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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

# NATIONAL REPORT

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FOR MEMBERS ONLY

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NAC MINUTES 1/9-10/74

Present: All

0. NATSEC REPORT. Approved ALL FOR. (attached).

1. MIDDLE EAST. Report by DF and brief discussion.

2. PERMANENT WAR ECONOMY. Presentation by BM and discussion ~~on the theory~~ of modern capitalism developed by Kidron and the ISGB (to be written up).

3. WP HEADLINES. A discussion, with no motions or votes, was held with the WP editorial board on the question of WP headlines and how to improve them. An informal presentation was given by MD, who suggested the following broad guidelines, especially for front page headlines: (i) they should be large and easily read; (ii) they should not be rapidly dated; (iii) they should be sharp and hard-hitting rather than "cute". ~~(iv) xxxxxxxx~~

4. PERSONNEL. Discussion in executive session on (a) advice to comrades wishing to relocate; (b) NO staff, possible additions. The NAC intends to recommend that comrades from Bellingham move to Chicago, that two cdes from Seattle move to LA, and to conduct further discussions with close contacts in Portland planning to move. Discussion was also held on possibility of personnel to handle distribution for IS books and Pluto Press on a full-time basis, with final decision TABLED.

5. WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS. Presentation by JG and discussion (to be written up).

6. DETROIT BRANCH. Report from commission established by NAC and Detroit exec to discuss functioning and reorganization of Detroit branch. Discussion to be continued; Detroit branch meeting to be held Jan. 20 to discuss report.

7. LAYOFFS AND UNEMPLOYMENT. Presentation by Bill H. and discussion on general perspective for propaganda around the issue of unemployment in auto and possibilities for development of unemployed organization. A discussion of the "Dump Woodcock" campaign to be held next week.

7. FUTURE EDUCATIONAL DISCUSSIONS FOR THE NAC. Proposal by JT APPROVED, as follows: (a) ISL resolution from 1949, "Capitalism, Stalinism, and War"; (b) articles by Kidron and Cliff on permanent war economy and reformism; (c) articles on economic crisis by Joe Stein, "Locating the American Crisis", and survey articles on the economy from IS #46, 49. Reporters to be (a) DF, (b) MD, (c) BM.

8. CLEVELAND BRANCH. Discussion in executive session.

9. MOTION from Wayne C. TABLED to NATSEC. The motion reads as follows: (i) that whenever a national leader of the organization goes on tour, the schedule be printed in WORKERS POWER (certainly they could be arranged far enough in advance to permit this). (ii) that local branches be requested to ~~xxxx~~ arrange forums far enough in advance that they can be advertised in WORKERS POWER in a box or other space.

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NOTE: The following is a summary, from rough notes, on the presentation by JG on the world economic crisis. The presentation is to be written up in detail shortly.

1. The period now beginning can be described as the second "stagflation recession. It may prove to be the worst recession of this century with the exception of the Great Depression of the 1930's. Some of the indicators of the severity of this crisis on a world scale are:

(a) the failure of controls to regulate the economy has created a vacuum giving rise to a revival of free-market, laissez-faire ideology. (For example, the WALL STREET JOURNAL now regularly calls for the end of all controls on everything as the answer to the problem). (b) extremely sharp fluctuations in the stock market and international currency exchanges on a day-to-day basis, indicating a sharp erosion of confidence among the capitalist class and an inability on their part to gauge the real severity of the situation. (c) inflation running at over 10% in virtually all the advanced countries, the highest rate in a century in peacetime. At the same time, precisely because of the coming recession, almost all anti-inflationary government programs in Europe have been scrapped, while in the U.S. the government talks about relieving the situation through public works and greater weapons spending.

