

NATIONAL REPORT

Vol. III, No. 28

October 29, 1975

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FOR IS AND RED TIDE MEMBERS ONLY

ADMINISTRATIVE

a) All branches need to make immediate arrangements for picking up mail from the P.O. boxes more regularly. As far as possible all communications between the national office and branch members are now going thru the boxes and there have already been cases of important material being missed because of lateness in checking the boxes.

b) The last pamphlet we put out for the Membership campaign, "IS...What WE DO", has been generally well received in the branches, with the exception of one page. The infamous (and slightly inaccurate) organisational chart. Even willing to admit our mistakes, we recommend that the branches simply rip that page out...an easy ~~xxxx~~ procedure given that the back of it is blank. The third campaign pamphlet, "Taking Care of Business-The Fight for Workers Power" will arrive in the branches in exactly one week.

c) Thirdly an important note for organisers (I use the word note because it is more polite than a kick in the ass). With the honorable exception of St Louis, no organisers have yet sent in the breakdown of details of recruitment and integration procedure for each new worker member. It is vital that this stuff comes into my office immediately as we see one of our prime tasks at the moment as ensuring the organisation has the maximum guidance on the integration of new members.

d) Comrades are reminded that there is a set procedure for procuring national speakers for forums etc. That procedure is to organise it thru the national office (or in the case of speakers like Fred, who are not in Detroit, thru the local organiser who then clears it with the N.O.) This procedure has not been followed on numerous occasions over the past couple of months and several avoidable blunders have resulted.

e) Finally a note on the organisation of inter-branch and N.O. visits. Comrades visiting branches or Detroit for political reasons should get clearance from their organiser/exec well in advance so that the necessary preparations can be made and peoples time is not wasted. The practise of just turning up on the door step has to end now that the organisation is working at full stretch. If the visit is mainly recreational than neither the N.O. nor the branch organiser can have anything to do with it...we just don't have the time. You will have to organise it yourselves once you have cleared leaving town with the comrades you work with.

f) This time it really is finally....on finance. The fund drive is now three weeks old so far we do not have thirty percent of the quota set for most of the branches. This situation must be rectified right away. The MAL's are failing even more miserably than the worst branch. Given the extremely limited responsibilities of MAL's there is really no excuse for that. We are ready to hear good reasons why an MAL has sent no money but we would prefer to receive a check. Pam is the fund drive co-ordinator and has permanent responsibility for the organisations finances. Jim remains in charge of WP finance only and Tom is in charge of Sun Distribution cash.

WORKER MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN.

The campaign is now well into its stride (see branch reports) and we have fulfilled about 30% of the target figures so far. This means that virtually every branch is now being forced to face up to the problem of integrating new worker members into branches that are often ill prepared for the influx. It is not my intention to run-down here all the different ways this problem can be dealt with. But I would like to remind comrades of the material that has appeared from me, Tom D, St Louis, Louisville, etc in the past few ~~xxxx~~ National Reports because between them these articles amount to something of a hand-book on the question and should be constantly referred ~~xxxx~~ to by experienced members.

(turn over)

The specific question I want to deal with here is the question of turnover. It is impossible to recruit on a totally open basis as we now do without creating a situation in which some new members withdraw from the organisation in their first few weeks when they get a clearer idea of what the IS is. In general members who stay a month will stay six and if they leave then (after bringing other new people into the organisation) we have no-one to blame but ourselves. But some losses are inevitable and should not be allowed to paralyse the branch or give rise to a series of debilitating internal recriminations, there are also certain clear measures that can and must be taken to keep those losses to a minimum.

The first rule is that the branch must be seen by the new members to take itself very seriously. The second rule is that the branch must understand that new members (particularly workers with roots in the community and family responsibilities) will never be able to put in as many hours as some of our experienced members and at the beginning of their membership will put in an extremely small amount of work. The experience we have had so far indicates that both these rules are being broken. In the drive to recruit the initial reaction of many branches is to coddle, protect, and make no (i.e. zero) demands on new members. The result is we are seen not to take our work seriously and therefore our new members will not take it seriously. After a limited time the branches realise that this approach cannot work, ~~xxx~~ do a total switch and suddenly start demanding the level of commitment and work that is appropriate for a member of long standing. The switch from being unserious to making objectively unreasonable demands on new members is bound to result in unnecessary losses which we cannot afford.

