

NATIONAL REPORT

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*Denotes NC document.

FOR MEMBERS ONLY

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NC AGENDA INCLUDED IN THIS NATIONAL REPORT--BRING IT WITH YOU TO NC.

Comrades, today the IS is entering another stage of the turn we have been involved in over the past two years. This new stage is ushered in by the return of economic crisis to the capitalist system. What this means, for us, is that for the first time in thirty years there exists the real possibility of bringing relatively large numbers of workers into the revolutionary movement. We have been predicting this crisis for some time, and we understand its origins and implications analytically and theoretically. Today it is critical that we not simply react empirically to events around us, but understand what the rapid unfolding of the crisis means for us in practice.

What this new state means is that ~~xxxxxxx~~ we have an opportunity and responsibility to intervene and provide leadership in working class struggles. In the context of our national priorities, our goal is to initiate and lead mass work. We understand that since the struggle is only beginning, such work will not mean hundreds or thousands of workers fighting under our leadership, but rather tens. But the struggle to give a lead, among those workers whom we can reach today, in work around such limited issues as unemployment, contract fights, etc. is the prerequisite for demonstrating the relevance of our politics to the working class.

In short, the stage the IS is entering today can be briefly summed up as "the turn from propaganda to agitation." As we know, a group engaged in agitation must also continue our propaganda, in fact more and better propaganda is needed; but the central focus of our work and the organization must be re-g geared to the relatively new task of providing actual leadership in the workers' movement. Moreover, this is the only way to make our propaganda meaningful to a working class audience.

This turn is more than just a proposal on our part; it is a process which in fact is already underway. Concretely we have begun to see our caucus work deepen and expand as a result of the crisis. This is true in CWA (both in NYC and Louisville). And we have also begun to open up new areas of work in UAW in Flint and New Jersey. The UNC, through our unemployment work and through contacts outside Detroit, is also ~~gri~~ growing. And the publication of NETWORK (the UAW journal) by Feb. 1 should allow us to extend further our contacts in that union and further build local caucuses and the UNC. We have also begun to make some breakthroughs in IBT work, particularly in CTDU and Cleveland. Our USW work though extremely new, has already produced significant contact with workers.

We also now understand that decisions and perspectives we adopt ~~of~~ internally now actually affect both our work and events in the world. For example, it was our rank and file auto conference last October that contributed substantially to the development of a UNC group in New Jersey.

1. BUILD THE I.S.

However, this agitational work which is now central for us only has meaning insofar as it is tied to building the IS. For us this means recruiting workers and building the revolutionary party. Our agitational work will build a working class periphery, as is already beginning to happen in several branches. Some branches for the first time have a number of worker contacts, and for the first time we can be confident that we can and will recruit workers. This is particularly true through our work in Detroit (UAW/CWA/AFT), Louisville (CWA and others), the Bay Area and Seattle. From this periphery and milieu we must recruit worker leaders to revolutionary politics - which means immediately that alongside caucus-building and unemployed agitational work we must begin to es-

establish a strong IS presence in the working class. Worker militants must be won to revolutionary politics and our organization - through monthly forums, classes directed at worker contacts and through much more emphasis on the use of WORKERS POWER in our work.

Rank and file conferences continue to be another means of building an IS presence. The recent one in the Bay Area demonstrates that this will remain an excellent way of drawing contacts nearer and making new ones. The Cleveland branch is planning one on working women to coincide with International Women's Day which promises to be excellent, and those other branches which have already held the general r&f conferences should be thinking of more specific topics for new conferences in the coming months.

This new stage - agitational work tied with developing IS presence in our industrial work - means that contact work must be systematized and taken more seriously by all branches and organizing committees. Every branch should have a contact/recruitment director who organizes this work, and this comrade should be a key branch member who understands the crucial political nature of this task. The Bay Area has already been doing this for some time and it has paid off; and the Detroit branch ~~has~~ recently begun to do it.

However the organization remains uneven. While some branches, especially Detroit, are at the level of agitational work in the trade unions, others are still going through the process of getting comrades into industry. Yet this is as crucial for those branches as is the agitational work for branches which have had comrades in industry for several years, because it is precisely as a result of the painstaking work of the last several years that we can play a leadership role in struggles taking ~~place~~ place today.

Recruitment has not proceeded as rapidly as we predicted. Since the last NC we have recruited 50 new members, including 5 since the last NC meeting (a complete breakdown by branches is attached. We are not alarmed by the fact that recruitment has been a little slower than we thought, because it is clear that all the tendencies and conditions which make rapid recruitment possible still exist. We are confident that recruitment will continue and pick up. It is the responsibility of NC members, and the NC as a body, to assure that contact work and recruitment receive top priority in all branches and organizing committees.

