organization. Regularly functioning women's caucuses that discuss and evaluate our work will be a place where newer women can be trained and developed thus increasing their confidence. Perspectives can be developed in the women's caucuses. For women who are more developed and ~~xxxx~~ play leadership roles both in and out of the IS, the caucuses must become a place to discuss their problems and provide much needed support. If this is not the case these women will be reduced to isolated tokens.

Before the organization as a whole can move forward in the area of women's work, women just join together to fight for the politics. Male chauvinism will be defeated when and only when women are well organized and confident.

The strengthening of the women's caucuses in the branches can lead to helping build a political periphery, training, integrating women into the IS. The stronger and healthier the women's caucuses the more the politics of women's liberation will be brought into our work and into our organization.

For a long time there has been recognition of the need to redevelop the caucuses but little idea of how to do so. To begin this task we must have a realistic assessment of what presently exists in the IS. There are two specific groups of women--industrialized and non-industrialized.

In the past there existed a tendency to play off one group of women against another. Those women in industry felt they often could not get the necessary support and political assistance and those not in industry often felt there was no role for them in the organization.

Instead of an organization that understood the mutual interdependence both groups had on each other, there was little attempt to understand the relationship of the two groupings. The ability of the women in industry to move their work forward on the questions of racism and sexism depended on their women comrades' work on South Africa, Gary Tyler, community work and other campaigns, and the existence of functioning women's caucuses. Without developed work in the community by other IS women there was little that our comrades could relate to and organize so that their work could move forward politically. And on the other hand the lessons and organizing skills learned by women in industry was rarely brought into our community work although there was an understanding of the necessity of this.

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At present all women's caucuses are expected to carry through the same programs regardless of the size or depth of their work. Recognizing the impossibility of this will enable us to move ahead. Concrete realization of the interdependence of our work on industry and outside campaigns will enable us to develop meaningful perspectives for local women's caucuses.

Women's caucuses in major industrial branches will obviously concentrate their work in our priority unions. For example it will be possible for women in Pitts. on the basis of their local IBT and Steel work to develop a perspective for women in IBT and Steel. In turn their experiences which will be discussed by the women's commission and the IBT steering and Steel committees can be brought into the organization and can lay the basis for a national perspective for women in IBT and Steel. Similarly women in Detroit would develop perspectives for auto and women in NY and Louisville would develop women's perspectives for CWA.

Women's caucuses will be encouraged to develop perspectives appropriate to their situation, periphery, etc., whether it be community work in Pittsburgh, Detroit or IA or non-priority work in other areas. Several key branches could begin to develop a campaign around maternity decision which could be tried and tested and then if successful could be taken into other women's caucuses. This was essentially the way the Gary Tyler campaign was developed. Detroit initiated it and then it was spread to other branches.

Women's caucuses in small branches would be given specific assignments to be carried out that will eventually lead to specific work. Tasks could involve research that would lead to WP articles or pamphlets.

The Women's Commission is attempting to provide a realistic approach to our work for the coming period. We believe some branches can move significantly ahead in developing a periphery of women from our industrial work (Cleveland, Gary, Pittsburgh, Detroit). Those women's caucuses should concentrate on that.

Other women's caucuses will focus on the development of perspectives along with local execs to ensure that our politics of women's liberation will be brought into all aspects of our work whether it be community work, South Africa work, defense of maternity leave, or other non-priority work. Women in these caucuses will participate in this work and hopefully be able to recruit from it.

Some caucuses may find it to their advantage to do both industrial work and work in other areas, linking the work together where possible.

It will be the job of the Women's Commission to politically coordinate this work along with the appropriate bodies. The lessons of the development of these perspectives will be the responsibility of the Commission. All the best local work means little if it is not brought into the organization. This is the job of the Women's Commission both to generalize and counteract tendencies towards localism and exceptionalism.

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### Education-Political Development

One of the key tasks of the Women's Commission will be to initiate discussions on the theory of women's liberation. Over the past two years many new women have joined the organization. By and large very few have received any theoretical training on our women's liberation politics. Older comrades have gotten rusty in this area.

Over the next six months the Women's Commission will organize 3 major discussions within the caucuses to discuss key aspects of women's liberation: 1) Marxist analysis of the oppress oppression of women, 2) independent organization of women and the relationship to the revolutionary party, and 3) Black women, with discussions on a) the effect of slavery on black women b) the historical roots of differences between black and white women, c) the attitude toward and role Black women played in the women's liberation of the 60's and d) a discussion of black and latin women as workers.

These discussions will be initiated through the center and the women's bulletin. On the basis of these discussions it will be possible to plan new pamphlets and literature in these areas. Discussions such as these will introduce newer comrades to our overall politics on women's liberation. It is important that these discussions which begin in the women's caucuses be carried into the whole organization so men can be educated and learn how to defend our women's politics too. These discussions, especially the third set, will play a big role in improving our external work, as much of it is with black women and men.

The Commission will also attempt to generally politicize all the ongoing women's work through systematic use of the Bulletin. Comrades will be asked to develop reports that politically analyzed the direction of the work, not just factual reports. In doing so the Women's Commission will be able to have input as well as to use the Bulletin to analyze the ongoing work.

### Priorities

Over the past few months our entire program of women's industrialization has been called into question. At this point we must reaffirm our commitment to women's industrialization and along with it our priorities of auto, teamsters, steel, CWA and postal for women as well as men. We encourage women to continue seeking jobs in these priorities. People should reread the 1975 document on women's industrialization for the full arguments behind this policy. Our industrial priorities bring us into contact with women as well as men whose actions can have an important impact on the entire working class. These industries are key to our system. And the workers in them have the power to not only win gains within their own industries but lead the entire working class. That's why they are priorities for both men and women. Aren't there other industries or workplaces that are very important to the system? Yes, but for the time being, with the size of the IS, we must concentrate our efforts so that we can have the most impact.

In many of our priorities there are a large number and high concentration of women. In CWA there is a high percentage of women with large concentrations of women. In many of the steel mills there are significant numbers of women. At Gary Steel Works alone there are a thousand women. In auto there are several plants that have upwards of 30% women. In other plants it is 15-20%. On a plant level this means several hundred to a thousand women in one plant. But there is another important aspect to all this.

Women

Even in plants, mills, etc. where there are fewer women, women who have entered formerly all male jobs have a sense of their own equality and power that is not found in other areas. Gains won for women by the unions in these industries have spread to other workplaces, jobs, and throughout society in general.

While we cannot predict exactly where the working women's movement will first emerge we understand women in key sectors of industry will have an indispensable role to play in moving the working women's struggle forward. Struggles of women in steel and other areas will have an impact on all women.

Quotes--

"All sections of the female working class, Black, white, Latin, and Asian, blue collar, white collar, organized, unorganized, and the masses of housewives will be drawn into the fight, will form their own organizations of struggle which will become the working class women's liberation movement.

This motion by working class women, will come about as a result of the general motion of the working class, and in particular of a rank and file workers movement....

The IS must have a strategy that will place our entire organization where it can have the best impact on the merging working class movement in order to build the working women's movement.

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

The issue at hand, however, is now best to strengthen and build all these struggles, and it will be through the organization of working women, who can bring added potential power to all of the community issues. ...it will be that rank and file movement which will give impetus to the working women's movement. By being in these key unions and industries, revolutionary women will be bringing women's liberation politics into the most important sections of the rank and file movement. But, more important, in terms of the working women's movement, it will be those women in the key industries that will be getting the best political training, and many will become leaders of the future rank and file movement as well as the working women's movement."

It will be women in unions like IBT, Steel, UAW, CWA and Postal who will be able to provide key political leadership to a developing working women's movement. Through their experiences they can provide guidance

and experience for women in motion everywhere. It was women in auto in Detroit, for example, who began to organize the first serious opposition to the Madar machine in CLUW on the basis of understanding how the machine operated in CLUW.

All these reasons add to the importance of our priorities for women. While we continue to urge women to get jobs in these priorities, we recognize at certain times or in certain places, for example, it is impossible to get a job in the Big 3 auto plants or as a freight driver in Teamsters. While these would be our first choice, an organized effort must begin to assess each situation or area to choose alternative places to get a job. For example, we have a comrade in one Teamster company that has significant numbers of women who is in the same local with UPS bringing her in contact with many women, and allowing her to link up with UPS workers. Research should be done to find these key situations. Due to the development of our rank and file work in the IBT such an approach is now possible. Women could conceivably get clerical jobs in areas covered by major IBT contracts or locals, for example 299. Such jobs could now be an asset in the further development of TDU among IBT women. Examples could be given for other industries. In the UAW there are major supplier plants which tend to employ large numbers of women, and some key locals in some regions. Each branch/district person in charge of finding jobs should be involved in this research to determine specific areas within our priorities which offer the best possibility for working with women.

It is important to pinpoint these areas with large numbers of women working because we can orient toward them even if we cannot get jobs in them.

At the same time we realize that there will be times when members will not be able to get any job in our priority areas. At these times local execs, organizers, and women's caucuses should work with the national office to determine local priorities for comrades. Women should try to get jobs in areas with large numbers of women. In general we should assume that organized work places would be preferable to unorganized shops. These non-priority jobs should generally be regarded as an interim job. When jobs open up in our priority unions, individuals in consultation with the local exec and center, should seriously consider changing jobs. Although there may be exceptions, we expect in most instances that we will want people to take the priority job.

#### Red Tide

Where there are Red Tide branches IS women should take a special interest in the political development of Red Tide women. For example; 1) discussing their work with them, 2) doing one-to-one educationals with Red Tide women, 3) helping them prepare presentations and write for the paper and 4) recruiting them to the IS and helping them make their way into the leadership of the IS.

We realize that not all IS women can have this special relationship with Red Tide women, but as women who have had to struggle both within the organization and outside, we must as individuals and as the women's caucus, provide compensatory training and guidance for our young sisters.

#### Functioning of the Women's Commission

In the coming period the Commission must function differently. It will be the job of the Commission to politically oversee the women's caucuses. The Commission will communicate with every key area of work. But if the Commission is to seriously function and accomplish anything, it will need to use the skills of comrades outside the center in developing both local and national work. Different women's caucuses will be given responsibility for various areas of work. Already this has begun to happen with WP coverage. Branches will be asked to write specific pamphlets as a women's caucus. The success or failure of work around the maternity decision will ultimately

depend on the initiatives taken on both the fraction and local level.

To successfully move ahead the Commission must have more input. Also the Commission must begin to follow through on some of the problems raised at the women's caucus meeting held at the last convention, particularly those raised by the black women.

The Commission will be organizing several regional women's caucuses over the year. Many of the ideas here come from such meetings. Such meetings serve several purposes: 1) input to the Women's Commission, 2) discussions of local work, 3) educationals on specific areas of work i.e. maternity leave or black work. We believe these meetings need not be totally internal and in fact could be an excellent way of showing our women contacts we are extremely serious about our women's work.

We have not moved ahead on developing our theory our working with minority women. To move towards a solution the Commission will establish a sub-committee on black work. It's job will be to help the commission develop programs, pamphlets and perspectives for recruitment of black women through our work. The members of the sub-committee will include key black women of the IS and the Red Tide, the Women's Commission and others who might have input into these discussions.

#### Women's Council

At the last convention the idea of an expanded commission was adopted. It was to meet at NC meetings. This never got off the ground.

Women in the organization have not been trained systematically to think beyond their own day to day work. The development and training of women is a major concern and task of the Commission. To do so we are proposing a Women's Council. This council would meet two times a year. It would have no formal policy role but would give substance and direction to the Commission and central leadership on women's perspectives. The Council would serve as an excellent way of training and developing women by giving them a responsibility for guiding the on-going work and fighting for women's liberation inside the IS. The Council would consist of one woman from each local caucus in the midwest, one representative from the south, the west coast, the east coast, one from each fraction, one Red Tide woman, the Commission and an EC rep.

#### Workers Power.

Although there have been significant articles on women's struggles in the past few months there is much to be desired in women's coverage in WP. Already the Commission has attempted to come to grips with the situation. A member of the editorial board has been assigned to oversee women's coverage. Part of her job will be to involve other branches in the development of ideas and stories.

Clearly our coverage will include significant developments of interest to our readers. This includes stories of women in struggle, women political prisoners, laws and court rulings and the like. Yet a certain emphasis will be placed on coverage of women's struggles in our priorities. These struggles have an impact on all women and by our bringing out these lessons we can drive it home to all women in other areas.

Workers Power is our best organizing tool and has been used on a local level to do strike support work. Clearly local women's caucuses should investigate local strikes and use the paper to make contacts. This has been done in the past and has been reasonably successful in bringing us into contact with new women. It can never be a substitute for ongoing rank and file work.



Summary

To briefly summarize this perspective, the coming period is not one of rapid growth of the women's movement. At the same time, the employer's offensive has special effects on the erosion of women's rights. We do not believe that in this period a working women's movement will develop, though there will be opportunities to involve ourselves with working class women on limited campaigns such as the maternity question. This involvement will bring us in contact with forces which will be part of a future developing working women's movement.

During this period, we will further consolidate our work on women's issues and make sure that women's liberation consciousness is brought into the internal life of the organization as well. Women's Caucuses will be rebuilt, for they play a crucial role in developing women as political leaders in the organization and in our external work. The women's caucuses can help develop our external work among women. This work will create openings for the future formation of the working women's movement.

## PARTIAL STRUGGLES - PARTIAL DEMANDS

The emergence of the "Left Faction" seems to have declared "open season" for attack on the leadership, particularly the EC. These wholesale attacks that have come primarily from the "political solution" group are based on what they see as the political solution; student work, more discussion etc. To some extent it seems that the "political solution" group believes that priorities are "cooked up" by inventing the ingredients and having a leadership that adds the flame. In actuality it is this "political solution" group that is cooking up fallacy. The strategies of the IS have a basis in the history of the Marxist and Leninist movement. I have submitted these excerpts from resolutions of the 1921 Communist International Congress to show that our strategies don't just come out of thin air.

Dwight - Atlanta

.....Communist parties can develop in struggle. Even the smallest communist parties should not restrict themselves to mere propaganda and agitation. They must form the spearhead of all proletarian mass organizations, showing the backward vacillating masses, by putting forward practical proposals for struggle, by urging on the struggle for all the daily needs of the proletariat, how the struggle should be waged, and thus exposing to the masses the treacherous character of all non-communist parties. Only by placing themselves at the head of the practical struggles of the proletariat, only by promoting these struggles, can they really win over large masses of the proletariat to the fight for the dictatorship.

.....It is not the viability and competitive capacity of capitalist industry, nor the profitability of capitalist finance to which communist parties should pay regard, but the poverty which the proletariat cannot and should not endure any longer. If the demands correspond to the vital needs of broad proletarian masses and if these masses feel that they cannot exist unless these demands are met, then the struggle for these demands will become the starting-point of the struggle for power. In place of the minimum programme of the reformist and centrists, The Communist International puts the struggle for the concrete needs of the proletariat for a system of demands which in their totality disintegrate the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, represent stages in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, and each of which expresses in itself the need of the broadest masses, even if the masses themselves are not yet consciously in favour of the proletarian dictatorship...

.....Communist agitation among the proletarian masses must be conducted in such a way that our communist organization will be recognized by the fighting proletariat as the courageous, far-sighted, loyal, and energetic leader of their own movement.

To accomplish this communists must take part in all the spontaneous struggles and movements of the working class and lead the workers' cause in all conflicts with the capitalists about hours of work, wages, labour conditions, etc. Communists must must concern themselves actively with the concrete questions of the workers' life; they must help them to disentangle these questions, direct their attention to the most important abuses; help them to formulate their demands in a precise and practical form; endeavour to develop among the workers the sense of solidarity, awaken in them the consciousness of their common interests and of the common cause of all workers of the country as a single working class

which is one section of the world army of the proletariat.

It is only by this daily detailed work, by constant devoted participation in all the struggles of the proletariat that the communist party can develop into a communist party. Only in this way will it distinguish itself from the obsolete socialist parties, whose activity consists in nothing but recruiting members, talking about reforms, and exploiting parliamentary possibilities. The conscious and devoted participation of the entire mass of the party membership in the school of the daily struggles and disputes of the exploited against the exploiters, is the indispensable prerequisite, not only for the seizure of power, but even more for carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only leadership of the working masses in the unending small-scale wars against the onslaughts of capital that will enable communist parties to become the vanguard of the working class, learning in practice how to lead the proletariat and gaining the ability to make deliberate preparation for the elimination of the bourgeoisie.

It is particularly important to mobilize the membership to take part in the workers' movement when there are strikes and lockouts and other mass dismissals.