The correct method is to demand from the beginning that assignments which are taken are clearly fulfilled. This makes it clear that we take ourselves seriously and expect the new member to take membership seriously. At first these assignments should be relatively limited (new members may even have to be protected from their own enthusiasm for work), it is better to have one job that ~~xxxxxx~~ takes an hour every two weeks completed rather than have ten hours work a week not done. As commitment and understanding of our politics increases, so will the amount of work our members do. But we should be clear, cadres are not built overnight and not all our members in this period will become cadres. They will be no less members for that and the organisation will not suffer as long as we do not allow totally inactive members and never cease to develop the maximum number of our members into a basic cadre.

This whole process of integrating new members into our work and organisation is helped immensely by instituting a well organised "buddy system" (see previous National Reports). An experienced member has to be made responsible for initially ensuring we don't lose a new member and then overseeing the integration of that new member into the life and work of the I.S. These experienced members should be aware that in this period, such an assignment takes precedence over all others and must be pursued with the utmost seriousness compatible with not suffocating a new worker member or making excessive social rather than political demands.

Lastly a point for organisers/execs which must be instituted immediately. In many branches the range of activity (given our resources) in this period is higher than ever before. The consequence, inevitable and unavoidable, is that we are undertaking lots of things in a half effective manner, just ~~x~~ because they have to be done and the resources do not permit full effectiveness. In this period the Campaign however must be pursued in a 100% way, this is a requirement and if other things slide a bit more than normal, then so be it. We do not expect miracles but we do expect maximum focus on the Campaign.

GLENNWOLFE.

EC Minutes--10/23/75

Present: Glenn W., Gay S., Jack W., Joel G., Marilyn D., Mike P., Pam W. for minutes

I. National Secretary's Report

The major focus of the report was the progress of the Worker Membership Campaign (WMC). It was reported that several branches have already reached their targets, and are now re-setting targets for themselves. It was stressed that there was a need for the center to stress to the branches that this campaign is the focus for activity for this period--if other things have to be let slide, so be it. It is true that the majority of people we recruit in this period will be people new to us; at the same time, it will be possible to recruit some of our institutionalized-traditional contacts due to the changed atmosphere in the organization. We should beware of falling all over contacts (holding meetings at 3 am to suit them, etc.). Many branches are now revising their targets upward. It also seems possible in this period to recruit from the campuses people who can be turned into cadre.

MOTION: That David be made temporary organizer for Chicago branch, and be added to the exec.

PASSED.

II. Industrial Secretary's Report WMC

There are now established national/targets for IBT and CWA. Many of the original people targetted are now being replaced. In IBT, however, many of the targets are not in Master Freight and many are young; the largest single group is in UPS.

In the CWA election in L'ville, the local leadership has been embarrassed into re-running the election. We estimate that UA will draw the same number of votes as last time, but that this time the leadership will draw more and UA will lose narrowly. The red-baiting and race-baiting won't help.

A split is developing in the UAW bureaucracy; it appears that they are willing to openly disagree. The 'left' wing, led by Fraser, is aggressively organizing around everything under the sun but wages, raising a laundry list of issues. The conservatives are in charge of the target for the next contract, which is Ford. They seem to be starting up action around the contract early this time around.

A crisis point in RAFT (steel r&f group) is being reached--the younger members of the organization in Youngstown are unhappy because they see no progress being made. This will produce successful calls for re-organization, a national newspaper, setting up new RAFT chapters, etc.