At the same time, we have committed resources to the youth group and must actively help build it. There is now an organizing committee in Detroit composed of two IS ers and one new recruit. It has already begun to make contacts through a campaign against police in public schools in the Detroit area.

2. NC AND EC FUNCTIONING

It is important for both the EC and NC to begin to assess their work. For its part the record of the EC in the period since the last NC has been mixed. This is for three reasons: the holiday break and interruption of work here in the N.O., the brief crisis of the SC, and the fact that too many campaigns and tasks were passed and too few implemented. Thus recruitment quotas were not set, and the unemployment campaign s off to a slow start nationally. The industrialization program has run against the stone wall of the recession. Telephone is the only industry in which we have made any progress since the last NC.

The industrial secretary has met with the West Coast branches and spoken with

leaders in most other branches about branch industrialization efforts. While some branches such as LA and Louisville have been slow in pushing industrialization plans, others such as East Bay have organized and stayed on top of getting members into industry. But the severity of layoffs has precluded much success in either case. Even industries like steel and freight which we expected to be less hard hit are now experiencing mass layoffs. In spite of the objective obstacles, it is essential that the branches maintain and where necessary increase their push into industry. The E.C. will aggressively pursue this course, and NC members should regard themselves as fully responsible as the EC for carrying it out. We must be certain that when job opportunities do open up, there are no political barriers in the branches - as occurred in both Los Angeles and New York.

The independent collectives campaign has proceeded, although more slowly. It has been carried primarily by the St. Louis branch which has established contact with groups in Nebraska, Iowa and Springfield Ill. The campaign around deepening the use and circulation of Workers Power, which was a problem at the last NC, will be discussed in a later NC session. It is beginning to move and will, we believe, be successful over the next six months.

Overall, we think it is correct to say that we must again be clear about priorities - that we cannot do everything, and that clearly what is most important is the recruitment of worker cadres and the work that enables us to do that. Equally important, the EC and NC alike must take seriously their role in implementing and carrying out decisions throughout the entire organization.

3. THE ROLE OF THE N.C. AND E.C. IN THE BRANCHES

Over the past six months, we have seen problems develop in several of our major branches. It is our assessment that primarily these problems stem from the difficulties of building collaborative leadership in those branches, which actually leads the branches on the basis of the national perspective. We are still in the process of building a national cadre organization. This process has been underway for some years, and the RSL split demonstrated what can happen when we don't have common politics, perspectives and a real national leadership. While the EC has consolidated itself and begun to work in a collaborative manner, and the NC has begun to take itself more seriously, both bodies must carry this process through in the branches and help to build collaborative, consultative branch leaderships that will ensure a national organization.

Given these problems and their nature, The ~~EC~~ EC has begun to understand the need for sustained intervention in the branches, in order to assist in the development of this leadership. This will necessitate EC members spending more time outside of Detroit, so that they can become more familiar with the day to day problems and provide more actual leadership to the work of the various branches.

Specifically, we have intervened in the New York branch to help develop a leadership body in that branch which can take advantage of the increasing opportunities that the branch has in its industrial work. There were some comrades who objected, because the EC has not intervened in this way in the past - that is, directly and on a clear political basis but democratically at the same time.

In the case of the NY branch, there already formally existed a perspective for deepening the branch's industrialization program, strengthening the fractions and

centralizing the branch's functioning, over which there were no basic disagreements. Yet the branch remained largely stagnant, directionless and decentralized (even though fractions were involved in important work), and while an authoritative and politically decisive exec was clearly needed no slate for such a leadership had been put forward. The approach adopted by the EC was to propose such a slate and take that proposal directly into the branch and motivate it ourselves. By arguing the politics and by challenging those comrades who disagreed with us to come up with a different and better proposal to accomplish the agreed-upon tasks, we were able to play an important role in winning over the branch and establishing a strong, functional and collaborative exec which we have confidence will be able to lead the branch forward.

In Los Angeles, the problems in the branch revolve around a problem which has not yet been solved, i.e. centering the branch around industrial activity in a real and not simply verbal way. At this point, we have presented to the LA exec and branch a series of recommendations to accomplish this. These recommendations stem from our analysis that the tensions and organizational disputes in the branch represent a political problem taking the form of petty disputes. Our recommendations to the branch are intended to get to the heart of the difficulty by getting the life, location and activity of the branch actually centered around the important external work of the organization.