It is the greatest mistake for communists to remain passive and disdainful or even hostile to the present struggles of the workers for small improvements in their working conditions by appealing to the communist programme and the final revolutionary armed struggle. However small and modest the demands may be for which the workers are ready today to fight the capitalists, that must never be a reason for communists to stand aside from the struggle. Our agitation should not, it is true, give the impression that we communists blindly stir up senseless strikes and other thoughtless action, but among the fighting workers communists must earn the reputation of being the ablest fighting comrades.

ECONOMICS WITHOUT THE CLASS STRUGGLE - THE LEFT FACTION'S PERSPECTIVES  
By Mike U. for the Majority

Introduction - The "Lost Faction" has now produced a document laying out its economic perspectives for the period ahead. It has very little interest as an analysis of the economic situation.

Their perspectives are completely undermined by the fact that they started out not to examine the economic and political situation, but rather to develop rationalizations to defend their conclusions on industrialization etc. The Document has significance as an indication of the direction that LF politics are developing. This document represents a further attempt to justify their retreat from the working class and from the attempt to build a workers organization today.

The document attacks the Majority perspective for trying to be too specific and resorting to guesswork. It further criticizes the Majority for economic determinism (mechanical Marxism) for our discussion of the relationship between the crisis and worker's consciousness.

Having attacked the Majority on this basis, not surprisingly the LF is left with nothing specific to say - which is why they should be referred to as the "Lost Faction". Some of the criticisms of the LF have been taken up in Kim's response to the Political Solution Caucus document and will not be repeated here.

MARCISM AND SKEPTICISM - The main charge made by the LF is that the Majority has left the realm of science for prophecy and guesswork. Science, according to the theorists of the LF, only applies to long term tendencies. "There is nothing in Marxist science specific enough to allow such claims to be treated as anything more than guesswork." (The claims referred to concerning inflation and the business cycle.) But then very quickly even long term predictions are thrown overboard - "And for all we know, there will be another extended upswing after the period of stagnation that began in 1963." (p2) The embrace of skepticism becomes complete in the next paragraph: "Marxism shows people what they can do; it does not say what will happen when." the result is that socialism has been reduced from a historical inevitability to a moral ideal.

Of course the comrades probably don't mean this. But it is an indication of the conclusions they are driven to by their factional needs.

It simply is not the case that Marxism is only concerned with long term trends, that it can say nothing specific about the nature of the cycles, what we expect to happen in those cycles etc. Contrary to what some may believe, the theory of business cycles was not a keynesian invention, but was pioneered by Marx! And it is sheer nonsense to argue that one can have a scientific theory of cycles, and not be able to say anything specific about them!

Indeed, when they take off their factional blinders, the LF goes on to discuss Marx's view of cycles. And here they attack the Majority not for being specific, but for having a "new view of cycles". They criticize the Majority's view that the decline of the permanent arms economy has led to the return of the boom-slump pattern and that these cycles will be "more rapid than the decades long cycles discovered by Marx." (Both of these heresies were developed by the SWP-GB, not the Majority, a point to be taken up later.)

This is not the place to go into a long discussion of business cycles. Suffice it to say that it should not be surprising that given the development of capitalism since Marx's day, the changes that have occurred, that an updating on his theory of crisis and business cycles is necessary. Members of the IS and the SWP-GB have been attempting to do that. Much remains to be done, and serious discussion would help. Unfortunately the LF does not do that but merely rejects any such discussion would help. Unfortunately the LF does not do that but merely rejects any such discussion as guesswork. Hence it has absolutely nothing to say about the return of the boom-bust sequence, except to falsely assert that it hasn't returned. It limits itself to saying only that it is "a new period of stagnation". and then even takes that back by allowing that a new upswing might begin.

The LF defends its skepticism by rejecting any breakdown theory. In truth the majority does not have a breakdown theory, a theory that at a certain point capitalism will no longer be able to function. And it is of course true that only working class action can put an end to capitalism. But having said that, it is not enough we can and must say more. We argue that the crisis of capitalism we have now entered is an inevitable result of the contradictions within the system, that this long term crisis of capitalism we have entered will result in either the victory of the working class or in a historic defeat for the working class., that any extended upswing is ruled out without such an historic defeat of the working class.

In this connection it is misleading to simply say that the long boom in the 50's and 60's was made possible by rapidly increasing productivity. Prior to that it was made possible by the massive destruction of capital that occurred during WWII, and by the long periods of defeats for the working class that culminated in the slaughter of 40 million workers and peasants.

It is also a complete rejection of Marxism to argue that it only shows people what they can do. For the heart of Marxism is that the development of capitalism inevitably leads to the development of the class struggle, to the struggle for socialism. If that is not true, if historical materialism is wrong, then the only logical result of the skepticism is to reduce socialism to a moral ideal, as something the working class can do (if they choose to adopt our ideal).

In the past the IS has made mistakes in its predictions and expectations. Rather than trying to correct these, the LF throws out the whole method. It is a result of its lack of confidence, its lack of nerve, Rather than struggling to overcome the difficulties, it wants to ignore them.

#### THE LF AND THE SWP-GB: BIRDS OF A FEATHER?

In a touching paragraph the LF argues that their perspectives are fully compatible with those expressed in IS #94. This issue must have come as a stab in the back to the "Lost" Faction, appearing at the same time as Jeffries was peddling such contrary nonsense. The paragraph on page 5 does nothing to clear up the contradictions, and completely distorts the S.P.'s position.

They state: "For the SWP-GB, things are not happening in the manner of capitalists' economic texts where recovery is followed by boom and then slump". Leaving aside the reference to capitalists' economic texts, does the S.P. in fact reject the view of the majority, that there is a return to the boom-slump pattern? Here is what the S.P. actually says: "The sort of steady and stable growth enjoyed by the Western economies during the long

boom of the 1950's and 1960's will not return. Instead, the booms will be brief, fragile and inflationary, while the slumps will be long, deep and inflationary." (emphasis added) Let us be clear, the majority is in complete agreement with that perspective: that there will be booms and slumps; that the booms will be brief, and that both booms and slumps will be inflationary. Does the LF agree with that?

The LF further distorts the SWP's position when discussing inflation. They do this by quoting only one part of a paragraph. Thus the LF writes that "governments may overstimulate. But there is no greater likelihood of this than the sort of boomlet we saw in the first half of 1976." Below is the entire quote, with the important part they left out underlined.

"Reflation (stimulation) in the US is likely to mean, either the sort of boomlet we saw in the first half of 1976 or a runaway inflationary boom like that in 1972-3. Either way, it follows day, by another recession on the scale we have just climbed out of." It is not a question of "no greater likelihood of" as the LF states, but "either...or." Notice also that for the SWP, as for the Majority, booms are followed "as night follows day", by recessions. But then maybe the SWP is guilty of prophecy.

Indeed, the SWP has continually been as "unscientific" as the IS, and seems to suffer from the same alleged "mechanical Marxism." Thus in IS #76 we find: "the impact of the world recession on Britain must become more severe in the months ahead. Even if we leave aside the possibility of a 'big-bang' crisis, the class struggle will intensify and the opportunities for the growth of the revolutionary movement will expand."

"The precise course of development cannot, of course, be foreseen. In 1973 and 1974 we advanced economic perspectives that were essentially correct but the political conclusions we drew from them were 'telescoped'. Now the chickens are coming home to roost. There is still some danger of 'telescoping' but the opposite danger may be greater still." (emphasis added, p5) (to point out "mechanical conclusion").

Perhaps this is a momentary lapse? Nope, they did it again in issue #89 with more prophecy. This came out in June 1976, just before our convention. "The outlook, therefore, must be for a big increase in inflation rates internationally, notwithstanding attempts to check them by tightening money supply (as in the U.S.A.). For these are most unlikely to be pushed far enough to kill the boom at this early stage." (emphasis added) Terrible isn't it! And yet the LF can still argue that neither it or the SWP "predicts hyper-inflation." If the SWP perspectives is fully compatible with that of the LF, as they claim, then we must admit that we no longer understand the English language. Perhaps it's the unity of opposites.'

I have gone into SWP's perspectives at some length, not just to show that the LF totally disagrees with them, but also because the PSC, for its own reasons, has criticized the majority on the same point. It is possible of course, that the SWP distorts Marxism just as the Majority supposedly does, though we don't believe that the majority of the IS would accept that. The LF and the PSC could enlighten us by giving a serious critique of the views of the SWP.

The LF can't have it both ways. Either Marxist science provides no basis for saying anything specific about the boom-slump pattern - in which case you can't predict whether inflation will be high or low, cycles long or short etc. and the SWP too is as guilty of making a gross error; or

you can make such predictions as we argue you can and the LF tacitly admits whenever it tries to say anything specific. But then the LF must argue why their analysis and predictions are better than ours and the S&P's. This they never do.

And it will take more than a quote here or there to substantiate the charge of a distortion of Marxism - it will take a serious analysis of the perspectives and activities of the organization. But that appears to be beyond the ability of either the LF or PSC.

#### INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND CONFUSION

Having denounced the Majority for engaging in prophecy, the LF then proceeds to engage in some prophecy of its own whenever it tries to say anything specific. But perhaps we misunderstand, perhaps the difference between science and guesswork is only a matter of who is making the predictions.

As a matter of fact, when the LF discusses inflation, it does leave the realm of Marxist science, and adopts bourgeois science! Thus their explanation of the low rate of inflation is based on the fully discredited notion of the trade off between unemployment and inflation. "Stimulation must allow for the continued existence of a large pool of unemployed...with stimulation small enough to allow for a large reserve labor army, inflation can be kept within reasonable bounds." (p5) Most of this is in fact contradicted in other sections of the document, not to speak of the facts that are well known even to "bourgeois scientists", ie the facts on stagflation!

The idea that stimulation must allow for large unemployment is contradicted later on the same page then they admit that governments may overstimulate! The document also admits that inflation is much greater abroad than it is in the US. We assume that the authors know that unemployment is very high there also.

Nor can it be argued that the higher inflation abroad is due to wage gains won by labor, which is the corollary of the trade off view. In most countries workers have suffered drastic wage cuts due to inflation, and even where large gains were won (as for a while in Italy) they were a response to the double digit inflation that already existed. The source of the current crisis, the fact that the last recession didn't solve any of the real problems, the structure of the world market, continuing pressures on profit rates etc.

SKIPPED AS LF insists haste to condemn the Majority for its overestimation of inflation (a similar mistake of the S&P) is led to confusion. They tell us, albeit on the same page, that "inflation can be kept within reasonable bounds" and that "there may of course be less controlable factors that will lead immediately to inflation." High inflation abroad might make double-digit inflation a "serious possibility" but "US capitalism can... minimize the impact of inflation abroad on the US economy."

In other words, inflation may be high or low, and while their not sure what it will be, the LF guesses it will be low. It must be a guess, since on page 2 they reject any scientific basis to make such a claim. And of course, if its only a guess then no evidence is necessary to support it, and they consequently give evidence or arguments should be

## SKEPTICISM LEADS TO ABSTENTION

The lack of specifics in the LF document about the immediate crisis, the belief that all we have to focus on is the general character of the period - that is fine for outsiders who only participate in the class struggle when there are explosions, and then only if they are "enduring."

The art of politics, however, is knowing exactly what the next steps are. And for this we must know a lot more than just the long term tendencies. For those participating in the class struggle on a daily basis, trying to provide leadership, they need to know exactly what the present conjuncture is, whether we are entering or leaving a recession, whether inflation will get worse or not, and what immediate steps should be taken in response.

Thus the United National Caucus in the UA had the confidence to condemn the UAW for accepting a cap on the COL in 1967 because they knew that inflation was going to get worse and the cap would cost auto workers plenty. (The UAW argued it wouldn't make any difference.) They gained prestige when events proved them correct, and they played a role in making removal of the cap one of the major demands of the strike in 1970.

The LF further confuses matters when it states that "Our tactics are to be determined by the declining nature of the period and not by the fluctuations within that decline." (p6) No, our tactics, as opposed to strategies, are based on the immediate conjuncture of events, and not on the long term tendencies. Thus a contract coalition and its demands (a tactic) are based on specific conditions in union, etc.. Our strategy, of building a national rank and file movement, is based on the more long range considerations, and the tactics are one of the means of arriving at it.

This may seem like nit-picking, until you realize that the LF's tactic is to "go where there is militancy that has some chance of enduring and build a socialist base within that militancy."

If that is your tactic, then you certainly don't need to know any more than that we are in a general period of decline. But the lack of specifics in your tactics and perspectives will undoubtedly be matched by a lack of success. For this is a tactic, not of participating in the class struggle, but of standing outside it and commenting upon it. That is, it is a policy of abstention.

## FETISH FOR EXPLOSIONS

"The IS has been led to believe in an exact correspondence between the economy and working class consciousness. The recession of 1974 and early 1975 was to lead to massive actions in Detroit." (p5) (why only Detroit???) Here the LF has discovered the same fatal flaw that the PSC (political confusion caucus) found. (Let them argue about who's stealing who's material.) No matter, neither offers any proof - that would be too scientific.

In place of the supposed mechanical Marxism of the majority they offer non-mechanical confusion punctuated by occasional explosions in one of the most remarkable sections ever offered for a vote in the IS.

Having developed a straw man (mass upsurges) they go on to reject the policies of the organization they feel are based on the straw man (industrialization, agitation and mass work.)



They reject industrialization because they mistakenly connect it only to upsurges. That is, for them there is no class struggle without upsurges, no possibilities for intervention without upsurges, no action without upsurges; This is complete nonsense.

The class struggle never ceases, and at the present time only occasionally does it breakout in upsurges that are visible from the outside. Much of the activity of militants and IS members is done in patient day to day work when there are no strikes or upsurges. Most of the agitation we do is not even visible outside the shops, consisting of petitions, elections, grievance handling, resolution at union meetings, struggles of various kinds limited to a shop, department, floor etc., and lasting only a short time, etc. etc. This work is absolutely necessary so that you have a base before the upsurges, so that you can intervene effectively in the upsurges when they occur.

There also seems to be an unwritten implication of the LF's view: even worker militants we recruit should chase around after explosions, otherwise they too would be burying themselves in places where there are no guarantees of upsurges, where there is nothing to do.

The majority has argued, not that there would be a massive upsurge (in Detroit or anywhere else), but as the SWP says; "the class struggle will intensify." Furthermore, we argued that it was the intensification of the crisis of capitalism that would lead to the intensification of the class struggle. Sorry if that's too mechanical for you. We never argued that this intensification would be massive, or immediate, but rather that over time it would lead to greater struggle and increasing radicalization of the working class.

And it was the intensification of the class struggle which was providing the opportunities for revolutionaries to lead struggles and build the revolutionary party.

Having reduced the class struggle to explosions, the "Lost Faction" is for running around from explosion to explosion (presumably until they get their heads blown off.) However, here a trace of reality seeps in: some militancy doesn't last very long, hence we must search out militancy which has a chance of "enduring" due to existing or just forming rank and file groups. That would make running after strikes more palatable - but can they give us any examples of where that exists? The fact is this contradicts the correct point they make that militancy will be uneven, i.e. it won't endure. For in this period it will be the very rare exception where militancy endures for any length of time in one industry, shop or union. Rather the class struggle, while intensifying, will ebb and flow. With it will fluctuate the rank and file groups. We must build and consolidate in the upswings so that we can hold on through the lulls, building even bigger in the next upswing.

The confusion gets even greater when they try to locate where explosions are likely: "there will continue to be strike pressure and strikes in selected areas where resentment has built up and the union officialdom has been unresponsive." (p6) This is an absolutely worthless description. Strike pressure is due to the employers offensive and has little to do with union officials. Strikes occur both when officials are unresponsive, and when they are responsive! Explosions are due not just to the distance between the union and the rank and file, but to a whole range of factors which include consciousness of rank and file, intensity of employers

attacks, relation to other workers, history of union, etc..The rubber strike was the gap that developed between their wages and auto workers wages.

Later on we are told there will be "flare ups in those sectors where there is a combination of unbearable conditions, an unresponsive union officialdom, and the decline's general slide in the standard of living." While this has the merit of at least including material conditions, it still is of no practical use. A much more effective way to find out where flare ups occur is to read your morning paper.

The entire discussion is a perfect example of the difficulties of trying to develop a perspective based solely on working from the outside, of flitting from area to area, of no patient and consistent work over an extended period of time. To make their proposal seem reasonable they are forced to develop a completely fictitious notion of "enduring militancy". In the end all they are left with is hot air, which may fly a ballon but won't build a party.

### SAFETY IN NUMBERS

Steve Jeffries was the first to reveal to the US that there was a magic numerical figure which had to be attained before any organization could do effective work in the working class. For him the number was 1000. The LF does not repeat this figure, only arguing that we need a "much larger organization. The smaller organization that the present policy of industrialization makes inevitable would be completely ineffective." We need these larger numbers so that we "can attempt to be heard over the voices of the reformist misleaders." (How? By shouting in unions?)

