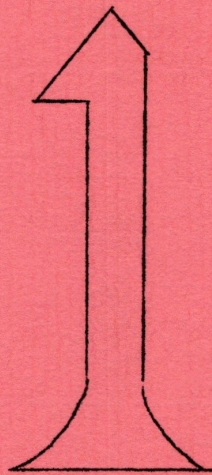


**international
socialists
internal
bulletin**



for is and rt members only

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PROCEDURES FOR REPORTS/DOCUMENTS FOR INTERNAL BULLETIN

INTRODUCTION

With this Bulletin we are officially restarting the IS internal Bulletin. It will come out every 6 weeks or so, following the Central Committee meeting. Its purpose is internal communication as well as a place for political discussion. It is your bulletin. It will be as good as the reports and documents included in it. Below is all the information necessary to insure that it is organized. The rest is up to you.

CONTENT

Each issue will include a National Secretary's Report, documents from the last Central Committee, Reports from the Women's Commission and Black Commission, and a Worker's Power Editor's Report. The four fractions (IBT, UAW, USW, Postal) will be divided with reports from 2 fractions each issue. The nine cities where we have Branch/Districts will also be divided with reports from half each issue. There will also be political line and discussion documents from the EC. Comrades are encouraged to submit political discussion documents under 3,000 words for the Bulletin.

REQUIREMENTS AND FORMAT

All reports and documents must be typed on 8½ x 11 Gestetner stencils if they are to be included in the Bulletin.

SCHEDULE & DEADLINES

Bulletin No. 2 will come out in the middle of October. All reports and documents are due in the National Office on Friday, September 30.

Bulletin No. 3 will come out the end of November. All reports and documents are due in the National office on Friday, November 18.

A new schedule for 1978 will come out with Bulletin No. 3.

Below is the schedule of branch and fractions reports due for the next two issues of the Bulletin. Thereafter, reports will alternate by even and odd numbers. EG: If your particular branch or fraction report is due for Bulletin No. 2, it will be due again for Bulletin No. 4, etc. You will receive a reminder 2 weeks before your report is due.

Bulletin No. 2

Fractions

IBT

Postal

Branches/Districts

New York/New Jersey

Pittsburgh

Los Angeles

Austin

Chicago/Gary

Bulletin No. 3

Fractions

UAW

USW

Branches/Districts

Cleveland

Detroit

Bay Area

Atlanta

CONTENT OF REPORTS

Fraction and district/branch reports should include the following: Overall political assessment of the branch or fraction, state of the periphery, no. of close contacts, important accomplishments since the last report, nos. recruited and/or lost, use of Workers' Power, progress in education and training, general perspectives.

The reports should be as informative and honest as possible so as to give comrades throughout the organization a full picture of the group. Security precautions are in effect when it comes to names, places of work, etc.

Any problems, questions, complaints should be directed to Marilyn or Isabel at the National Office.

9/1/77

The scope of this report is to summarize where we have come as an organization since the convention, where we are now and what the next steps are that the IS must address. Essentially this report is the context to which the two CC documents on Party Building and Black Liberation Perspectives address themselves.

1. Four and one half months ago we lost 1/3 of the membership in a major split.. We were left with members. 8% of the organization was Black, 34% women, 30% in our industrial priorities.

As the "left" faction had challenged some of the fundamentals of our strategy much of the convention was spent with defending that strategy and thus did not come to grips with the specific problems of the IS today, and what our next immediate steps were to be.

We also believed, wrongly, that the split did us little damage. We believed this because we had kept almost all of the groups external work, in particular the industrial work.

2. The truth was that the fight had hurt us a great deal more than we had understood, as it crushed the groups self-confidence to grow. About one month later many of the problems which had led to the fight, and others that resulted from it began to emerge. We had not recruited out of industry in the members we had hoped, we felt isolated internationally, the EC was paralyzed and had no agreement on which way to move, we had a looming financial crisis, during the faction fight much of the procedural and organizational norms of a democratic centralist organization had broken down. The organization experienced a loss of political self-confidence. "Was our perspectives right?", "Can we grow?", "How?", were the questions asked, At the last CC the old EC stated that it was completely divided, ~~xxx~~ could not continue to lead in this paralyzed state and called for the election of a new EC based on one of two proposed political programs. Many feared that this would turn out to be the beginning of another faction fight.

3. However, this was only part of the picture. At the same time the organization was developing a working class and Black periphery in the industrial work and for the first time in the Black community. Slowly and steadily we were recruiting our of this periphery. The problem was that the demoralization following the faction fight and the local nature of the work, as well as the local nature of recruitment in only ones and twos, made it hard for any one comrade to see the health of the whole.

4. At the May CC, the EC put forward a four month perspective. The key ideas were to rebuild a working class periphery for the IS through periphery building events, and to upgrade the Black work. We stated that our key task was to grow both to increase our numbers - and to turn the organization around, to give it the confidence that it could move forward. We set a target of recruiting 50 new members by the end of the summer. We also proposed the Workers' Conference as the conclusion of the four month perspective.

5. We have fulfilled these goals. Since the convention we have recruited 54 people, all but 7 are working class in origin and about half are Black. Since the convention; also, we have lost 18 people. However the majority of these losses come from people who were on their way out at the time of the convention but took a longer time to do it. We have kept most of the new membership.

This recruitment has changed our organizational statistics in the right direction. One third of the membership are women, 16% Black, and 34% are in the

the industrial priorities. We are becoming increasingly a more integrated, working class group. This was visible to all at the Workers' Conference and part of the excitement of the conference.

6. We are once more moving forward as an organization. However, we have not solved all of our problems.

The EC had made the correct political decision to focus on recruitment both out of industry and the Black community, and restoring the confidence of the group in its political perspectives. We understood that we could not begin to solve some of our other problems until this was done.

We must now begin to address other problems - or we will lose the gains we have made. First we must assess where we are at:

1. The midwest districts, Pitts, Cleve, Detroit, have not yet jelled. They are still a collection of assorted work rather than a unified entity. There is little branch life. Political discussion is still extremely narrow, focussing around specific arena work and takes place in the fractions.

2. The Chicago District continues to have difficulty pulling itself together. The IBT branch is beginning to move forward. It recruited one Teamster, has external work which has the potential of becoming extremely important and a growing periphery. The SS branch has little real work - and few opportunities in industry. Part of the problem is the difficulty of getting jobs which has meant the loss of comrades to either greener pastures of demoralization.

The Gary branch has most of its membership in industry and is well positioned. However there is little branch life. The branch is more like a glorified fraction than a rounded political unit.

3. Many of the smaller branches have not been able to pull together following the convention. They did not have the critical mass to move forward. We have thus closed down the Boston and Portland branches. Comrades will be moving to other cities which are growing and need experienced cadres. A few will remain in both Boston and Portland for personal reasons.

