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EC MINUTES 3/26

1. AFL-CIO DEMONSTRATION. Report and discussion on AFL-CIO rally to be held in Washington April 26.

MOTION: i) We are for mobilizing for the April 26 AFL-CIO march against unemployment. All trade union fractions and members in the Midwest and East will try to organize support for the march. In building for it our comrades will have the opportunity to discuss unemployment and our strategy to fight it with their fellow workers. It will open opportunities to create unemployed committees in unions to mobilize for this demonstration, and/or to grow out of this demonstration for future activity.

ii) The programmatic emphasis in building the demonstration will be on unemployed committees in the unions, 30 for 40, independent political action by labor, equality for black and women workers, and a 24-hour work stoppage to back up the action.

iii) We should criticize the nature of the demonstration, as a controlled rally and platform for Democratic Party politicians and demand a militant march on the Capitol - a demonstration of protest with militant demands.

iv) A national coordinating committee will be established with KM as chair to coordinate and direct IS intervention and mobilization. The committee will include JW, and also JT on his return from West Coast trip. PASSED ALL FOR

2. NATIONALIZATION. Discussion of our attitude toward how and where to raise the nationalization under workers' control demand, based on policy statement of ISGB in SW and International Socialism. To be continued.

3. CAP. Presentation by MD on first draft of reply to article by Baraka in the Guardian "Radical Forum" on the 1976 Presidential campaign. JW assigned to do editorial work and bring in second draft.

4. WORKING WOMEN'S MOVEMENT. Discussion of draft submitted by BW for NC discussion. The EC considers the document excellent and approves its political line. Suggestions on minor amendments will be made by GS to BW with the aim of having the document out as soon as we can.

5. NATSEC REPORT.

Red Tide NC meeting last weekend did not occur due to car breakdown; informal discussions occurred instead for one day.

Proposal by GW on organizers' school to be held following NC. GW and JG to consult on specific readings from Cannon and others.

NOTE: The NC meeting is being postponed two weeks till May 10-12 to avoid conflict with April 26.

MOTION: To add FH (Louisville) to the Black Commission because of critical work he is now engaged in in this area. ALL FOR.

EC MINUTES 4/2

1. RED TIDE. i) Discussion with MP (Det) present on plans for her trip.

ii) Motions submitted to EC by the Executive Committee of the Red Tide.

The following motions were adopted March 5 by the EC of the Red Tide:

a) The RT EC reaffirms its position that local IS branches cannot discipline local RT branches under any conditions. TABLED 2-0-1

b) The section in Merry's document on final political authority in local IS and RT branches be tabled until they have been discussed by the appropriate RT bodies and an agreement reached with the IS. PASSED 3-0.

3) The IS NC and IS NC youth committee shall not pass binding motions on the RT without prior discussion with the appropriate RT bodies, especially those dealing with the relationship between the IS and the RT. PASSED 3-0.

The EC's response to the motions submitted by the RT EC is:

- MOTION: 1) Merry's document will be discussed by the IS EC after we hear the views of the RT EC on the document.
- 2) The IS NC does not pass directives on the RT without consultation with the RT leading committees, except in case of emergency.
- 3) The IS NC youth committee does not pass binding motions on the RT. Its motions are merely recommendations to the NC and EC of the IS.
- 4) The IS EC will attempt to convince the RT that local RT branches form a single political tendency with local IS branches. The RT will be built and politically developed by political collaboration with local IS branches. RT branches should not be local independent youth groups, but should be politically subordinate to the IS nationally and to the local IS branches. Naturally the local RT branches are under the direction of the RT nationally and its leading committees. Difficulties which will arise will have to be worked out between the appropriate bodies, locally and nationally, but in the spirit of one political tendency which exists together both nationally and locally. The existence of differences which will inevitably develop cannot become the basis for a conception of RT branches being the ~~IS~~ youth group nationally, but not ~~the youth group~~ of the local IS branch.

PASSED ALL FOR

2. AGITATION. Preliminary discussion on draft by GW. To be continued with some revisions proposed, in preparation for NC meeting.

3. AFL-CIO ~~de~~ DEMO. Further report on our efforts to organize a rank and file coalition for the April 26 rally.

All Midwest and East Coast branches are to support and actively build for this demonstration. There is a full mobilization, and all members from these areas will attend unless they clear specific reasons for not going with their organizers. This will be a major ~~focus~~ focus of activity for the entire organization between now and the 26th.

#### 4. NATSEC REPORT.

Report by JG on the new Philly branch and prospects there. Brief reports also made on Chicago, St. Louis, Boston/Amherst.

Motion: A subcommittee of the EC (JG, DF, JT) will meet with comrade KB at the next NC meeting to discuss ~~g~~ his document on factional struggles in China and the EC's objections.

A letter has been received from DM requesting publication of an article he submitted to WP on the possible permanent decline of the auto industry, as a discussion article in WP. We will not publish the article in WP, but we will put it on ~~the~~ stencils and publish it in the bulletin for the membership.

1. EC: We have spend most of our time discussing documents for the May NC (10-12). One document, Building the Working Women's Movement by BW is included in this National Report. The other two, which are also Convention documents will be in the next National Report, advance copies will be sent to NC members. All branches should schedule discussions on the documents prior to the NC. Top priority is the BW document as it will be voted on at the NC. The other two- on Democratic Centralism and the Turn to Agitation, are also convention documents, so there will be more time to discuss them.

We have also discussed the developments in the Pan-Africanist milieu, especially Baraka and the Congress of African People. We are responding to Baraka's article in the Guardian calling for a united front electoral campaign against the Democratic and Republican Party candidates in 1976. The letter will be included in the next National Report, together with a full report by Kay S on CAP for the now functioning Black Commission which includes MD, Kay S., Stephanie B. all of Detroit, and Fred H (Louisville).

Other major items discussed were the plans for a rank and file ~~rank~~ coalition group and presence at the IUD sponsored labor rally in Washington DC, April 26. We are mobilizing all branches and contacts on the east coast and in the mid west for this. Plans are now to have a meeting with representatives from the ~~x~~ various rank and file groups we're involved with speaking, putting forward our rank and file program for the recession (shorter work week, no loss in pay, jobs for all, public works, cut the military budget, no overtime while there are layoffs, full sub funding out of corporate profits, labor party.

2. NO: The second issue of Network and the Class Struggle Unionism pamphlets are now out.  
3. Louisville: We have two new comrades in Louisville, including a second ~~in~~ black member in that branch.

4. Philadelphia: We now have a branch there, of 5 comrades, two of which are in industry and at least two others planning to go into industry shortly.

5. Detroit: The UNC held a demonstration on April 3 at the UAW headquarters and at the Jefferson ~~rock~~ Assembly plant demanding the UAW do something as the Chrysler SUB fund will run out this week (GM to go one month later). It was small due partly to a snow and ice storm, but there was good publicity ~~fix~~ from it. There was also a small demonstration at Flint MI around the same question. In three locals, the rank and file groups we are involved in are running campaigns for local elections.

6. Red Tide: The NY branch has worked up a good proposal for developing an RT branch in NYC. Below is a summary of their perspectives. They are here so that they can give other branches ideas so that they can develop similar perspectives to build the RT in their area. The RT has a new member in Cleveland. Summary of NY youth work: Branch set up a 4 person youth fraction. They have picked out 2 highschools to distribute the newspaper at. They will prepare a leaflet on the RT, what it is, saying that they'll be back to distribut the paper on a certain day. If there is any response to RT sales they will plan a leaflet for a meeting. They will also check out the possibility of a forum. They are also going to find out if the RT can be placed in Bookstores, and begin collecting high school newspapers to try and get ads for the RT newspaper. Lastly, they are in charge of getting regular articles in the RT newspaper so as to make the ~~rank~~ paper more interesting to NYC readers.

Child Care: Not "Just Another Expense"

Dan P.

As IS makes its initial "turn" successfully and begins to recruit workers (particularly workers with children) first in small then larger groups, the question of child care will gain more significance politically. I also believe that in relating to the question of child care in a conscious and professional way and "delivering the goods" in the same fashion our chances of winning workers to our politics will be increased.

In Cleveland on March 1st and 2nd we held a working women's conference. For the parents attending (contacts and members) we attempted to provide child care in a bit more serious fashion than it had been previously. We were to provide care for approximately 18-20 children ranging from 3 weeks old to 12 years between the hours of ~~9am-2:30pm on Saturday~~ 9am-2am (partytime) on Saturday and 11am-2:30pm on Sunday.