Of course, everyone wants a larger organization, and in general the larger you are the more effective you can be. But it is not evident that the LF's policy would lead to any more rapid recruitment than the current one. Nor does it seem clear that by adopting other policies, we would recruit faster from petty-bourgeois layers. The theory is nice, but there is no conclusive evidence for it. Indeed, some of the evidence is negative: Other groups have tried this with no notable success.

A more important consideration, however, is not numbers but composition. We simply do not agree that we would be better off with 200 students outside industry as opposed to 200 workers in industry. More important than mere size will be location - do your members have a base in industry from which they can effectively intervene? In Minneapolis the Communist League was not very large when the teamster rebellion began. They grew and became a force in the working class because of their position inside industry, as leaders of the strike.

While it is certainly true that we can't predict precisely where such struggles will occur, the key task for the organization is developing a working class base with roots in industry as fast as we can. If that means sacrificing some size, then that will have to be the price we pay.

The talk about size is really beside the point. During a period of heightened militancy, "reformist misleaders" will attempt to coopt the movements by providing leadership for them. They will lead them where they want to go, not where we want to go, that is true, but they will lead. We cannot provide an alternative leadership unless we already have a base in industry. No student organization will be viewed as an alternative.

SECTARIAN CONCLUSIONS

It is also completely sectarian to believe that there is a programmatic or propagandistic amulet to protect us from the "trap of reform officials." Social Democracy and Stalinism have shown the ability to coopt any demand and program short of the immediate seizure of power.

Furthermore, this approach represents a sectarian method. Our demands are not based on concern over reformist officials, but on what the next steps are, and these will depend on where the working class is actually at right now. Not surprisingly this is absent from their document. The nearest they come to discussing this is the thoroughly abstract discussion of levels of militancy and the advice that at the specific level we consider Carter's election and policies. Perhaps that is why in branch perspectives put forward by the LF there are no specific perspectives for our work in industry.

In the final analysis the LF ends up counterposing reform to revolution. Developing an economic perspective which leads directly to reformist conclusions due to its belief that capitalism can solve its problems in the immediate period (a new extended upswing is not ruled out), it ends up calling for us to do propaganda around the need for socialism, for revolution. This counterposition is further buttressed by its discussion of the period of WW1 to WW2 as only one of decline and stagnation. What they fail to understand is that it was a revolutionary period, which saw the first successful workers revolution and a world wide revolutionary upsurge.

CONCLUSION

The LF, having discovered that the road we are travelling will be very difficult, has like so many other groups started searching for short-cuts. They promise us that with their short-cuts success will be much easier, fewer demands will be placed on people. Like so many others, their short-cut will turn out to be a mirage. Like the late Mao said, "there are no short cuts to making a good cup of tea." In this respect, the advice of Lenin is still pertinent:

LENIN: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance almost constantly under their fire. We have combined, by a freely adopted decision, for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not of retreating into the neighbouring marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now sore among us begin to cry out: Let us go into the marsh! And when we begin to shame them, they retort: What backward people you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the liberty to invite you to take a better road! Oh, yes, gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only let go our hands, don't clutch at us and don't besmirch the land and world freedom, for we too are "free" to go where we please, free to fight not only against the marsh, but also against those who are turning towards the marsh!

## MAJORITY CAUCUS STATEMENT

### I INTRODUCTION

The majority caucus was formed to defend the shared politics of the majority of the IS for building a workers combat organization. We are committed to a perspective that includes industrial priorities, industrialization, and "mass work". We have become a centralized campaigning organization. Our goal, is the transformation of the IS into a workers combat organization. Central to that task is continued efforts at recruitment and integration of workers into our organization, and continued emphasis on agitational methods and the mass work approach to develop our members as leaders in the class struggle.

The "Left" Faction claims that the IS is in a deep crisis and has no future. We admit that the organization has been having real problems over the past year, however we do not agree with the description of those problems put forward by the "Left" Faction, nor do we believe their strategies represents a way forward.

It is approximately 2 years since the IS began the turn to agitation in fact, if not yet in title. This meant that the IS began putting our main emphasis on attempting to lead working class struggles, and for the first time we made an aggressive attempt to recruit workers.

Although there have been mistakes and problems resulting from the inexperience of the entire organization, the majority caucus stands by the advances made by the turn.

Despite setbacks and disappointments - particularly in our CWA work and in our CGC campaign, IS industrial work advanced steadily. Increasingly, we have members who are respected and influential militants in their workplaces and unions. Their defeats, just as much as their successes over the years; contribute heavily to the IS collective understanding of how workers are organized and led in the class struggle, and how a workers movement in this country will be built. It is out of this ongoing experience that our mass work perspective has been developed, and will continue to evolve.

In Hamsters our successes are well known in the organization. In auto we have strong roots in a number of locals, and are just beginning to lay the basis for the development of a national fraction outside Detroit. In CWA, our fraction shows modest signs of recovery from the defeat of the last year. In the past period the building of a functioning national steel fraction has begun. Approximately one-third of our total membership now has jobs in priority industries. The experience and knowledge gained by comrades in the priorities has enabled us to do good industrial work in other industries - postal, the bakers union, among bus drivers, waitresses, teachers to name a few.

The past period has also seen modest advances in our non-industrial work. Less than a year ago, our non-industrial perspective had totally collapsed. We now have a fragile but real Red Tide, with a developing leadership of its own, with a predominantly working class and majority black membership. Several branches have been experimenting in doing black community work and even though we have not yet made significant breakthroughs, we are beginning to get much needed experience, and have had a few modest successes including our work around busing, Gary Tyler and Marquette Park. The organization as a whole is taking the first steps towards longterm

serious commitment to Southern Africa solidarity work. And we have a full-time National Black organizer and a developing black leadership.

Since the IS began the turn the organization has changed fundamentally in composition, work, and self conception. Today 12% of the IS are working class. We have recruited a small but significant number of blacks. Most importantly, with few exceptions, both the blacks and workers were recruited out of struggles that we led - in telephone, teamster, auto, GT, etc.

Also, although there have been excesses, we have learned extremely important lessons on how to build a revolutionary workers organization in this country, in this period. We learned that revolutionaries can lead - in fact, because of the lack of traditions in the American working class - revolutionaries must lead. We learned too, that workers can be won to revolutionary socialist ideas and can be recruited to a revolutionary organization through struggle.

But there have been problems. Although we understood that the turn carried with it the potential problems of overstretching the organization and depoliticization, we did not have the experience to stop it. Thus, we were forced to learn the hard way.

At the October NC we began coming to grips with these problems. We discussed the fact that although TDC had been a far bigger success than our predictions, we had not recruited and the organization was exhausted and demoralized. In a series of documents that laid out a perspective for re-politicizing the organization and party building out of mass work we began to move the organization forward again.

In summary these documents laid out the strategy of mass work and why and how revolutionaries use it. The documents also traced the need to politicize the work, our past mistakes and how to rectify them. In particular the documents discussed the need to build a periphery for the IS and how to do that. One of the documents discussed Workers Power as a tool in periphery building and how to make the paper more political.

Updating and correcting our economic perspectives was also taken up/ Here we stated that our economic perspectives had been off, that although the strength of the recovery is mixed, its course would be stretched out longer and the boom phase pushed farther into the future. This meant inflation would not rise significantly before the end of the bargaining round and wages would not be a major issue.

For us this meant the collapse of our perspective for building national opposition groupings out of contract campaigns in auto and telephone, greater focus on local work and the increased need to be more political in our industrial work in order to recruit.

Following the October NC (which almost all agreed had been the best NC in several years) we began the slow process of re-politicizing the IS and periphery building. During that time socialist study groups for Teamsters contacts were organized in almost all branches with serious IBT work. Also during that time Teamster recruitment began. During that time also we began using "Last Grave" to bring people around the IS.

But we did not move fast enough or boldly enough. The problems of the past had already lead to the underground organizing of the left faction.

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And their subterranean, but very real existence, acted as a brake on the organization's ability to move ahead.

The resulting paralysis and the formal announcement of the existence of the "left" faction has forced the majority to take a long hard look at the organization, where we have come and where we are going.

In general we believe that the fundamentals of our strategy - mass work industrialization and national priorities are overwhelmingly correct. Our problems flow instead from mistakes in specific perspectives and problems of internal functioning. Divisions and suspicions between different sections of the leadership have inhibited us from coming to grips with our mistakes. A failure to properly integrate and train newer members meant the general isolation of the leadership. All of this must be corrected for us to move ahead.

This document comes out of discussions of the majority caucus leadership meeting in Detroit, Jan. 1 & 2 and out of further discussions of a drafting committee selected by that meeting.

We don't pretend that there is agreement on the solution to every question facing the organization within our ranks. However, on the level of program and practice, the difference between the old convention opposition and the EC have been diminishing and not increasing. In the course of the fraction fight, members of the majority, approaching the common problems of the organization have made substantial progress in hammering out a common program.

The breadth of this document is to summarize the state of the organization and the economic and political perspectives for the next year, and to handle in depth, our resulting organizational tasks. This document will be fleshed out by an in depth economic and political perspectives document and specific perspectives documents for our industrial work, women's liberation, black liberation and youth work.

We believe that these documents plus the political direction chartered by the October NC lay out the political framework in which a new majority can move the organization forward.

We encourage supporters of the majority and members of the minority to help shape the direction of the IS along the lines laid out in this and other majority caucus documents.

## II ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Most of 1977, and possibly through the beginning of 1978 will see a period of relatively slow growth.

Inflation will be moderate, not high. Heavy unemployment will persist, but there will be no new round of massive layoffs. The employers offensive will concentrate predominantly on productivity and working conditions. Job security, while remaining an issue will be less intense. Wage conflict, outside the public sector, will not be a major source of struggle. By 1978, however, inflation may again start getting out of hand, and any efforts by the Carter administration to control it will have to be at the expense of employment.

During Carter's first year in office, large sections of the working

class will be particularly true of workers in the larger, stronger unions who have enough seniority to feel that their jobs are secure. And illusions in the government will be stronger among seniority black workers, more so than any time in the past decade. Among youth, and especially black youth, unemployment will remain a critical and highly explosive problem. Illusions in the government will be very much weaker among working class youth.

Over the next year, conditions will not be good for the development of national union reform or contract movements. Where national organization or networks already exist (like IBT) they can be maintained and built on. But on the whole, the center of industrial and trade union struggle will tend to be local in character.

The economic and political situation in the country will generate an atmosphere where, on the whole, workers will be less easily receptive to radical and extreme ideas than they were over the past two years.

However after this year the economy will most likely begin to heat up again, inflation will rise and boom will quickly turn to bust. The long term stability of the 50's and 60's is no longer a possibility for world or American capitalism. The return to recession and even another depression will expand general working class receptivity to radical ideas.

There will still be many opportunities for periphery building and recruitment.

These will be most promising where we have been able to carry out consistent work over the past several years, and where we can consolidate and build from the work. Shop and local issues, and local union reform will be most important. But for the I.S. to reap the benefits in terms of periphery building and recruitment it will be increasingly important for us to bring outside community and other political issues (like South Africa) into the workplace.

We will also have small successes in places where we are relatively new. Although most working people want to "give Jimmy a chance," the political legacy of Watergate and Vietnam, combined with the recent depression and continued high unemployment mean that the overall consciousness of the American working class is far more cynical than when we first went into industry. Even our newest industrial members will be able to raise politics barring security considerations.

And the organization will continue to meet radicalized workers in ones and twos through community work.

The point is that even in this next immediate period when the working class is, in general, less open to revolutionary socialist politics there will be real opportunities to recruit workers to our periphery and to the I.S.

Community and general political work will be more important for the I.S. over the next year than it has been at any time since we made our original turn to the working class and industrialization. In part, the reasons for this are internal, and one of the successes of our original turn.

It is because of our industrial experience and roots that we are developing the ability to carry out community and general political work on a working class basis. In the past, efforts at general political work tended to create a split consciousness in the organization: economic work geared to the working class; political work geared to the middle class.

Also, it will be to more general political work that our new worker recruits will be able to bring their families and friends.

In our community and general political work, we will orient to white workers as well as black workers, adults as well as youth. But in practice, we can expect to find higher receptivity among youth and among blacks. This work can provide the practical context in which we can develop and deepen our Black Liberation and youth perspectives.

In the period ahead, we can expect intensification of attacks on women. There will be concerted efforts to reverse the growing influx of women into the workforce - and particularly into the better high paying jobs. This will emerge as a conscious reactionary program for reducing unemployment by reducing the number of job seekers. Recent court decisions reducing equal opportunity job protection and rights for women signal that trend. There will be resistance to this attack as is shown by the response to the Supreme Court decision on maternity benefits. But because of the present extreme weakness of the women's movement, and because workingclass women do not constitute a self-conscious community of interest in society the way blacks do or industrial workers do, we can expect response to these attacks to be slow.

It is in our industrial work that it will be easiest for us to organize against the growing attack on women - particularly in those branches with the deepest roots in industry. On a low level, there will be growing opportunities for struggle over women's issues. As the reactionary trend increases to a wholesale attack on all women's rights - which it will - these opportunities will increase. But even in the short run, we will be able to recruit working class women to the I.S. - both from within and outside of our priorities. And concentrated efforts of this kind of work, are also important in the development of women's leadership and self confidence inside the organization. For these reasons we will put increasing emphasis on women's liberation work in the next period.

(The majority caucus will be putting forward specific perspectives documents on women's liberation, black liberation and youth work.)

#### Section on Districts and National Organization

Since 1970, along with industrial concentration, the I.S. geographically prioritized the mid-west industrial cities. The I.S. knew then, as it knows now, that the center of American industry are in the midwest. We understood that it was in the industrial midwest that the working class was most highly concentrated, had some of the strongest traditions of militancy, and is the best organized today. We understood that the American revolutionary party would be built in the midwest, that the midwest would be the center of a workers revolution and that we had to move there.

After several years of extreme difficulty including a major faction fight we had successfully reconstituted ourselves in the midwest. We had several branches in key cities, cadres in our priorities, roots, and the beginnings of workers recruitment. By the 1975 convention it was clear that our strategy to build in the midwest had been successful. The I.S. was on the road to becoming a workers group and was fundamentally different in composition and actual work, than the group had been in 1970.

Following the 1975 convention we began laying out plans for expansion. These plans were based on a perspective of significant growth. We agreed on five new branches including establishing a beachhead in the South. The new branches campaign was now the priority - over the established midwest branches. Comrades willing to move were asked to move to a new branch.

In the end we decided on only three of the five branches. Nonetheless even these three put an enormous strain on the organization. We had not grown enough to sustain expansion. As the economic picture had changed, it was not as easy to build as we had expected, and we did not have sufficient cadres to both actually lead the new branches and maintain some of the old ones.



Attempting to properly service the newer branches placed an immense additional burden on an already severely stretched organization. Not only did the new branches suffer - all the branches did. The smaller branches on both coasts got almost no attention. The center was unable to stay very far ahead of the organization.

We must now come to grips with these problems and attempt to solve them.

Over the last period the development of the I.S., branch by branch, has been uneven. In general, it is in the smaller branches which have not been able to develop successful work in the priorities., and the new branches which have not yet sunk roots that the organization is demoralized. On the other hand the midwest, industrial branches are fairly healthy, stable groups, with recruitment (although slow) and expanding political work.

The solution is not, however to abandon any notion of geographical priorities as the "left" faction does and declare all branches equal with equal potential. This would be politically dishonest and would further demoralize comrades in the more peripheral branches when they discovered this is not to be true later on. The midwest will in general lead the development of working class struggle and a revolutionary workers movement. As long as that is what we are trying to build, our midwest branches will be the healthiest.

However, we want a national organization. The struggle cannot be built successfully in the midwest alone. The union movement although strongest in the midwest, is national in scope. The political struggles we have attempted to build - GT, now South Africa - must be built nationally to be effective. And of course attempting to build a revolutionary party that was not national is ludicrous.

The smaller have done best when they were able to do work around our national priorities. In the Bay Area, Louisville, Boston Cincinnati and Portland we were able to do successful work around Teamster because of our national teamster work. In two cities we recruited - Louisville and Cincinnati.

This has been true of political priorities as well. Many branches have done good GT work and good South Africa work is beginning because of a lead given in the more developed branches.

The smaller branches have been least successful when they have been unable to get into the priorities. This is one of the problems we have to deal with. A second problem of the smaller branches has been the lack of sufficient cadres to lead. A third problem has been that we failed to recognize the unevenness of branches. When national campaigns were established all branches were expected to carry them out, whether or not they had the resources to do it. Detroit and Boston were expected to carry out similar work.