4. There is little sense of a national organization. Most members feel they do not know what is going on.

5. The West Coast branches are generally stagnant. Although they both have peripheries they have not yet made any breakthroughs in recruitment.

6. The NY district is made up of three very different branches. The work of the Manhattan/Bronx branch is best known to the IS as a whole because much of it has been in Workers' Power. That branch continues to grow. It is very dynamic but also very young. Its biggest problem is that the new members are all Black and the cadres are white. It is crucial that the Black membership be trained rapidly.

The Queens/Brooklyn branch has little external work and no perspective.

The NJ branch has industrial work that moves forward slowly but no periphery and little branch life.

7. WP circulation is extremely low. It averages 3 papers per member. The paper is improving in content but it is not being used by the membership.

8. The cadres of the group continue to be severely overstretched. The new recruitment is generally new and inexperienced so does not yet relieve some of the pressures on the leadership level.

9. The financial crisis continues.

10. Auto: We are in a better position in auto than we have been in a very long time. We are beginning to recruit Black auto workers which is absolutely key for our work to advance. The wildcats in Chrysler showed a willingness to fight on the part of the rank and file that was far greater than we expected. Through the wildcats we have met many new people, have expanded our network of militants and we may be central in pulling together any kind of city-wide grouping that develops.

There have been setbacks however. Wendy W. lost her re-election for committeeperson. She lost because she is white and this was used successfully against her. Also, the auto fraction steering committee is still not on top of the fraction ~~xx~~ nationally.

11. IDT: We have recruited several Teamsters since the convention. The TDU convention is Sept. 24/25 and is being built with as of yet mixed success. Some places are much stronger than expected - others weaker.

This is a crucial year for TDU - it must grow. It faces stiff competition from PROD which is now modelling itself after TDU.

There are also two key local elections in Detroit coming up.

12. Steel: The fraction has grown 3 times since the convention since the convention. We are well positioned but very new to the industry. There is little happening nationally. As yet we have no periphery in steel for the IS.

13. Black Work - see Black perspectives.

14. Women's Commission: The women's commission is planning a Women's conference in Cleveland along with the Cleveland women's caucus. The conference will take place in December. Margaret is no longer women's commissioner as she has returned to the Bay Area. The new Women's Commission is Enid, Gay, Jane and Elissa.

7. In summary we believe we have taken the first important steps in rebuilding a healthy dynamic organization. We have ~~xx~~ proven that we can grow and recruit to the ideas of revolutionary socialism. Today we are in some ways anew, and more serious organization. We are far more working class in composition than ever before and also have many more Black members. We now must get on to the next key steps in rebuilding the group. In essence this means consolidating our past gains and continuing the process of recruitment and party building. The CC documents deal with specifically these questions.

8. The Workers' Conference was a big success for the IS. It showed the new IS as it pulled together the gains of the last several months and a new working class periphery. There were 60 contacts there. This includes 23 Red Tide members, who are not yet members of the IS. 47 of the contacts were working class in origin, 32 were Black. 17 people put their names forward to join.

Besides the composition of the group there were two other extremely important aspects of the conference. It was the first time the IS has built an event ~~xx~~ like this around the ideas of revolutionary socialism. Before we have attempted to attract working class people to our strategy for the rank and file movement. Here it was our full politics. We got a great deal of interest for these ideas. The conference was extremely serious. Members and contacts took the politics they were learning very seriously. Many said for the first time they thought they could go back and convince others. Also the conference was unifying for the whole organization, old members as well as new. The final panel on why people joined pulled the group together and for many was catalytic to personal dedication to the revolutionary movement. It was an extremely emotional and moving moment for all who were there.

EVALUATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING 8/28

The CC meeting of August 28 successfully accomplished its tasks. It completed the discussion begun at the previous CC meeting on party building. The general acceptance of the document (only 1 against, 1 abstention) as well as the content of the discussion indicated substantial agreement on the tasks of the next several months. The differences which had existed at the previous CC meeting had narrowed considerably.

The EC laid out that its strategy in the last months had been to concentrate on overcoming demoralization through making the Black Conference and Workers' Conference successful externally oriented events, and to put added stress on Black recruitment. The success of these actions, particularly the involvement of the whole organization (with the exception of the West Coast) in the Workers' Conference, went a long way in restoring confidence that we were back on the right track, and that our political perspectives could be translated into working class recruitment and organizational growth. In choosing this focus we had to consciously ignore some of our internal problems. We could not solve all problems at once, and some of our internal problems could not be solved until the organization was convinced of its ability to once again recruit and grow.

We now have to systematically deal with rebuilding the branch as the center of political life in the IS, organize branch public events, internal discussion and education and training for the new members.

While there was general agreement, there was also the recognition that having broken through the organizational lethargy of the post-split period, much of the party building discussion was already out of date, and it is now time to get on with the business of implementing it, branch by branch.

The CC discussion on the IBT fraction and the direction of the TDU was near unanimous in its very strong support for the perspectives adopted by the Fraction Council: building the TDU as a broad based mass organization, support for the dump Fitz campaign and lawsuit, running TDU slates in locals with the aim of going for power in the locals, projecting TDU as a parallel movement to the rank and file movements in steel and the mines, etc. Only 1 CC member supported the defeated minority position at the Fraction Council which called for TDU to be a network of radical Teamsters, opposition to the court suit around Dump Fitz, and for not inviting Patrick (UMW) to speak at the TDU convention.

The most important discussion was on the new Black Perspectives which marks a major new stage in the development of the IS as a multi-national organization. Again, substantial agreement contributed to a constructive discussion. For the first time, discussion of the Black community was not from the vantage point of outside commentators, but rather drew concrete conclusions from developments in Black politics for the IS organizationally. The perspectives anticipate the problems that we will face in becoming a multi-national organization and lay out that the next very necessary stage is the education and training of a Black cadre.

The CC also discussed work in the Black Community. This would focus not on neighborhood projects, but city political questions, particularly jobs and the decay of the cities. Work around these types of political questions becomes increasingly possible with the growing disillusionment with Carter and the ~~xx~~ rising tension between the Carter administration and the moderate Black leadership.

While we are ~~xxxxx~~ recruiting Black workers they are not mostly in the areas of our industrial concentration. The recruitment we are now doing, and the changes it is making in the IS, as well as the development of a Black cadre, and the start of an industrialization of Black members will correct this in the future.

There was comment on the part of CC members that we have to maintain Southern Africa work for its future importance, and not give it up because of the still slow response to events in Southern Africa.

It was also moved that the Black Commission draw up written material on how to deal with nationalism and our position.

An amendment to the perspectives to create a national campaign and organization on the question of jobs and unemployment was defeated. It was felt that while this is becoming the central question that we lack the cadres and resources to organize what is just starting to be this sentiment, with the exception of the South Bronx where we have taken the lead. Rather, local execs are instructed to try at this point to investigate and take part in the demonstrations and activities which we expect will be organized by broad liberal coalitions in the next months.