It is our hope that branch leaders will, on their own - with the EC's help in making recommendations, mediating specific disputes and giving advice - develop collaborative leaderships which actually guide and ~~xxxxxxx~~ implement the work. Failing this however it is the responsibility of the EC to ensure that the organization and its various bodies carry out the perspectives and policies of the national organization which have been democratically decided upon. This means that, after all other means have been tried ~~xx~~ and failed, the EC has not only the right but the responsibility and duty to take the extreme step of taking a branch into receivership and running it ourselves - if failing to take this step would mean a branch would effectively ignore the national perspectives adopted by the organization.

In ~~xxxxxx~~ situations of EC intervention ~~ixx~~ it is the duty and responsibility of NC members to back up the EC in such action. This is true because without doing this we will never develop a cohesive organization that puts into practice the already discussed and decided-upon perspectives and policies of the organization - which is what a democratic centralist cadre organization is all about. All such actions will be reported to the NC and reviewed by that body, but the NC must also understand its responsibility as the national leadership for seeing that the national lines of the organization are carried out everywhere it is possible while reviewing and assisting EC intervention.

The NC has a crucial role in carrying out convention policies, interpreting them and developing national perspectives in light of those policies, and the EC has the responsibility between NC meetings to ensure this is done. This means that NC members must provide direct leadership in the branches to ensure that the branches carry out these perspectives/campaigns, as well as the EC, and to make sure that the branches function so that they can do this.

We are bringing this to the NC at this point because we believe the NC must also understand this as its role in building a cohesive national cadre organization. We want to build the NC into a serious body which understands its role and can become a real national leadership - precisely because we take the NC very seriously. NC committees will aid in this process by putting NC members more in touch with the day to day problems of the national organization and national

I, S. MEMBERSHIP

<u>BRANCH</u>	<u># OF MEMBERS</u>	<u>RECRUITED SINCE CONVENTION</u>	<u>RECRUITED SINCE NC</u>
Berkeley	28	6	1
Bloomington	11	4	2
Boston	3	0	0
Chicago	11	0	0
Champaign	4	0	0
Cleveland	15	5	5
Detroit	x 32	3	3
LA	26	11	11
Louisville	10	4	4
Madison	2	1	1
NYC	28	7	7
Portland	5	2	2
SF	7	2	2
Seattle	20	4	4
St. Louis	8	0	0
Pittsburgh	3	1	1
MALs	16	0	0

NOTES: (1) Members recruited since convention are included in both "recruited since convention" and "of members". Members recruited since last NC are included in all three columns.

(2) None of the columns include those former comrades from the Socialist Collective who have resigned from the organization.

~~XXXXX~~

leadership, but they are not enough. Reviewing EC intervention, taking responsibility for it, and carrying out the democratically decided upon policies of its own and the Conventions is crucial for making the NC as well as the EC more effective.

4. RESIGNATION OF THE SOCIALIST CAUCUS

Finally, comrades, this report will briefly cover the politics of the resignation of the Socialist Caucus and the lessons we have learned from this experience. This is not the place to fully analyze the politics of the SC itself to which we are responding with several longer statements, but rather to make it clear how we presented the issue to the organization and the political line we believe the NC should also carry.

First of all, we want it to be clear that/ the comrades from the Socialist Collective were recruited to the IS on a fully principled political basis. We understood at the time that we were carrying through a very difficult kind of fusion; that ~~was~~ there were political disagreements and that the recruitment of the Socialist Collective was a gamble that might not succeed. However, we did not seek to rush through a merger by short-cutting on political principles. We held exhaustive political discussions with the SC leadership over a period of ten days. In that period of time we arrived at full agreement on: a) the necessity of a revolutionary party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in this country; b) the fact that the IS is the only organization on

the road to building that party today; c) a statement of unity that made clear a common commitment to working class revolution against both capitalism and Stalinism, workers' democracy, the struggle for democratic and partial demands, party and class, etc. Having achieved this, we were thoroughly prepared to take the step of accepting the SC as members of the IS. Moreover, we would do the same thing again - twenty times over - with any other group willing to accept such a unity statement.

Recruiting the SC was the kind of gamble without which no revolutionary party can be built. The IS and its leadership would not be worthy of the goals we set ourselves were we afraid to take steps like this. Furthermore, the main lesson we should learn is that the IS is capable of steps like this. Our cadre and membership were politically solid enough that the sectarian policies for which the SC leadership tried to organize received no support. The resignation of most of the SC leadership has not led to ~~but~~ demoralization or a sense of defeat inside this organization. It has not slowed our agitational work or our effort to recruit members of other independent groups.

The biggest obstacle to making the recruitment of the SC to the IS proved to be an objective one: the impossibility of finding jobs for any of the comrades in our industrial priorities. Thus they were unable to become centrally involved in our main activity, and to confront in the live class struggle the problems of providing leadership, raising revolutionary ideas and other problems on which they had undeveloped, abstract positions. Though other secondary problems developed, this was the critical one. Further, part of the leadership of the former Socialist Collective responded to ~~its own~~ their sense of political isolation inside the IS by taking the step of forming an internally ~~developed~~ disciplined caucus, which forced them to harden their positions even further.