To begin solving the problems of the smaller branches we will:

1. Rationalize the work. All branches cannot be expected to do the same things. Perspectives for each branch will be worked out that are tailored to the specific needs and abilities of the branches. For example, Boston might only do South Africa work and work around their members in industry.
2. The peripheral branches will still try to get into the priorities. In cases where that is impossible, local industrial perspectives will be worked out. Local priorities should not stop continued effort to get into the national priorities nor should they stop transferring over when possible.
3. The development of secondary leaders and cadre will become a high priority for the smaller branches. This means that greater local initiatives will be encouraged and that resources will be given from the center to aid in cadre development, (See sections on expanding the leadership and training.)

4. The job of the national organizer will be to work with the smaller branches, to develop perspectives, to help rationalize the work and develop cadre.

Just as we must recognize that the smaller branches have specific, different problems that we must deal with, so do the branches in the industrial midwest. In the next period the I.S. will be able to move forward most decisively in the upper mid-west cities where our industrial work is most advanced and our cadre most experienced and established. It is the branches of the midwest that is leading the organization as a whole in becoming a workers combat organization.

The branches where our industrial work is most developed are the ones that most need to develop strength in the full spectrum of our political work - community work, black liberation work, women's liberation work, and anti-imperialist work. It is in these districts where we can expect to be most successful in carrying out these kinds of activities on a working class basis. It is in these districts where we will have the earliest successes, not just in recruiting and integrating workers from our priorities, but also their relatives and friends who will usually not work in priorities. It is in these districts where we have the most immediate prospects for the development of strong Red Tide branches. It will be these districts that will have the greatest prospects, and will be under the greatest pressure to develop I.S. district organizations, organized on an increasingly functional basis, carrying out diverse types of activities, needing an increasingly well developed internal political and educational life. And it will be these branches that will have to become more and more tied to the political life of the working class in the cities in which they live.

These tasks will not be accomplished over night, but where our industrial work is strongest, and our worker recruitment prospects greatest, this is the direction we will have to move in the next 2-3 years. To do so will require strong, well organized district organizations with their own developed and rounded political leadership. These are the tasks that our mid-west industrial branches are, in fact already beginning to grapple with, and is the direction that must be encouraged by the organization, both politically and in terms of allocating the necessary resources.

The Chicago-Gary area will still need some personnel brought in from the outside. We are committed to whatever personnel commitments are required to maintain and build our southern beachhead in Atlanta. We may also ask specific comrades to move to fill specific staff openings or to take advantage of specific hiring opportunities.

For now with the exception of college towns, we are dropping the notion of "feeder branch". Later on when the organization's growth warrants expansion, some comrades will again be asked to move. However we'd like to see further colonization come much more from the more developed areas.

Following the four midwest districts, the next places where we would like to move in the direction of strong rounded district organization will be Los Angeles and New Jersey. But it is too early to even guess at the timing for that.

In the next period, success in the large midwest district will generate resources for the organization as a whole. It will be there that cadre develop fastest. Not only will their political experience become enormously useful to the organization as a whole, but they will provide speakers, travelling organizers, etc., for the organization. Eventually, we hope that we will be able to send out experienced cadre from the central branches as part of the process of developing the I.S. into a strong national organization.

#### BROADENING AND STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP.

In the past two years, the I.S. made significant progress in transforming itself into a centralized campaigning organization, began to build a professional organizational machine.

In developing organizational efficiency and a division of labor, we ended up going too far. Comrades on all levels have become much too specialized, and as a result, there is too little collective responsibility for the overall needs of the organization as a whole.

Leadership at every level has not expanded sufficiently to meet our expanded task. All too often, administrative methods of leadership have replaced political methods inside the organization. The leadership has tended to become isolated. Initiative, on all levels within the organization, has all too often been discouraged rather than encouraged.

In bringing about organizational changes, we start at the top - with the national leadership. The national leadership is not just the E.C., nor is it any other existing political body. The I.S. national leadership consists of the central leadership, (E.C. and national org staff, N.C.,) and the national fraction leaders, full time organizers. In the next year the I.S. must develop a fully integrated and collaborative national leadership.

In the past period, the most serious divisions within the national leadership have been tension between the industrial fraction leaderships, on the one hand, and full time staff - particularly the E.C. - on the other. All now agree that these tensions must be overcome in order to effectively combat natural tendencies toward conservatism in industrial work in a period like the present. Fraction leaderships will have to take more responsibility for the organization as a whole. And they have a decisive role in making sure the fractions help train new workersmembers to be full revolutionary socialists and not simply industrial militants. Full time staff will have to collaborate closely with industrial leadership both in advancing the industrial work and in developing the other political aspects of the organization. And it is equally important that the overall political lead given by the full time staff be grounded in the real experiences of our industrial work.

We make the following specific organizational proposals:

A. Establish an I.S. Central Committee of 12 to 15 members consisting of the E.C. plus 7 to 10 additional members. These additional members will be selected from the midwest branches and will be weighted toward the leaders of our industrial work. They will include at least one full time branch district organizer and at least one member central to our black and community work.

Members of the CC will be selected from the midwest so that we can afford to have monthly CC meetings and a fairly high level of collaboration among CC members between meetings. We are projecting a CC for the next year that is weighted in favor of industrial leadership, at the likely expense of under-representing branch district organizers. This is because we all agree that integrating industrial/fraction leadership into the national leadership is a key task for this period. But branch/district organizers are an equally important part of the national leadership. We are not projecting that future CC's will continue this kind of imbalance.

The CC will be elected by the convention, though its membership can be changed, during the year, by the NC. It will review and revise the organization's perspectives on a monthly basis and share responsibility for implementation. It will strive to become an integrated and collaborative leadership body for the overall political guidance of the whole organization - not a parliament representing different constituencies, nor a veto group over the EC. After the CC has existed for approximately six months, the NC will review its functioning and progress and make whatever changes may be needed in its functioning or its composition.

B. The National Committee will also be elected at the convention. All CC members will be on the NC. Its other members will be drawn from all geographic sections of the organization. Approximately every third month, its meeting will replace the regular CC

meeting. It has the power to change the EC or the CC, to instruct either of these bodies, and to overrule any of their decisions. It must approve major changes in perspective.

C. The Executive Committee will continue day to day tasks of political leadership for the organization. It will continue to be charged with overall leadership responsibilities in relationship to all other leading bodies of the organization. It will continue to be elected and replaceable by the CC. The CC can instruct the EC, but it can not replace the E.C.

D. Establish a mid-west full time Organizers Council. This body will have no formal decision making power. It will play an important role in refining policy and in initiating discussion that can be sent to the EC or CC. It will also be responsible for developing and refining the political roles and functions of branch and district organizers in the I.S. This body will be able to collectivize our experiences in developing rounded branch and district organization, and will be able to collectivize the experience of developing collaborative relations between industrial leadership and full timers on the branch/district level. It will provide an opportunity for full time organizers to teach each other and learn from each other on the basis of the actual experiences the different branches go through in carrying out national policy in building the organization.

The CC will have a convenor who is him/herself one of the full time branch or district organizers. Its members will include the full time mid-west organizers, plus specified members from the National Organizational Staff, from the E.C. and from the C.C. It will maintain regular communication with all the full time organizers throughout the organization. Periodically, it will organize national organizers meetings, schools, or conferences for all organizers.

E. The organization will make sufficient commitment of resources to establish strong and viable national industrial fraction leadership bodies. This will include resident steering committees; national leadership councils; when needed and national fraction travelers where possible. Between conventions, we will continue to hold national fraction meetings, and/or national fraction council meetings to play a role in developing and carrying out fraction perspectives.

A resident I.S. women's commission will be established, and the convention women's caucus will elect a national women's council that will meet at least once a year between conventions. A resident and a national black commission will be established and maintained. Fractions will be created around other areas of work as needed, such as for example, the South Africa work. National and/or regional meetings of these bodies will take place as necessary for the work.

F. In the next period, great stress will be put on developing and maintaining collaborative relations between leadership bodies. It will be the responsibility of fraction leaderships to take the initiative in developing perspectives in consultation with the EC and CC. It is our view that the entire national leadership shares with the E.C. responsibility for implementation of the organization's perspectives.

The E.C. will not maintain its internal discipline within the CC, but will carry out open and frank discussion within it. The CC will develop its own form of disciplined functioning designed to allow the maximum political dialog and communication within the organization without generating artificial factionalism over CC disputes, without permitting CC differences to undermine or disrupt ongoing work, and without creating a system that encourages each CC member to maintain their own constituency with whom they have to consult before they feel free to change their mind.

The E.C. and C.C. will be charged with the responsibility of organizing internal I.S. discussion on major political issues. These may include pre-discussion in the organization of questions going to the CC for resolution; or discussions organized by the CC that go on through the organization before final resolution.

## BUILDING THE SECONDARY LEADERSHIP

The revolutionary party we wish to build will be an organization of class leaders. Developing and training our membership to be leaders of workers, and forging the I.S. into a collective leadership organization is what we are all about. But in different periods, different aspects of this task get different emphasis. In the past period, our effort to turn the I.S. to agitation emphasized the use of bold initiatives. This turn shaped our approach to developing leadership. We emphasized training our members through external work. And this has produced valuable results.

Through intense arena activity, our organization, our fractions, and many of our members, have experienced political growth that could never have been accomplished with even years of intense study. But the turn has also had negative effects on the development of leadership. Many members and many political questions have been left aside. As the organization became more and more over-stretched, the number of members actually involved in this learning process shrank, and the breadth of the political questions under consideration also shrank.

Because of changing conditions in the world around us, and because of internal problems coming out of the distortions of the last period, our perspectives now must be adjusted.

We expect that the pace of industrial struggle will be somewhat slower over the next year. This will give the time and political space to round out the excesses of the past period. We will now have more resources for conscious leadership development. We must take advantage of this.

Within the organization we must re-vitalize the notion of building the secondary leadership. This is an idea that has gotten little attention in the I.S. over the past period as more and more of the decision making rested on fewer and fewer people.

Before going further it must be recognized that there is a secondary leadership in the I.S. - much of which has been developed in the last two years. The problem is that the process of leadership training has not been thought out and the result is extremely uneven development. To turn this around comrades on all levels will have to be assigned tasks they have not normally done in the past. If they have problems they will have to be helped. But initiative will have to be stressed, even to the point of willingness to live with many mistakes and failures. Our fractions and other functional work units will have a special responsibility for leadership development.

National fractions, local fractions, and other functional units will be given greater responsibility for the development of perspectives for their areas of work. They will also be expected to develop general knowledge of the industries, unions, communities, struggles, etc. etc. relevant to their work.

Another important aspect in leadership training is the repoliticization of the IS. This is done best when it is connected to the work.

Political questions that arise from our work must be generalized and brought into the organization for discussion. For example, our South Africa work can be used to open up all kinds of political questions: imperialism, permanent revolution, the working class in the national liberation struggle, etc. etc. We will have to start generalizing discussions out of our trade union and industrial work also: the role of trade union in times of crisis, the relationship between the struggle within the union and the struggle against the employer, etc. etc. Both the central leadership and the fraction leadership will have an important role to play in developing these political discussions.

I.S. has made recent progress in black work. But our South Africa work, Gary Tyler work, community work, struggles against racism on the job etc. still remain mainly as isolated projects. The development of resident and national black commission, and the development of a black liberation perspective can be used to tie the work together and advance it, to develop leadership, and to generate political discussion in the organization as a whole.

The development of black and working class leadership are our most important tasks in the coming period.

Working class and black members like everyone else, will develop best in training situations where they can make an immediate contribution. We all learn best when we are forced to think out our ideas, rather than have the solutions handed to us. This means that special attention will be given to training black and white working class members in the work units they are in. For example, the Teamster fraction has set up a national fraction council of 20 members, half of whom are workers who have recently joined the IS.

This places new responsibilities on the existing leaders. Part of their political tasks will be the training and developing of new leaders. We cannot simply throw newer members into the leadership pool and expect them to swim. Those with more experience will have to spend time helping, guiding and supporting.

Many of the workers we recruit in the next period will already be leaders in their workplace or union and will already have a base before joining the I.S. Their integration into the organization will require special attention and cause special problems - though we welcome these kinds of problems. When they go through the process of coming out openly as socialists among their co-workers, they usually catch lots of flack. They will need from the organization a lot of patience and a lot of support.

Many of these new worker recruits will also go through a period where a large proportion of their best ideas are quickly, abruptly, and uniformly rejected inside the I.S. Liberalism is no solution to this problem. But, comrades must be careful not to rigidly reject out of hand all new ideas. Even proposals containing serious problems, often also have a large healthy kernel.

The organization must also give special attention to the special problems of developing women and youth as leaders. The women's commission and national women's council will have special responsibility to oversee the development of women's leadership. It should also help bring political discussion on questions relating to women into the organization as a whole. Fraction and branch leaderships must pay special attention to putting women forward in the organization. Youth leadership will be developed primarily through the Red Tide. But on a branch level, leadership must pay special development to youth cadre development, and must be prepared to assign comrades to work with Red Tide members and help them develop.

## EDUCATION

A large part of the organization's education and training occurs in the normal course of carrying out the work and the perspectives, and in participating in the I.S. internal political life. Much of our proposals on building secondary leadership are geared around repoliticizing the organization by programing political discussion right into our perspectives. But that's not enough. We also need programs geared specifically for education and training.

When someone joins the IS, we must be able to tell them, with confidence, that as a member of the I.S., they will receive a better education than they could from any school or college. That's the way it should be. But on the whole, I.S. education programs have tended to be ineffective and have been the first thing to be dropped in the press of events.

As we stated early, the pace of events will be slower - we must use the time to bring education to the fore. Training and education can no longer come at the end of everyone's list. Education must now move up near the top.

Education must now be seen as a political necessity - not a luxury. To miss an educational session - either as teacher or student must be considered as irresponsible as missing a demonstration or a union meeting.

We must instill the sense that education is not a personal matter, but part of one's political responsibility to the whole organization. We must also make clear that education and training never end. No matter what level we are on we must continue the process of training and education.

We must also come to grips with what works and what does not. Many branches have used what are called "buddy systems" which have not been overly successful. Still, if you go around the organization and talk to the politically developed comrades, you will find that in almost every instance, they didn't learn their politics in classes or merely by reading books. Rather, they learned basic politics through intensive one on one discussions with other, already developed members.

The I.S. has many members with large amounts of political knowledge and experience. They are our most valuable political resource. In the next period, the keystone of our program for political education and training will be the slogan: "Each One Teach One".

Every member of the organization will be assigned a more developed comrade with whom to work. On the average, assigned comrades should try to get together for political discussion every week for two or three hours. These get togethers should not be viewed as formal classes. They should be loose, and the comrades should feel free to raise and explore what they want: topics that interest them, political questions about which they are confused, matters being discussed in the organization or factions, etc.

To accomplish this will take a great deal of organization and bugging. We will not change our habits over night. We will also have to add more resources to education and training.

One member of the E.C. will be assigned to make sure that each one teach one system is working. A comrade on the branch level will be in charge as well. Both the more experienced and the less experienced comrade should be responsible that meetings take place.

W.P. should run political education articles every other week specifically addressed to the I.S. membership. These and other material from WP and WPR should regularly be used in the sessions. Based on experience, other educational materials from the center will be produced as well.

We should also plan in the next period to hold regional one day cadre schools aimed at the membership. These cover topics like party building, black liberation, etc. They should be based on well prepared presentations with written material circulated in advance. The topics should be worked out in consultation with the branch leaderships. We should also plan regional conferences aimed at members and contacts. These would be on topic like: political developments in the country, trade union issues, etc. They too should be well prepared in advance, and topics should be worked out in consultation with local leaders,

There should be special emphasis on writing for WP. We should push the slogan: "Every Member a Writer". We should organize branch and regional schools on writing for WP. Comrades who need help should be given help and training. The more comrades write for W.P., the more they will use it in their work, and the better use they will make of it.

No education program can be effective if the whole organization is depoliticized. The basis of upgrading education exists in the proposals on the secondary leadership development aimed at regenerating political discussion in the organization. But in the context of success in carrying out those proposals, interest in political discussion will increase, and education programs that did not work in the past can be highly effective.



## DEPOLITIZATION AND THE LOSS OF

The political crisis in the IS stems, not from what we have lost or forgotten, but from what we have learned--and/or failed to learn--from our practice. To describe the matter as "depolitization" is to look backward. It's very much like the assertion that women who enter traditionally male jobs will lose their femininity. What politics have we lost? How did we lose them? Did they accidentally get carried out with the trash--or left on a bus seat somewhere?

"Depolitization" is not a term of serious marxism. It provides us with no handles. What in the hell does it mean? Everybody uses the term. Only the spelling is shared. It's used as accusation, threat, cause, effect, rationalization, self-criticism and so on. Nevertheless, this cosmic illness continues to define our debate--like Adam Smith's invisible hand guides the economy.