While the membership of the CC satisfactorily dealt with the business before it, there was feeling that the CC represented where the organization was at at the last convention and not its dynamic sectors and future, and that it was too long to wait for a new convention to change the CC. A motion was passed for the EC to consider and bring to the CC a proposal for changing the composition of the CC - before the next convention.

Addition To Black Perspective Document CC Meeting 8/28
Report on state of South Africa work.

When we started S.A. work we expected to be able to build more or less stable SALC chapters. We thought that the public meetings and activities like shoe collections would attract a group of people who would become the cadres of the SALC. We thought that after a period of common activity the best of these people would join the IS.

We clearly overestimated the active response to the S.A. issue in the Black community. Only in the S. Bronx, the Bay Area and the Austin branch have been able to build SALC's with a membership broader than ourselves. In Atlanta we were able to bring a good number of people around the Del Monte picket lines but lost them again when the activity was over. In Pittsburgh we were able to recruit people whom we met through Southern Africa work but haven't been able to build an SALC.

What we have found is that for the most part the few people who are willing to be active around S.A. are very open to joining the IS. If we don't recruit these people fairly quickly we usually wind up losing them even to S.A. work. We should learn from this and begin aggressively talking socialist politics with people as soon as they begin coming around SALC activities.

We will be continuing our S.A. work this fall. There will be new local campaigns on Del Monte and Krugerrand started as well as new shoe collections. Even where we have done these things before we are working with people for whom it is a new activity. We want to use these activities both as an opportunity to recruit these people and to meet a few people who will become active.

Since we expect widespread student activity around S.A. this year we are beginning to plan student interventions. Detroit and Chicago are planning to focus their work on community colleges. The Bay Area has been participating in a coalition to force the University of Calif. to sell its stock in companies with investments in S.A. The LA branch is exploring initiating similar action as well as exploring a campaign around the city police Dept. pension fund investments.

There are several new developments that could provide opportunities this fall. There are plans to begin marketing an "American" gold coin made from S.A. gold to compete with the Krugerrand. If this is widely promoted and sold it will make an excellent target for demonstrations.

There is a good chance there will be a national conference on S.A. before the end of the year. The ACOA is considering initiating a conference and trying to involve the CBTU, prominent Black churchmen, PUSH, and possibly some unions. The CP's National Anti-Imperialist Movement for Southern Africa Liberation (NAIMSAL) had previously announced that they were going to call a national conference but seem to have dropped the idea. If a national conference is organized we will plan an active role in it.

We don't expect a mass response from any of these activities. Rather we hope to be able to meet and quickly recruit a few activists in each city. Where we already have a few Black members we expect this process to be easier and quicker.

BLACK PERSPECTIVES - Central Committee Meeting - August 28, 1977

1.) The key to the American revolution is the question of Black Liberation. Without the unity of Black and white workers there will not be an American socialist revolution. The question of the building of the American revolutionary party is the question of achieving that unity, of building a multinational revolutionary party. Without the role of revolutionaries, without unity among the most advanced workers, overcoming racism and the division of the working class among the more backward workers is utopian. The history of the American labor and radical movements are filled with failure because of an inability to grasp, or act, correctly on this decisive question.

2.) Until recently the single greatest failing of the IS was its inability to become a multinational organization. This failure was historically grounded. The IS of today is a product of the radical movements of the 1960's, which were incapable of unifying Black and white radicals. The IS in the last years put all of its emphasis and resources into transforming itself into a workers organization, and correctly so. Until this was accomplished it would prove difficult to recruit Blacks to an almost all-white organization, or for such an organization to wage effective fights against racism. This was a weakness that we had to live with, and to some extent become accustomed to. It was our expectation that in becoming a workers organization rooted with real though small forces among the rank and file we would then be able to recruit and unify with black workers.

3.) It is now clear that we have reached the stage where not only is that possible, but the process is already underway. In the 5 months since the Convention we have recruited around 50 people, of whom a majority are Black. This has occurred despite the fact that until the Workers Conference, the IS was organizationally demoralized and lethargic. It has occurred because Blacks today are increasingly receptive to the politics of working class socialism and therefore to the creation of a multinational revolutionary party. The economic crisis, its greater impact on Blacks than on white workers, its persistence in sections of the Black community even during the recovery, makes first response among workers to socialism to be among the more militant Black workers. Moreover the consolidation of the IS as an industrial workers organization, the changes we have made in activity, press, and internal life, makes us more open and habitable to Black workers as well as white workers.

Indeed the recruitment of white workers, what it means as a strategy for revolution as well as Black Liberation, is one of the greatest appeals that the IS has for Black radicals. Just as the recruitment of Blacks is what makes the IS much more real and serious in its attractiveness to white workers. Unity is not only one of the greatest strengths but also one of our most attractive qualities.

The recruitment we are now experiencing is based on our initial Black membership and the development of the Red Tide. This has changed the atmosphere around the IS, integrated our meetings, and enabled us to engage in anti-racist activities as a multinational group. The IS has gone from recruiting Black youth, to now recruiting Black workers, and it is this base which will in the future allow us to recruit Black workers in our industrial priorities.

4.) It is time for us to understand what we are experiencing and to boldly project this as a new turn for the IS, our transformation into a multinational organization in the next few years. We have proven that we can recruit Black members. But the task of becoming a multinational organization

(which of course will not be achieved until we are also recruiting Latin workers) requires more than this. It requires the development of Black cadre and leadership, the political development of the whole IS on questions of Black Liberation to equal the experience we have developed on trade unionism, the development of a Black cadre in our industrial priorities and our functioning as a multinational organization in the trade unions, our developing roots and activity in the Black community, and our activity making the IS known as uncompromising fighters for Black Liberation. In starting to deal with those problems, we will be making some of the next key steps in the process of party building, and what is our most important task in the next year, transforming the IS into a multinational workers organization.

5.) Political developments should increase the prospects for Black recruitment in the next year. The Carter administration took office only 7 months ago, with the greatest support among Blacks for a federal government since the early days of the Kennedy administration. The illusions in Carter fostered by the Black leadership was buttressed by the illusion that the enormous Black vote for Carter, which provided the basis for his victory, would produce significant concessions. Any liberal administration can count on an initial honeymoon from labor and Blacks. Within 6 months however mounting disillusionment with Carter has set in. Carter has met none of the expectations of the Black community. His appointments of Blacks to positions are still tokens.

Carter's new African policy has continued Black support despite its blatant neo-colonial strategy. This is due to its tilt away from open condoning of apartheid and the Rhodesian settlers, its greater emphasis on Africa and approachment with the African states, and to the role of Andrew Young as spokesman on foreign policy and as most prestigious figure in the Black community today. However even here, rapid shifts in the highly fluid situation in Southern Africa could produce sharp and sudden changes in Black opinion on Carter's Africa policy.