Politically, what occurred is that most of the former SC leadership totally retreated and collapsed on the question of building a revolutionary party. When they left, their only perspective was to try to hold together a study group - which is not only a retreat from the IS but even from their activity as an independent organization before joining the IS. As a perspective it cannot be defended - which is precisely why they made no attempt to defend it before resigning. This is why the discussions agreed upon by the entire EC, on labor perspectives and the Russian Revolution, which were to be carried out in a thorough and written form were never even begun.

Not all the comrades who entered the IS with the SC have resigned. A number have remained members of the IS. While they agree with the political views held by the SC, who were their closest political associates, they did not agree with splitting from the IS and the retreat to the forming of a study group. We understand the difficult position which these comrades feel themselves in, as a small political minority inside the IS. We have attempted to convince these comrades to remain in the IS, as the only organization capable of building the revolutionary party we share a commitment to; and that their political views will receive the same full hearing, respect and consideration within the IS in the common struggle to build that party.

"If it is a newspaper worthy of the name, i.e., if it is issued regularly, not once a month like a magazine, but at least four times a month." V I Lenin

I Role of the paper

Worker's Power is the most consistent public face of the IS. At any one time it pulls together the diversity of the organization's work and presents the fullest picture of the organization's politics. It is the tool that continually pulls together and synthesizes our politics, work and direction.

The newspaper is a way that those involved in one arena are able to both develop the work in that arena and bring fuller IS politics to contacts in that arena. Through the paper an individual IS activist or industrial militant becomes more than an individual with good ideas on one area of work. He or she becomes connected to an organization with a full set of politics and a wide range of activity. In other words, the paper is a bridge between our day to day work and our full revolutionary politics.

Internally, the paper is an essential tool towards building a unified national organization. It is through WP that most members learn the IS line on events as they happen. And it is through the paper that comrades learn the arguments that enable them to convince their fellow workers.

But a newspaper must do more than present a line for the record or even its own membership. It is a tool in building the work of the organization. Through correct use of the paper, members can help convince others and push the influence of the IS line in specific work. We have already done this successfully in CLUW and the UFW work. We have yet to achieve this in a real way in our industrial work.

In building the work of the organization the paper helps build the organization. In fact, building the paper and its influence means building the IS.

That is what is meant by using the paper as an organizer for the IS. Because the paper explains rapidly changing events to our contacts, can convince them and provide them with the arguments they can use to convince others, the paper can develop a following and commitment in advance of a commitment to the IS itself. Once contact in Detroit has stopped reading the Detroit Free Press regularly in exchange for reading WP. Other contacts have begun distributing the paper where they work. That process brings our contacts closer to the organization.

II Changing nature of the period

All of the above, except the specifics, are almost timeless truths and could have been made at any previous IS discussion on the role of the paper. What has changed is the world around us. The economy is rapidly deteriorating, unemployment and inflation continue to rise and for the first time in decades there is a growing layer of workers that is open to revolutionary ideas. That means that it is now possible (although as yet, still in very limited numbers) to begin attracting people to IS politics directly through the newspaper.

In fact, as the economy seems to collapse around us and the traditional sources of wisdom have no explanation and no control over what is happening, workers are looking for explanations. The militant of tomorrow may not yet be re

ready to lead or even participate in rank and file groups or unemployed committees but that same person may be willing to buy a radical paper for the first time.

What is happening, in fact, is a new and growing radicalization within the working class. And WP is an extremely important tool in reaching that new radicalization.

At the same time there have been significant changes on the left which have been documented elsewhere. What is important here is the recognition that over the next few years a consolidation process will take place, with many existing sects dropping away and a few groups emerging much stronger. We intend to be one of the groups that grows. We will do that because of our political perspectives.

But one of the ways that our politics and our work is communicated to the collectives and industrialized radicals we are trying to attract is through the use of the paper. This has already been one of the more successful uses of the paper over the last year.

WP has developed an excellent reputation of the left and therefore enhanced the reputation of the IS.

III For a weekly newspaper

When we were essentially a student group, a magazine format was perfectly acceptable to us because the broad overview approach to questions fitted nicely into a student milieu.

As the IS began to make the turn toward the working class it was apparent to all that a monthly format was out of the question. We adopted a bi-weekly format. And although the bi-weekly format is a half-way house between a magazine and a newspaper, in fact, it fitted the needs of the IS. By and large we had little real connection with the working class and few worker contacts that we could use the paper with - even if it had been better.