I would contend that our overly obvious political confusion comes because of real political gains--not from losing our politics. It comes from learning our politics in real activity, for the first time in a systematic way. For many people this produced the astounding discovery that reality does not fit neatly into an ideological package. In other words: They were shocked and shaken that a knowledge of aerodynamics does not a pilot make. Scared shitless by the thought of turbulence and crosswinds, they accuse those still learning to fly of abandoning aerodynamics. They call for a reassessment: Is flight really possible? They're offended by the gravity of the situation.

Marxism is a science. We have a method, dialectical/historical materialism. But revolutionary theory has not been connected in any significant way with the actual activity of the American working class for quite a while. By attempting to connect the two we are forced beyond a formal understanding of our politics. Marxism must become our practice. Our practice should inform, enrich and correct our theories, and vice versa.

Some comrades evidently never knew, and others have conveniently forgotten, that a few years ago it was fantasy to discuss the fine points of socialist work in a national rank & file movement--of any size, etc. Some comrades are more comfortable with the fantasy than the reality--they can play any role they wish. Reality has higher stakes--and a nasty way of calling all bets.

For years the IS was the best political discussion group around. That happens to be a valuable heritage. It is why we could take the risks of testing our theories with reasonable self-confidence. That doesn't mean we knew it all, but we did have better ideas of where and how to begin. Those ideas couldn't help but be abstract, and it was only natural that our practice advanced beyond or overturned some of our assumptions very quickly. During the early years of industrialization this happened at a pace which allowed us to generally keep up with the changes demanded of us. And what we added to our politics in that period prepared us (theoretically and organizationally) for a more scientific and concerted effort in our work. We had a new set of "best" operating assumptions based on shared experience--still rather small, but real. Once again, we didn't know it all, but we had every reason to be confident (it's now called "overconfident") when we embarked on the "turn" and the campaigns. Without confidence we wouldn't have tested our ideas and ourselves. We agreed to be audacious. That wasn't hype from on high. It was an historic occasion for the IS. We knew the stakes were high, that we were going into relatively unexplored territory. Still, we stood to learn more--no matter the success or failure of particular campaigns--than we'd learned up till then about our politics in action.

For instance, we had never really confronted the problems of integrating working class members. We knew we'd make many mistakes, but should we be shocked that we didn't do quite as well as we thought we could? Isn't it better to make these mistakes early on, when their impact is to train and strengthen rather than devastate us?

If we shy away from decisive activity for fear of mistakes, we will become irrelevant fast--waiting for the meek to inherit the earth. Unfortunately, the tendency toward confusion and indecision grew throughout the IS, following the IBT campaign and through the 75 Convention. It continues now. It is the climate in which a wholly unprincipled and opportunistically lead minority was able to dictate the terms and direction of debate to the majority. It became a debate for or against retreat, instead of a discussion of how to advance on the lessons of the last year. However, the IS was not confused because we had somehow lost our politics, but because we'd not yet drawn out all the lessons and generalized them in our program. Considering how much new ground we'd covered, our own lag isn't surprising.

When we began the campaigns, particularly in IBT, the momentum of real activity quickly swept the entire organization beyond the limits of past experience. It is because we had the best politics--not because we'd lost them--that we were able to think on our feet in the midst of a dynamic new to all of us. We were suddenly operating on credit--theoretical credit--and because our politics are fundamentally healthy, we were not paralyzed. The situation didn't allow for lengthy debate, but we had the political self-confidence to act on our best estimates at the time. When that mad rush was over, we were exhausted and the questions to be asked and answered from that work were a massive pile. We had acquired a truck load of feedback on our strengths and weaknesses. Developing coherent political conclusions from all this was just beginning with the October NC--then the faction fight broke out, heading off the first tentative leads out of the exhaustion and immobilization.

It was well known that newer comrades(especially those who joined in the past year or so) hadn't been adequately trained in our politics--where we stand in the history of the international working class. This will be true whenever we recruit during highs of activity. It must be made up for as quickly as possible. Learning how to do this has meant breaking new ground for the IS: there's a big difference between integrating students into the IS of a few years ago and integrating workers (and students) into the IS we're becoming. The NC began to draw out the new lessons, though the process was cut short. Since then political education has taken place through the faction fight, which probably wouldn't have happened if the lead of the NC had been allowed to develop a little longer(which is not to say we'd have solved all our problems by now). Having faction fights to educate new members is the norm of a discussion group. After the dust settles from this fight, we still have to get on the case of systematic political training for all comrades--but not by removing ourselves from the laboratory of marxism: the struggles of the working class. But doing that is not "repolitization." We are in the process of adding to our politics, not searching for them somewhere back along the trail.

We have been sidetracked from taking advantage of the best political work done in the American working class since the 30's. It is work which points to greater opportunity for higher quality intervention. If we are more modest than before it is because we know more. Modesty must not equal timidity, however. A reason for retreat exists only in the fantastic imaginations of those middle class elements who fear the muck and mire of the real world and the backward workers. Really, there's nothing to be afraid of. No one has to look under the bed at night for lurking conservatives. No wicked villains are successfully smashing us, driving us back. We haven't even seen a heavy fight yet. Considering how easily some comrades are willing to give up a clear field, the initiative and the ball, it's frightening to think what they'd do if things were really nasty. And things will get nasty. Unless we plan on drifting after the left faction, toward abstract discussion and sectarian propaganda, we have to get our shit together or expect a real drubbing when we face a real attack. Presently we're too disciplined to be a discussion group and not disciplined enough to be a workers' combat organization.

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We have every reason to take the next step forward toward a more disciplined collaboration. Our basic direction has been affirmed and enriched by our practice. We must stop searching for the politics we never lost and educate ourselves and those around us in the politics we have gained. We now have the tools to give active meanings to the historical principles of our tendency. Meanings which inform--and are informed by--the practical work of building a revolutionary party and a rank & file movement.

Dennis/Pittsburgh

## IBT FRACTION COUNCIL

The IBT fraction held its first Council meeting on the 12th and 13th of this month in Cleveland. Members from Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburg, LA, the Bay Area, Cincinnati, and Cleveland attended. For nearly everyone the weekend was an up. The level of bull shit and rhetoric was low, the participation of our newer worker members quite high. Not surprisingly, this was due to the fact that our work, despite scarce resources and occasional setbacks, is going well. Our collective understanding of the union and the industry, of mass work and agitation has come a long way in the past year. The discussion of perspectives, both TDU and the IS, also served to deepen our understanding of what's in store for us over the next few years, the strengths and limitation of our respective organizations, the political questions which had to be furthered developed, and how the fraction had to be re-organized to make the most of the opportunities available to recruit and train an IS cadre. Along these lines it is clear the Council, as hoped, will play an important role in expanding and training a fraction leadership. (The national fraction meeting at the Convention will elect a Council members for the next year.) The draft perspectives are enclosed. What follows are the major points brought out in the discussion as well as areas where the Council felt more work was needed.

The first session on the industry and the union went beyond what was included in the draft. In particular the effects of the employers offensive in trucking was spelled out in great detail. Wage cuts are on the rise, either outright like Schneider, or by switching to a formula of hours plus percentage. Non-union companies once on the fringes are getting more aggressive. Not just the South, and traditional anti-union operations like Coors, but big barns like Viking in the Bay Area. Owner operators are on the rise. Companies like Willig in Chicago and Matson in the Bay area are forcing their drivers to buy their own rigs. Along these lines the recent decision to de-regulate trucking in the metropolitan areas would mean that small carriers would be pushed up against the wall as owner operators began rate cutting. In general it was felt that more research was needed on the effects of the de-regulation rulings. Wage cuts and union busting are the most extreme form that the attacks are taking, also important is the increased use of a casuals at large freight barns, the establishment of fixed productivity quotas, and the playing off of one Teamster local against another by the companies threat to move out unless a bad deal is accepted. It is this massive push by the companies, and the failure of the union to protect past gains which has created the reform sentiment in the union which TDU is building upon.

Our knowledge of the IBT bureaucracy is somewhat limited since there are few officials who are willing or able to give us any inside info. In general we regard the bureaucracy as similar to a gang of thieves. There is no liberal or Hoffa wing, rather local baronies dependent on the International but not agents of Fitzsimmons. As a rule the officials are politically crude which is of course to our advantage. It was felt by the Council, that we could expect similar developments to Cleveland where Jackie Presser has hired a PR firm to do his political thinking and red baiting for him. More on the positive side, it was pointed out that over the past few years a number of entrenched local machines had been turned out of office, by reformers of one kind or another. The recent elections in Long Beach, Ca are an example of this kind of change. On the national level, further down the road we look for splits in the bureaucracy resulting from a combination of r&f pressure and the threat of government intervention.

The discussion of government intervention focused on the question of the pensions and the possibility of a consent decree for trucking going into effect. The Chicago fraction is carrying the work around the pension issue. To date this has meant working with TDU around support for suit brought by 10 rank and file Teamsters ~~xxxx~~ who were denied a pension by the Central States fund. The suit in particular and government intervention in general is a complex question. The demands which will be raised in CONVOY will be for COLA, \$650 at 50, r&f trustees, portability and reciprocity. There was also discussion about whether we should talk about the use to which the fund was put, the role of pension funds ~~in~~ under capitalism. On a tactical level it was raised whether we should be involved in the reform movement to the extent we were given the fact that we were most likely to attract older Teamsters who weren't that likely to be interested in socialism. In response it was pointed out that our experience had been that the issue of pensions had attracted support from a broad section of the union - younger teamsters with parents about to retire, people for whom the pension fund symbolized all that was fucked with the union. In addition, the pension fund enabled us to raise questions of union reform, democracy and rank and file control concretely. The Chicago fraction will continue our perspective for this area of work. To help the fraction put our work in a broader context, Dan from Chicago has written up an analysis of pensions and reform movements connected with them.

The question of Affirmative Action was also taken up by the Council.

Chances are there will be a consent decree of one kind or another in the industry. Our line on this is directed toward the union and not the government. If government intervention is required to deal with discrimination in the union it is only an indication of the bankruptcy of the union. If the union won't do anything then TDU would push for compliance. One way to do this would be to push for the formation of Human Rights Commissions at the local level. While the fraction has a clear position in support of super seniority, we don't have a very clear idea of where to go from there. It was suggested that Pittsburgh work out something in greater detail on the issue for the fraction.

There was general agreement about the perspectives and prospects for TDU. In short, we see the possibility for modest growth in terms of new chapters expansion into new jurisdictions, the development of barn networks, the possibility of challenging for power in a few key locals, and a developing national rep. All of this will lay the groundwork for upcoming contract fights, and having delegates committed to the TDU programme at the Convention. In order to get there we have to continue to build our rep as an interventionist group which responds to strikes and attacks on working conditions when the union says nothing can be done. In all this our ability to win victories however small and partial will be key to building TDU. This will be true on "big" questions like by-laws reform and local elections, as well as improving conditions on the shop floor. It was also pointed out, however, that TDU has been able to grow even in defeat, provided we were able to draw the lessons of the struggle so that people understand that unless TDU becomes stronger the defeats will continue. CONVOY and our local r&f papers can help to draw out the lessons.

Training a TDU cadre was seen as essential. A number of suggestions for doing it were made: local TDU steering committees had to be seen as political rather than administrative units where strategies discussed and evaluations made; also stressed importance of working closely with activists around immediate issues such as strikes, elections, and paper to draw lessons and build our own credibility in the process. It was also felt that the IS had to maintain a political presence through forums, WP, and private discussion in order ~~xxxx~~ to insure that the TDU leadership had a broader understanding of what TDU was about. Without this broader understanding among the TDU leader-

ship TDU would be hard pressed to stand up to would-be reformers, red baiting, or the fight against racism and sexism.

With regard to the TDU perspectives, most Council members felt that we need to do more work on the question of caucuses and ~~xxxxxxx~~ our support of independent organization for oppressed minorities. The ideal situation would be to push for caucuses within TDU, and have TDU known as the group which was leading the struggle against discrimination in the union. Unfortunately in a few cases, like 692 in Long Beach the question in practice has meant either/or. Insofar as we have any influence, which we do in ~~xxxx~~ the case of 692, we should be able to ~~xx~~ make a case for both. To do this, however, requires more work on our part and the fraction Steering Committee will have to develop our line on this question further. The Council also discussed the development of the TDU wives groups and the expansion of TDU into sections of the union which had larger numbers of minorities and women. On this point our experience has been that we've been the best able to ~~xxxx~~ relate to these sections of the union when we had a base in freight. Finally on TDU, the Council endorsed a campaign around the Montgomery Wards contract. From the Bay Area will be working with the Fraction Steering Committee on the details of the campaign.

Last but not least, the Council reviewed the functioning of the fraction as well as plans for recruitment and the use of WP. In general it was felt that the fraction at every level had to devote more attention to the political questions arising out of our work, that the bulletin had to become less of a report on what local fractions are doing and more a training manual and tool for political development. The need for the fraction steering committee to assign responsibility for campaigns as well as national fraction responsibilities was raised as one way of developing local initiative. There was general agreement that the fraction leadership had to spend more time traveling and working with the local fractions. Also it was pointed out that local fractions where the work is going well don't take enough responsibility for leading the work of the organization as a whole. Along these lines greater emphasis has to be given to taping talks, producing educational material for the fraction, writing up the lessons of particular struggles which the fraction is involved with. Nowhere is it more important to generalize our experience than in the case of recruitment and training newer members. Since the start of TDU, we have recruited 20 Teamsters, a good number of them attended the Council mtg. and were the key to making it a success. In the future these members will be the best builders of the IS, but the fraction has to provide the tools and training. To aid with recruitment an IS pamphlet drawing on WP coverage will be produced after the IS Convention. Based on the response to the Conspiracy pamphlet, it's clear that the readership exists, provided we can put our analysis down on paper. Unfortunately not much of substance was said about WP except that we had to write for it and sell at more locations. The fact of the matter is that for an organization which produces as much copy for its rank and file papers as the IS there is no excuse for lack of copy in WP. A shift in priorities has to be made. A final note on WP, The question of the content of WP was raised over the issue of whether our emphasis should be within the limits of the r&f struggle, or to talk more about the wasted potential of the union movement. No doubt this will continue to be a debate at the Convention.

In summary, the Council was a success and will be repeated.

Eric H. for the IBT Steering Committee

## TEAMSTER FRACTION PERSPECTIVES

### 1. A BRIEF HISTORY

For the past several years, socialists have been actively involved in the Teamster rank and file struggles and movements. We have helped to build and advance them. Starting with 500-at-50 and TURF, socialists were involving themselves and learning how to build the movement. Since that time, socialists have carefully built up our small presence, knowledge, experience, and roots in this industry and union.

From the 1970 wildcats until now, we have seen our brothers and sisters in strikes, wildcats, reform movements, etc. Most have been local struggles, but some national as well. This militancy is not based on union organization (like in the miners, where local unions and officers usually lead strikes, etc.). The IBT, probably more than any other major union, acts as discipline agent over the members. Even local BA's see themselves as mediators or controllers of the membership. Many members fear for their lives if they get involved in union activity.

The militancy and sometimes spontaneous organization we have seen is based on a strong union consciousness and tradition. This tradition, primarily in freight, but in other jurisdictions also (such as carhauling, some local delivery, etc.), dates back to the thirties and the major drives to organize the union. The tradition includes strikes over grievances, that continued into the late sixties. It includes areas and locals taking pride that they fought the hardest. It includes a tradition of spreading struggles from barn to barn, and from city to city also.

This tradition is based on the power that trucking employees have when organized. The power to stop freight moving. The susceptibility of the companies to strikes due to the competitive industry. The ability to get around and communicate with each other, even on a national level.

It is this collective power, this militant spirit, this history and the large numbers of workers involved that makes the Teamsters Union and trucking -- especially, a key strategic sector of the working class and the workers' movement.

### 2. THE TEAMSTERS UNION: POWER AND PRIORITIES

Our starting point is the present; we have to sum up what we know about the situation we're in before we can move forward -- the struggles going on, the bureaucracy and its moves, etc.

The first basic thing is who is the union? There seems to be a little confusion on this matter, as some people have mistakenly characterized the makeup of the IBT. We all need to know this very basic information.

The Teamsters Union is primarily a trucking and warehousing union. The union also has become something of a general union, and this fact is widely publicized by the union bureaucracy to spruce up a new image (pictures of nurses on bulletin boards, etc.) and to help in organizing efforts. But the fact is that the majority of the members and the overwhelming majority of the power and strength of the union lies in trucking and warehousing sector. The same is true for the potential power of a rank and file movement.

Who is the trucking and warehousing sector?

First, there is freight (city road dock and sometimes clerical). Some 450,000 workers, covered by the Master Freight Agreement (and 32 supplements) and by the separate Chicago JC 25 agreement.