In his more important domestic policy Carter has made no concessions or reforms. Promises on jobs and social policy have not been kept as the economic crisis, has lead Carter to attempt to restore business confidence through restoring profits and fighting inflation. Welfare reform proposed is identical to Nixons and Moynihans proposals. Meanwhile Congress and the Courts have continued the offensive on Black gains made in the 60's. Preferential treatment is being rolled back, medical support for abortion wiped out, and continued decay of the cities is met with benign neglect policy. Continued inflation, and the lack of advance in real wages, particularly for the poorly organized hits Blacks worse. Unemployment, the single most important question, and promise of Carter has not been kept. The marginal improvements in unemployment during the recovery has by passed the Black community. Black unemployment has grown under Carter and among youth the situation has become increasingly desparate.

6.) The growing molecular disillusionment with Carter among Blacks has started to take visible. The shock of New York looting acted as a catalyst. It underscored that conditions in the ghettos have not improved in the last decade, but have gotten worse. While the position of the middle classes have improved, the basis for social explosions that erupted in the 60's, continues to exist, and may threaten the leadership and position of the Black middle classes. This prompted Vernon Jordan's criticism of Carter, and the strong endorsement it has received from the Black press, the Cong. Black Caucus, and the moderate Black organizations. To maintain its own position

the Black leadership with nothing to show in the way of concessions, and an administration impervious to private pressure, has been forced to shift to a strategy of public criticism and public pressure, all of course within the confines of support for Carter. Nonetheless it represents the first breach in the honeymoon with Carter, and with cracks on top open greater room for motion below. While the breaks may be slow in development it will spread in ripples throughout the Black community and to other sectors as well, to Latins, the womens movement, students, gays as well as to workers, particularly as the questions involved are the social questions of the economic crisis centering on jobs and the decay of the cities. Disillusionment with the Democratic Party in power opens the door to disillusionment with liberalism and the development of more militant Black opposition to Carter. As this militancy grows we will be able to take more part in a growing debate on strategy for the Black community, there will be more opportunity for activity and intervention, and growing radicalism will enable us to win people to revolutionary socialism and to recruit to the I.S.

7.) We have proven we can recruit, and in the next year recruitment will be greater than we initially expected. We have still to prove that we can develop a Black cadre and leadership. A multinational organization cannot develop with a raw, undeveloped Black membership and a white cadre and leadership. Only the development of a Black cadre can produce full Black participation in the internal political life of the IS and effective defense of our politics by Black ISers in the trade unions and external work. Only grief can come to the members and the IS, if self-confident revolutionaries is not the goal for our organization. In the next year the development of a Black cadre is the number one priority for the IS. This is not just one more cry for education and training that pops up in the IS from time to time. A thorough going program of education and training is the only solution made available to us. This program must be carried throughout the IS. Branches will be judged just as critically on this matter as the external work. For Black comrades, cadre development will be the top priority. All Black members will take part in the program, although the program is not limited to Blacks, but will include new white members. There is no room for liberalism. Cadre development is a condition for membership. Those comrades who regularly miss class and don't take them seriously will have to explain to the branch leadership and the Black commission. We may lose people if we take this seriously, but if this program is carried out systematically at all levels of the organization, we will have progressed further down the road to the development of a Black cadre and leadership in the IS.

8.) The first part of the education and training program will be that in groups of 2-4 (but one on one if necessary) each Black comrade will systematically go through the Revised Basic Program with an advanced comrade leading the class. An additional class will be added to BEP on organizational training and functioning in the IS. Upon completion of this series, the class will proceed immediately to the intermediate program. The conception here is to enable comrades to discuss a number of political topical subjects, to give them depth on a number of questions that allows them to understand them, to take part fairly quickly in the internal life of the IS, and to be able to fight for them in the external world. Each topic will be a class series to develop depth and to familiarize comrades with Marxist methodology and allow them to digest complex ideas. The intermediate series consist of 4 topics: a. The Politics of Black Liberation and Socialism, b. Trade Unionism, The Class Struggle, and our Strategy and Activity in the Unions, c. The World Crisis and the Role of the Revolutionary Party, d. Stalinism, Maoism and Third Worldism, e. Sexism & Women's Liberation, f.

Basic Marxism & Methodology. Each Black comrade will have a buddy that will help that comrade with the readings for classes and discuss his/her participation and political development, including how the IS as an organization works, how to function in the IS. Upon completion of the intermediate series, the comrades will then be encouraged to set up study groups among themselves on issues of their interest, help in the development of newer comrades, begin to give presentation to branch/fraction meetings, etc.

8.) Where Southern Africa work is going on, one day schools on Southern Africa for members active in work and interested comrades will be held. The school will include theoretical class on Capitalism and Imperialism and the Role of the US, and on Permanent Revolution. Where possible one day branch Black conferences will be held. The conferences will be planned well in advance, at least 2 months. IS leaders, Black and white will help in the development of conferences. The branch leadership under the guidance of the Black Commission will work with the local Black comrades giving presentations. This will be part of the political training of those comrades. The goal of these local conferences are to come out of them with a larger Black periphery and deeper roots in the Black community, recruitment, and a better trained Black cadre. At this point there are only a few branches that could take advantage of such a proposal. They are Detroit, New York and Cleveland. Other cities can be added as the Black membership increases.

9.) The organization must make a conscious effort to select those comrades that have the most potential for further development as leaders. In reality much of this occurs through comrades selecting themselves through their functioning in the organization. The Black Commission will be the body with responsibility for making the selection. Classes will be given on how to give a speech, how to carry a line in a meeting, how to function in mass work, etc., as well as on political topics. As Black comrades develop they will be brought into branch/district/fraction/national leadership consummate with their political growth and responsibility. Political training and development comes fastest when it is coupled with the correct amount of responsibility. In each case where this is done, a comrade already on such a body will be assigned to work with the new comrade, explaining how the meetings run, responsibilities, assist the comrade to develop a role on the body, discuss problems of functioning, the political questions that arise, etc.

10.) In general Black recruitment to the IS in the last period has not come from the industrial priorities. Yet it is around the more stable, stronger organized sectors of the working class that the multi-national organization will be built. Our trade union work will suffer for the lack of Black industrial recruits and cadre in the two key areas of auto and steel. It would be accurate to say that our auto work cannot proceed without recruitment. While the development of a Black membership and cadre makes it increasingly likely that we will be able to recruit Blacks from our industrial priorities in the future, it is this task which is of prime importance in the next year. Moreover the fact that it was an almost all white organization that recruited Blacks means that white IS industrial cadre, while at a disadvantage in recruiting, cannot use the fact that they are white as excuse from refraining from increased attempts to recruit Blacks from our priorities.