Over the last year this has changed. Most branches now have several worker militants in their periphery. And as a response to the deteriorating economy developed, the IS has been able to connect with that motion. We are playing a leadership role wherever we are.

What is happening is that for the first time in decades it will be possible to bring relatively large numbers of workers into the revolutionary movement. For the first time, what the IS does in the working class movement counts. If we decide to build UNC unemployed committees, it happens if we don't, it probably will not. National networks of militants in our industrial priorities are growing - because the IS is organizing them.

Capitalism is beginning to fall apart and the beginning of this new period demands that the IS turn toward agitation. This turn requires many changes in the way we view ourselves. It requires changes in our newspaper as well.

As the IS turns to agitation, the role of the paper becomes even more important. The paper is one of our most important tools in building our work. WP must be able to put forward a line on our work, to give direction, and to give arguments that will convince militants as well as provide them with arguments they can use to convince others.

To some degree, WP has developed a style appropriate to our new needs and has been used agitational in some of our work. In fact, it is that style that has made WP successful and popular on the left. It has also put WP somewhat in advance of the organization as we have yet to learn how to use the paper as an organizer for our work.

In order to be a serious and effective tool in building IS work and the IS, we must go to a weekly format.

As the work of the IS becomes more agitational the role of the paper as a propaganda tool also becomes more important. It is through the paper that our day to day work becomes linked to our revolutionary politics. It is through the paper that immediate struggles are connected to our assessment of the economy and our strategy for world revolution.

It is through the paper that militants in one industry learn that our good ideas on what to do in a specific struggle are connected to a world view and what that world view is.

But to be effective, we must be able to explain things as they happen. Militants looking for alternative explanations of events need their questions answered as events happen. Things are moving much too quickly for those open to new ideas to wait around for the IS to get its position out. No one - no one - likes to read a dated newspaper.

If WP is to become the main source of analysis of rapidly changing world events for a growing radical working class periphery, it has to be current. It has to explain events as they are unfolding. For example, the lead article of the paper that came out on 1/15 was on Ford's economic program. This paper came out on the same day that Ford presented his program to Congress and two days after his unscheduled broadcast.

That means that WP was able to explain almost immediately what Ford's program was about. We were only able to do this because the Democrats jumped the gun on Ford and forced him to present his program early. If he had not made that broadcast, WP would not have been able to discuss Ford's program for another two weeks. This would have meant that most of our contacts would not see our explanation of Ford's program until almost three weeks after he put it s forward.

In other words, we would have been no help in explaining an important and seemingly contradictory event. If we cannot provide the analysis and arguments w when they are needed, the paper fails and contacts will look elsewhere for an understanding of the event.

Obviously, if our paper were a weekly, the whole process would be condensed, including production and distribution, and even if Ford had not given the unscheduled broadcast, our analysis would have been out and distributed within a week and a half.

In many ways WP has become a bi-weekly weekly. It has developed a lively and topical newspaper style. For that reason it is often dated by the time it is distributed. For this reason a discussion of an important event is often dropped because it happens early in the production schedule and would be too dated by the time the paper comes out.

We must be clear that we are not talking about turning the IS into a newspaper sect ala the Workers League. We are not suggesting that WP become the work of the IS. The use of WP as an agitational tool is made possible because of the work the IS does. A large part of the success of the paper in the last year is due to our work.. Our labor coverage is no longer a rehash of the N.Y. Times.

What we are talking about is continuing the process of using our immediate work to build the paper and thus the IS, and beginning the process of using the paper to build our work.

It is this very real relationship that is at the heart of this proposal.

One last advantage, which is secondary but still an advantage, is the rapidity with which subs will be delivered. A weekly publication gets first class handling under a second class permit, and so arrives within a few days rather than a few weeks. At that point subs will become useful to us and we will be able to work out ways of using them effectively.

IV Where we've come and where we have to go

Going to a weekly does not simply mean cutting the paper in half and putting out 8 pages one week and the other 8 pages the next. It requires major changes in circulation and the whole way the paper is used by the organization.

But, for the first time those changes are actually possible. Although

we have a way to go we have come a long way as well. At the Thanksgiving NC, 1973, we passed a general perspectives document on the press. Most of the ideas contained in that document have been successfully carried out. The fact that we no longer are having a general abstract discussion on the paper is testimony to how far we have come.

Our discussion this year is on specific direction and not general conception. That is a first.

We believe that we now have the best paper on the American left and the only radical paper that is addressed to working class audience.

Over the last year we have professionalized the production of WP. We have a production manager and each staff member has clearly defined duties.

We have not missed a deadline in six months, which means distribution in the branches can be planned on the basis of getting the paper on time.