Most freight workers are in major general or freight locals, and they

make up by far the largest single jurisdiction and the one big national contract that sets the pace for others. The locals include 70, 85, 208, 357, 692, 299, 705, 135, 710, 107, 249, 407, 600, 100, 89, etc. These are the largest, strongest, most militant (and even slightly democratic) locals in the union. Many have elected BA's, whereas others almost always do not. Many have established oppositions, militant tradition, regular local meetings, etc. Even where run by thugs, the rank and file have proven time and again hard to control in these big freight and trucking locals.

Other large and important sections include grocery drivers and warehouse workers (some 100,000) where there have been recent productivity drives and some rank and file activity too. There are also hundreds of thousands of drivers covered by "tandem" agreements to the master freight, who drive tankers, new furniture, movers, drivers for private companies and corporations, and cartage drivers. Our experience in the carting and USP workers shows what can be done within different jurisdictions in the rank and file movement. We have at least some experience in all of the jurisdictions mentioned above.

UPS is the largest IBT employer. The volatility of the UPS workers in the past few years has been impressive. They are younger, on the average, than freight and less "loyal" to the union in some ways. Because the lack of any tradition there, and because the union services them even less. While they have shown less "staying power" in the r&f movement, they provide an important element of radicalism and recruits to socialism as well.

But this is not all the trucking Teamsters. There are some 200,000 construction drivers, in separate or sometimes general locals. This large section has been more conservative, and oftentimes linked to the Building Trades Unions.

There is also the large group of city delivery drivers, the former "crafts" that the IBT was built on. Newspaper driver, milk and dairy, bakery and potato chips, beer and soft drink. Oftentimes they are still in "craft" locals, unfortunately, but recent employer attacks have led to militancy here too, for example in the LA Beer Drivers' strike. Food drivers (produce, etc.) are an important group.

Garbage and scrap drivers are an important section in big cities. Mostly the drivers are black. These are the main public workers in the IBT. And in every city there is a large local or section of a general local of warehouse workers. Grocery, retail (White Front, May Co., etc.) industrial warehouses, often with local "master" agreements. We have been involved in this area with some successes, such as in 853.

These trucking and warehouse workers are the base of the IBT, but far from all the membership. In 1934, the socialist organizers in the IBT had a bold new policy to "make Minneapolis a union town" by branching out and bringing in other jurisdictions (even workers on federal relief programs). This has been turned upside down by the IBT to mean raids, and sweetheart type agreements.

The major sector here is food processing Division of the IBT--canning, dairies, frozen foods, etc. Such companies as Kraft, Del Monte, etc. Many of the 300,000 (15%) of the women in the IBT are among them. Also, the brewery and soft drink division, where there has been some motion and some involvement in TURF, TDU, etc.

Beyond this, the IBT jurisdictions become many, varied, and more difficult to bring into a rank and file movement. Most have little power, can easily be fired, and are organized in "sweetheart" locals. These include small manufacturing shops, mechanics, airlines, taxi drivers, hospital workers, salesmen, white collar workers, farm workers, police, etc.



The organizing in varied and farflung jurisdictions varies greatly from area to area. In the South there is almost none. In Chicago, a Teamster town, the freight hub of America, there are some 160,000 Teamsters (more than all the Southern Conference), many in different jurisdictions. Chicago Local 743 has some 30,000 members.

The union is 95% Blue collar, 5% white collar. Some 15% or 300,000 members are women. Figures on race can't be found, but it is certain that the percentage of Blacks is higher than the percentage of women, and located in most strategic areas such as grocery, warehousing, UPS, garbage drivers, and increasingly in freight and trucking.

### 3. OUR STRATEGY SUMMED UP.

We have a basic strategy developed, through our theory, our knowledge of history, and our actual experience in the IBT today. The elements are outlined here, as a starting point for the much more detailed perspective for what we aim for in the next couple of years.

1. We are involved in the teamster rank and file movement to help build a democratic, militant movement among a powerful and large section of workers, and to recruit active teamsters to socialism.
2. Within the IBT, the decisive section is trucking and warehousing. Especially freight, because it is the largest and national pacesetter, but also carhauling, UPS, grocery, etc.
3. The rank and file movements will be built mainly in the key locals, the big city freight and general locals. It is here the power of the union bureaucracy is based, and must be broken. It is here that workers have historically and now organized and shown the most militancy and ability to spread struggles, and where the most rank and file and socialist leaders have come from.
4. We are aiming to build a movement that encompasses ALL sections of Teamsters, not just the key strategic ones. The best way to do that is to start from a base in the major locals and jurisdictions. From this pole, we can branch out, and are already doing that in an active way. To beer drivers, to a small local attacked by the Internationals, to a small strike of women office workers, to black garbage workers concerned about their contract, etc. It is not only strategically important to bring in other jurisdictions, but also it is politically important to help break the trucking workers from parochialism, racism, and sexism.

We are spreading the movement through local (city) groups, to bring in new locals, etc. Through jurisdictions (e.g., 20 people showed up at a TDU meeting from Kroger, due to the Convoy article) such as carhauling, grocery, of course UPS, etc. And through national campaigns, such as the pension campaign, that affect ALL Teamsters.

Our aim is to build local chapters that can become "the opposition" within the IBT in that area and in the locals. To achieve this end, TDU must be seen as the leaders of the fight on the shop floor, and of the movement to reform the union. At this point, this is a difficult goal, because Teamster politics is defined so narrowly, with a bureaucracy sitting on top of everything and everybody. It is our view that the dictatorship can be cracked, as the bureaucracy is caught between the trucking companies' attack and an insurgent rank and file movement. The threat of government intervention increases the possibilities of a shake-up at the top. Whether we can take advantage of these openings will depend on our building a strong rank and file movement with a core of rank and file leaders which can turn these splits into a chasm.

6. Through our mass work, we have to pull together a leadership for the rank and file movement. This will not happen automatically, but takes conscious effort. We have to recruit teamsters to socialism, train a socialist cadre, and also build a broader core of class struggle activists who will be able to stand up to phoney "reformists", who can stand for solidarity with and leadership of struggles of Black and women teamsters.

It is these general principles that our plans and prospects are based on. Now lets look at things more specifically. The Industry, the government, the bureaucracy, and, finally, prospects for the rank and file movement and the I.S.

## THE EMPLOYERS OFFENSIVE IN THE TRUCKING INDUSTRY

For most of the post-WWII era, the trucking industry grew and prospered. In the 1950's trucking surpassed the railroads as the major carrier of freight. In this period, techniques were developed that allowed trucks to haul all kinds of products. Truck tonnage rose from \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_. In the early days, the small amount of capital needed to start a trucking outfit allowed thousands of small operators to enter the industry. During the '50's and '60's the Teamsters Union dealt with hundreds of companies, all of them weaker than the union, in an atmosphere of prosperity and growth.

But just as surely as the trucking industry grew, so it began to change. The very fact that thousands of small companies competed for routes and business, meant, as it always does under capitalism, that a few companies began to gobble up their competitors. By carefully buying up franchises, a few companies, like Roadway in freight and UPS in package delivery, rose to become giant national corporations, with thousands of employees. As the industry modernized, as computers replaced the telephone, break-bulk centers replaced local terminals, the amount of capital needed to stay ahead of your competitor grew. The bigger companies began to dominate the business, and through the employers' associations and nationally the ATA and TEI, and the bosses' side of collective bargaining.

As capitalism in the U.S., and throughout the world began to experience a growing crisis, the trend toward concentration and consolidation in the trucking industry grew. Government regulation through the ICC, and union cooperation, first under Hoffa, then Fitzsimmons, encouraged the bigger companies to take over smaller ones and to generally dominate the industry. While rates are set by the ICC, the bigger companies could compete favorably with small ones by providing more sophisticated and comprehensive services. Not only did the bigger companies grow bigger, but thousands of tiny companies just folded up shop and disappeared. During the 1973-75 depression, some 1300 companies disappeared.

The growth of giant trucking corporations; the increase in mergers, take-overs and failures; the increased amount of capital needed to run a growing modern trucking firm, and the crisis with its recessions brought more than changes in the structure of the industry. To accomplish their ends, the big trucking companies began a long-term and increasingly systematic attack on the traditional working conditions, shop floor organization, and union control. Most companies couldn't compensate for significant wage increases by raising rates--with the inevitable cooperation of the ICC. But the profits needed to expand in that industry required large increases in the productivity of labor. The Interstate Highway system, computerization of traffic, and the break bulk system accomplished some of this. But as economic crisis

continued, it was not enough. Modernization and concentration of capital became accompanied, as they always do under capitalism, by a systematic employers' offensive against the workers.

The employers' offensive in trucking takes many forms and effects virtually every section of the industry, every craft and occupation. For dock and inside workers it has meant harrassment, speed-up, and in many cases, virtual assembly line conditions. For drivers, it has meant the increase of loads, the use of doubles, the increase of hours for road drivers, the elimination of overtime by switching to a seven-day work week and by introducing milage instead of hourly rates. For all, it has meant the increased use of casuals and part-timers. Since 1970, each new contract has brought with it serious concessions on working conditions and shop floor power. In particular, when the "24 hour strike" was given away in 1970, the steward system was all but destroyed.

In general, the leader of the employers' offensive for several years was UPS. UPS became a nation-wide company, with a near monopoly of private package delivery, in the 1960's. Its empire was built on the militarization of its drivers and the creation of assembly-line style HUBs. For years, freight and other trucking workers considered UPS workers to be suckers and patsies because of the incredible conditions they put up with. By the 1970's, however, these same conditions invaded the rest of the trucking industry. With giants like Roadway and McLeans in the lead, freight workers in various parts of the country began to find themselves more and more in the same kind of conditions as UPS. Both Jones Motor and MacLeans have attempted to introduce productivity standards. Now Krogers is taking the lead in imposing these kinds of conditions on grocery workers--drivers and dock.

While the employers' offensive has been going on for a number of years now, there can be no doubt that Frank Fitzsimmons has presided over a great acceleration of this offensive. While Hoffa was in no way above sell-outs and collaboration--and in fact encouraged the trends toward merger and concentration actively--he did establish a degree of union control over the industry. Fitzsimmons has systematically and consciously given away that power step by step. Fitzsimmons, of course, did not create the crisis of capitalism that is the real cause of the employers' offensive, but he is clearly content to drift in its stream. Each contract he negotiates seems to include some important concession to the employers. Virtually all of the 1976-77 settlements, in every section of trucking, have seen some give-away on working conditions for even basic wage rates. Trucking, in fact, is the only highly-organized industry with a strong industrial union that has seen widespread wage cuts. Other concessions are even more widespread. The 1976 round of contracts throughout trucking has clearly given the employers the green light to significantly intensify their offensive.

We have seen the results of the intensification of the employers' offensive in 1976 in freight, UPS, grocery, carhauling, soft drink production, special commodity handlers, beer drivers, and more. Dozens of wildcats have shown both the severity of the attack and the growing willingness of Teamsters to fight back. But, because of the consistent cooperation of the Teamster officialdom, at every level, most of these struggles have been lost. Bad contracts are rammed through by rigged votes, through the 2/3's role, Past gains are given away in the grievance procedure, on union-management change of operations committees, etc. For their part, workers have shown a willingness to fight. But the union that once held power over the employers, now uses its power to discourage, disorganize, and defeat the struggles of working Teamsters. Not only is this the case with the corrupt baronies, but increasingly the leadership of formerly militant locals are to be found siding with the employers and the International against the rank and file.

The crisis of capitalism continues and the trends, described above, in the industry will only intensify. The offensive will produce thousands of local actions and struggles on the shop floor. We will have to play a leading role in these struggles, which means learning from those areas where effective shop floor organization has been built. However, the failure of the union to mount an effective defense against these attacks will necessarily direct much of the energy and dissatisfaction of the workers toward the union leadership and toward involvement in movements to change the union. The fact that it is the car haulers in Local 299 who are the driving force behind the by-laws campaign is an indication of the dynamic for future reform movements in other areas.

## THE IBT AND THE GOVERNMENT

Because the IBT seldom fight for the rank and file, many militants over the years have come to rely on the government and the courts to remedy their complaints. Law suits, DOT, OSHA, EEOC, and the NLRB become a substitute for direct action and rank and file organizing. While we are not opposed in principle to going outside the union--and in fact have to be among the most knowledgeable about what to expect from these outside agencies--we must continually point out the limitations of this strategy. PROD has attempted to turn the illusions that many have about the neutrality of the state into an organization. With the election of Carter, these illusions will be strengthened. A clear view of what's in store for the rank and file is essential for winning militants to TDU's strategy and organization.

In general, Democratic administrations tend to protect the labor bureaucracy from rank and file interference. Carter, who owes a great deal to the AFL-CIO and the UAW, will certainly follow this pattern. Ray Marshall, while slightly more acceptable to blacks than Dunlop, is a friend of the AFL-CIO leadership in most respects. But Carter owes nothing to Fitzsimmons and the Teamsters' officialdom, which did not push for Carter. Indeed, the very hostility of the AFL-CIO leadership to that of the IBT will be just one more pressure for Carter to do something vis a vis the Teamsters.

The pressures on the government to "clean up" the Teamsters have been growing for some time. The endless scandals around the pension funds, Mafia involvement, the death of Hoffa, etc., have all fueled the demand for government action. Indeed, when Marshall was questioned by the Senate, one of the prime demands was that he investigate the IBT. We can, therefore, expect one or more types of government intervention.

Most likely, there will be three distinct kinds of government intervention at the Federal level. (We are not speaking about injunctions, which will continue to rain cats and dogs.) The first is continued action on the pension fund. Next will be some form of Consent Decree or Affirmative Action plan. The third, and as yet, most distant, is a general investigation of the internal affairs of the union's leadership, finances, etc. Each of these offers different problems and possibilities.

Our general attitude toward government intervention in internal union affairs is, of course, one of opposition. But we are not rigid sectarians. For example, we generally favor Affirmative Action programs, though we are critical of aspects of them and fight to have them changed. The pension fund investigation is still another matter. Incidentally, it is also possible that the Grand Jury investigation of Hoffa's death will turn up some interesting facts about the union officialdom. Furthermore, whether or not we support a specific intervention, we must understand that these are part of the process of destroying the legitimacy of the bureaucracy.

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The investigations and legislation around the pension fund is generally a positive thing. The pension fund and its method of financing is not something we are wild about to begin with. But more important is the fact, that any improvements in the way pensions are awarded can only be to the good. That is, the outcome of the pension activities will most likely be material gains to older Teamsters--and the opening up of more jobs. We could hardly oppose this sort of improvement. At the same time, we want to continue to put forward the idea of rank and file control of the pension fund--one reform we can be sure Congress will not enact.

Affirmative Action in trucking can also be a good thing. In our view, preferential hiring of blacks and women is correct and long overdue. We should favor Affirmative Action and begin to educate TDU members and supporters now. CONVOY can carry articles on this and the Steering Committee can work out a position. This position should emphasize the justice of preferential hiring, as well as the strategic implications. We should also point out that the IBT represents many blacks, latins, and women who work under substandard contracts. We want an end to discriminatory contracts and conditions, as well as discriminatory hiring. Insofar as getting and holding blacks and women in the industry requires some adjustments in the seniority system, we favor modifications. However, we are opposed to any attempts to weaken or destroy seniority in such a way that it can be used by the employers, in mergers or other situations, to reduce the work force or victimize older workers. TDU Constitution, Resolution 4, #1: "No presently employed Teamster shall suffer loss of wages or seniority privileges as a result of such action. It is the employers who are responsible for the past discrimination, not the employees, and it is they who must bear the cost and inconvenience of overcoming it. Therefore, we will back policies like back seniority from date of application, company master seniority lists, etc. aimed at overcoming the effects of discrimination, but we also want to see wages of presently working Teamsters maintained, if necessary. No one to be laid off who otherwise wouldn't have been and/or shorten work week to 40 hours. If there are to be lay-offs, the company is to pay full salary for such periods."

A general investigation of the IBT is a more complex matter. We must assume that the motives of the government today, as when they went after Hoffa, was largely to weaken the power of the union vis a vis the employers. TDU should not push for government intervention in this general, carte blanche sense. If it comes, which is not really up to us or TDU, we will take the line that Teamsters should keep a close eye on what the government is up to. We can use opportunities to testify at hearings, as well as facts revealed, to point toward the need for rank and file control. But we must expose any attempts to weaken the power of the union or to push the idea of "responsibility," i.e., collaboration.

The government attacks on the IBT will help to undermine the credibility and authority of the officialdom. Objectively, they will strengthen the position of TDU and the rank and file. While PROD may be in a better position to take short-run advantage of investigations, the weakening of the bureaucracy will benefit all sections of the reform movement.