Most Blacks were recruited in the process of agitation or propaganda around Black Liberation (Gary Tyler, busing, Southern Africa). It is clear that Blacks will be recruited not solely on trade unionism, but only if perspectives for Black Liberation and Socialism are made relevant to our work. Yet we suffer from the problem that it is difficult to bring in outside issues

in trade union struggles today and the lack of motion around shop floor Black issues means that our view on Black Liberation are least vocalized or acted on in trade union matters. Agitation on Black issues without Black workers in motion or a Black cadre is impossible. Consequently we must give greater emphasis to propaganda in our work to bring in questions of Black Liberation and the socialist vision. It is with propaganda as International Socialists and agitation as rank and filers that we will approach Black industrial workers to recruit them.

In the future the propaganda campaign will center around the two pamphlets (Strategy for Black Liberation, Debate Between a Nationalist and a Revolutionary Socialist) to be produced by the Black Commission, to be sold in and used in the plants. Short pamphlets on Blacks in auto, steel and IBT must be produced by the respective fractions. (The series that ran in WP on postal is similar to this goal.) WP will more closely link the industrial struggle with the struggle for Black Liberation. The Black Commission will attempt to correct this problem by a column in WP that is more analytical in form and content.

11.) The IS will attempt to industrialize Black members by mounting a jobs program. We will try to industrialize Blacks into the priorities, including Red Tiders who have graduated high school, and Black workers who have non-priority jobs. This will serve two purposes. In many ways it would stabilize the lives of some of our newer members and bring them into the mainstream of the organization. Just as important it will provide Black members on the shop floor. This development can change character of our industrial work, and our ability to recruit. It will also help to create the critical mass necessary for us to be viable in our trade union work.

12.) As we recruit more Blacks, community work becomes more important. The fight against racism conducted by a multinational organization can't be restricted to the shops and unions, but must also be fought in society as a whole. Yet the start of community work presents many problems. To begin with we have to understand what we mean by community work.

Our conception of community work is city political work, to bring it out of neighborhood parochialism and focus it against the government or corporations. Now do we mean support work such as Gary Tyler, South Africa. These issues brought us into the Black community, but to organize support for some other issue, and not organizing around the community or city problems and politics.

13.) At the present time it is often easier to recruit daster out of community than industrial work. That should not disorient us, or lead to subordinating industrial perspectives for community ones. The people who join from community work are self-selective. They are coluntarily involved in an issue, rather to some extent forced to be involved because of their work situation. Consequently they tend to be open to radical ideas, and have less to loose. You don't get fired from the community. Yet we understand that struggles based on the community are much weaker and don't sustain themselves over the long haul. The general powerlessness of communities tends to lead to self-help solutions, or to look for poverty or corporation funding, to reliance upon liberal politicians and to diffuse class questions with the tendency to think of the community as a whole, and to pose

problems as Black versus white given the way American communities are organized. Yet problems can't be thought to be insuperable or used as the excuse to shield us from community work. The more the district develop and sink roots into the political life of their cities, the more they will have to address themselves to community issues. For us it is important that community work be done where we can relate it to our industrial work, and by districts with stable industrial work. Links between the two must always be made. Industrial contacts should be brought around community work. New members recruited from community work have to be thoroughly educated in the politics of our industrial strategy and work.

14.) Most of the community work we do in the next period will be local in character and experimental. In some cities the branches are almost all white. In most others we have few Black cadres. We cannot initiate motion. We do not have the cadres, the knowledge, or the experience to initiate activity in the Black communities in most of the cities we are in. Nor is there a single national campaign or issue to focus on. While the question of job may turn into that down the road, neither the sentiment in the Black community nationally nor our resources allow for that now. In New York however the black-out has exposed the question of jobs to the whole country. It allows us to organize around it and to give it a political focus that goes beyond the community and can be directed to the government as well as politically exposing the system. It also allows us to pose the question in class terms, people fighting for jobs can more easily see themselves as part of the working class, a problem which we have previously had in our work in the South Bronx. In Cleveland, community work will be around busing, which is about to begin. We must start to draw upon the network of contacts built up in Gary Tyler and South Africa work to prepare for intervention in the busing struggle. In Detroit we explored, unsuccessfully, the question of support for Cockrel in the City Council elections (see separate statement). In most cities we will have to begin the job of community work finding out the issues, through following political developments in the city and the Black community and making initial contacts through community sales of WP. While this is slow plodding, it is through community sales that we will make our first contacts, and begin to penetrate the Black community.

15.) Southern Africa work will be maintained. Politically the events in Southern Africa continue to unfold in a way that makes this the crucible for national liberation and the intervention by the imperialist power. Our work produces wide sympathy and an introduction for the IS in the Black community. While the support we receive is almost totally passive, the small who do get involved produce a high proportion of recruits. Yet it is clear that the work at this time is still too slow for it to be sustained on the basis of a "campaign type atmosphere". In some places it will not be able to be sustained, nor should simply on the basis that we having a national campaign, despite it not having local response and success. Fraction organization of the work is important, but we must understand that the sporadic character of the work, means that the fractions as well will be sporadic, and not the same character as the day to day sustained nature of industrial fractions. We should expect this and not get discouraged when there isn't work for some months, our approach to South African work is of a years long nature. We shouldn't try to hothouse things simply because we have a local fraction, nor during a period when little is occurring think that we can keep people if they are only organized in a South Africa fraction. This being said, we do expect South Africa work to intensify. The recent recruitment of Black members has allowed some branches to either organize Southern Africa work or to be more effective at it. Moreover the growth of the

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liberated areas in Zimbabwe, white flight, etc., should speed up the end of Rhodesia and produce more news and interest in Southern Africa.

16.) Southern Africa work will consist of 3 parts.

A.) We will continue the SALC with small initiatives around the activities it has had already developed: film and slide shows, Krugerrand, Del Monte, aid collections for ZANU, etc. We should not allow the attitude to develop "Well we've done that before." We have, but the people we are trying to reach haven't and we have no better tools to use as yet. They will continue to be tools for getting into new areas of the Black community, involving new people, and doing educational work. We should also attempt to hold demonstrations of a single character type when South African officials or sports teams visit. These latter demonstrations can often be held on a broad coalition basis with other groups working on Southern Africa.