The task at hand now is to change the way the organization used the paper. Specifically:

1. To begin using the paper in our industrial work.

Thus far our best industrial coverage, in toto, has been on the miners. Because of the work done by a few comrades, a line was developed and covered in depth in the paper. Almost all aspects of the miners struggle were dealt with. I believe that our miners coverage was not only our best industrial coverage but the best miners coverage on the left. Considering that we had no one who was actually there, this is extraordinary.

We have also done that with the UFW and CLUW, although they have both failed fallen off as of late.

We now must accomplish this in our UAW, IBT, CWA, AFT, And USW work. That means that fractions have got to work out perspectives on how to use the paper to push our perspective for the industry. Members in the fraction have got to begin writing shorts on what is happening where they work - not as an afterthought - but as part of their work.

Most of the shorts we do get, require tremendous pressure and hounding on our part.

2. To train our members to write for the paper.

Most of our members have no idea of how to turn their work and experiences into stories for the paper. This must change. We have got to make the paper central to our members as well. That means that members are continually seeking out articles. It also means encouraging contacts to write. By and large these will be letters to the paper, but it requires a consciousness on the part of the IS cadre to encourage letter writing.

3. Use with contacts.

Some branches, most notably St. Louis, have already begun to make serious use of the paper with contacts. This has to expand. Members should have the paper with them and be pushing it, discussing it with their contacts, encouraging them to distribute it and write for it. The time is over when we need to be embarrassed about being socialists. We have got to stop treating the paper as a dirty magazine that we are ashamed of.

4. Circulation.

Expanded circulation has been discussed elsewhere. Carrying out the circulation drive is an important and necessary step before going weekly. See Editor's Report, National Report, Vol. III, #9.

Our goal, then, for the next period, is to accomplish all of the above and go weekly by next September/January.

EC MINUTES 1/15

Present: All

1. NATSEC REPORT TO THE NC. Discussion of draft report by MD. To be edited with various amendments (~~xxx~~ final report ~~xxxxxxx~~ enclosed in this National Report).

2. UNEMPLOYMENT CAMPAIGN OUTSIDE DETROIT. Discussion mainly focussed around progress of work in Cleveland and proposal for citywide committee. MOTION(KM): We encourage Cleveland comrades to initiate unemployment work, along the lines of the unemployment perspectives document, in teamster and steel. The key is to draw in contacts, from those and other unions in which we are involved and have contacts. ALL FOR.

3. SC. Report on aftermath of resignation of comrades from former Socialist Collective. A statement to be drawn up by EC; JT assigned to draft. Statement will summarize the politics of the split and our assessment of why the political fusion of the IS with most of the former SC failed, as well as making clear that the course followed in our discussions with and recruitment of these comrades was correct.

4. CHICAGO. Presentation by JT on the situation and perspectives for Chicago branch. A rough perspective for the branch was submitted by ~~xxxx~~ JT and PASSED ALL FOR. It has ~~xxx~~ been previously discussed by JT with Chicago comrades and agreed upon in terms of the direction for branch in unemployment work.

5. SUPERSENIORITY. Presentation by JW on how our line on the questions of preferential seniority etc. should be applied to current mass layoffs situation, including auto where a statement is being prepared for ~~the~~ first issue of NETWORK. The proposal is not yet written up but is based on the following:

a) We are for urging minority workers who have suffered discrimination in the past to fight for compensatory treatment (a term which should be used instead of "superseniorty", which is considered misleading). In other words, groups like black, women or other minority workers should be demanding they not lose their jobs simply because they have least seniority.

b) At the same time and with equal priority, we urge the other workers to demand that this compensatory treatment not be at their expense, i.e. that the companies must pay the cost of compensating for discrimination and in particular that no minority worker, who is kept on out of seniority for compensatory reasons, can be used to perform productive work in place of a laid-off higher seniority worker. We urge that this struggle be pursued with the same vigor as the minority workers' fight for compensatory treatment.

The line of this proposal was PASSED 2-0-3 (MD, JW for; JG present but not voting; rest abstaining).

A presentation was also given by KM on the proposal of demands being worked out by CWA fraction to cover specific situation there. Its focus is on ensuring that percentage of women in craft jobs is not cut during the duration of the layoffs.

6. BUILDING WORKERS POWER. Document by GS for NC meeting discussed and approved. Sent out to NC members immediately; also included in this Nat'l Report.

7. OTHER POINTS. The following were approved: (i) formation of organizing committee in Pittsburgh; travel money for some comrades attending CLJW NCC; paying Lil Joe money owed him for the time he was on NO staff.