2. Some of the factors which have produced this crisis are: (a) the general inflationary effects of the permanent arms economy, which do not have to be repeated in detail here. The stabilizing role of the PAE was based on the domination by the U.S. of the capitalist world economy as a whole, regulated by the state control of the U.S. economy itself. As the hegemony of the U.S. declines, this regulating mechanism no longer produces stability. (b) The advanced countries are now going through a boom-bust cycle in phase with each other (in part, the Middle East oil crisis helped to insure that the onset of the crisis would more or less coincide in the various countries). Over the last year, inflation has been rampant everywhere as the boom reached its height. Commodity inflation of 58%, industrial production expanding by 10%, real wages rising except in the United States, tremendous shortages of goods cropping up, were all manifestations of this. The inflation itself began to cut into the rate of profit and result in lower rates of growth, even before the "energy crisis." In fact, the reversal was so sudden that the investment cycle had not yet worked itself out when the recession hit.

3. The last-named factor is important, especially in the U.S. Capital spending remains high in this country (it ~~is~~ is expected to increase 13% from last year, even during the recession. Much of the optimism emanating from trade journals like the WSJ and BUSINESS WEEK reflect the fact of continuing high investment, plus a ~~strong~~ desire to convince the capitalists to keep it that way, i.e. not cancel orders!). Additionally, the U.S. has successfully carried through the most effective competitive currency devaluation in decades a part of the NEP. While some American industries are in trouble (auto), others (esp. steel) are very competitive and will even expand into foreign markets in competition with other steel industries. The crisis will produce a general readjustment of forces among the advanced countries, in which we expect the position of the U.S. to relatively improve. Already the price of the dollar has risen sharply. We do not expect, however, that the growing strength of the U.S. will help to solidify or unify the European states politically, but rather will accentuate the differences among them.

4. The impact of the capitalist crisis on the Stalinist world, especially the Soviet Union, cannot be precisely gauged as yet. On the one hand, the Soviet Union is insulated from the effects of a capitalist crisis, will not

any internal dislocations from it directly and will be militarily strengthened by the difficulties of the west. On the other hand, the bureaucracy has long-standing economic difficulties of its own which it has been trying to solve by attracting western investment and technology. It is too early to say whether the capitalist recession will enable it to get these considerations on better terms or whether they will be dried up.

5. In Britain, the capitalists have directly and deliberately provoked the first major confrontation with the working class. Heath's gamble - in fact, he is staking his entire policy on a line of no concessions to the miners - is risky enough to make some capitalists in other countries quite nervous, although he will be hailed as a savior if he can pull it off. The crisis will soon hit home politically elsewhere, however. For example, Japan is cutting imports by 15% which can be expected to have a severe effect on Hong Kong and Taiwan. In addition, many of the less industrialized countries of Europe will soon be reservoirs for massive numbers of unemployed, as immigrant workers are thrown out of work in the heavy industries of western Europe and return home. Nations like this, the "weak links in the capitalist chain", are the places where revolutionary activity and the possibility of explosions in the absence of a developed leadership are the greatest. There is the possibility of the emergence of both right-wing and popular front "solutions", and a revival of the European CP'S (the question of bringing the CP into the government in Italy is already being debated), as well as the continuing revival of independent revolutionary working class activity. The problems posed by the experience of Chile will be directly relevant as these situations unfold.

6. At home, the IS should emphasize the centrality of building a revolutionary cadre organization and the perspective of building a revolutionary party as the alternative to the policies that are being put into effect at the expense of the working class today.



NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT 1/9/73

1. National Committee members and delegates please note: THE FEBRUARY NC WILL BE HELD FEBRUARY 16-18 (SATURDAY-MONDAY) a preliminary agenda will follow next week.
2. NOTE: When writing to the LA Branch, the envelope must be addressed to INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS, and the address (see WP). Do not put an individual comrades name on the envelope, as it will be returned. If it is to be a private communication, enclose another envelope inside the outside one. Thanks from me and LA.
3. General Organizational: Branches and individuals are beginning to send in reports on Workers Power (comments and distribution), and the feedback is quite helpful to the Editorial Board and the NAC. For the two branches that sent in full reports (SF & NYC), sales are discouraging, mainly because comrades are not selling. I can only repeat what I said last week: It is a responsibility of membership to sell the paper - comrades must begin to sell it and to take that responsibility seriously. Also, to my knowledge, the only branch that has set up the educational discussions on imperialism in preparation for the X February NC is the NY Branch. I hope that this is only a problem of communication, and that other branches are moving ahead on this. If not, it must be done immediately!
4. New York: There is an attempt by the followers of Stanley Aronowitz to set up a local group called the Red Umbrella. Comrades and a NAM group that we are close to are investigating the possibilities and potential of the group for us.
5. Detroit: Another comrade was laid off - and given predictions, we may have a substantial portion of our people indefinitely laid off. The NAC is discussing perspectives for this ~~an~~ aspect of the recession both in terms of possibilities for active intervention, and also proposals for the activity of the comrades who will be laid off.

## REPORT ON KIDRON'S THEORY OF THE PERMANENT ARMS ECONOMY

As put forth in the pages of International Socialism, the ideas of the Permanent Arms Economy (PAE) were developed by Mike Kidron in the context of a critique of "left reformism" and, also, ~~the~~ Lenin's theory of imperialism during the 1960's. In outline, they are as follows:

Capitalism is naturally driven to expansion by competition. Expansion means growth of capital goods (Dept. I). To avoid crises which are caused by over-production in capital goods, capitalism must either expand its market indefinitely or destroy capital accumulations. The internal market can be expanded by raising wages, but soon this too would cut into profits. The destruction of capital is accomplished by crises, depressions or wars, but these are only periodic adjustments.

Thus the balance between Dept I (capital goods) and Dept. II (consumer goods) is the crucial problem. (Bukharin noted that overproduction in Dept. I, i.e. a rise in the organic composition of capital, causes profit rates to drop and leads to the export of capital and imperialism) This relationship cannot be planned "as the reformists would like. The answer to the dilemma lies in militarism - a result of international competition - i.e. the Permanent Arms Economy. The PAE has had two major effects on capitalism since the beginning of WWII.

1) Enormous arms orders have expanded industrial production, and industrial capital enormously. Industrial firms have become largely self-financing and the trend to monopoly increased. The state and industrial capital become interlocked.

2) Drawing heavily on Dept. I arms production simultaneously destroys capital - reduced the over all organic composition - and expands industrial production. Thus as long as military orders are high enough the economy expands, employment rates are high, and the ratio of Dept. I to Dept II is safe. The dominance of internally generated - and state generated - industrial capital also means that "cyclical fluctuations that derive to some extent from independent movements in interest rates and changes in the level of stocks, have lessened." The business cycle is flattened out.

There are, however, limits to the ability of the PAE to expand continuously and sufficiently to work its wonders. One of the temptations to invest in the productive area stimulated by the PAE; thus creating a pressure to limit PAE. Another, stems from the inflationary nature of the PAE. Since technological advances flow from PAE (because of its emphasis on industrial capital) the level of arms expenditure required to maintain high employment rates increases relatively. Thus, as PAE dwindles as a proportion of the economy, unemployment will grow (a prediction made in 1961 which was quite accurate). Naturally, as PAE reaches its limits its stabilizing effects give way to instability: inflation, unemployment, international competition.

With this analysis, Kidron criticized Lenin's theory of imperialism. There were three basic differences with Lenin:



1) Finance Capital as defined by Lenin is no longer the dominant or characteristic form of capital, i. e., the banks cannot control industry by "restricting or enlarging, facilitating or hindering their credits" or "entirely determine their fate, determine their income, deprive them of capital, or, on the other hand, permit them to increase their capital rapidly and to enormous proportions. (Lenin)" They can't do these things because, as Kidron says, corporations are now largely internally financed, in large part because of the effects of the PAE.