Unfortunately we had at the most 11 children at any one time. One of the main reasons from the leak of kids was a few contacts with relatively large families decided not to attend. I think that if you look at their position as parents seriously enough, the question of childcare would not be too off the wall to be considered as one of the reasons why they did not in fact, attend. I know from talking with other parents who attended but did not bring their children that they had come to expect a certain "poor quality" in the child care for large events like ours. Honestly, what is the sense of bringing ~~and~~ your children to a conference when your energy as a parent is largely focused on whether your children are "doing all right" (ie being properly taken care of)?

I trust from other feedback from parents who did bring themselves and their children to our conference and found less reason to worry that our next event will bring more contacts along with their children with a minimum of "concern" on their parents' part.

Well planned, well executed child care that the branch takes serious responsibility for provides not just a lessening of parental worry, but also provides a space where the children can go and "enjoy" themselves. It helps to release some of the stress of a strange city if those children come from out of town.

I think that if we are serious about making this turn and recruiting that our experience here and ~~in~~ what that means to IS, present contacts, resent members, future contacts and last but not least the children (future members?) should not be overlooked.

In struggle,

Dan P.

Some Suggestions:

1. Try to get a clear idea of how many children and their ages so that you can try to determine:
  - a) Ration - adlut/child. I suggest 1/4 or 1/3 particularly with lots of small children under 4 years.
  - b) Food - prepare a menu before hand, when to be organized, etc. relatively simple meals.
2. Schedule: Perhaps hire one or two or three experienced baby sitters and supplement with someone older. Preferably someone ~~who~~ who has experience with children in "groups". We had one member assume responsibility for one time slot (more during lunch) at which time the babysitters were relieved for an hour or so.
3. Program: ~~Go~~ Go to library and locate books. Contact your local women's bookstore for non-sexist, non-racist childrens books. Locate a projector and also through the library check out some films. If the parents have a party, let the kids have a party. Have some of the kids help make lunch, etc. I'm sure you can think of suggestions of your own.
4. Make sure parents have written special instructions (if any) for their children to be posted and read by anyone taking care of the kids.

The Workers Power conference on "Building the Working Woman's Movement" was a success. Over 210 people registered; 76 were from the IS. People came from New Palz, NYC, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Youngstown (and the Youngstown area including Warren, Niles, Girard and Hubbard), Akron/Barberton, Kent, Yellow Springs, Cincinnati, Charleston, Louisville, Erie, Detroit, East Lansing, Ann Arbor, Madison, Bloomington, Chicago, St. Louis, Des Moines, Canada and Cleveland. At the conference 5 people declared for membership; 3 more, from New Palz, have also declared.

The conference was a step forward for the IS. It demonstrated that our turn toward agitation is already underway. More important, the atmosphere of the conference was one of a movement event, rather than a sect event. Only this time, it was the IS who put the conference on, and it was the politics of the IS which dominated and were the spirit of the conference.

The conference was successful in other ways as well. This was the most political of all our conferences. All the featured speakers save two were members; speakers from the platform and from the floor spoke about the politics of the IS, of revolutionary Marxism, and how it related to building a working women's movement.

Practically all the contacts, and especially the working class contacts, enjoyed the conference. Anna Palmer, who has worked with the BWC, RU, CL and DL said that this was the best conference she ever attended. The Youngstown CLUW contacts from IUE and UAW (Lerdstown), came to the conference hostile and suspicious of socialists, thoroughly enjoyed it, are no longer hostile, bought a lot of literature, and want to talk with us more about socialism.

The conference was an important step forward for the IS especially in terms of women's liberation. Most women's conferences in the past have degenerated into either sectarian wrangling, or separatist feminist shrieking. This was one of the few women's conferences that has been held in the past 5 years that has been a success. Also, this is one of the first conferences about the working class and women's liberation, which made a particular appeal to working class women and men.

The conference was important for the women in the organization. It was the first time that IS women fought collectively for the politics of the IS in an aggressive and confident manner. IS women felt, for the first time in a long time, that they were not just proud of their organization, but that they had a real role to ~~play~~ play in building both the working class women's liberation movement, but the IS and the revolutionary party.

The conference shows that we have a cadre of women in both the IS and in our union and CLUW work. The panel discussion on the fight in the unions and CLUW proved this. This is not the time nor place to name names, but nonetheless, the Women's Commission and the EC must immediately begin to draw upon the talents of the women who are emerging as leaders in the working class and in the IS.

The conference was organized by only a few people, but with the support of the Women's Commission and several people in branches. In particular, the Detroit women's caucus and the women's caucus at the NC were helpful in discussing the politics of the conference as well as with organization questions.

The EC also played a role in building the conference and showed that it can help branches build their activities. The NC helped professionalize the conference through the use of printed leaflets and posters. The printer and staff worked double time to produce the women's pamphlets. In the future, with more centralization, conferences will have even more planning and guidance, which will ensure further successes.

Some branches responded more enthusiastically to the conference than others. In particular, the Louisville branch must be singled out for praise, for they not only brought 19 people (including themselves), but helped before, during and after the conference with childcare, housing, classes, etc. Some branches brought just a few contacts; some didn't bring any. This is being said to point out that if all branches had been involved as Louisville the conference would have been even larger.

The conference also showed the importance of our regional work and the "left campaign" in building the IS. 50 or more of the people who attended came from places where we do not have a branch.

The same must be said about our CLUW work. We knew the featured speaker, Anna Palmer, through CLUW. The Youngstown CLUW contacts came as a result of our (and their) traveling in Ohio to build CLUW.

Finally, the conference demonstrated the usefulness of conferences in building the IS. By bringing together over 200 people to a political event where all aspects of IS politics are being discussed, in an atmosphere that conveys the sense of a movement recruited new members to the IS, brought others closer to us, and introduced us to even more people.

The excellent child care, organized and run by Dan P. from Cleveland, contributed to the success of the conference. We were able to assure and provide high quality childcare for all the children. Child care becomes more important as we recruit workers with families, for if we want them to participate, we must have an organization that considers child care an integral part of the success of the conference. (see accompanying assessment of childcare by Dan P. following this assessment.)

The conference was "by invitation only," and as a result a number of problems were avoided. "Anyone in the left knows that "by invitation only" means that the IS can and will exclude anyone it chooses. This policy is necessary right now because the left is a zoo. The US labor committee comes to meetings and tried to start fights; the RU and the Sparts compete to see who can be the most disruptively sectarian; the Sparts are also naming our members in their paper. We in the IS have the right and obligation not to let our conferences be disrupted in any way by these sectarian lunatics. People attending our conferences will not respect an organization that does not defend itself against such people.

The conference "Do's and Don'ts" which were sent out ten days before the conference helped make everything run smoothly. The idea for it came out of the February NC women's caucus meeting, and everyone commented on how useful it was. For future conferences similar "do's and don'ts" should be given out, but with more political content.

The conference showed what a few people can do. As the IS becomes more of an organization with help from the EC (and in the case of working women's conferences, the Women's Commission and with systematic intervention we can have larger and even more successful conferences.

What can we learn from this conference? What were our weaknesses as well as our strengths, and how can we use this to have better conferences in the future?

Because of the turn we are making, we should attempt to have our public external conferences more of a movement quality. We should reserve educational meetings to be day schools designed for internal rather than external purposes. We should have the conferences be as broad based as possible, inviting as many people as possible, but keeping them clearly Workers Power conferences.

The EC, and in the case of future working women's conferences, the Women's Commission should be more directly involved in the planning and organization of the conferences. All the resources of the center should be used to professionalize the conferences, and also the center should provide speakers, ideas for panels, classes, movies, leaflets, pamphlets, WP supplements, etc.

In the future, before the conference takes place, there should be a fraction meeting of all IS members to discuss the conference politically. In other words, to go over what we want to get out of each session, who should raise what, when and how from the floor, who is best to speak on what subject, who the contacts are, how to respond if we are criticized, etc. If this is not possible, and it most likely will, not be because of the distances people have to travel to get to the conferences, there should be a document sent out in advance to all members going over all the points outlined above. This would help comrades who may not be as close to the center or the branch involved to understand exactly what is going on and what is expected of them.

Floor leaders are important at all conferences. Their responsibilities will be to indicate to the chair/members what should be done; if a discussion is going badly to get it moving in a good direction; or to let people know when to drop a subject, etc. At the working women's conferences floor leaders were operating part of the time. At the evening session, there were none, which added some problems. Also the members and chairpersons did not know who the floor leaders were.