O. NATSEC REPORT (By JG). New York organizer will be Joan M. Glyn C. will be returning to US to be an organizer for IS for a year. The trip was approved by EC of the ISGB and he will be coming in February (Note GC is not an "agent" or representative of the ISGB in any way - he is acting in his own capacity in coming but needs permission from ISGB to be relieved of responsibilities there).

A document has been written by members of a group in Akron attacking the IS position on the NLF as one example of ~~the~~ what the group believes to be a useless conflict between Stalinism and Trotskyism. It defends the murder of Trotskyist militants by the Viet Minh in 1945 and accuses the IS of considering the Vietnamese "dupes" for following the NLF. DF and Bob M. will be collaborating on full reply to this statement and pursuing discussions with this group. (TS in Cleveland is also working on parts of a reply).

Road to Revolution feature in WORKERS POWER cannot be continued by JG as he has not been following the Maoist press. Someone else must be found to continue the column.

Attica tour - next stage will be an Attica defense tour along the West Coast. This to be next West Coast tour following M& MD's.

Cleveland - a trip by EC member to discuss the split with former SC to be arranged.

Toronto - a trip by an EC member to Toronto to discuss industrial perspectives with group there to be arranged. JG in charge. We will attempt to do this in such a way that the members of the Toronto group can also attend conference on working women in Cleveland.

1. CLUW NCC. Report by EE and discussion on NCC meeting in St. Louis. What characterized the meeting was the small role, in fact verging on lack of interest, displayed by the bureaucracy. Clearly they don't consider NCC very important, for good reasons. The left was fragmented and ineffective on most points, especially since the main role played by QL supporters was to demand everything having anything to do with blacks or national minorities be tabled to national minorities committee. In any case, however, a good program at least on paper for fighting layoffs on unemployment was passed largely at our initiative. For CLUW as a whole it is unlikely that this will mean anything at all; however in local chapters where we are prepared to actively implement it it can be a useful organizing vehicle. CLUW membership nationally is stagnant at around 2400 with 24 chapters now chartered.

2. SPARTACIST LEAGUE NAMING OF IS MEMBERS. Motion (JG): A letter will be written to the Political Committee of the SL concerning the WORKERS VANGUARD story of 1/17/75 in which they publically identify IS members in unions. We consider this to be police-agent-type fingering and demand an explanation. This matter will not be dropped until and unless satisfactorily cleared up.

3. CHINA. Discussion of Keven Bradley article in Bulletin #51 as the basis for WP coverage and a general analysis of current crisis in China. (An article by KB based on the document was submitted to WP and tabled to EC when disagreements over the analysis arose). The disagreements with the document centered around the fact that it poses the crisis in terms of a struggle between factions over policies for industrialization, as opposed to a crisis flowing from inability of bureaucracy to consolidate as a national ruling class. JT gave a presentation on existence of factions. MOTION: The EC accepts "Factional Struggles in China" as a rough description of the political issues underlying the recent period of ferment in

China. This does not mean that we regard this document, or any other existing piece of literature that we know of, as an adequate analysis of the crisis of consolidation of the bureaucracy or the revolutionary perspectives for the working class ~~is~~ flowing from that crisis. FAILED 2-3 (DF, JT for).

4. UFW PERSPECTIVE. Discussion of motions by MP and MJ from the Bay Area on whether UFW work should be reduced to the level of occasional communication between members and observing further developments or whether fraction should be maintained though on a less ambitious basis. The latter position (MJ motion) was adopted.

5. DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHANGES IN CONGRESS. Presentation by JG on implications of the changes in the Democratic Party in Congress including dumping of several important Committee chairmen etc. Tentative hypothesis is that based on the conjuncture of weak Administration, ~~with~~ big Democratic victory with major increase in liberal power, and the fact that the DP n longer depends on Dixiecrat types to carry the South, a new arrangement may be emerging whereby the DP becomes much more like a disciplined, parliamentary-type party. This would have great implications for the structure of American politics in the next few years.

Preliminary discussion - some of this material will be taken up in NC discussion on political effects of the crisis in the US.

NC AGENDA:

SATURDAY:

10:00-12:00 Nat. Sec Report--MD
1:00-4:00 Committee Mtgs
6:00-8:00 Workers' Power
8:00-10:00 Fraction-IBT

SUNDAY:

10:00-12:00 JG Document
1:00-3:00 Unemployment (1½ hrs.)-Working Session
3:00-5:00 Committee Mtgs.
7:00-9:00 Fraction-USW
10:00-2:00 a.m.--PARTY!!!

MONDAY:

9:30-11:30 Women's Caucus
12:00-3:00 Organizational Session
T.J.--30 min.
Convention Agenda--30 min.
Committee Reports--2 hours

PERSPECTIVE ON CHICAGO BRANCH

Submitted by JT

(NOTE: This motion was presented to the EC and passed on Jan. 15. Since that time the exec slate recommended in the motion has been adopted by the branch and work on the suggested unemployment perspective is beginning to be organized.)