In L'ville, 55 unions are organizing a march on Washington for Saturday, Oct. 25 to protest busing. Cassidy, the head of the IUE local in L'ville, is the head of this march. There were 6-8,000 workers at a meeting held last week. Charlotte, N.C., and Dayton, Ohio are also linked with and supporting this L'ville move. Although clearly we need to make a response to this, we have no time, \$, or resources. In fact, our industrial cadre are, on the whole, stretched very thin at this time, and the EC needs to establish some prioritization of our projects in our industrial work.

EC Minutes--10/23/75 (cont.)

10 III. Perspective for CLUW Constitutional Convention (Dec. 5-6)

This is only the first installment--many details are still lacking. In general, there should be a stronger IS presence at this CLUW convention, in contrast to the last one--that is, one or two IS meetings, an IS hospitality room with literature, leaflets in the name of the IS, etc. There should be a special WP supplement on CLUW to be handed out. Non-union IS women should come to sell WP, be press people (both from WP and our r&f publications, and help with contact work.

It seems reasonable to assume that Olga's agenda will be passed--it calls for caucussing by internationals. We could have impact in IBT, CWA, UAW, AFT, and to a lesser extent USWA. Our thrust in those caucuses will be to fight on two things: 1) to put in the constitution a clause that says CLUW as an organization of t.u. women has the right to act, issue statements, make policies, regardless of what any particular international or local or political organization says; 2) that CLUW begin to organize to fight for inclusion of better contracts for women in the upcoming contract bargaining round (specific details to be worked out in the very near future for the convention).

Two constitutions will be submitted; we will be supporting the minority constitution, copies of which we should have next week. We will be introducing a resolution in support of Portugal. IS members should run for NCC delegates to help increase our strength. Conflicting information as to what's going on with the October League--some say they have dropped CLUW, others say they sent 5 people from Atlanta and the West Coast to Chicago for the Constitutional Committee meeting. More on this later when it's clearer.

It was decided that the perspective document presented would be circulated in the organization with the following additional points: that we investigate the possibility of raising the question of busing at the convention; and that our presence at the convention will be part of our drive to bring contacts into the IS and extend the periphery of contacts who will work with us in building the rank and file. Such an emphasis will be unavoidable, given the likelihood of the bureaucrats' being successful in their attempts to kill CLUW as a real organization.

IV. WP content

The content of the next issue of WP was outlined and agreed upon. There was full discussion of the editorial on the NYC crisis. See WP #132 for results.

V. Teamsters for a Decent Contract

A report on the TDC was made; progress so far has been very good. It's becoming clear that in the future to make more progress, TDC will have to be better organized centrally, and develop serious local chapters.

EC minutes--10/23/75 (cont.)

VI. Portugal Demonstrations

A report was made on the Portugal demonstrations, which were only a moderate success. It is clear that they could have been much better. The Portugal Solidarity Committee takes responsibility for this--it failed to give leadership from the center on three key points: (1) how to broaden these demos beyond ourselves; (2) how to obtain good press and publicity; and (3) how to bring a clear focus to such an activity. What is clear is that older comrades have forgotten how to organize a successful demo, and newer comrades have never been in one. More demos will be being called in the future, and improvements in leadership from the center will be made.

Sun: Distribution

We have one new pamphlet from the Canadian IS. "Postal Workers Fight for Justice"
\$.25

We have reordered "Portugal At the Crossroads" in English and are expecting the Portuguese and Spanish editions any day. Please try to send money with orders if you owe more than \$100 to Sun.

EC Minutes (10/16/75)

PRESENT: Glenn W., Marilyn D., Kim M., Joel G., Jack W., Gay S.,
Pam W. for minutes.

1. National Secretary's Report

- Nat. Sec. began by explaining that the Worker Membership Campaign is already taking off, and that several branches have already begun recruiting almost all of their target; they will be resetting their targets and going for more by the end of the campaign.
- The Pittsburgh Women's Conference was overall a success. The major problem was in getting certain key P'burgh contacts to the conference. Comrades were confident, spoke energetically and aggressively, and the overall tone was indicative of the predicted success of the WMC. Several contacts joined. For future conferences of this type, we must no longer repeat this format and content--this was essentially a repeat of our Cleveland one, and it is clear that our perspective is now worn, not really on target at the present moment.
- The Fund Drive is off to an imperceptible start--only 1.6% of our total target has been sent in. Dunning of the branches has already begun, and the Nat. Sec. will be chasing around those who are slacking. We not only must but will make our total on the Fund Drive.
- The report was accepted.