2) The export of capital is no longer nearly as important nor of the same type as in Lenin's day. Statistically, capital exports are a much smaller part of capital investment. Most of the capital that is exported goes from one advanced capitalist country to another and not, as Lenin clearly implied, into the less developed nations. Those investments that still do flow to the backward nations are not of the old "finance capital" variety - in extractive industries and state supported projects like railroads, harbors, canals, etc. - but are direct investments, usually wholly or partly owned subsidiaries, by large manufacturing corporations. The main reason for all of this is, again, the PAE which both reduces the need to export capital by destroying it and, at the same time, induces investment in advanced countries by generally expanding industry, keeping up employment, and even allowing some growth in real wages.

3) Kidron's third major point is that the PAE has alleviated the need for direct control of colonies. This it does by solving both the market and export problems of capital. This is true enough. But Kidron goes on to argue that the abolition of colonies is ~~synonox~~ synonymous with the disappearance of imperialism as Lenin defined it. In fact, Lenin did not define imperialism by colonial control, although he did clearly insist that direct control was a necessary and growing part of imperialism as a stage of capitalism. Lenin was wrong, but so was Kidron. Other motivations for imperialism exist than the export of capital and have continued to operate. Direct political control became unnecessary for reasons mentioned by Kidron and others as well - e. g., the natural dominance of industrialized countries on the world market. In fact, Kidron's own analysis of both the origins of the PAE - in the rivalry of the capitalist powers - and the limits and contradictions of the PAE point to the reality of imperialism. The problem that produced both the export of capital in Lenin's day and the PAE in Kidron's, the relationship of Lept. I to II and the rate of profit, reemerge as the limits of PAE are reached. Competition between the advanced nations proceeds and grows intense - as it certainly is - and so on

Since 1965, when Kidron wrote "International Capitalism", the IS-GB and Kidron himself have repudiated the view that imperialism no longer exists. Harris' essay in World Crisis presents the current point of view of the IS-GB which upholds the PAE analysis but also asserts the continuing existence of imperialism in various forms. The basic analysis of PAE developed by Kidron, however, has stood the test of time and prediction since its 1961 formulation (IS #7 "Reform and Revolution"). Its superiority as an explanation of the post WWII world economy to most others is that it begins with an investigation of the structure and movement of capital and not in the more superficial realm of the market, world trade, etc.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT 1/15/74

1. General Organizational: Communications have been falling off. With the exception of New York and Los Angeles, I have not been receiving regular reports from the other branches. Now it may be that this is still the Christmas lag - and if so, it is now the middle of January, and it should be over by now. Specifically, I request that Chicago, Cleveland, Seattle and the Bay Area begin sending in regular organizers reports, either with the exec minutes, or in letter form. Among other things, this National Secretary's Report will be rather slim without information on what the branches are involved in.
2. NC ASSESSMENTS (for November NC): The following branches have not sent in their \$6.00/member assessment from the November NC. It is due this month: Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Madison, New York, Seattle, Champaign/Urbana, Cleveland. As you will remember, this is the last special NC assessment that will be made, as the raising of the national dues to \$6.50/member/month will take care of the future NC's. So, please collect this as soon as possible.
3. NO: We receive regular mailings from the Danish International Socialists. However, there is no one in Detroit who can read Danish. Are there any comrades in any of the branches or organizing committees, or any MALs who can read Danish and would be interested in keeping up with developments in Denmark and the Danish IS? If so, please contact me, and we will forward the mailings on.
4. New York: A comrade went to the Red Umbrella meeting in NY (see last key list mailing) as an observer, but anyone who is a member of a "democratic centralist" organization is not welcome in the organization. The evaluation of the comrade was that there was little worth joining at any rate.
5. Detroit: Comrades attended a conference on Women and China at Wayne State. Politically it was a total defense of current sexist practices in China. There were about 80 people there. We made one contact, an auto worker, and sold some literature.
6. Madison: Comrades are involved in two study groups consisting of us and close contacts, altogether about 15 contacts are involved.
7. Los Angeles: LA will have a full time organizer beginning March 1. Comrades MD and DW are moving from Seattle, and MD will become the organizer.