## THE TEAMSTER BUREAUCRACY: THE BEAST WHICH DEVOURED LAS VEGAS

The Teamster bureaucracy, as we all well know, is quite a beast! It is different from the bureaucracies of other major unions, and there are reasons for that. The IBT, unlike the autoworkers, steelworkers, electrical workers, and other industrial unions, didn't bust out of craft lines into a new industrial union in the '30"s. There was a mass rank and file organizing campaign in the IBT, but it was put into the mold of the old craft IBT, originally based on local delivery "crafts". After the midwest organizing drive in 1936-8, the IBT was an industrial union with 600,000 members. But it was still based on localism, baronies, small companies, and local or regional contracts. The radicals, despite Minneapolis, were driven out more readily than in the CIO unions.

So the picture emerged of a bureaucracy based on local baronies, with local power and contracts. A union that was bigger than the companies and bargained with thousands of them. This left so much room for corruption, side deals, etc. Much more than the CIO unions, with national bargaining with a few companies, and a more radical tradition in them. The union, under Hoffa, became in part a regulatory agency (sort of like ICC) over the many small companies.

This picture shaped the bureaucracy that we see today. It was Hoffa who set out to centralize the union, through the national master freight agreement and through constitutional changes to enhance his own power as General President. And he did. But the union is NOT, as the media presents it, a centralized one. Other big unions (IAM, USW) have 1000 staff men hired by the International to handle grievances, trusteeships, etc. The IBT relies on the local barons, and the local BA's. The International staff is low, and includes in fact mostly the "barons" themselves, like Presser, Williams, Rudy Tham, et al. The bureaucracy has no ideology, social democratic or otherwise that guides it. They support Democrats or Republicans as local deals suit them. More than anything else the bureaucracy resembles a gang of thieves.

This is not to say the local leaders are falling out with each other. They are not, and the International does keep them in check, through trusteeships, through the grievance machinery (grievances in major contracts go to regional boards so a dissident local can be punished by denying their grievances), and of course through the usual offers of fat jobs and favors.

In this situation, the leadership of once maverick locals increasingly fall back on the argument that their hands are tied. If they raise too much of a ruckus, then it will go hard on the local at the regional grievance board, etc. Increasingly, reformers are presiding over the cannibalization of their local and have no strategy for fighting back. Consequently, the 208 executive board ends up defending its vote for Fitz at the Convention as being in the best interests of the local.

Such power centers as Chicago (Pieck, Joyce), New York City, Ohio (Pressers), San Francisco, Kansas City, etc, aren't worried about justifying

themselves to the membership. You can read in WP about a split in the UAW between the "conservatives" and "liberals" in the top echelons. But not in the IBT Here you have various cliques jockeying, dealing and scratching each others' backs based on favors, money, threats and challenges.

There is no "Hoffa wing" to the bureaucracy. Hoffa's son is back on the job as 299's attorney. Pro-Hoffa elements such as San Francisco JC 7, Local 676 in New Jersey, or Local 208 in LA are at this point remnants, with little consequence for them. Several months back, we projected that the squeeze on the bureaucracy and Fitz's total inability to handle the pension scandal and the contract negotiations, would lead to some sort of palace revolution. It appeared that Roy Williams was jockeying to get in as Secretary-Treasurer of the IBT and take over the reins behind the scenes, supported by Chicago and by the "pro-Hoffa" areas and Presser. We were wrong, but the method was right. So long as there is pressure on the bureaucracy, there will be the likelihood of some kind of break. The more the pressure, the greater the chance.

The IBT is strong, and looks all-powerful with its massive money, giant size, and hired muscle. But it is brittle, as any dictatorship is. In a crisis it can crumble, as people desert it and its thin social base can't hold it up anymore. A gang of thieves with little base of support can be swept away unexpectedly. That's what Batista found out in Cuba. And more to the point, Tony Boyle gang in the Mineworkers.

Most of our fellow Teamsters don't see it this way. They see an all-powerful bureaucracy, so we have to be able to give them some idea how this monster can be beaten.

The bureaucracy can be squeezed between the membership and the employers. In the case of trucking, the employers are now pushing, and getting bolder as the companies and associations gain more sophistication in their methods. This was spelled out in the previous section. Wage cuts, productivity, even union busting are being tolerated by the union tops. So far, the membership reaction has not been strong enough to force the bureaucracy into a crisis. But the dynamic for it is there, and getting stronger. TDU is part of that dynamic. Further, as outlined above, the Feds can also provoke a crisis to speed one along, as a conscious policy or as a result of indictments over Central States or Hoffa's murder.

We can expect that if we in the rank and file movements are successful, and (as we know) the companies are going to keep pushing harder, the bureaucracy will have to give way. This may come in the form of an open split at the top, as some section of the big boys move to capture the support of the membership and ride it to power. Or it can come in a number of other ways. But when the bureaucracy is weakened, or split, the whole ball game will change. The question will no longer be "Can the Rank and File Reform the IBT," but it will be "HOW WILL IT CHANGE, AND BY WHOM?" We can expect that the present outcome will be the development of a reform current in the union, similar to Sadlowski, perhaps, based on the younger or "reform" officials and on some of the feuding cliques and barons. At present, there is no real reform current at all among the officials. Even mention of the International is ruled out of order at local meetings. The IBT Convention is a joke, except for the few isolated TDU delegates. JC's are mostly a joke. Any chance of influencing through "channels" such things as union policy, contract demands, etc., is a joke. But when pressure builds to where the bureaucracy is cracked, or a reform movement emerges, then all this will change. The r&f movement will have room to maneuver and grow. Avenues of policy-changing will open up, if only slightly. The rank and file will sense that now is the time to move.

That is what we are building TDU to be ready for. It must be a strong r&f movement to be able to take advantage of opportunities that will come along. Deep roots in the major locals. A leadership that can stand up to the challenge and not be swept away by the first reformer who comes by. The struggles we are in now are building our movement, and are a dress rehearsal for bigger ones to come. To the degree that it is socialists who are pointing the way ahead now and helping to involve more and more rank and filers in the process, to that degree we will be in a position to move in a more massive way as the crisis grows.



## FRACTION ORGANIZATION, TRAINING, AND RECRUITMENT

The key thing for the political growth of TDU is the training and development of self-confident class struggle leaders in the IBT. That task is primarily ours. We will meet a large number of self-starters, leaders, people with organizing talents, but those will be highly uneven. The track record of TDU shows conclusively that where we have nobody willing to take a lead we have been able to do very little. Kansas City and Cincinnati, for example, are two places where we have had long lists of freight contacts, but no one capable of pulling it together. The result--no functioning TDU group. Where we have had those people--places like Flint, Lorain, Portland--a TDU group emerged. Cities like Huntington, Charleston, or Green Bay, which had good people and active groupings, but whose leading members fell away, saw the demise of their chapters. And most importantly, in those areas where we have had an active IS fraction with a solid relationship with those indigenous leaders, TDU has prospered. Pittsburgh, Detroit, LA are the most obvious, but in almost every instance of TDU success there has been evident the support and close work of IS members and a capable local leadership.

More importantly, the development of this cadre is key to IS recruitment. It is a widely-held belief among Teamsters that the existence of socialists in your group is a liability, will hold you back, or reduce your popularity. For those who are not scared off by that general attitude, socialists must often still prove that they are in the movement to build it, not to rip it off. And even then, many who will accept that still do not understand the connection between our socialist ideas and our ability to wage successful struggle. Once that connection is made, recruitment is not far behind. The success of TDU, nationally and locally, is therefore key to both convincing those active leaders now around us that socialism is for them and for reaching out to new people who will be drawn into a growing and successful movement.

The work of the fraction must focus on developing this cadre of class struggle leaders and recruiting them to the IS. There are two dynamics in this process and they must not be confused. The first is working with TDUs to make the rank and file activity a success. At times this means working at very basic levels--building a meeting, putting out a leaflet, organizing a picket line. There are a host of practical techniques which we know and many rank and filers do not. We must work with people to transfer those skills. (This is really a two-way street. We understand the advantage of consistency, of trying things over and over again, of systematic work, and possess certain technical skills. Our contacts often understand local traditions, accepted methods, what has worked before. What is desired is a blending of this knowledge for both our sakes.)

But training rank and file leaders is not just a question of writing a good leaflet, planning one action, etc. It is primarily a job of political education. Many of the ideas being discussed here--the employers' offensive, nature of the IBT bureaucracy, role of the government, the reform current, etc.--are ideas which we must instill in the developing layers of TDU cadre. Understanding the nature of the struggle is key to the success of TDU, and all our people must have it if they are to avoid the host of phoney solutions to rank and file problems which will arise as the pressure against the bureaucracy builds from the employer offensive, government investigations, and growing reform sentiment. TDU will grow by creating a cadre confident enough to recruit other people and trained enough to take responsibility for and give direction to the organization. And that training must be done in as planned and consistent a way as any action against the bosses and bureaucrats. This will not be done without an effective fraction!!

The second dynamic, of course, is working with developed and developing class conscious rank and file leaders so that they understand the basic ideas of socialism, the IS as an organization, and the need for their activities and ideas to merge with ours. While it is correct to say that in order to become a true class conscious trade unionist, you must be a socialist and that socialist ideas are the key to any successful class struggle, that is not a connection made obviously or easily by most of our contacts. Most of our Teamster recruits were fought with over a period of time in the context of rank and file struggle before accepting our ideas at all. Making that connection--not just flashing the fact that we are socialists but fighting to give real content to our socialist ideas--is the fraction's key task.

This means working closely with people to know where they are coming from, how to approach them, and how to know their own work and family context and the kinds of pressures it puts on them. Using WP is probably the most consistent and direct way we have of politicizing our social relations with people. This means more than just selling the paper. It means the fraction must collectively discuss programs for using the paper with individuals, plans for articles which need to be written for the paper, and small group discussions focussed around the paper. Working out these plans and enforcing them is a primary responsibility of the fraction. Organizing other events in which our ideas can be raised and discussed is also a fraction responsibility, but WP must be the bedrock upon which these other things are built.

It is important to see these efforts as part of a process. One dinner does not make a socialist (an obvious reason why the paper is so important). We are not simply trying to change one individual's mind, but to change an entire situation. We want to change the atmosphere for our trade union work from one where socialists are viewed with suspicion or even hostility to one where any struggle involves a leadership that is comfortable with (or committed to) socialist ideas and the IS as a socialist organization. One or two events will not do this. TDU victories combined with consistent IS contact work will make the difference.

This section of our discussion is vaguer and more general than some of the others because this is one area where we are not analyzing objective conditions, but trying to organize and analyze our own experiences as the IS IBT Fraction and how we function to build TDU and the IS. Our ability to do this successfully depends on having the kind of functioning fraction we really haven't had. This conference is aimed at overcoming that by training our own leadership cadre in our perspectives and prospects. But in this final discussion we are trying to work out our organizational development, not just our line.

Our fraction has not been well organized. Meagre resources has been a primary factor. The two people who had been assigned the job of fraction administrator--myself and Eric H.--both have had other major responsibilities at the same time which cut into our time for this job. Doug, who has been responsible for the fraction bulletin, has had the same problem. But to be quite honest, our fraction has not been well organized because we at the center are not certain of the best way to organize it. This fraction gathering is part of an effort to find out what works. Here are some things we feel need be done. You may have others:

- 1) Communication is crucial. People often tell us that they want to know what is happening elsewhere. We often would like to know the same thing. Fractions must take seriously their being part of a national effort and let

the center know things. Would having one person at the center assigned to each fraction make that easier? Is information sent in being lost or confused at the center? What would make you initiate contact with us outside of crisis situations?

2) The local fractions must become political work units, not just task-oriented groups. They must meet regularly to discuss the work, contact development, recruitment. They must discuss our perspectives and other issues arising from the work. They must use fraction meetings for political training of members and contacts--from working with people to better answer the kinds of questions that arise among workmates, to dealing with racist or sexist behavior on the job, to using the paper actively and consistently at work.

3) The fraction bulletins must become less of a report on what local fractions are doing and more a training manual and tool for political development. Articles like the one on government intervention should be more common in the bulletin. Local work should be included, but it should not be reported on, but assessed politically--why was the campaign undertaken, how carried out, what results, what successes, what errors. How to deal with issues like affirmative action should be debated in the bulletin. A bulletin of this sort can be used as the basis for fraction discussion and educations.

4) Local fraction initiative must be stressed. There is often a sense of waiting for the center to provide plans, outlines, documents, etc. so local fractions can do their work. Local fractions must pressure the center for what they need, but we cannot produce it all. Fractions hold talks, do research, plan events. Do it with the whole fraction in mind--use tape recorders, write up what was done. If you try something, and it works, send it along so others can use it.

5) Meetings like this will provide face-to-face contact with leading fraction members to share experiences, raise problems, clarify perspectives, etc. They are a necessary addition to an informal, erratic phone/visit contact system. They will be part of developing our fraction work as a political effort. But the substance of this meeting must be brought back to local fractions, discussed, and assimilated. We are about developing politically reliable and reliant people and a functioning national fraction is key for that. It is up to us to make it happen.

## T.D.U. PERSPECTIVES

## INTRO:

TDU's future isn't guaranteed, but the potential for sustaining a growing movement clearly exists. Building on interventions in local struggles and a strong union reform sentiment, TDU has deepened its influence in areas where we previously had support (Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, LA, and the Bay Area), as well as expanding into other jurisdictions (beverage, grocery, and car haulers) and cities (Lorain and Flint). While we do not foresee a qualitative change over the next year in TDU's influence and organization on a national level, we believe that it is possible to continue to recruit, train a leadership, and build new chapters. In two cities (Pittsburg and Detroit) we have the potential to emerge as a serious contender for power. In a number of companies, we have the beginnings of TDU organization on a barn and company wide level. Looking further down the road, we see ourselves laying the groundwork for a major fight around the freight contracts in '79 and having delegates committed to the TDU program at the International Convention.

While as revolutionaries, we firmly believe the future belongs to the working class, it is our organization and perspectives for the present which allow us to influence future events. As we tried to show earlier, the employers offensive and the sell-out response of the present IBT leadership continues to throw new forces into struggle. Whether they go to TDU, or turn to the government, PROD or other reform currents depends on us and TDU's leadership. At present we are holding our own ... but barely. We have always been stretched to the limits by a lack of resources, now we have the added burden of a faction fight which is beginning to take its toll (lack of travel, missed opportunities—LA election, UPSurge on the shelf, etc.) An end to the faction fight and more efficient use of our resources are the pre-conditions for dealing with the political alternatives to TDU.

## PROD:

PROD is in open competition with us for political space in the IBT. So far the competition is strong but only partial, since the movements are generally in different areas or jurisdictions (PROD—road men, TDU—car haulers TDU in Detroit and West Coast, PROD in South etc.). On one level, PROD has a stronger objective basis for its program (legalism, Washington, D.C. base, access to media, support of liberal politicians, red-baiting, etc.). However, since PROD's strategy depends on the courts, Congress and a passive membership, it lacks TDU's dynamism, as well as a strategy for fighting the companies. PROD is now copying TDU's program and rank and file orientation (chapters, local papers, wives' groups, agitational paper, local elections, etc.), but since their basic strategy hasn't changed, they are not likely to beat TDU at its own game. Moreover, our own modest legal operation insures that PROD won't go unchallenged on its own turf. Our strategy toward PROD follows the lines of the letter from the TDU Steering Committee to PROD (see enclosed letter). We continue to be for cooperation and are ready to work together around specific issues. It is they who have tried to split the rank and file, and we have to explain to those working with us why PROD's way of functioning is consistent with its leadership's elitist, undemocratic views. So far, this approach has been quite successful. Whether we "beat" PROD depends on our ability to make Fox assume responsibility for the lack of unity, our ability to build TDU, and whether or not events in the union move "our" way (toward rank and file volatility and struggle). PROD has to

hope to catch a bureaucrat to run with them. Fox will never be Ed Sadlowski!

## THE ELECTIONS

While PROD is our main competitor in the reform movement, it is the present union leadership which we seek to replace. Our challenge to this leadership in the recent local elections illustrates some of the limitations of TDU in this period. In short, we are not yet strong enough to be "the opposition" in the union. Our goal, as stated above, is to be a real force, nationally based on strong chapters in some areas, a network in others, and a "rep" everywhere. We are not strong enough to directly split local execs, let alone bring enough pressure to force the local leadership to make a decisive break with the International.

Detroit and Pittsburgh are where we have the best change of becoming "the opposition!" Here our goal is an election where the choice is between Lins and Co. or TDU. While this is our goal, the recent elections in LA and elsewhere point to the possibility that TDU may build an electoral base for reformers who want change, but don't want to be part of any movement, especially one with socialists. In '92, this meant that the non-TDU reform slate adopted most of TDU's platform. We regard this as a partial victory, since many rank and file recognize what went down. Had we a solid TDU group in '92 before the election started, the results might well have been different.

Opportunist reform currents exist in Pittsburgh and Detroit as well, but it is TDU which is actually leading struggles. When election time comes around, we will determine the issues. Part of our program will be to point out the limitations of incumbent reformers who substitute good intentions and personality for programs and rank and file organization. "The fight isn't just with the assholes in office, but with the International as well. That's why you need TDU. If the third force wins, as in '92, we will be in a strong position to demand that they deliver on their campaign promises.