2. Industrial Secretary's Report

- The work of the Industrial Commission has now been re-organized and assignments have been made: work is now being done on the UAW, the CIA-Portugal issue, IBT Network production, the NYC crisis, and on the Chicano Teamster cannery workers in California, an important opposition group from which we can probably recruit.
- The Industrial Bulletin is now coming out; it attempts to fill a gap in our organization. Most of the public face of our work is in WP; the Ind. Bul. is intended to cover political discussions of a more internal nature.
- IBT Network is now in the process of being produced. It will resemble Auto Network, but it was hoped that the articles would be shorter and more agitational; at present this doesn't seem to be so, but efforts will be made in the future in that direction.
- In the CWA work, it seems that an election has been stolen from a comrade; another comrade in a run-off may lose because of a public pro-busing speech given. In other places, we stand a good chance of winning several elections and having a number of people as local officers.
- The report was accepted.

3. Black Commission Report

--It was reported that, first of all, the work of the BC has begun. The busing issue is obviously the most important at this time, and the commission intends to break no new ground till the beginning of the year, what with the fund drive, the worker membership campaign, Portugal, etc.

--On busing, it was reported that 3 of the 10 speakers at the pro-busing rally in L'ville recently (800-1000 attending) were our members, all of whom were the stars of the show, were picked up for media coverage, etc. The most significant development in L'ville is the emergence of local trade union leaders as the organizers of an Anti-Busing Rally in Washington on October 25. Five thousand from L'ville are supposed to attend. In Detroit, he noted the development of a local group, Mothers Alert Detroit (MAD) which has already (even before there is busing in Detroit) held school boycotts in solidarity with Louisville and Boston.

--Other work the Black Commission is now taking up include making some of the tapes from Summer School 75 available to the branches, and working out a clear perspective and arguments for how to make our line on busing effective and convincing to black and white workers; a document on the latter will be presented at the next EC meeting.

--It was reported that the BC recommends that personnel be added to it to strengthen it; probably one third of the people recruited in our present campaign will be black. We must develop a strong, effective commission by that time.

--The report was accepted.

MOTION: That the Industrial Commission nominate someone to be added to the Black Commission. Passed.

MOTION: That the asst. to the Nat. Sec. be a full member of the Black Commission. Passed.

4. CLUW Perspective

--A report was given about CLUW indicating that it is our expectation that CLUW cannot be changed in any significant way by the up-coming Constitutional Convention. CLUW is clearly incapable of being a real vehicle of women's trade union work. We aren't able to use the chapters for activist, agitational work. After the convention, we should downgrade our work and presence in CLUW in the following way: IS women should maintain membership in the organization, and one or two should attend the general chapter meetings and monitor what, if anything, is happening. Anything more than this would have to be decided on a branch-by-branch basis. The recent refusal of the AFL-CIO to endorse CLUW may indicate the bureaucracy's decision to kill CLUW.

MOTION: To table the whole thing till after the Constitutional Convention. Failed.

MOTION: To accept the report. Failed.

MOTION: To prevent demoralization, that only those branches that are able to do positive CLUW work mobilize for the convention as a way of building the local work and a way of recruiting to the IS; branches where CLUW work is impossible should not be mobilized to attend the convention. Failed.

MOTION: That the CLUW Fraction Convenor make a report to the EC at its next meeting as to a perspective for operation at the convention which is based on the understanding that our view of possible developments made it unlikely that there would be general CLUW work in the branches in the post convention period. Passed.

5. Organization for CLUW Convention:

--A presentation was given by the fraction convenor as to who was planning to attend, finances involved, etc.