RESPONSE TO THE REPORT ON THE EXPULSION OF DON CANE FROM THE RSL David Miller

Dear Comrades: I profoundly regret one section of the report by "MD for the NAC" on recent developments within the RSL.

To start with we should perhaps be more cautious in assessing what happened there, in view of the fact that the information comes from one moving toward the WL. But even assuming that all the facts relayed are really as described, it is in my view still impermissible to conclude, as you do, that RSL is capitulating to stalinism. How else can one interpret, "It is not too strong to say that this is clearly a stalinish direction not stalinist politics, but they draw the same organizational conclusions as the other Orthodox Trotskyists sects do, which is part of their capitulation to stalinism." For I am afraid that we are allowing, especially in the case of the RSL, the wish to become father to the thought.

To use the charge of stalinism so loosely, on the ground given in the NAC report would require, indeed demand, that we level a similar charge at the ISGB whose organizational ~~practice~~ practice is infinitely farther advanced in the RSL direction--as much farther advanced indeed as is ISGB's relative importance in the class struggle. I believe this is a view shared by all of us. Yet, I, and presumably the entire NAC (since it is silent on this matter), would refuse to call the ISGB "stalinist" in any sense.



## Response to Report on Expulsion (continued)

We do not consider stalinism to be an organizational principle separate from its political manifestations. Stalinism is an organizational practice linked to class collaboration and to the rejection of the politics of ~~xxx~~ socialism from below. That is why it is permissible to call some, but only some, Maoists, "stalinist", while at the same time slanderous to speak of the ISGB as a stalinist. We distinguish between stalinism and bureaucratic practice, realizing among other things that the smaller the group, the more sect-like, the more tenuous the relation between its organizational life and its political theory.

For these reasons, the use of a mal-ordered catch phrase such as stalinism, is no substitute from the subtle concrete analysis of the RSL which is needed to accurately depict its politics (thou I am not suggesting that such an effort is worth any ~~xxx~~ share of our limited resources at this time.)

Similarly, in Sec. 2, on Orthodox Trotskyism, it would have been clearer and less open to misinterpretation if we would speak not of "orthodox trotskyism", but of the epigones of Trotsky, who would have said of himself, paralleling Marx, "I am not a Trotskyist." We must beware of giving one inch to those who claim his mantle without understanding him or being able to apply his methods to today's world. The term "orthodox trotskyism" is used with disparaging intent, is as ~~xxx~~ harmful to us, and as demagogic, as speaking disparagingly of "orthodox leninism" or "orthodox marxism". None of these "orthodoxies" should be in our vocabulary.

David Miller

NAC MINUTES 1/15

Present: All

0. NAWSEC REPORT. Approved ALL FOR.

1. MAGDOFF: THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM. Presentation by JG and discussion. (Has not yet been written up, but should be shortly).

2. DUMP WOODCOCK CAMPAIGN. Presentation by BM and discussion (report attached). Campaign proposal APPROVED ALL FOR.

3. DETROIT BRANCH COMMISSION. Continued discussion of report on reorganization of Detroit branch to be submitted to membership meeting 1/20. JW has proposed that, since he is to be on the Detroit exec, that he be given a leave of absence from the NAC for this purpose.

MOTION(JT) - The NAC is opposed to JW taking a leave of absence from the NAC. PASSED 5-1 (JW).

(2) In line with this proposal, JW should not be one of the comrades who takes (along with the organizers) major organizational responsibility for the branch. FAILED 1-5 (JT).

(3) If JW, the exec or the Commission wish to pursue the matter of a leave of absence further, they must submit a proposal containing a definite time limit. FAILED 1-3-2 (JT for; BM, JW abstain).

4. PERSONNEL. Discussion of Cleveland and staff.

MOTION(~~BM~~) That the NAC hire DP (Cleveland) to print and distribute our literature as well as Pluto Press on a full-time basis, while living in Cleveland.

That we pay DP by raising money for the lit service - to be presented as the only available means of building our lit service and publications program. FAILED.