B.) Student Work. The demonstrations and sit ins that occurred in May at over 15 colleges have for the first time in the 70's produced an issue that has spread on the college campuses. The demonstrations were not coordinated or linked. They were usually called by broad coalitions dominated by independent radicals or liberals, but including groups like the RCP and SWP. We expect that this fall there will be attempts to revive those demonstrations and that the radical groups will try to spread them to more campuses. In California a fairly substantial state-wide coalition has been formed and is planning for activity in Oct. It is prepared to raise domestic issues, in particular the Bakke case. Comrades on college campuses should be involved in Southern Africa student activity. In some places we may be in a position to initiate it (Austin, IA, Wayne, NY, and some community colleges in Cleve and Pitts). We should fight for the program of the SALC (US corps out, Victory to the liberation movements and armed struggle, Support for liberation struggle in the US), and for militant direct action, sit ins etc. Student from the campus struggle should be recruited to take part in SALC activity in the Black community. Having a multinational membership can allow us to have an impact on the campus struggle, where we should orient to Black student involvement, and to moving towards bringing the struggle into the Black community. Where appropriate we may hold SALC actions in conjunction with campus actions. For example if a sit in occurs on a local campus we should explore riding the publicity generated by it, to hold a simultaneous sit in at a bank which loans funds to South Africa - supporting the student sit in but making the connection that the main struggle is not at the university.

C.) Giving the rise of interest in Southern Africa, particularly among students, we expect to see the first attempts to form national organization on the question in the next year. This October the ACOA, AFSC, CP and others will hold the first national conference to start national activity on Southern Africa. It will be held in the Midwest with attempt at Black community and trade union support. It may not become The national organization, but may only be a step to it. We will participate, and try to organize significant SALC involvement in it.

Introduction

The following document is, essentially, the third part of the Perspectives document passed at the July 2, Central Committee meeting. (It replaces the third part on party building that was sent out originally. That section had been passed on sense only and was sent back to the EC for further development.)

This section rests on the analysis of both the world crisis and trends in American politics and the labor movement traced in the July 2 Perspective document. Thus it does not repeat the analysis and strategy laid out there. It also assumes our methods of mass work in external arenas.'

This section takes up essentially one question - Party Building. It begins with a definition of who we are and where we are in the process of becoming a revolutionary party. It then takes up the question of who we are recruiting., why and what our next organizational tasks are flowing from that understanding. The document goes through these questions because they are the ones that have become most fuzzy within the organization as a whole. Since the collapse of our 2½ year perspective we have not had a commonly held conception of how we will grow in the next immediate period. The purpose of this section is to provide that understanding.

I. WHO WE ARE

Any group of a few hundred needs a realistic assesment of its significance if it is going to tell working people, "Our goal is to overthrow the capitalist system". A revolutionary organization needs a sense of where it stands in the process of becoming a party. Our ability to assess the world and our immediate tasks, flows, in part from our clarity about our relative strength, size, roots in the class, the political level of our membership, etc. The question of who we are is not only a question of size or strength, but a political conception of how our activity today fits into the long term goal; a mass party capable of leading the class to socialist revolution.

THE IS TODAY IS THE NUCLEUS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. HOW CAN A SMALL GROUP MAKE THIS CLAIM? WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Our purpose as an organization is to build a mass party. All our activity must be viewed as part of the process of building such a party. Our ultimate reason for participating in the day to day struggle is to win as many workers as possible to the view that socialism is the answer and that they should join the IS to help build a party which can make it happen.

THE IS IS BECOMING THE CORE AROUND WHICH A PARTY WILL BE BUILT.

We are the core because it is our politics which can lead to socialism. The working class will create a new society with the ideas of workers control, workers democracy, the liberation of the oppressed nationalities and women. We are the core because we are developing a cadre of worker revolutionaries who can fight for these ideas, who can give an effective lead in the todays struggle and who can recruit more workers to socialism. We are the core because we are building an organization which will be big enough to attract not just the few, but can present itself as a credible alternative to masses of working people.

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THE IS TODAY IS BECOMING A MULTI-NATIONAL WORKERS COMBAT GROUP.

Such an organization is a step in the process of party building. It is a stage in our development as the nucleus of the party. The idea of a multi-national workers combat group speaks to two things; the social composition of the organization and its relationship to the class struggle.

A.) Our task is to become a workers organization. Only a group with a stable working class membership and leadership can hope to be the core of a genuine workers party. Only a party composed primarily of working class people could possibly have the roots, credibility and organized base to lead a workers movement. Workers who are becoming radicalized by the decay of the post war boom, who are coming to a consciousness of themselves as an exploited and oppressed class will only join an organization which they can feel is their own, which is made up of people like themselves, who share the same background, experiences, problems and aspirations.

This is not only a matter of class but of race as well. The special oppression of Blacks and other national minorities is at the center of how this society enslaves us all. The ability of the working class to overcome the racial divisions imposed on it by capitalism is nearly synonymous with its ability to create socialism. Any group which projects the need for Black and white unity in the class struggle must itself be a living example of its possibility. There is no such thing as a white revolutionary workers group. Not only do Black people know this but so do class conscious whites.

B.) We are a combat group. The IS is organized to actively participate in the struggle. Wherever we can, we attempt to provide leadership, to point the direction forward. A group which cannot answer the small questions like how to fight speed up, will never be taken seriously on the big questions either.

We are a cadre organization. This does not mean that every member is a fully trained socialist fighter. It does mean that it is a goal of our group to raise each of its members to the level of cadre.

We are organized on the principles of democratic centralism; freedom of discussion, unity in action. The IS is controlled by its membership. Because we are about action we need unity to be effective. Each member is expected to follow the will of the majority.

OUR CONCENTRATION ON INDUSTRIAL WORK FLOWS FROM THIS VIEW OF WHAT WE MUST BECOME - A MULTI-NATIONAL WORKERS COMBAT GROUP.

The IS was born out of the middle class radical movement of the 60's. In order to become an organization which could attract workers we had to get off the universities and go to school in the working class. We had to get into the working class before we could become part of it. Our road to the class was through the employment office. By industrializing our members and organization we were able to sink our first, frail roots into the working class.

There is another reason for the emphasis of industry. It is in industry where a small group can have a large impact relative to its size - if it knows what it is doing. For a group which understands the need to give practical leadership this is an important consideration.

Even as the IS grows and diversifies its activity, we will always see industry as the center of our work, for it is at the point of production that capitalism organizes the workers, brings them together in massive numbers and puts our hands on the switches that make this system go or stop.

II. WHO WE ARE RECRUITING AND WHY

The big question that has faced the IS for longer than a year has been our failure to recruit in substantial numbers, particularly out of our industrial priorities. (To some degree this has been turned around by the success of the workers' conference - but this is only relative and the numbers recruited are still quite small.)

Our failure to recruit led to the split, demoralization and the tentative casting about on the part of some comrades for either a new perspective for party building or new sections of the class from which to recruit.

Before we go any further it is crucial to re-assert that the IS is an industrially based group. Our strategy for the American revolution is based on the industrial working class, because of its power and traditions of militancy. Any strategy that would ignore this fact or lead us down a different path would only doom us to irrelevancy.

But this does not mean that recruitment outside the priorities is worthless. In fact recruitment outside the priorities, has proven, to be at this point, key to recruitment in some of the priorities. Recruiting Blacks out of community work makes it easier to recruit Black auto workers and eventually Black steel workers. The fact that we can recruit Black workers makes us more attractive to white workers, and vice versa.