MOTION: That money not be provided for West Coast personnel, and that money be provided for Midwest personnel only in the direst circumstances, and that everyone be encouraged to get there under their own steam. Passed.

6. Staff Involvement in the Worker Membership Campaign

--The National Secretary proposed that every member of the NO staff be paired with one branch or organizing committee to follow it throughout the Worker Membership Campaign-- to talk to the organizer about implimenting our targets, to suggest ways to improve the performance, etc. This procedure would be helpful both in terms of getting the actually follow-up work done and also in terms of getting the entire staff involved in one big project .

MOTION: To accept the report. Passed.

7. Office Organization

--A brief report on procedures and structures for functioning in the National Office by its staff was given. Guidelines and duties were explained, including a new \$5 fine for repeated major infractions and an appeals committee for the aggrieved parties.

MOTION: To accept the report. Passed.

8. Letter to the RSL

MOTION: That the draft of the letter to the RSL, as amended, be sent to them, and also published in the National Report, along with the political statement to the membership. Passed.

9. Busing Editorial

--A report was given on the necessity of having a WP editorial on busing and our line on it.

MOTION: That a sub-committee of the EC do such an editorial.

Passed.

10. Red Tide

--A brief report on the present re-organization of the Red Tide was given. Another report will be made at the next EC.

--The report was accepted.

11. October 25 Washington Anti-Busing Demonstration

--A discussion was held about possible responses we could make to the demonstration, including holding a press conference in Washington by our leading trade union militants.

MOTION: That no action be taken. Passed.

12. Portugal Solidarity Campaign

--A report on our present campaign was given, with future perspectives for the Solidarity Campaign, including a cadre school the 25th and 26th of October in Detroit, a series of meetings being set up, and strategies for involving Portugal in our industrial work.

MOTION: To accept the report. Passed.

13. Present Situation in Portugal

--A comprehensive report was given on the present situation in Portugal, including the question of the PRP's approach to building the party and an assessment of their strategy.

--The report was accepted.

14. ISGB in Lisbon

--A report on the work of the British IS in Lisbon was given, including their publication of Portuguese materials. A further report will be made in two days.

Media - We had no experience on organizing press conferences and other media things. First thing we did was to consult several people on the Left who had any knowledge or experience of media. This was invaluable providing us with good knowledge of specific individuals and agencies to contact, etc. We had a reasonably good response for press conference particularly from Spanish language media (the two LA Spanish language dailies and the major Spanish language TC station showed up - they were invited and reminded by Spanish speaking members and close friends of the branch). Muhammad Speaks also showed up - member who called them made a political pitch to them pointing out the connection of Portugal to Africa, etc. When calling press try not to be routine - motivate and explain why you are asking them in particular to come. The fifth agency to come to press conference was City News Service - the local news agency which serves all newspapers and radio stations in LA. This is an extremely important agency. They were reminded not only by mail but a member also visited them the day before to remind them. LOs Angeles Free Prensa and KPFK (Pacifica Station) were quite friendly and cooperative.

Party - We had a small leaflet that members and close friends carried with them in order to invite people to party. This small leaflet carried a map and directions of how to get to party.

Coordination - This was probably the best coordinated and most efficient activity the branch has ever carried out. The coordinator and two other comrades spent nearly three hours the day before the rally and press conference going over every single detail (no matter how small) that might be encountered. A checklist was prepared to cover all the activities connected with the 24 hour stay of Silva and Geier in this city. This checklist was quite detailed. Some errors and omissions still occurred but these were relatively minor.

Security - One comrade was put in charge of coordinating this and included a person to take care of the speakers (particularly Silva) for all the time they were in LA. Unfortunately some comrades could not be present at the rally because they were doing security outside the hall; but ~~this~~ this was unavoidable.