The chair persons at the conference did a fine job. All introduced and summed up each session, a practice that should continue. In the future the chairs should push the literature of the IS and if someone from Workers Power is not scheduled to speak on the paper, the chairs should always do that.

Politically, all the sessions were successful. Nevertheless, we should evaluate them in order to make future conferences better. One immediate problem came after Marilyn's speech and that was not one member raised their hand to ask a question or to make a point. In the future, and this will be the responsibility of floor leaders, it will not happen. More important, was that members did not elaborate on MD's talk and fewer people referred to it in the later sessions. MD's speech set the political tone for the conference, and members should have used it more.

The CLUW presentations were excellent and well received. The discussion was mixed. Some members were aggressively putting forward our line on CLUW; others half complained half talked about fight back; while some just complained. We can no longer complain about ~~the~~ CLUW or union meetings at conferences. Everyone knows meetings can be bad, that the fight in CLUW will be a tough one, but we must go beyond that. Our political analysis of CLUW, unfortunately ended with "we're in there fighting." There was no serious discussion of the bureaucracy and what it represents (except that it is bad and wrecking CLUW), of the nature of the Democratic Party, how to build rank and file opposition within CLUW; the role of the sects in also wrecking CLUW. These are our overall problems in our CLUW work and point to the need for more discussion of our perspectives.

The panel discussion was not only the best session, but it carried the conference. The panelists gave the audience the feeling that they really were in there building a working women's movement, and the audience's response was more than enthusiastic. We should use this panel more often at our conferences, as well as have them travel and speak to other branches. The discussion on the floor was also excellent. Working class women stood and spoke of their situations and conditions which contributed to the feeling that a working women's movement was possible and was being built. The participation of members was much better than it was in the CLUW session, but, as we would expect, showed our weaknesses as well as strengths. For example, a number of panelists spoke about how they got their jobs through the EEOC, and how they had to use the courts, yet no one from the floor spoke about the role of the EEOC and courts under ~~any~~ capitalism; not enough was said about our position on seniority, although it was mentioned. In this session more members related our revolutionary politics to our union work. In this case, it was our newer members, who do not have as much experience, which is but another sign of the developing cadre of women in the IS.

The evening session on "Building the Working Women's Movement," was our most difficult and probably, most felt, our least successful session. This was not due to the speeches. Isabel N. gave one of the most politically important speeches for it was aimed at working class housewives and spoke to the questions of involving working class women in revolutionary politics. Gay S. followed with the IS's conception of the working women's movement - its importance and how it will be built. The problem with this ~~xxxx~~ session came from the inability of members to politically motivate a position on which there are still differences on. (ie women's industrialization). To many members the discussion resembled a branch meeting. Part of the problem was that there had been no discussion beforehand so that more members would have known how to answer the questions, and also and more important, how to keep the discussion to its original purpose

ie how all sections of working class women will be brought into the fight for women's liberation.

Nevertheless, even though members thought the discussion wasn't the best, most of the contacts enjoyed it. IN's and GS's speeches carried the ~~xx~~ evening, and also people were aware that the IS was trying to convince people of something important, and that a real struggle was taking place.

The classes on Marxism and the family, women and the revolutionary party, and women and the law were successful. They had not been called workshops and this prevented the usual after-workshop-frustration that arises when nothing comes out of the workshop. Also, the classes enabled people who didn't raise questions from the floor to ask questions of the IS. One problem arose in one workshop, and that was that men took over. This is especially bad at a women's conference. In the future to assure better overall discussions, we should plan the classes/workshops better so that the problem of men or an individual dominating, does not happen. Also, this will insure that we carry the classes/workshops politically.

In the future, we would experiment more with the idea of classes at future conferences. People said they felt they learned a lot from the classes. We could try to have classes on the role of the EEOC and the courts, the democratic party~~xxx~~ and women, black women, etc.

The final problem was our inability to integrate the Red Tide into the conference. MP, the Red Tide organizer for the midwest was sick, and she was to have held a class on the special problems of younger women; she was also going to give a short ~~talk~~ talk introducing the Red Tide and speak from the floor. In the future, and at all of our conferences, a member of the Red Tide should be able to take about the politics of the Red Tide and its relationship to building a workers' ~~xxxx~~ movement and the revolutionary party.

March 20, 1975

The key task for the IS during the coming period will be to act on our politics in the only manner that counts--to actively recruit workers to our organization. All our projections about the potential for a socialist revolution, working class leadership, rank and file activity in the trade unions, self-organization and the development of cadre mean nothing if we do not make that happen.

This means that contact work and recruitment, which have heretofore been done haphazardly, if at all, will have to move to the center of branch activity. Our ability to work and function as IS members will be measured not by how subjectively we feel about our activities, not by how many or how often we produce propaganda material, not by how large our public gatherings are, not by how many resolutions we can get passed at union meetings. All these, of course, will be a part of our activities, but their success will be how well and capably they are able to draw active working class militants into and around our organization with a clear understanding of our politics and enable them to emerge as leaders of our work in a fairly quick period of time. Our success will not just be judged against the growth of non-IS groups which our perspective commits us to building, but against the broadening and development of IS as a revolutionary workers group.

The proposals for the branch's political perspectives and consequent form of organization which are outlined below are based on two assumptions. One, the need to focus our resources much more clearly than in the past, and, two, to focus on those areas in which we have the most immediate possibilities for success, a success which we will be able to measure in terms of worker recruitment. This does not mean that we are either ignoring parts of the broader national perspectives or reducing the possibility of opening new areas of work. Both of these questions will now be the direct responsibility of the already elected branch exec and they will direct the work of the whole membership in these fields. This has become possible because for the first time in the history of this branch we have a leadership which has the respect of the whole branch and the potential for operating in a truly collaborative way.

#### Fractions

Our fraction work should be the major source of recruitment for it is in these areas where our politics are evidenced to people through concrete struggles. Therefore, our fraction activity must be focused around drawing our contacts, not only into rank and file activity, but also into IS politics and activity. A portion of every fraction meeting should be set aside to discuss contacts and how to proceed with them. Contacts met through fraction activity or on the job should be introduced to all members of the fraction as soon as possible.

Fraction activities must be seen as more than the weekly or bi-weekly meetings of the immediate fraction members or even the get togethers with contacts for specific work activity. Social contacts, informal discussions, meeting contact's families, doing "non-fraction" work with contacts are all part of fraction work in fact because they provide ways of raising and discussing politics and a means of communicating a sense of what the IS is about and why they should be involved in it.

The solicitation and writing of articles for Workers' Power from and by fraction members and contacts must become an integral part of this

process. What we do is the best news that Workers' Power can get, and all too often we fail to connect the two. Writing these articles should not be seen as some additional, extraneous chore done as an afterthought to "political" activity, but must be considered as part of a vital analysis and feedback process that is directly part of our political work. Fraction members who are more experienced in this area should help other fraction members and contacts put together and write articles. The branch organizer will have the power to give writing assignments if certain areas are not being covered in the normal course of fraction work.

Teamster Fraction --The immediate perspective for this group is to turn MV into a regular newsletter around a clearly stated short and mid-term rank and file program, and for it to become or to create from its success a region-wide paper which covers all Teamster activity in Northern Ohio. The main emphasis will be on the campaign against unemployment in local 407, though our line on the forthcoming elections and, later, the contract fight will also be carried in the paper. The goal is to move from building a base in 407 to become a force throughout the Joint Council area.

The key to the development of MV lies in the emphasis on concrete agitation and a greater level of openness of our comrades as socialist militants. We expect this key to open up the possibility of involving new, young militants in what will eventually be a solid rank and file group around MV, a group which will also involve and develop some of the older ex-TURF militants.

This fraction also has responsibilities in terms of leading the national fraction and comrades should be aware that this large overall work load will necessitate the periodic involvement of non-fraction members in the work at a relatively high level of activity.

Steel Fraction--Of necessity this work is of a more regional character (although in terms of UPS and other teamster contacts the above fraction has this dimension too) and it is around the creation of a regional RAFT paper that this fraction will be built up. At present this involves working towards an April demo and May publication date and as with almost all areas of work in 1978 at the moment, the central theme will be the fight against the lay-offs. It is this initiative which will reduce our over-dependance on established RAFT militants and enable us to develop a genuine periphery of our own. This fraction too has national responsibilities and must therefor be strengthened in terms of its full-time personnel.