A large part of our demoralization stems from failed expectations. The 2½ year perspective that we adopted in 1975 was a perspective for rapid growth. It saw us growing geometrically out of a process of fusion between revolutionaries and rank and file militants. This perspective proved wrong.

The process of building the rank and file movement, and thus the IS, turned out to be a more difficult and long term process than we had projected. We must now come to grips with the fact that the next few years will not be a period of dynamic rapid growth.

In general the ranks of the major unions were not able to mount national ongoing rank and file oppositions during the contract round. We are now in a period of recovery, although shallow and shaky. Illusions that Carter and the Democrats will advance the cause of working class people and the unemployed are crumbling (faster than we originally predicted) but hopes that public pressure will have an effect still remain.

The next year or two will not see massive upsurge or organization within the class. However this does not mean we will not grow. There will continue to be, in fact there is growing, organized struggle on both the shop floor and in the community. It is generally local in character but nonetheless real.

For the last several years we have analyzed the bosses strategy for solving the economic crisis - by making the working class pay through speed-up, layoffs and eroding working conditions. We have documented the

effects of the employers offensive in the industries in which we work. This offensive continues, in spite of the recovery (in fact it was the underpinning for the recovery). It is having its effects on the consciousness of the class as more and more workers come to understand that their standard of living continues to erode. It chips away at their confidence in both the trade union bureaucracy and or the government to solve their problems.

The failures of the system to speak to the needs of the Black community is even more naked. Black ghettos are in even greater decay than 10 years ago. This too we have discussed in previous documents and perspectives. The N.Y. blackout has laid bare this fact, for all to see.

Here too, a fightback is beginning, still small, still local. But the failure of the system to speak to Blacks, Carter's arrogant dismissal of those who put him in office, creates a layer of Blacks once again open to ideas of revolution.

Out of these two areas we will continue to grow and recruit as we have been doing since the convention, regularly steadily. Our growth however will be in ones and twos, even fives and tens, but it will be arithmetic not geometric. Essentially we will recruit out of two areas:

1. Blacks out of South Africa work and community work (see Black perspective for details.)

2. Rank and File Industrial Workers: In general the people we are recruiting out of our industrial work are politically raw and inexperienced. A few already are leaders and we will continue to recruit already developed working class leaders in small numbers. But by and large, it is those who are new to the ideas of struggle that are joining the IS.

It is very important for us to understand who we are recruiting and why, for it informs both our strategy for the party building in the next immediate period and our next immediate organizational tasks.

By and large we will recruit out of industry rank and file militant workers who have just been turned in to politics. They are the ones who are not held back by a long list of conflicting responsibilities and loyalties. In many cases they will be the base of rank and file leaders already in the IS. They will, in general be untrained. They will look to our members because of the role they play in the rank and file movement and because of the ideas they have for that movement. However, they will want to know more.

That is the key. We will meet them through struggles, but they will come around the IS for a lot more than the rank and file work. They will come around the IS because we can explain the world to them in a way that finally makes sense. We must understand this. In this period, when the rank and file movement is relatively small - we will be recruiting to the IS on the basis of a much fuller version of our politics than we proposed during the turn. We are recruiting to a set of ideas which we must give people or lose them.

What we are saying is that both out of our Black work and out of our industrial work we will be recruiting essentially politically and organizationally inexperienced people. They will come to us out of real work but they will come because they are open to and attracted by the ideas of

revolutionary socialism. They will also come because they want to be better fighters. Our key organizational tasks for the next immediate period flows from this understanding.

First, we must present our ideas so that we can attract people to the IS. Second, we must train then and educate these new members to be leaders according to their abilities, over the next few years, so that they and we will be better positioned for the next round of fairly massive activity within the class.

We must give them the ideas and the skills. We must also take advantage of a new pool of talent to send into the priorities. Specifically unemployed or underemployed Blacks we are recruiting out of the community.

We must also train new members to be leaders in the IS. The last step we must take on the road to becoming a multi-national workers combat group is the development of a working class, Black and white, leadership within the IS.

III. REBUILDING THE IS

In many ways this is the slogan for the next period. In fact, it is the slogan we have been operating on for the last several months. First, with the Black conference, then the Workers' Conference. We have proven that we can recruit out of our work, at both the workplace and in the community. We have shown that we can recruit on a regular, steady basis, in ones and twos - even 5's and 10's, to the ideas of revolutionary socialism, including our perspectives for Black Liberation and building the rank and file movement.

In the next period we will continue to grow in this manner. By rebuilding regular, professional public events and activities. We cannot present a blueprint here because many of these events will have to be designed to fit the specific needs of a branch or district.

(The reason that both the Black conference and the Workers' conference were successful was that each had a very specific audience in mind and a fairly accurate sounding of how to reach them. Similarly, a flurry of IS activities with little thought to the specificity of audience and content will not move us forward and only burn us out.)

What we have learned over the last 4 months is that we can bring working class people around our revolutionary socialist politics and we can package them in a way that is both educational, creative and inspiring. We can give people a vision of a better world and a sense of how to get there.

Mini-Conferences:

Through the fall we propose a series of mini-conferences in the major branches. A schedule will be worked out in consultation with the Center and the branches so that there is little overlap in personell and other resources.

The topic/agenda, etc., will be designed according to the needs of the specific branch. Several conferences are already in the planning stages and or being discussed. (The West Coast worker's conference, modelled after the Midwest conference, October 23/24. The Women's Conference in Cleveland

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December 3rd. This conference is being organized by the Women's Commission/Cleveland Women's Caucus. It will involve women from Detroit/Gary-Chi/Pitts/N.Y./Atlanta.)

The Detroit District is planning a mini-conference modelled somewhat after the workers' conference for the middle of October. In Detroit, as in many other cities, many contacts did not come at the last minute for a variety of reasons. The mini-conference would make use of the enthusiasm of those who came to the first and joined, or were moved closer. They would play a major role in building the mini-conference.

We propose that Pitts/Cleve also have a mini-conference to both bring out those who missed the first one and to make use of the enthusiasm of those who just joined. This mini-conference would be in Pitts. As the Cleve branch will also be hosting the Women's conference.

Much of the enthusiasm and spirit for both the Black conference and then building the workers' conference came from the new members in the S. Bronx. The conference would be on our answer to the crisis of the cities, perspectives for Black Liberation and how the two are linked to Revolutionary Socialism.

Other Public Events:

Conferences, although excellent in presenting the IS at its best are not the only periphery building events. Successful conferences are in general built on both our external work and a previous ability to bring people from the work around the branch. This means a regular series of public events that contacts can be brought to: Forums, informal social/political discussion as has been done by women's caucusses and the Detroit district, film showings, classes, etc. Branch meetings that include political discussion, are also ways to bringing people around.