Non-members - The help and participation of non-members was absolutely essential. About $\frac{1}{3}$ of the work was done by non-members including non-members who cannot be considered to be political contacts of the branch but are just friends of members. Portugal is a broad and exciting political issue and we presented it in a reasonably broad way. Therefore, there was an opportunity to get non-members to work and we were quite successful in doing this. The coordinator called an initial meeting at his house where the non-members and members working in the project attended and where the division of labor was arranged. It was important to get them involved from the beginning. They could see why what they were doing was necessary. No more meetings were called. Only one non-member left us "holding the bag" by pulling out and in the process we learned a thing or two about him. By any account this was an excellent performance by the non-members who were involved.

Results - 200 people showed up and \$338 was raised in the collection taken during the meeting. We expected more people in general and more workers in particular. But there were problems: It was a Thursday night, bad night for workers. Most schools were not in session: this definitely hurt attendance. Pre-rally ticket sales by members and friends were weak and were not pushed sufficiently hard. We didn't have a good audience composition: there were about 40 sectarians, primarily Spartacists and Revolutionary Marxist Committee ~~xxxx~~ (the RSL split off in Los Angeles). We came out looking like authoritarians to many independents because the method of written questions appeared to them as a way of establishing censorship. This was aggravated by the fact that many independents did not

understand or were aware ~~of~~ that there was an organized hostile presence in the hall. This should have been explicitly explained by the chair. The party was not as well attended as expected - it is hard to tell to what extent this was due to the lateness of the hour (10:45 PM), its being a weekday, transportation problems and/ or comrades not trying hard enough. Very few soft Maoists came to the rally in spite of the fact that we tried. We also tried hard with NAM and LAGLAS (~~Latin/American/Solidarity/Grp~~) (Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity - a group of students and professors of liberal-radical ~~World~~ politics but not particularly hostile to us) and the results in terms of attendance were quite poor in spite of the fact that they were generally friendly and cooperative in our pre-rally publicity. We believe that these kinds of people are still quite reluctant to attend "Trotskyist" events no matter how broadly they are put forward.

To All Branches

EC Policy on RSL Disruption and Statement on Worker's Democracy

1) RSL members are barred from our meetings.

As the enclosed letter makes clear, members of the RSL (Revolutionary Socialist League) will not be permitted to attend IS public meetings or forums. This policy will be changed when the RSL repudiates their actions in Chicago and states that it is committed to abiding by the norms of worker's democracy.

It must be clear that we will defend our meetings. At the same time, we desire no war with the RSL. Further, we do not want to create an atmosphere of tension, fear, or "security procedures" around our meetings which prevent us from attracting workers interested in our politics.

We have nothing to "prove" to the RSL. If occasionally an RSL member slips into our meetings, he/she should be ignored if there is no disruption.

If the RSL does show at the door and causes a bit of commotion about their exclusion, we should make a brief statement at the beginning of the meeting explaining our position and then go on. This can best be handled as a response to a question from the floor.

2) The Incident

On August 22 the Chicago branch sponsored a Worker's Power forum on the Portuguese Revolution as part of the tour by A. Silva and **J. Geier**.

Because of Silva's difficulties with English and the problems of translation, during the tour the procedure was adopted of taking questions in writing to force brevity in the questions and to give Silva the time to go over the questions and answers with the translator.

During the period when written questions were to be prepared, a friend of the RSL got up and attacked the IS for not allowing speeches and discussion from the floor. Our policy was explained but the individual continued on. RSL members began yelling and demanded a vote.

Before the vote could be held, an IS member went over to quiet one disruptor. He was attacked by several RSL members and supporters. He was forced to the floor and had his head kicked several times requiring hospital treatment and stitches. A general fight broke out between RSL members and IS members. This was stopped primarily by the action of the Portuguese comrade who took the microphone and began speaking. The RSL members remained in the meeting.

Although we were under no obligation to hold the vote, we did so and our policy was overwhelmingly endorsed by the audience. A short time later, the police, called by the manager of the hall, arrived. We told them that nothing had happened and they left.

This disruption was planned. The RSL members all wore heavy padded clothes despite the warm evening. RSL members were overheard, planning the meeting (by a member of YAWF). Apparently the Spartacists were warned beforehand but did not inform us. When the incident began the Sparts walked out as a group.