Youth Fraction--The branch has already had an extensive discussion of this area of work and is also working closely with the Mid-west RT organizer who has produced a guideline that has been circulated to the local exec and youth fraction members. This guideline explains the process of developing a core group and a larger periphery through fairly intense work between the youth committee and the core group. It states that the aim of the youth fraction should be to develop an organizationally independent and self-reliant Red Tide group as soon as is realistically possible. It also discusses role in the youth fraction and how that is to be handled vis a vis active and

direct work with the core group. The local-exec has already unanimously voted to accept these guidelines and have added to them the proviso that it is only the members of the youth fraction who will have assigned areas of contact work amongst the youth. Other members are encouraged to meet with and function with the youth as often as possible, but this will not be in the way of assigned contact work. One important task of the youth fraction must be to help develop RT presence and activity with reference to the coming integration struggle in the Cleveland public schools. This is important as a means to expand beyond the initial Cleveland Hts. base, to develop the political awareness of RT members, and a way of beginning meaningful work with blacks in this city. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind by youth fraction members that as the goal of their work is to build an organizationally independent and self-reliant RT branch, the success of their work will lead to the dissolution of the fraction and youth fraction members should be prepared at that time to fit themselves into branch activity elsewhere.

It should be clear that we have produced a division of labor in these three primary work units of the branch which aims for no overlap of personnel. There is one exception to this principle due to the nature of CK's role in the youth fraction and her important contributions to the Teamster fraction, but this policy was deliberate, if not always sustainable. Its aim is to insure that the fraction work gets done for this is the foundation of our general strategy. It is also the case that these fractions cannot be considered as heremetically sealed boxes from which no member can stray. There will be many occasions on which the exec has to draft extra members into a particular work area but that can never be an excuse for failure to cover other work as long as responsibilities have been clearly established.

Some Other Work Areas--The exec proposes that the other areas of work in which we have less of a base should be continued on a necessarily lower level than the fraction work as an overall branch responsibility under the direction of the exec. In order to keep in touch with the development and potential in these other areas the exec wishes to appoint one member with responsibility for overseeing these areas.

These comrades will report in person to the exec once a month, so the exec will have a serious discussion on one of these areas each week. The youth fraction convenor will have the right to attend the relevant part of any exec meeting and the exec will have the right to call the youth fraction convenor to any of its meetings. By this means we will ensure that the branch does not become totally centered on steel and teamsters.

An action committee will be formed of all unemployed members and the branch organizer. It will meet each Monday morning to assess what needs to be done in any of the areas of fraction or branch work. These people will then apportion all unassigned work among themselves for that week. This will be especially helpful in handling an increasing distribution and WP sales load.

Branch Life

This is an area it is safe to say has hardly existed for the Cleveland IS. Being in the IS is more than working on a job and attending fraction meetings, though aside from a bi-weekly Sunday gathering, Cleveland members would have been hard pressed to explain what that difference is. Part of projecting IS politics is presenting ourselves as Marxists

capable of understanding what is going on and of projecting responses to it which will work. This means more than just good raps. It means creating an organized presence within the Cleveland working class as being a group whose activities do make a difference and whose opinions count.

Obviously, we will not become this kind of an organization by saying we are. We must begin to build that public presence immediately. It should be the aim of the Cleveland branch to hold a minimum of one public function each month. These will not all necessarily be formal public gatherings, although we must not shy away from making these so. The only way to learn how to do these well is to do them often, realizing that our initial efforts will be modest. But setting clear goals for these public events, working hard to bring people to them, and analyzing what we did right and wrong afterwards will be the only way we will learn how to conduct these kinds of functions. Not doing them or always feeling we cannot do them will teach us nothing. We are looking towards a public forum on unemployment for April. The exec is in the process of developing plans for such an event and will discuss them with the branch as soon as the outline of the forum is developed.

Also, events of the kind we had on Sunday, March 16, with ND from ISGB are very much the kind of thing we want to be having much more of. We must be very aware of opportunities for setting up such gatherings be they around speakers, films, special events, or whatever. Political/social events which project the IS as an organization and its political perspectives must become second nature events for this branch to undertake. Moreover, the kinds of outreach events we are talking about here might even be more modest and limited than was Sunday's. Something similar focused around a fraction concern, or a political issue of interest to a specific grouping of contacts should be done if there is the opportunity...and it should be the job of every single branch member to create the opportunities.

In addition, branch life must come to mean not having one's life, i.e. social contacts and social outlets, revolve totally around present branch members. If contact work and recruitment is to be seriously undertaken, a lot more of our time and effort will have to be spent with contacts in as many different ways as is possible. Introducing contacts to other branch members and collectivizing the contact work is essential for indicating what the IS is all about, but outreach work means our going out and integrating ourselves into the dynamics of our contacts lives as well as drawing them into our circle. The turn of the organization is now going through means changing ourselves as well as the organization--indeed, one will not happen without the other--and one aspect of that is developing a branch life which looks outward, not inward.

#### Workers' Power

One of our best means of outreach that is both consistent, political, and vital to the development of new cadre is our use of Workers' Power. Obviously, this means selling the paper consistently at certain outlets--i.e., the same day, time, and place each issue--in order to develop a readership. We must try to use this opportunity to get to know people, find out what is happening inside where we sell, and figure out ways to get more copies read and discussed.

We must use the idea of the paper route as a serious way of seeing contacts and raising political issues with them. Discussing specific

articles in WP is a good way to rap about IS politics. Getting contacts to distribute WP or write items for WP is a way of involving them minimally in our work. Even if contacts are not up to writing articles, getting information from them and helping them turn it into a usable WP item is an excellent way to work with them. This should be encouraged wherever possible. The paper route should be seen as vital to recruitment and not just another means of unloading a paper or two. At this point it would probably be best to be inclusive and try to get the paper to any and all of our contacts and then begin to pare down the list on the basis of initial response.

Branch members should also try to use WP more directly. Push discussions of specific articles with work mates, try to get feed back on the articles presented. If possible, try to use some of the articles and columns as part of informal, ongoing educational sessions with work mates and within fraction activities.

To co-ordinate and oversee all aspects of WP activity ~~we~~ will be placed in charge. He will get the papers to comrades, check distribution schedules, tabulate sales, push paper route work, ride herd on article writing, and work with comrades to develop new ways to use the paper. He will report to the exec on a regular basis for an ongoing evaluation of this branch's use of WP and ways to improve it.

#### Educationals

These are clearly part of overall branch life and should be seen as such. Educational programs are one way to reach out to contacts and to develop the theoretical level of present members. Some of our educational work will be internal, some not.

At present we are in the process of finishing the Lenin Class series which we have already undertaken. The schedule for the remaining classes is as follows:

- March 20--~~SK~~--Comintern. Readings: "The First Congress of the Communist International," "The Third International and Its Place in History."
- March 27--~~---~~The State. Readings: "State and Revolution."
- April 3--~~CS~~--National Self-Determination. Readings: "Rights of Nations to Self-Determination."
- April 10--~~---~~Trade Unions. Readings: "What is To Be Done," "On Strikes."
- April 17--~~---~~In Power. Readings: "The Trade Unions," "Once Again on the Trade Unions," "Draft Theses on the Role and Function of the Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy."
- April 24--~~CK~~--Lenin's Testament. Readings: "Better Fewer, But Better," "Testament," (the various letters reproduced in Lewin, Lenin's Last Struggle.)
- May 1--Evaluate Lenin Class series. All. Celebrate International Workers' Day!!

These classes have been aimed primarily at present IS members, but some contacts have been brought and it has worked out well. This use of the Lenin Class should continue, though it should still primarily be seen as an internal education program. In addition, the short educational presentations during branch meetings have fallen into disuse. The exec will evaluate these and see whether or not they should be instituted again and if so, with what changes.

As part of the recruitment and development of new cadre, some educational procedure for new members needs to be developed. A committee of SG, TS, and MR has been appointed to pursue this. They have projected a worker educational series to cover the following topics: (1) what is capitalism, (2) what is socialism, (3) trade union strategy, (4) need for and role of a revolutionary party, (5) the specially oppressed--blacks and women, (6) what it means to be in the IS. The readings for these sessions will be short, newspaper articles or excerpts for the most part. The actual curriculum has not yet been set, but it is hoped that this series can be initiated by mid-April. Branch members are urged to suggest people for whom this kind of a series would be appropriate.