Each branch/district leadership is to plan out a calendar of events designed to meet the specific needs of the branch in consultation with the center. These should also be designed so that they help build mini-conferences.

What is crucial, at this point, is to rebuild, in the IS the sense of regular public events that one can count on. The Center will help in developing topics, speech outlines, material and personell whenever possible.

Rebuilding Branch Life:

But recruitment is only one part of the question of party building. Holding people and training them into cadre is the other. During the worker recruitment campaign we recruited many working class people but were unable to hold most of them. Many comrades are afraid that we will repeat that process with our current wave of recruitment.

First, we believe that our recruitment today is different than in 1975, in several important ways:

1. We are recruiting out of work. Most of the working class members, Black and white, have worked with us for a while and have been recruited out of that work.

2. We are recruiting on a broader understanding of our politics.

3. Although we made many mistakes in our execution of the turn, we did make, for us fundamental changes in the nature of the IS. We are a fairly well integrated group with a substantial proportion of working class members. The change in the composition of the IS makes the group more comfortable for new working class members. Our developing methods of mass work and agitation give us a body of experience that can help new members in dealing with the real problems they face.

But all of this is not enough to hold people very long. Joining a revolutionary socialist organization must not just mean continuing to do what one is already doing, but adding another level of discussion and meetings to an already crowded life. Joining the IS must change peoples lives in ways they feel are beneficial and rewarding.

Key to this is rebuilding branch life and the sense of being part of a centralized, national organization. Much of the normal ways that a revolutionary socialist organization conducts itself have fallen apart over the last year and a half.

Today there is a third reason that has made rebuilding branch life extremely difficult. The IS is in general a two tiered organization. Much of the cadres of the group have been going at it for a long, long time. They are tired, burned out and overextended. They are bored stiff with each other and conduct most of their business in the fastest and most expedient manner possible. They talk in IS shorthand and come to agreement in numerous informal ways.

The new members play almost no role in this. And as most as the new members are politically raw, they do not have the organisational experience or political depth to penetrate it. For them, in many ways, the IS is thus a very intangible quality, connecting only peripherally with their lives. If we do not change this we will lose them, for in fact they will never be come part of the IS.

Rebuilding party life is key to holding, training and developing new members. We must consolodate our gains or we will lose them.

1. All meetings of the organisation must become more political. Start-ing with the EC. Political discussion on questions both topical and theoretical will begin on the EC. Good examples would be: Free Speech for Fascists, Carter and Blacks, the political importance of the gay movement. Short documents will be produced and circulated in the organisation for discussion on Branch execs and at Branch Meetings.

The purpose of this is not just to transmit a line, but to develop the ability of our members to think more politically, to understand how a line is developed, the questions involved and answered, the arguements-pro and con.

2. All branch and exec meetings will include political discussion, in addition to reports.

3. Education/Training: All new members will go thru a fairly intensive educational process. In general as we have stated before, most of the people

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we recruit in the next immediate period will be politically raw. It is a key task of the IS to train them to become leaders tomorrow. They will get this training nowhere else. All new members will go thru the educational program outlined in the black perspectives.

We must also rebuild in the IS the notion of training for leadership, both in the group and in the working class movement. The IS is an organization of leaders. That is the self-conception of a Leninist group. We must instill that idea in our new members. Part of their responsibility is to take their own development. It is the responsibility of the IS to provide the tools. But they too have a responsibility. If they take revolution seriously then they must also take their own development seriously. Some day this will be a life or death question.'

New members will also be trained in organizational skills. Leaflet writing, production, running a mimeo, organizing an agenda, chairing a meeting, speaking. This will all be done in slow stages commensurate with the skills and previous accomplishments of the comrades involved.

4. There is a sense in the group of not belonging to a national organization. In part this is due to the general breakdown of the IS as a whole. In part it is also due to the localized character of the organizations work. There are no national campaigns that the IS is involved in today. And none on the immediate horizon. It is much harder to get an overall picture of where the IS is at. To remedy this we propose: a.) IS organizational newsletter to come out every two weeks with WP. It would include reports on activities, in the branches, reports on EC decisions that were taken and periodic assessments on where we are going. b.) Regular internal bulletin to include - substantial branch reports, political documents from the EC and CC, discussion documents submitted by the membership.

IV. WORKERS POWER

This document is about party building. A key tool in party building is workers' Power. In fact WP is in many ways our best, most complete public face. This becomes even truer in a period when the presentation of our political ideas is central to recruitment. The sad truth however, is that as an organization we have not had consistent success in developing methods to use WP. One thing we have learned however is that documents on the role of the paper and or perspectives for its content move none to use the paper more or better. Neither are comrades moved or encouraged by phrases that say little more than "try harder!". Therefore we are not bothering here to make either mistake.

Instead we have produced the first draft of a handbook on WP and how to use it. It is directed at the rank and file of the IS, not the leadership. The draft is submitted here to the CC for comment and improvement. But its purpose is to be used by the membership and the WP staff in building the use of the paper.

We have also learned a very simply truth - the paper is used when it is pushed. This will mean WP staff members traveling to the branches, giving workshops on writing for WP, selling it, and using it. This is what is planned to bring back the WP travelling road show. The publication of the handbook will be the first step in this process.

And the thing we have learned is that WP coverage improves when it is used and in dialogue with a specific audience. Although we believe that the

content of the paper has improved we also believe that it will improve even further and more rapidly when it is used more vigorously by the membership.

One last point on WP. Our paper is not only a recruiter for the IS, it is the way that the organization learns our line and the arguments, on many political questions. WP does not yet do enough of this. We do not yet have a specific formula for how to do this better, it is one of the next immediate tasks of the EC, and is part of making the organization more political.

V. THE PROGRAM

In the perspectives passed by the last CC we stated that the political program that pulls together our various parts, holds us together and recruits to the IS is our perspective for socialist revolution. We laid out our analysis and perspective in what most considered exhausting and boring detail. We also promised a popularized version that could actually be used in periphery building and recruitment. It is attached as the first draft of a pamphlet. The pamphlet would be used as our introduction to WP, the basis of public meetings and to build them. Essentially it is the companion to the Freedom pamphlet. One is our world view the other our strategy.

VI. THE ROLE OF THE EC

It will be the role of the EC to carry out this perspective. That will be its primary task in the next period. Specifically, that means developing and advancing the politics of the group. Rebuilding a sense of a national organization and branch life, developing the education and training of new members.

Much of this is not new and has been promised before. The difference, however, is that the EC is now saying that as a body, this is key task.

Before this we stated the key task is recruitment. That has taken place and must continue. But the top priority in the next immediate period is to consolidate those gains.

An EC organizational subcommittee of Gay, Joel and Marilyn has been set up to further develop and implement this perspective.