MOTION: That the NAC not hire DP for this job, and that we encourage DP to industrialize as soon as possible (industry to be determined in consultation between DP, Cleveland exec and Industrial Sec'y). PASSED.

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## DUMP THE WOODCOCK TEAM

In the past six months the UAW leadership has gone farther in exposing its class collaborationist policy than ever before. The Mack goon squad; the imposition of the Ford contract; the rotten contracts and highly developed, utterly cynical "selling" process; and now the acceptance of mass lay-offs (worse, Woodcock's brilliant strategy for the energy crisis is to cut auto production by 1/3). The UAW leadership has flaunted its organized defense of the companies' interests.

The results of UAW policy are wage "gains" that are already wiped out by two months of inflation; forced overtime and speed-up; and mass lay-offs. The auto industry is a disaster area. Workers in plants that produce big cars are being permanently expelled from the industry by the thousands. In Detroit, unemployment will reach depression proportions by mid-year. It is likely that the SUB funds will go broke. Reasons for anger, rebellion, and opposition to the Woodcock leadership abound and grow.

At the same time, the vast majority of workers are deeply affected by a long nurtured cynicism about their ability to change anything to do with the UAW. And, it is no wonder. From the shop floor, the power and effectiveness of the Woodcock machine seem enormous. The knowledge that after all the wildcats, rejections, and protests the bureaucracy can still shove its lousey contracts through is a powerful stimulus to cynicism even among militants. Equally damaging and discouraging is that election after election on the local level brings leaderships composed of cynical careerists. Militants committed to open opposition are few. Organized opposition is limited to a scattering of small groups and the skilled trades based UNC.

Cynicism, lack of organization, fear of reprisals and layoffs limit, for now, the possibility of a mass, popular "Dump Woodcock" campaign. The Woodcock leadership is, however, hated and a campaign with more modest dimensions and a more educational slant can help us develop our contacts and, more generally, begin to combat cynicism.

In terms of our auto work, the Lump Woodcock campaign is but one aspect, one tactic for the immediate period. Given the economic climate, most of our work will center around the fact or potential of unemployment and related issues such as the SUB fund. In a general and national sense the Lump Woodcock campaign should be seen in that context. It is a line that can be raised not only on the shop floor and in the local generally, but also in our unemployed work.

In the present situation we cannot fight cynicism, even among militants, by promising a campaign that will produce any significant immediate results - dumping or even pressuring the leadership to any extent. The general feeling that UAW conventions are a fraud is entirely justified. Not only will we not be able to dump Woodcock this time, but it is unlikely that anti-Woodcock slates will be able to win much at the convention. We should not give the impression that we expect to win much - this time. In fact, given the layoffs, it will be hard to get slates together and even harder to win the elections. We run to win, but we are not running or supporting or even advocating opposition slates because we expect immediate victories or gains.

## LUMP WOOLCOCK 2

Instead, we should use the Lump Woodcock idea to point toward the need to build a movement that is capable of making a long range fight to transform the UAW into a militant union. The Lump the Woodcock Team campaign should be seen by us and those we work closely with as a tactic in the difficult process of building that movement. Only those beyond our reach should see the campaign as just a militant electoral campaign against Woodcock et al.

In trying to pull together a slate, influence others to do so, or just trying to convince militants that such a slate is needed, we should emphasize our conception of unionism and counterpose it to that of the Woodcock gang. We want to explain, in popular terms, why they do what they do (because they are a privileged caste and share the bosses concern for growing profits) and how we think a union should fight to win regardless of the needs of the company, how and why we oppose racism and sexism, why we fight for democracy (not just because it's a nice thing) and so on. We want to convince our contacts that only a movement of the workers committed to fight regardless of the bosses needs can get rid of Woodcock and his kind and build a fighting union that will stop lay-offs, speed-up, forced overtime, etc. We know this takes time, patience and the use of all kinds of tactics, but only people committed to a long range view can succeed. That is why the careerists usually beat out the instinctive militants: the careerists have a long range goal and method of achieving it. The careerist uses the issues to build his career, to advance himself, even when that takes years. We must convince militants that they must use the issues to build a movement ~~xxx~~ even when we are too weak to win at the moment. Running a slate, making noise at a convention, etc. are tactics in this process. For us the first step in the Lump Woodcock campaign is to convince our closest contacts of this long range, tactical-strategic view of the campaign.