It should go without saying, but perhaps it must be said, that every member should take the initiative in self-education and should continuously be working to develop theoretically. This means that every branch, fraction, or personal activity is part of the education process, not just those sessions labeled "educationals." It also means that reading and political discussion are integral to all activities. Only if members are actively working to develop themselves and can begin to articulate problem areas, can the more formal educational programs be successful. Designing educationals to meet felt needs will be both easier and more rewarding. Educationals not so designed will be merely formal exercises beneficial to no one.

#### Industrialization

As far as guidelines, the branch's priorities remain pretty much the same. UAW, USW, IBT, and CWA are the priorities. However, UAW work in the auto industry seems very slim. If any chance arises, however, we jump for it. Our next immediate priority is USW work in basic steel or IBT work in 407. Next, however is USW work in non-basic steel. This should take priority for the moment over UAW work in non-auto locations. After this is non-407 work in IBT. Employment in CWA must be looked into more carefully both in terms of its availability and the locals involved.

#### Contacts, Recruitment, and the Branch Organizer

The two crucial areas with respect to recruitment is in the area of blacks and women. The branch needs to seriously develop openings for recruiting both. Much of this will be done through our fraction work, especially for blacks, but there needs to be much more effort spent towards developing activities which can hasten this process. It is clear our "regular" methods of operating to this point have not produced significant advances in these areas.

We also have a problem with respect to branch meetings. Our aim is to have them lively, politically serious, democratic, and habitable for workers. This is a problem the exec is addressing itself to. The exec will review branch meetings and make suggestions towards making them short, efficient, and meaningful. This is essential if our recruitment efforts are not to turn into a revolving door.

The branch organizer will have overall responsibility for the recruitment process and especially the development of areas relevant to this. That means a great deal of work with the comrades on following through with contacts and pushing to recruit. The branch organizer will be pushing all members in this area. It is also essential that the comrades push the branch organizer with new ways of doing this work.

The branch organizer will be working within each fraction and integrating the work of the fractions with respect to recruitment. The branch organizer will be able to be present in any fraction meeting and must be notified of any fraction meeting. In the fractions the branch organizer must be regarded as acting with the authority of the exec in these situations and while it is always possible that an organizer might be capable of mis-interpreting the will of the branch exec (or indeed the national EC and NC), it is for those elected bodies to make that judgment, not the fraction. Furthermore, as two of our three fraction areas involve significant amounts of traveling, all out of town trips must be cleared with the organizer so that branch life does not become disjointed due to the absence of too many members at once.

One final point must be made on this perspective. The exec regards this as an essentially short term perspective which will need constant updating to fit the situation. The exec's job is to apply the agreed upon branch perspective, but it must be recognized that genuine leadership means flexibility. We will not be trying to change the facts to fit in with our pre-conceived notions. Neither will we be running back to the branch to have a full perspectives discussion every time developments demand some shift or emphasis in our work. The key thing in this period is to prove our politics in practise. This is the essence of the turn that the organization is making on a national level and which we have already discussed. The whole document is our interpretation of how that turn can be concretized in Cleveland. We will not have gotten everything right, but we are committed to the idea that the IS will be primarily an organization of activists and will become, very soon, an organization of workers.

4/8/75

1. The circulation drive began with issue #113. At that time our press run was 3,500. It rose to 4,000 at #114, 4,500 at #115 and 5,000 at #116. Which proves that overall the drive is going relatively well. Some of the branches, mainly the West Coast, have been slow in starting and the beginning date has been pushed up a month for some of them. The same thing is true of NY. But the Midwest has taken the campaign extremely seriously and most of the increased sales have come from the Mid-west. If the drive continues on as successfully as it has been going in the Midwest we expect our press run to reach 6,000-6,500 by the end of the drive which will have made it a success and put us right on target.

As of this writing the handles for the following branches have not their quota? Detroit - 750, St Louis - 100, Cleveland - 300, Pitts-225, Louisville, Bloomington and Chicago are close.

I am still not receiving reports from most of the branches and have begun calling around. Most of the branches promise more efficient reporting of WP sales and use in the future.

Sales figures I have received since the beginning of the campaign are as follows - #113 Blngtn 122, NY 112, #114 Blngtn - 127, Detroit 532, NY 92, Seattle 133, St Louis 55, #115 - Blngtn, 150, LA 70, Louisville 90, Seattle 184.

Obviously the above is very sparse information. If your branch is not listed it is because someone in your branch bothered to send in a report. All members should demand the sales reportage be done as part of carrying out the campaign. NEXT REPORT KWILL CONTINUE TO LIST SALES. Reports should go back to number 113.

2. The WP staff held a workshop on WP - political conception of the paper and going to a weekly and a workshop on how to write for the paper in Bloomington for the Bloomington, St Louis and Louisville branches. The sessions were somewhat successful but not as effective as they had been in Cleveland. We feel that the reason was that they had not been as well prepared as the workshops were pulled together too quickly. Comrades were not asked to write articles (because of lack of time) and had been done in Cleveland and therefore the workshop was not concrete enough. Many of the ideas on conception and direction of the paper had already been internalized by members and therefore that discussion repeated too many already-combinly held ideas. We are planning similar conferences in NY and CHI. We are insisting that comrades write articles for the workshops as requested so that the sessions will be more concrete and helpful. The main purposes of these workshops is to enable the membership to get a better sense of the paper, how to write for it, how to help it build their work and how to turn it into a tool to build the IS.

3. Use of the What's On column is still highly erratic. Unless a member of the staff calls around to get the specifics, ~~they~~ generally they don't appear. We cannot continue this practice indefinitely. It is a waste of time and money. As soon as a forum is planned all details should be sent to WP attention What's On. Don't assume that because it is your branch minutes we know about it. The NO is such too specialized now for everyone to see everything. Specifics must be sent directly to the paper

## On Carrying Out the Unemployment Campaign

by Jack Trautman  
(Presentation given to Feb. NC)

The unemployment campaign has gotten off to a slow beginning throughout most of the organization. This fact does not indicate any serious problem. The fact is that when the perspective was presented at the last NC only Detroit had been hard-hit. Most of the rest of the country was relatively untouched. Some comrades may have felt that the national perspective in fact represented Detroit-dentrism, that massive unemployment was only a Detroit phenomenon.

By now, however, the Depression has spread through the economy as a whole. Everywhere it is being deeply felt; all the time new records are being made; precedents increasingly go back to the second depression of the 1930's in 1937. Workers in almost every sector of the economy are being layed off and are desperately seeking jobs. The tension and discontent that this situation is creating and will inevitably create means that opportunities will be opening up for us like never before. We must be prepared to move quickly with them.

The question that has arisen is what concretely does the unemployment work mean in the local areas? How is it to be carried out? Some comrades have felt they did not know how to implement the national perspective. Doubts have been raised about the strength of our industrial work: does it provide us with the base necessary to carry out the unemployment perspectives as passed? Some branches which feel weak in this regard, or which find the unemployment work slow-going and hard to build have independently and partially been developing another perspective: that of city-wide work, based on "committees" of ourselves or ourselves and other radicals which put out propaganda to workers and try to pull something together in that way -- along the lines of the RU.

The national unemployment perspective that was adopted at the last NC is not some new program or direction for the organization. Rather, it is concretely the way to carry out our current industrial perspectives in this period. Given the large amount of unemployment is is the dominant issue facing workers today, both in terms of loss of jobs, or the threat of their loss, and in terms of deteriorating ~~the~~ real wages (even in a few cases absolute declines, as reported recently in WP) and working conditions. The issues of working conditions, overtime, pay, SUB protection and the public issues of public jobs, full unemployment compensation for the duration, food stamps, etc. are the major issues today and during this period. Before long questions of evictions may become more prominent. The unemployment work is the means to organize and propagandize around these issues.

Similarly, we, the IS, have been very hard hit by the Depression. In some places we have almost been wiped out of industry by the lay-offs. The unemployment work thus had an additional crucial value for us in what it is, in many cases, the only way we can continue to carry on our industrial perspectives.

The fact that our industrial work does not have deep roots is not an argument against carrying out the unemployment work in the way originally proposed. Quite to the contrary. It is the means of strengthening that work in this period. It is a part of our perspective of building an opposition within the unions. Carrying on that work should make it possible for us to reenter industry, as the upturn takes place, with renewed forces -- with greater strength than we had when we left or than we have now. That is certainly our perspective.



possible to provide for the unemployed union members some organization strength. The committee should plan to represent them in any difficulties they may have with federal, state and city or private agencies, and be prepared to put pressure on those agencies to improve service, provide better benefits, leave off harassment, etc., etc.