The Chicago branch is not making progress equal to the rest of the organization. It is weak in members and the bulk of its members are not involved in industrial work. For those not in industry there is little outside activity. The result is that for those members, IS activity means going to meetings and doing contact work. The outcome is a tendency toward disintegration, due to lack of activity to create pressures toward unity. Augmenting this tendency has been the continuing failure of the branch to develop a strong, collaborative leadership which saw its task as acting together to lead the branch out of its quandary.

This assessment is a sober and sobering one. Quick action is required; a delay is impossible. The following are recommendations to deal with these problems:

1. The first and central requirement is an outward turn that brings the branch into activity with workers. The state of the economy makes the projected unemployment campaign the most likely possibility. Chicago has not yet felt the crisis with the sharpness experienced in Detroit, or even in most other places due to its highly diversified industry. Unemployment in Chicago is officially only 5.7%, quite below the official 7.1% nationally.

Nonetheless, the layoffs are now beginning to hit there. Steel is beginning to feel the pinch, as is electrical manufacturing. The economy as a whole is taking rapid leaps downward, as we had predicted. Current government estimates of projected unemployment go beyond 8% -- our projection of 10% is entirely reasonable and that means every area of the country is going to be hard hit. Chicago is no exception.

The UAW work in Chicago cannot be the central basis of the campaign because there have been no layoffs in ag. imp., nor is it clear that there will be any. What the UAW members can do is to carry out a propaganda campaign through the caucus paper, running articles on the state of the economy, on how workers fought back in the past, on how to fight now, and describing the character and progress of the UAW unemployment activity in Detroit.

Secondly, they can and should become active in building for the UAW Feb. 5 March on Washington. If there is any activity in their local they should of course be involved in it. More important, they should seek contact with members of other locals in the area which have been harder hit. Their line should be that developed in Detroit. They should seek to bring the unemployed UAW members they meet into our ~~activity~~ unemployed activity. Strong consideration should be given to their going to Washington if they can, but it is not now possible to say if they should or not. The other consideration is their relation to the rest of the activity of the branch.

It is the Teamster work that will play the central role in our unemployed activity. A group of militants have begun to pull together around a projected opposition publication in the local we are involved in. Unemployment in that local is 20-30%. So it is clear that a main focus of the group's agitation should be around unemployment. Specifically, it would begin immediately agitating around unemployment and the local leadership's failure to oppose it in any way effectively. Its articles could cover the same ground as those proposed for the UAW fraction but would be of a much more agitational character.

They should very quickly initiate a petition campaign demanding a local meeting (it has been two years since the last one was held) and the formation of an unemployed committee. It might also demand the re-establishment of the hiring hall which the local recently eliminated. Names and contacts gathered during this campaign, in which the Chicago branch could play a major role, could then be used for future activities.

When the campaign fails (as it certainly will) they should declare that they will not wait on the inaction of the local leadership but are ~~instructed~~ declaring themselves an unofficial committee which will continue to fight to be made official. They should begin to act as one. Demonstrations could be held: at the union hall protesting its inactivity; at particular employers if they are working over time; at sites of evictions or more realistically at real estate offices, homes of landlords, city hall or Mayor Daley's home. With the Chicago mayoral election now in progress there might be some possibility for a breakthrough in publicity.

The group need not confine itself to the local, but should and could, resources permitting - especially drawing in the IS and contacts - attempt to spread itself to other locals and even if possible to other industries. (Our activity in the UAW demo may aid this process). If we have people to do it we should be around PUSH which attracts back unemployed workers (especially its unemployed committee) and should attempt to ~~bring~~ bring them into our activity.

If we are able to do it we should help people with social services: give them advice on how to get everything to which they are legally entitled. This will attract people to us whom we can attempt to involve in our more political activities.

This perspective provides us with a basis for approaching our contacts ~~wh~~ who do not work with us with a proposal for joint activity, thus making the IS more real as an action organization.

2. Necessarilt tied to this perspective is the need to develop a coherent, cohesive leadership which will take this perspective and carry it out, making it the center of branch life. The exec members are to act not as individuals, but ~~as~~ in a disciplined fashion as members of a leading body. The exec should be KB, TD and SG.

3. EC members will frequently visit the branch. It is the responsibility of the Chairman and NATSEC to make certain that this is happening. Visits should be long enough to permit intervention in the branch activity and not simply or primarily for political presentation.

4. Chicago is now our #1 industrialization and colonization priority. Anyone moving to the Midwest should plan to move to Chicago unless specific exception is made.