At the same time, both the initial ground work and the public face of the campaign should be motivated in terms of the issues affecting the workers. Nationally, this will mean placing the campaign in the context of the fight against lay-offs and their effects, as well as the betrayals of the leadership in bargaining. The Lump Woodcock campaign is one of many tactics militants should use to fight lay-offs, to guarantee SUB funding, to stop overtime while there are lay-offs, to win super-seniority for blacks and women (who are being driven from the plants in droves), and to get the UAW to fight for increased unemployment benefits, as well as a means of "reforming" the union.

At the national level we expect and urge the UNC to play a central role in the Lump Woodcock campaign. But its role is not quite the same as ours. We don't expect the UNC to patiently convince militants of the need for a long view of things. But it can play an important role in the public face of the campaign, a role we can't play. It can get popular versions of many of our ideas out to auto workers around the country - often with our help to be sure. Most of the national literature expressing the public face of the campaign should come from the UNC. The IS will draft a brochure, and as the campaign develops other things, to be published by the UNC. We should also contribute to the UNC paper - general articles and reports on local slates.

Locally, there will necessarily be much tactical variation in implementing the campaign. In many locals in the Detroit area heavy lay-offs will effect our ability to

field a slate or convince others to do so and the context in which we motivate the need for a slate. In these locals, lay-offs, SUB funding and unemployment benefits will be the context in which a slate would run. In some Chrysler plants, where re-tooling for smaller car production occurs speed-up and job enlargement will also be sharp issues.

In Ag-Imp the issues center around the effects of pattern bargaining. That is, pattern bargaining has meant that each contract has been worse than the one before. Long standing provisions and work practices have been taken away by following the auto pattern. The local political situation also points to work within or with a slate that will be resistant to open opposition to Woodcock. We will have to determine if we can influence people around this slate, what we can get out of it, or even if we can support it. In so far as possible, we should try to convince those around the slate of our view of the Dump Woodcock campaign even if we can't get our way with the slate as a whole.

Lay-offs will also effect GM, GMAL, and Ford plants. They will be more uneven than at Chrysler, however, because of a better mix of models. To an even greater degree than Chrysler, GM and Ford will try to save profits by increasing speed-up in small car production. The role of the UAW leadership in freeing the companies' hands in this respect should be emphasized here. As we have few members there, this will be done largely through ~~contacts~~ contacts, UNC publications, and Workers Power. We can, for the most part, only try to convince people that they ought to carry out a popular version of our line there.

In some locals, even where we have members, the political situation or the degree of lay-offs will make it impossible for us to ~~field~~ field or even participate directly in a slate. This is simply to say that we won't always get our way. The same may be true to some degree vis the UNC at the national level. Seen as an IS campaign, i. e. a campaign carried out jointly by the organization and its members in industry, this only points to problems and likely limits in implementing our general line. As an IS campaign, the important thing is that we are aggressive in fighting for the ideas embodied in the campaign and use it to educate worker contacts and convince them of our politics as they apply to the UAW today.

In this regard, the forthcoming pamphlet on auto by JW should be seen as a major piece of literature for our end of the campaign. That is, it is something we want to give militant to help convince them of the need to build a movement against the UAW leadership - even though the pamphlet is not a piece of popular literature for the public face of the campaign.

To implement the campaign the auto fraction should appoint a coordinator to oversee our work in the campaign and to keep touch with Chicago, the UNC and other contacts such as St. Louis, Linden, etc. The Letcoit fraction should discuss, as a body, the situation in each plant and local and the specifics of implementing the line there. Either the coordinator or another person from the fraction should oversee Workers Power coverage - including making sure there is coverage. WP is our means of expressing our full point of view toward this and other work in the UAW and should be used to the maximum in the Dump Woodcock campaign.