The committee can keep tabs on whether overtime or speed-ups are taking place while there are lay-offs, and could help to carry out publicity against such things, promote campaigns such as suggested above to prohibit overtime by law, etc. It could help to mobilize people for demonstrations such as the Washington demonstration or demonstrations at state capitals, city halls, etc.

We want these committees to be official and we should motivate them to the ranks as above. The motivation is quite legitimate, and it provides us with the basis for going outside the official union leadership and establishing our own committees to carry out this work as best we can in the absence of official support (and thus legitimately to begin or extend an opposition).

We should be looking for campaigns that can draw people into motion, where heat can be generated on the company and the union, where it may even be possible to win some victories. E.g., in auto a campaign around the SUB fund which will soon be expiring is being worked on. Overtime can be an issue that can generate a lot of heat and that can spread. A demonstration in front of a plant that is working on Saturday and has laid off several workers is an important political act. If consciousness develops around this issue it could become a highly volatile one as the economy starts to pick up and productivity increases and the companies ~~kkkk~~ attempt to increase the rate of exploitation. If we did our work properly we might be able to put ourselves at the head of something. Comrades should be thinking of such possible campaigns.

~~kkkkkkkkkk~~

## BUILDING THE WORKING CLASS WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Barbara W.

### Introduction

This document is being written to clarify past positions held by the IS relating our industrial strategy to our women's liberation perspectives.

Over the last five years, a number of assumptions held by the group on our industrial work as it pertained to women has never been written down. As a result, and also because of the losses and gains in the IS in terms of membership, our original perspective regarding women's liberation came into question by many members of the IS.

Some comrades questioned whether or not we had to reaffirm our commitment to building a working women's liberation movement; others argued that our present industrial priorities, UAW, USWA, IBT and CWA, did not put us in a situation where we would be working with masses of women. Therefore, another priority, one with a large number of women (hospitals and AFSCME were suggested) should be established.

Other comrades including members of the National Committee disagreed with the importance of women in these industries as being leaders of the future working class women's liberation movement. In particular, there were disagreements with the paragraph in Kim Moody's document on a new industrialization campaign which stated:

If the IS perspective is correct, then it is these sections of industry and the labor movement that will lead the rest, and indeed aid and abet rank and file movements throughout industry and the trade union movement generally. It is essential that women be in the leadership of the movement of those industries and unions. We do not believe, and it has not been argued that the women's rank and file movement will arise separately or in a vacuum from the overall movement. Women workers will go into motion as the class goes into motion. But, if there are no women in the strongest section of the rank and file movement, it is not likely that the bulk of working women who work in dispersed and unorganized jobs, will be able to play a leading role. There must be women leaders in basic industry and in the biggest industrial unions who can provide political leadership and direction for women throughout industry. IS and other revolutionary socialist women will be that leadership. To be effective, they must be located in the heart heart of the rank and file movement and not at its periphery.

Since the Thanksgiving NC, other questions which deal with aspects of our perspective on women's liberation have also been raised; the recruitment of women into the IS, the problems of women going into industrial priorities, and the issue of women in the leadership of the IS. The purpose of this document is to go over the analysis of our industrial priorities and their relationship to the future working class women's liberation movement, as well as to answer some of the questions raised by comrades.

### Our General Approach

The IS is the only organization on the left which is committed not only to the creation of a rank and file workers movement, the creation of a revolutionary workers party, but also to the building of an independent working class women's liberation movement as part of the working class fight for socialism. Furthermore, the IS is the only organization that believes that the organization of women, fighting for emancipation, is neither subsumed by, or counterposed to the struggle for workers power. Rather, we argue we argue that only thru the self-organization and activity of women, can the fight for women's liberation be won.

Because of the special oppression and exploitation that working women face in society, women will form their own organizations to fight not just against sexism, but against capitalism as well. That is what is meant by the independent organization of women fighting for women's liberation. The working

class women's liberation movement is organizationally independent but part of the working class movement. It is completely independent of the bourgeoisie. This is an important point to stress for the working class women's liberation movement will not be formed independent or separate from the class struggle. As the working class goes into motion, and as that rank and file movement is built, it will give impetus to working class women to organize and fight.

As the working class moves against the capitalist crisis, those who are most exploited and oppressed women, Blacks, and other national minorities, will move in a most explosive and revolutionary way. Working class housewives, who are the most isolated, and in periods of capitalist stability, tend to be the most conservative, will see that there is an alternative to their oppression, thru organization and struggle can be won to the fight for women's liberation and socialism. As women in the work force fight against the exploitation as workers will come up against the barriers of sexism and will have to fight to end both their exploitation as workers, and their special oppression as women.

In this way, and others, the working class women's liberation movement will be built in both the shops, the unions and in the streets. The working women's movement will be made up of women in unions and in organizing drives; women's trade union or labor formations such as CLUW will be formed and part of the this overall movement; social and women's organizations, as well as welfare and tenants rights groups; women who are involved in community issues, whether that are around the deterioration of the schools, police brutality, regulating food prices, etc. will be involved. The creation of women's auxiliaries such as the Women's Emergency Brigade of the 30's or today's Brookside Women's Clubs point to the role that women, not in the work force, will have in the creation of a working women's movement. In other words, all sections of the female working class, Black, white Latin and Asian, blue collar, white collar, organized unorganized, and the masses of housewives will be drawn into the fight, will form their own organizations of struggle which will become the working class women's liberation movement.

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

At this time a working women's movement does not exist. The largest and still most influential women's organizations are the middle class groups of NOW (National Organization of Women) the NWPC (National Women's Political Caucus) and the NBFO (National Black Feminist Organization). There are a scattering of irrelevant socialist women's organizations, such as the NAM type formations. Recently, CAP and other Black and Maoist groups formed a Maoist Black Women's United Front. The National Welfare Rights Organization does very little at this time.

The only organization of any significance to working class women, is of course, CLUW. Formed in March 1974, it revealed the potential that exists for activity among women in the labor movement. The formation of CLUW represented motion by women fighting for women's rights in the organized labor movement, a split in the labor bureaucracy on the issue of women's rights as well as on a whole range of questions. More important for revolutionaries was that CLUW legitimized many of the ideas of the women's movement of the 60's thus creating an opening for revolutionaries to speak with women in the labor movement about the necessity of building organizations that fight for women's right.

While the existence of CLUW is important in terms of a future working class women's movement, for reasons stated above, and in other documents, it is not now, nor do we expect it to be the working women's organization that will carry out the fight for women's emancipation. However, the struggle that is going on now in CLUW, between the left wing (and remaining rank and file), and the bureaucrats is over the conception of what a working women's organization should do in fighting for women workers. The struggle taking place in CLUW may also lay the basis for another working women's organization with far greater potential.

For the past twenty five years, the material conditions for a working class women's liberation movement did not exist. But now, with the growing crisis in capitalism, which is beginning to radicalize

## Building the Working Women's Movement

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the working class, will aid in the process of building a working women's movement. In the absence of any real working class women's liberation organizations, the tasks for revolutionaries is to begin now to work out a strategy for building both the rank and file movement and the working class women's movement.

### The IS Industrial Strategy as the necessary first step

The IS is a revolutionary organization of less than 300 members. There are about 75 women members, 11 of whom are in our present industrial priorities. We are still largely a petty bourgeois organization with little roots in the working class, and most of our members have no experience in the labor movement. We also realize that we do not have the luxury of time, given our analysis of the period. Therefore, the IS must have a strategy that will place our entire organization where it can have the best impact on the emerging working class movement in order to build the working women's movement.

Also, in terms of organizing working women, we must have a strategy where we can be the most effective and where we can affect other sections of the class to go into motion to organize and fight. That is why for example we look first to women at the workplace, rather than housewives, as key to building a working women's movement. It is only at the work place, where women are organized, are exploited collectively, and learn that only thru collective action can any reforms be won. Working women are organized at the workplace, are exploited collectively, and are taught by their experience that only thru collective action can reforms be won. It is women at the workplace who have the greatest social power and can most easily grasp the potential political and social power of the working class to transform society.

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

The issue at hand, however, is how best to strengthen and build all these struggles, and it will be thru the organization of working women, who can bring added potential power to all of the community issues.