All this does not mean that TDU is to operate as the militant minority; that is the old plan where we first had to build up a "Teamster Network" of class struggle unionists through propaganda work (magazine) and then be "the left wing" in a mass movement that someone else (Curly Best? PROD? Harold Gibbons?) will build. No good. We build up the militant minority of class struggle unionists THROUGH the mass work of building the TDU, intervening and leading mass struggles, local and also national in character (contracts, elections, jurisdictional networks, pension campaigns, etc.). Proven correct so far.

## RED BAITING

At one time or another, the employers, union officials, and would-be reformers have all attempted to red bait TDU. We have responded with varying degrees of success to these attacks in Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Cleveland through leaflets, articles in CONVOY, etc. Our approach has been to be open about our politics, emphasize the issues, the need for unity, the motives of those making the attacks ("a bosses tool"), as well as standing on our record, and pointing out the role socialists played in building the union in the 30's. The crudeness of the attacks, the fact that it isn't socialists who are selling out, and the credibility of our members has meant that red baiting has not stopped TDU cold. It has undercut our potential support, however, and it has not gone away.

Cleveland appears to be the worst--full-page ads in the daily paper, pickets at union meetings with signs that denounce TDU as "socialist lies", and recently a good part of a 407 membership meeting devoted to denouncing

the IS, complete with visual aids, and offers of free classes on fighting communism given by the Christian anti-Communist Crusade.

Despite these attacks, we do not believe there will be a campaign to drive the reds out of the union. We have established a beach head. We are no longer outsiders. We will have to continue the fight for our politics within TDU. We must win an ever expanding core to the view that without socialists to give a lead, the odds are that the corruption and sellouts will continue. Over the long run, our most effective defense against red baiting will be strong, democratically controlled TDU chapters.

#### HOW TO BUILD TDU

When clerical workers in IBT Local 800 struck Pittsburgh and New England Trucking Company and found they weren't getting any support from the union, they went to TDU. During the recent beer strike in LA it was TDU which turned a losing strategy into a fight which gave the distributors and the union leadership a run for their money. It is these interventions and more besides, which have begun to earn TDU a reputation as the best fighters, the people to turn to when the union says that nothing can be done. TDU will continue to grow as long as this is the word out on the streets.

Besides having a rep as the best fighters, we want to be known as the group which doesn't compromise, whether it's with the boss, the union leadership, or controversial issues confronting the membership. We have to be the ones who oppose the view that workers at a bankrupt company should not be dovetailed with workers from a healthy company, who are known for their support of the UFW, who push for affirmative action hiring and upgrades for women and minorities. The work done by the Pittsburgh TDU chapter around affirmative action in particular, and racism and sexism in general, points us in the right direction. The position developed in the previous section (IBT and Govt.) is the correct one; it now remains for us to apply it in a systematic way--through articles in CONVOY and our local papers, through actions taken by local TDU chapters.

When all is said and done, TDU will be built out of struggle, by our ability to win victories, however small or partial. So far, Detroit has been crucial to TDU. The Detroit wildcat and delegate elections stand out like a beacon to those wanting to reform the union and fight the companies. Now it is possible (but only possible, since the bureaucracy will no doubt sense the significance of the fight) that Detroit will again boost the TDU forward in a couple of months by breaking open 299 in a by-laws fight. If so, CONVOY does a four-page special on it with a huge headline "TDU BUSTS FITZ IN 299", with interviews, pictures, and detailed stories on "how we did it" to inspire our chapter-building policy and show what can be done.

#### BARN ORGANIZATION:

The success of local and city-wide caucuses in the long run are tied to our ability to pull together TDU groups which have a base on the shop floor. As long as TDU remains a network of isolated individuals, our power will be limited. As attacks on conditions continue, strong barns will become more and more important. This will be especially true as contract time comes near. It has also been our experience that where we have a base in a barn, we're betterable to get our lit out, raise money, and ~~xxxx~~ generate support for campaigns.

Our aim is a "dual power" situation where the company is kept in check by a shop-floor group which is not tied to the union machine. This means direct action to fuck with production, and a knowledge of grievance procedure and past practice to defend our people. Here, as at the local level, it will be victories, however small and partial that are the key. This can range from getting a water cooler, to making sure management doesn't touch the freight, to forcing a terminal manager to be transferred. Based on the rep we've gained in leading the defense of conditions, we want to run TDU people for stewards and asst. stewards where possible.

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## UPSurge Perspectives

### L. UPSurge and the rank and file work

#### A. Introduction

UPSurge's major focus over its first 15 months has been around contract campaigns. Through this we have built a network of supporters and activists; have worked closely with many rank and file leaders at UPS and have helped to develop others into leaders; and have gained a reputation for being the ones who get the information out, and who are willing to take on both the company and the Union. UPSurge has a presence which is larger than our actual network, and in some cities, UPSurge has an organized presence in the form of a local newsletter or a steering committee. In most places, UPSurge is seen as a paper and some kind of loose organization, usually connected with a few individuals locally.

Now that the contract fights are over, we are faced with a big task. A national contract looms 2½ years away. Without the focus of an immediate contract it will be more difficult to sustain interest, as we have seen in freight and in the Central States. Our decreasing number of subscribers is evidence of this. Without the steering committees which existed in the Central States and East, our two greatest areas of participation, we need to develop roles for those who have been most active, or we risk their drifting away, or only being active at the local level. Many people who we are in touch with, both our occasional supporters and some of our very active folks, are confused about the relationship of UPSurge - and UPSers overall - to TDU. In addition, they are confused about the relationship of both of these to PROD. Because PROD is on the move, especially in the East where the back strike benefits were recently won, this need to project a direction and focus for UPSurge becomes an immediate necessity. People are confused about what group to work with, what group to join and build, and many are confused about exactly what each group does. For many UPSers, their only knowledge of TDU is through articles in UPSurge, many still see it as freight only, and many have the confused impression that to fight the company, you work with UPSurge, and to fight the Union, you work with PROD.

We must clarify that UPSurge is a paper and a network of supporters who are fighting UPS and fighting to change the Union with other Teamsters, via TDU. That UPSurge is not an organization, but that TDU is the organization of rank and file Teamsters from all jurisdictions which is fighting the companies and fighting to change the Union and return control of the Union to the rank and file.

#### B. UPSurge Focus:

Clearly a major part of UPSurge's focus will be to orient UPSers toward TDU and to help them build local TDU chapters and increase overall participation of UPSers within TDU. Via the newspaper, this means providing people with tools for working within and changing the Union, as well as company-oriented projects initiated by TDU. An orientation toward shop floor organizing which will provide experiences and information which will provide the 'how-to's' is key to making UPSurge more of a handbook for shop floor organizing.

1. UPSers in the Union: There should be regular coverage (as there is in this issue) in the paper on activities such as by-laws reform, stewards councils, UPSers running for office, electing good stewards, etc. In some cases, the activities cited may not have even been initiated by UPSers but perhaps by a TDU chapter. We must encourage people to initiate such projects. These type of projects are more likely to

~~be more likely to~~  
Add: short-term: Brochure for South to be done by Doug.

create openings for UPS people to attract interested non-UPSers in their areas. As most of these projects will be linked to TDU, this will give people a better idea of what TDU is and what it does. The intention of this section will also be to influence those individuals who are only interested in fighting UPS and do not want to, or do not believe it is possible, to take on the Union. (or who believe we can take on the Union with only UPSers).

2. Grievances: One of the most important things that will be happening in this next year or so is that UPS will be re-writing all these newly negotiated contracts. In doing so, they will be attempting to wear people down, and to lower conditions through interpretation of language and then calling it past practice. The degree to which they get away with this without a fight from the Union or the ranks will substantially affect the bargaining position of the rank and file when we enter the big one in '79. UPSurge could begin a regular column called 'GRIEVE IT' (or something a little bit snappier). We should encourage people to file grievances (as many already do) when the contract is violated and to inform UPSurge of the issue, the nature of the grievance, and the outcome. Although many conditions only pertain to a local or regional area, with more of these contracts consolidated, there is a greater chance that what is fought and won or lost in one area will be both informationally and tactically useful to people in another area. For example, in the current issue, we encouraged people in the East to file grievances if they are called back to work in violation of seniority (as many of them are) and to write to us what the outcome is. Where the Union tries not to accept ~~the~~ grievances - as they are doing now in the Central States over work hours during Xmas - we should encourage various means of pressure on the Union to take such grievances - NLRB, publicity, etc. . . .

This section need not be limited strictly to grievances, but also to any shop floor actions taken to enforce contractual or past conditions. We could do an occasional interview with stewards from various areas on how they fought on a certain issue and protected conditions.

3. Productivity: Although there is not yet widespread evidence that UPS is doing a production drive that is above and beyond their normal way of functioning, we should be on the alert of signs of such a drive. UPSurge could do a regular column, 'SPEED-UPS', which could: (a) write up stories of the company's attempts to institute standards (Livonia letters, SF Hiring), (b) interview with people such as Vince or others who can explain how they use shop floor organization to fight such standards, (c) drawing from people's experiences on "what to say when your supervisor says such and such", (d) point to situations outside of freight where production standards are being instituted, and how people are fighting back - such as Jones in Pgh. Through soliciting information on these instances, UPSurge will be in a better position to respond when this gets worse.

TDU should begin soliciting similar information in areas outside of UPS, possibly for the future production of a pamphlet on productivity similar to the one on by-laws.

4. Rank and file files: UPSurge should make available the forms used by the S. Jersey people. (Rita to do). These are "Driving under supervision" and "Supervisory Confrontation." Others may be appropriate, but we can start with these. February issue of UPSurge to have interview with S. Jersey steward on how they use the forms, examples of situations where they were effective, etc. If this catches on, UPSurge should do other ~~the~~ stories of how people are utilizing the forms. Often, the use of these forms will probably be connected to productivity.

5. Preparing for the national contract: This is a long-term project, which will require a lot of work. UPSurge should ~~be~~ prepare a pamphlet which outlines how and where conditions differ. For example, list part-time wages around the country, from the highest to the lowest, listing the area. This will be very time consuming and will necessitate involving many people in gathering the information, but will be essential information when we enter the '79 contract negotiations. It will have wide appeal as many people fear losing conditions when they enter the national contract, but no one knows who really has better conditions, in specifics. Sometime around summer - at which point, hopefully, all the contracts will have been printed - UPSurge could



announce the project and begin soliciting contracts and local supplements. Some type of questionnaire might be useful in acquiring the information, also, especially in regard to certain conditions which exist that are not written into contracts and perhaps should be.

C. UPSurge Leadership: Involving and Developing roles for key UPSurge activists is one of the most important problems facing us. There must be a group which has responsibility to UPSurge and TDU's future, on more than a local level. Without formalizing the role of the key activists and the network among them, there is an increasing chance that these individuals' sense of responsibility and commitment, as well as their political development, will ~~not~~ lessen. If this happens, subscribers to UPSurge will probably not increase, we will be less successful in drawing UPSers into TDU and UPSurge will only be a propaganda paper. There will be less opportunity for ongoing political dialogue. The current set-up leaves us wide open for red-baiting, plus it increases people's tendency to 'let Arne or Rita' do it and not encouraging them to take any initiative. Many of these lack the confidence to play any role beyond the local level. By not providing them with such a role, we do nothing to build this confidence.

While a body which meets regularly is impractical, a body which communicates by mail and by phone - and possibly occasional regional meetings - is workable. The group would constitute an advisory board for UPSurge, and some of their functions would be: (1) to help make decisions as to the focus of the newspaper, activities, etc, (2) to get more subscribers to the paper, as well as soliciting articles or information, (3) to serve as a sub-committee within TDU nationally which would provide feedback as to whether or not TDU is speaking to the needs of UPS workers, and to suggest to national ~~of~~ TDU ways projects or other means of bringing UPS workers into TDU (4) to build an UPSurge/TDU presence in their area, including occasional travel to a nearby city if people become interested in Tdu or UPSurge there. As the national TDU steering committee has done, we could provide each person with a list of the whole group to encourage individuals to come up with ideas on their own - rather than waiting for them to always come out of the center - and to mail them out to the group. Without

D. Building ~~the~~ TDU

This, of course is our most important goal. The first task is to get our key people to join TDU, which many of them have not. The UPSurge masthead has already added "Affiliated with TDU". Next mailing of Conway to do special mailing to UPSurge sub list with cover letter from UPSurge. ~~and~~ TDU brochure

Anne & Rita to write a proposal to the people suggested for the Advisory Board outlining much of this perspective, asking them to be on such a body. This to go out no later than first of year, then request people get back with response by mid to late January, or reach them by phone. A meeting is not realistic. After those persons reach some kind of agreement on these questions, a letter to be mailed out to the UPSurge sub list which is signed by them, along with a TDU brochure and a TDU membership card.

Right after the holidays Rita to make a tour of a number of key East and midwest cities to talk to people and try to bring them into Tdu. We should encourage other people to travel as well (Anne? Gary, etc), and where there are TDU people nearby, they should come to any kind of get-together which is set up. This worked very well when Rita and Keith G. from TDU spoke together in Whites-Barra. Names should be gotten from Carole of TDU people in the cities visited so that they can be seen and brought together with the UPS people in that area. Such a tour will be one of the best ways to firm up many of our supporters and to engage in the necessary discussions about building TDU. Some of the trip's purposes: (1) membership drive for TDU, (2) discuss role of (See MARGIN)

for to  
include  
Conway  
next UPSurge  
include  
Conway  
TDU brochure

role of UPSurge in East strike, what was gained, learned, etc, (3) solicit ideas from people about activities for TDU, coverage in UPSurge, (4) solicit subs for UPSurge, (5) discuss local situations - at ups and in local Union - to figure out appropriate local TDU activities, (6) speak to IS contacts about UPSurge and IS as part of the periphery/recruitment campaign, (7) speak with the IS/IBT fractions about this campaign and UPSurge perspectives.

(Other points mentioned earlier will of course help draw people into TDU - article in UPSurge about TDU activities.)

## II. UPSurge and the IS;

Coming out of the contract fights, particularly in the Central states and East, UPSurge has a high amount of credibility. The fact that there are some socialists in the leadership in UPSurge is a well-known fact. That they are members of the IS and support Workers' Power is known in varying degrees depending on the area. This credibility and the fact that we have been open about our politics put us in a position where we can recruit, as TDU is now doing. Because of the nature of UPS's workforce - younger, more Blacks and women - we may have more success. Certainly the number of regular WP readers is the best indication of the recruitment potential.

The UPS recruitment campaign as outlined previously to be carried out. It should be seen in the broader as a periphery campaign, while at the same time seriously trying to recruit, as well. The beginning stages of the campaign should have already begun - regularizing WP sales, including fliers of branch activities in papers. Now that the Eastern strike is over, it is important that articles on UPS continue through this campaign which will probably involve articles being assigned. This is to be done by A and D. Pamphlet (WP) on UPS to be written by Doug to be available in early January. Living room meetings as suggested to take place around late January, early February.

It is important that there be regular reports sent in to Anne and Doug from the fractions on sales, contacts, etc. Likewise, it is important that there be regular reports sent to fraction members (and shared with sellers when not in fraction), to let people know how the campaign is going, but more important, what is being tried, what is working, etc. Short reports to be written by WP/UPS/seller sellers with a lot of experience Carole (Cleveland), Candy (Wash DC), Ray (Boston), Barbara (NY). This will be informative - even outside the fraction - and will be helpful in spreading ideas and boosting members' confidence who may not be having such good luck either selling or maybe making contacts from the outside. We should encourage people to try different kinds of get-togethers with contacts depending on local situation, then to write these up. Some of the WP sellers in the East did a great job of staying on top of the latest news by staying in touch with PGL, and some did special WP leaflets. When such leaflets are done, copies should be sent to other fractions, to the UPSurge center, and to national WP office.

The relationship of the WP seller to the fractions must be tightened up. Where there are members inside, they should try to take over sales inside when possible. Sellers should be aware of any current issues or problems inside the hub. Often members will have a better idea of which articles to bring to people's attention. Where there are not members inside, but are members in the industry, it may help to set up meetings with readers and those members, or to have these members come sometimes with the seller to sell. Special local WP leaflets on local issues will help make the paper and organization seem more relevant, more able to respond to local issues.

Although this campaign should have time guidelines in terms of the pamphlet, regularizing sales, and beginning these meetings,

more than anything the intention of this campaign is to change our mode of operating in a long-term way that builds our members' ability and confidence to bring revolutionary politics to UPSers, recruits and builds our periphery at UPS, and integrates our politics in such a way that develops in our contacts an understanding of the IS which goes beyond WP and forums.