Brian M.

NAC MINUTES 1/22/74

Present: All

**0. NATSEC REPORT. APPROVED ALL FOR.**

**MOTION:** We recommend LA branch hire MD (Seattle) as organizer. ALL FOR.

**MOTION:** That LA branch must submit budget to N.O. (as requested over the last two months) before any subsidy is allocated. ALL FOR.

**MOTION(MD):** On request from NY branch, NO to subsidize half salary for NY organizer for six months. TABLED for fuller report and discussion.

Brief additional report from BM on resistance among Teamsters in the grocery sector to local freight agreements.

BM also to obtain further information on student UFW support conference scheduled for Chicago in early February.

**1. WP STATEMENT IN BRIEF.** Draft submitted by DF. Preliminary discussion, to be continued after second draft is prepared by JW more along lines of SOCIALIST WORKER Statement.

**2. MIKE S. DRAFT NC DOCUMENT.** Presentation by JT and discussion. The document was adopted by the NAC as the basis for amendment, and will be sent out to NC members immediately. Discussion to be continued next week with specific amendments. The document is to be discussed and amended by the NC, then further amendments can be prepared during the pre-convention discussion.

**3. CRISIS IN BRITAIN.** Presentation by RV on economic and industrial crisis in Britain. Discussion focussed around the perspectives put forward by the ISGB in SOCIALIST WORKER. Centerfold in WP#90/ will feature Britain.



## NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

### 1. General Organizational:

WP: WP reports are starting to come in from most branches, and most branches are beginning to organize distribution systematically and report regularly. I will attempt to send out compilations of these reports periodically as soon as they become more systematic. Cleveland has upped its bundle from 100 to 200; they ran out of nos. 87 & 88. The SF branch sold 51 copies of No. 88.

UFW fractions: All branch fractions should be regularly reading the English language edition of El Macriado, a UFWA publication for information on the boycott and the union. Copies should be available through your local boycott house, but if any fraction is unable to get them, contact the NO.

Teamster fractions: Teamster fractions should also be reading the UFWA paper, as it generally has coverage on dissident teamster groups and activity. If there is no UFW fraction in your branch or organizing committee, contact the NO and we will see that you get access to the paper.

2. New York: The branch held a very successful forum on the UFW given by KB (Chicago). As a result of the forum and the boycott activity of comrades, several farmworkers and boycott activists signed up for the introductory class series the branch just set up. The branch is also co-sponsoring a demonstration on the second anniversary of the Bloody Sundry Massacre in Londonderry. We will have a speaker at the demo.

3. Detroit: The branch just passed a proposal for reorganization, which should make the local auto work the central focus of the branch around which the political life of the branch will revolve. BH and EE are the new organizers of the branch. The exec is taking the lead in organizing discussions on layoffs and unemployment and a concrete perspective for branch work in this area. Other important branch activity will be the UFW work and developing a perspective for that work in Detroit.

4. Chicago: JG spoke to the branch, contacts and members and a contact from Madison on the world economic crisis last Sunday. Chicago comrades recently decided to get actively involved in the UFW struggle. Other important on-going work in Chicago is the DARE work, on which an assessment and perspective is being drawn up and will be sent out, CWA and auto.

5. Northwest: Seattle: The branch is beginning a perspective discussion for branch activity. They have held the first in a two-part series on the IBT to which many contacts including IBT contacts came. It was very successful. Comrades there will be attending a symposium on Chile next weekend, speakers to include Jim Petras who is an exISer (4-5 years ago). Bellingham: Comrades are involved in a Retail Clerks strike and are working with two excellent rank and file leaders who are now contacts as a result of this activity.

6. Los Angeles: The branch has been actively involved in a struggle in the AFSCME campus local where we have a member, over an unjustified firing. Correction: the last report stated that 4 IA comrades attended the West Coast Conference. Actually 6 attended.