Once it is agreed that the first step is to concentrate upon women in the labor force, then we must decide which section of the female labor force is most strategic in terms of building a working class women's movement. In this case, as well, we are faced with a number of problems. We cannot have a strategy based upon concentrating solely where there are masses of working women. In the first place, the overwhelming majority of working women, 30 million out of the 34 million are not organized into unions. The masses of working women are located in small, dispersed, isolated, backward, and unorganized shops; women are concentrated largely in service, clerical and domestic work. These are the facts of life about ~~capital~~ capitalism. It is a system which discriminated against women. It keeps women out of the basic industries that are well organized, and have strategic social power in terms of the working class movement. That is why, to have a strategy based simply upon being where the masses of working women are, would put the IS on the periphery and not at the heart of the workers movement.

Therefore, we must discuss our priorities on a whole range of political questions, and not just on the question of sex alone. Our present priorities, auto, steel, teamsters, and CWA were chosen because of their strategic importance for the entire working class movement. It will be in those industries and unions that the class struggle takes place on the highest most decisive political level. It will be in those unions that workers in motion will be the most class conscious and the most politically developed. Already the key questions of the rank and file vs. the pro-capitalist bureaucracy are already posed. It is also in those unions and industries where there is the greatest pressure toward the development of the kind of class struggle rank and file movement upon which our perspectives are based. And as we have stated many times, it will be that rank and file movement which will give impetus to

the working women's movement. By being in these key unions and industries, revolutionary women will be bringing women's liberation politics into the most important sections of the rank and file movement. But, more important, in terms of the working women's movement, it will be those women in the key industries that will be getting the best political training, and many will become leaders of the future rank and file movement as well as the working women's movement.

This important political struggles and organizing that women in the important sectors of the working class are involved in now will also act as catalyst for other women in the labor movement. While it may be true that women in these key areas are small in numbers that have an impact upon the class far greater than their numbers. The building of rank and file groups in auto, steel, teamsters and telephone will have a far greater impact upon other sections of the class, than will developments of comparable magnitude among for example, secretaries or hospital workers.

Also important is that because of this political experience and training, women in basic industry will be able to provide leadership and guidance for other women in struggle who will not have had this experience. As struggles break out among working women in all areas, women who have already been waging the struggles in their unions, built the rank and file groups, understand the nature of the trade union bureaucracy etc., will have the self-confidence and experience to provide the necessary guidance and leadership. They will be in a better position to help and to train women in other sections of the workforce.

As the IS grows and becomes a workers organization, we will be intervening in strikes, organizing drives, etc. more from the outside than we do now. Right now, we must use the tactic of "industrialization" because of the low political consciousness of the working class. The ISGB, for example, did not have to industrialize its cadre, because of the higher political level of the British working class. However, we will not be able to intervene from the outside, unless we have a cadre of women with the necessary political experience and training. It will be precisely these women, who have the most to offer unorganized and striking working women, who will be able to work with and provide the indigenous local leadership involved in struggle.

Chances are the IS will not be located where 99% of all strikes, organizing drives, and other struggles take place. That is why we have to be able to sthru our training and experience to intervene from the outside -to provide the necessary political and tactical leadership, to work with the indigenous local leaders and recruit them to the IS. The IS will never be in every hospital, cannery, field, or factory. That is why we must have the cadre of women who will have the experience and training, to effectively intervene. They will only receive that training in the most important and strategic unions and industries.

Many people have argued that the impetus for a working women's movement will come from women involved in organizing drives. This may very well be true. In the South and Southwest, in particular, mass organizing drives when they take place will have to challenge American capitalism; for involved in the issue of organizing the unorganized will be the questions of union bureaucracy, Black liberation, women's liberation, and the democratic party. Given the understanding of the importance of such a future movement to organizes the unorganized in relation to a working women's movement, shouldn't we then send women into these unorganized places so that we can be fighting from the inside when the struggle breaks out?

Once again we must go back to our original premise about our rank and file strategy. It is our conception that the fight for a rank and file movement based in the unions will also lay the basis for the the movement to organize the masses of unorganized workers.

With women in the leadership and active in the rank and file movement based in the key unions and industries, they will be crucial in providing leadership for the organizing drives. In this case, there is even a more pressing political reason for having women get their training and experience in the UAW, USWA, IBT, and CWA. As was said earlier, it is in these unions that the important political question of the rank and file vs. the bureaucrats has already been posed. Women who are involved in these unions already understand the political nature of the trade union bureaucracy, and have had

experience in fighting it. In organizing drives this is not the case, for usually, the interests of the ranks appear identical to that of the bureaucracy. Many times, and it is common today, that some of the best militants become staffers for unions such as SEIU, AFSCME or 1199 because they want to be involved in organizing drives. As a result, many of them never understand the nature of the trade union bureaucracy, and often end up defending their union leadership over that of the rank and file. In this way, many of the best militants who end up working for the unions, as well as many rank and filers, do not have the political training that enables them to understand that union bureaucracy don't get the experience fighting it by building rank and file groups, which will be critical in building a working women's ~~women's~~ movement.

Therefore, the point to be stressed is that we want and expect women in the IS to be able to work with the masses of working women, provide leadership, help and train and guide all struggles that break out in the coming period. But we will not receive the important political experience and training, unless we are in the most important unions and industries. We will not gain that experience by being in the backward, dispersed, unorganized and isolated sections of the working class, even though that is where the masses of working women are. Rather, we must concentrate our small forces, where they can get the best political training in the quickest period of time.

The IS recognizes that there are problems when middle class revolutionaries "industrialize". As was mentioned earlier, industrialization is a tactic that we have adopted because we have no other choice. Middle class people have been (mis)educated to be afraid of the working class, and middle class men and women have real fears about being able to do the physical and political work in basic and heavy and heavy industry. For women, who are especially oppressed in this society, in particular, because of their channeling have greater fears about being able to do the physical work as well as the political work.

The IS understands and appreciates the problems, but we have to go beyond that if we are going to build rank and file movement and a working women's movement. We have a responsibility to convince as many members to get jobs in our industrial priorities, and the organization must be geared to enable the comrades to carry out their political tasks in the most efficient and effective way. But we cannot nor should we allow the fears middle class people have about industry, stop us from sending as many women into our priority industries. We should try and explain that many of the fears stem more from channeling than from reality. After all, working class women are not frightened by working in heavy industry. And, as it was pointed out at the Working Women's Conference, "Women have always worked at backbreaking jobs. Now with women getting into auto, teamsters, etc. at least we're making \$5 an hr. instead of the usual \$1.85"

When the IS first sent women into industry, we were taking a gamble. Many members thought that women couldn't do the work, couldn't build rank and file groups, and more importantly couldn't be leaders of men. IS women in industry were, to be sure, forced to confront special problems. But the experience of women in the UAW, IBT, and CWA have proved that women can overcome these problems and become class leaders. In fact, the women in the UAW, IBT, and CWA have proved the opposite. The successful panel at the Working Women's Conference demonstrated that our industrial strategy vis a vis the working women's movement is correct; that women can build rank and file groups, can be leaders of men as well as women, and that their rank and file work will have an impact outside their immediate job/union situation, to women in the unorganized and backward sections of the work force.

At present the IS has four industrial priorities. We plan to move to opening up new industrial priorities as soon as possible. We will first have to expand establish and strengthen our present fractions on a national level as well as grow numerically. In choosing new areas of industrial work, we will use the same criteria, that was used for choosing the original four: the strength and import-

of the industry and union(s), the history and traditions of militancy, concentrations of women, blacks and other national minorities etc. This means of course, that whatever area we move into will be industrial, as opposed to a service, clerical or domestic one. A number of industries and unions have been mentioned for future industrialization such as garment, electrical (IUE, IBEW), machinists (IAM), postal workers (UPWA), and others will be looked into. The opening up of new industrial priorities are essential for the expansion of our industrial work and the creation of a working women's movement.

A word should be said about hospitals as a priority, especially in terms of building a working women's movement, since a document was written presenting a case for industrializing into hospitals. We will not open up hospitals as a priority industry for the reasons outlined in Kim Moody's document on the new industrialization campaign. However, this does not mean that we regard the struggles of hospital or any other workers for that matter, as irrelevant. Nor do we tell hospital workers who we recruit necessarily that they should quit their jobs and go into one ~~one~~ of our industrial priorities. We may convince some that they will be more politically effective if they were in the priorities now. That will depend on a number of political considerations. However, as we grow, we ~~we~~ will be intervening more and more from the outside in terms of strikes and organizing drives. We will also recruit hospital workers to the IS from the outside. However, right now, because we are small, we must utilize our limited resources in the best way. And that is why, our priority areas for union work will be in the most important and strategic unions, so that we can provide leadership not only in these key areas, but wherever there is activity by the working class.

Some comrades have said that they agree with our industrial priorities, and do not wish them changed. They also state that while we should not alter and change our basic strategy, we should have another priority, on a limited basis, which would enable women to work where there are large concentrations of women. We have to point out the problems with such a plan. In the first place, we will not open up another area of work unless it is of strategic importance in terms of the rank and file movement. We also don't open up limited priorities for women. There is also no point in opening up a new area of work unless the resources of the entire organization will be used to establish a strong fraction that can carry out the political work. If the IS established a priority on a limited basis, one that was not considered as important as the other industrial priorities, not only would the work be done in a halfhearted, and slipshod manner, but worse, the women in that fraction would, and rightly so, be able to say that the organization did not take the work seriously. This would only lead to further demoralization of women in the group.

As we move to opening up a new industrial priority, one that is strategic, and one that has a large concentration of women, we will not be setting up a 'women's priority.' By women's priority we mean an industry and union where ~~either~~ only women will be sent or an industry/union selected solely for the purpose of building a working women's movement. We do not separate the building of the rank and file movement from that of building a working women's movement. Secondly, if we sent women into an industry/union by themselves, this in itself would only reinforce the divisions that exist within the IS, and add to the oppression that all our women members face.

Some other left wing organizations reject our strategy for building a working class women's liberation movement. In particular, most of the independent left collectives have had, or have now an orientation to ~~the~~ hospital and other health care workers. Many groups have criticized the IS for concentrating in basic industries while ignoring the areas where there are masses of women. Many of the best people went into organize hospital and health care workers, believing this was the best way to organize women and build a movement. Most have now left, with nothing to show for their years of work in terms of organization, self-confidence, etc of the workers.

involved. The result for most has been one of demoralization as the collectives fall back on interpersonal relations as the way to deal with sexism. Others have begun to look for a different strategy. We have a responsibility to point out to these collectives and individuals why their strategy was doomed to fail, that in the ~~lack~~ absence of a strong rank and file movement, based in the important unions, all the best work done in the backward and unorganized areas will not produce lasting results; the defeats that are inevitable without a strong rank and file movement behind them will only produce demoralization. The formation of a rank and file movement, based in the important industries and unions, will enable sustained organization and activity among the backward, unorganized isolated sections of the class. The task for revolutionaries is to build that rank and file movement.

Because the IS's primary concentration is on our industrial work, some members feel that unless you are in one of the basic ~~heavy~~ industries, there is no role for you in the IS. A great deal of the dissatisfaction and discontent of the women members comes from this feeling. In the first place, however, many women, who are not in the four priority industries, do play leading roles in the organization, as the working women's conference proved. However, at this point, given that we believe that the IS must concentrate its work primarily in industry, it is imperative that all our members, men and women, who are not in industry, become involved in the industrial life of the organization through the fractions, selling WP, writing for WP, doing contact work, etc. It is the responsibility of the leadership bodies, fraction leaders, execs, organizers, to make certain that all the women and men, whether or not they are in industry, play a full role in our industrial work, which is of course, and ~~no~~ no one has suggested otherwise, at the heart of all our political activities.

As the IS grows not just in numbers but in terms of our base in the working class, we then will be able to effectively intervene and give leadership to non industrial struggles that will be important for building the working women's movement. For example, if the IS were larger and more established, we would have tried to initiate a Joanne Little Defense campaign. This campaign would be important in the first for women's liberation because the issue takes up the question of rape, racism, the right to self defense, etc. More important, we would be able to bring in the strength of an organized rank and file movement into the defense campaign. A struggle like that one, or others involving the schools, rising prices, welfare and tenants rights will of course be critical in building the working women's movement.

In other words, we expect all members of the IS to be professional revolutionaries whether or not they are in industry. Our industrial strategy will also pay off in other non industrial struggles, because not only will we have a cadre which can bring the rank and file movement into these struggles, but we will also have women who will be able to provide leadership to the important community struggles as well.

Another argument against our present industrial strategy has been that since we are not located where there are masses of women, we will not be able to recruit women to the IS. Right now, most of our working class contacts are men. This is the consequence of centering all activity around male dominated industries. The argument continues by saying that we have also lost more women than men because many women feel that if they have no role in industry, they have no role in the IS, and therefore, drop out.

Everyone is agreed that the proportion of women to men (25%) in the IS is too small. We do not accept the small number of women as a fact of life and we are committed not only to recruiting more women to the IS, but to building an organization that does not lose its members. However, what has to be proved is that the difficulty of recruiting women to the IS, and past problems in keeping women are a direct result of our present industrial ~~message~~ ~~strategy~~ strategy.

It is true that in the past five years we have lost a larger number of women than men. In the late sixties, ~~and~~ when the ISC/IS was largely a student group and when there were the mass movements

against the war, or for women's liberation, etc., there was a larger percentage of women in the group. However, we have gone through 5 years of conservatism and defeat. As a result many women became demoralized and left. This is due to the special oppression women face in society which make it more difficult for women to be active in revolutionary organizations, especially in periods of defeat. It should be pointed out that many of the women who had been leaders in the ~~IS~~ IS/IS left as a result of giving up on the possibility of workers revolution, or because of sectarianism (Reorient, TCT, RSL, SL, etc.)

It is true that the IS is not now recruiting large numbers of women. Neither are we recruiting large numbers of men. We are recruiting in small numbers, and even more slowly recruiting indigenous workers. It also should be stated again, that given the material conditions of the special oppression of women in society, women tend not to join revolutionary organizations as quickly as men do. But as the class goes into motion, and as the working class women's movement is built, the IS will be recruiting large numbers of women, because we will be active in both the rank and file movement, the working women's movement, and in all movements of the oppressed.

We do not believe our present industrial strategy prevents us from recruiting working class women to the IS. We believe it has more to do with objective conditions which we are trying to change. However, it has to be proved, that an organization with a strategy of being either partially or entirely in the unorganized and backward sections of the working class, where defeats, and accompanying demoralization are inevitable, ~~where~~ where sustained organization is impossible, will recruit and keep large numbers of women. Almost all the independent left collectives and groups were male dominated in both leadership and membership.

Along with the problem of recruiting women to the IS is the accompanying question of women leaders in the group. While the working women's conference demonstrated that the IS has a real and not token cadre and leadership of women, we still want much more. We believe that as the rank and file movement and the working women's movement grows, the leaders of both will also be leaders of the IS. That is why, if we do not have women now located in these key unions/industries where the important political questions will be fought, these women will not be able to be leaders of the rank and file movement, and of the IS.

A good case in point is the ISGB, which has been notoriously bad on the women question. In spite of their tremendous accomplishments, they still do not have women in their national leadership. The reason for this is that they do not have women in the unions that were instrumental in building the rank and file movement ---miners, engineers (carworkers), dockers, members of the Transport and General Workers union. Women were leaders in the teachers and hospital workers fractions. The leadership of the ISGB is now being based upon the rank and file movement, which was based upon the key industries/unions mentioned above. Many of the leaders of that rank and file movement are leaders of the ISGB. If there were women IS rank and file leaders in basic industry, there would be national IS women leaders despite the bad attitudes of the group. In fact the attitudes of the group would have been forced to change.

It is true that in revolutionary organizations, women who are not in industry are leaders. An excellent example is Arlette Laguiller, a bank clerk, who was Lutte Ouvrier's presidential candidate. However, these leaders like the many non industrial worker male leaders are exceptions rather than rules. LO, for example does not concentrate on bank clerks, but rather autoworkers as key to building the rank and file movement and the revolutionary party.

A revolutionary organization unfortunately suffers from all the distortions of capitalist society. All efforts must be waged to rid an organization of sexism and racism. But the problems of sexism can never be solved with a strategy that places men in the important unions and industries, where the rank and file movement will be built, and places women in the backward sections of the class. Such a strategy will only prevent the development of a leadership and cadre of women capable of playing leadership roles in the rank and file movement and the movements of the oppressed. The leadership of both the rank and file movements and the movements of the oppressed will also provide the leadership of the revolutionary party. Unless there is women's equality and leadership in the rank and file movement, there will not be women's leadership and equality in the revolutionary party. END