In sum, the RSL not only planned a disruption of our meeting ^{ut} but also a physical fight

2 of RSL disruption

even though they must have known that they were endangering a foreign revolutionary by possibly involving the police.

A few days later in Detroit, the RSL was refused admittance to the IS Portugal Rally. They hung around the outside of the meeting badgering people about how we were afraid of their arguments and were not letting them in. While they were generally ignored they did sow some confusion. Most of this was taken care of at the beginning of the meeting when someone from the floor questioned us. We gave them a brief explanation and most everyone who attended (except the Sparts) understood.

However, the RSL seemed to like its new role of standing outside meetings. At the Toronto meeting they actually brought people up from NY and Detroit to be kept out.

3) Worker's Democracy

The RSL has tried to convince people that we are violating workers' democracy in some way by excluding them from our meetings. This and their analogy to the bureaucratic exclusion of communists from the unions shows that they neither understand workers' democracy or the difference between unions and revolutionary groups.

The reason that we fight for unions to include almost all workers regardless of their political views is that this is where the union gets its power. In this sense unions can not be seen as voluntary organizations (regardless of their legal or collective bargaining status). Therefore we oppose ideas of setting up 2 or more unions to represent different levels of consciousness (dual unionism), as we oppose attempts to exclude members because of political belief.

Working class political organizations or tendencies are completely different kinds of organization. They exist not because of their class wide character, but are more narrowly defined around their political ideas. Individuals who disagree with one group are free to form or join another.

Workers' democracy means that every working class tendency has the right to organize itself as it wishes, hold demonstrations or meetings by rules it decides, determine the political content of its meetings and leaflets, etc.

But what if a group uses what appears to be undemocratic procedures at its meeting? Workers' democracy means that members of the group should have the right to change these procedures, but even this is the business of the group. Nonmembers of the group can comment on these procedures, write about them, etc., but they have no right to try to change them by violating them or disrupting them.

Therefore, if we decide that we want a meeting to focus on our politics and the questions that workers have, we have every right to institute whatever procedures we think necessary including:

- 1) Limiting sects like the Sparts or RSL to one speaker or even none.
- 2) Excluding from our meetings anyone whom we consider possible agents, provocateurs, or disruptors.
- 3) Limiting the time for speakers or allowing some to have more time than others.

We politically defend the rights of worker's democracy for all working class groups including the Spartacists and RSL. We are, however, under no obligation to devote our resources to their defense at their time and choosing or in their way. (For example, they may ask us to defend their 'right' to raise counter slogans to a demonstration against the wishes of the sponsoring group). This is especially

**Evaluation of the Pittsburgh Women's Conference
October '75; - Pittsburgh exec.**

1. General evaluation. The conference was a real success. It created an extremely impressive presence for the IS, according to our contacts. It showed that we have a strong cadre of women speakers. It was the first step in the Worker recruitment campaign. It was a step forward from Cleveland's conference in terms of integrating our revolutionary politics throughout.

There were times when we got a bit crude or overbearing in telling people to join us, but our contacts did not think so. Also it is simply a sign that we are new at hard public recruitment and so openly pushing our politics, and we will make some mistakes as we learn our way on this. In general it was quite effective.

One thing we must learn for future recruitment rallies: it was very important that some comrades were consciously creating an atmosphere of enthusiasm. That means clapping a lot, encouraging speakers, generating excitement etc.

2. As we said, compared to the Cleveland conference, we did better this time at integrating revolutionary politics throughout. However, the Cleveland conference did a better job at creating a sense of a movement. This time, it was much more of our people talking about our work. A large part of the problem was that the ratio of members to non-members. However, we were better in giving the sense that it is the IS that is leading these struggles.

3. We had set our worker recruitment campaign target for this conference at 5 new members. We did not meet it. Nine people joined at the conference, two of them from Pittsburgh. We feel that we did just about everything right in terms of contact work for the conference, and that the conference itself was great - most of our contacts, if they'd come, would have joined there. The only factor we couldn't count on was whether our friends who were excited and promised to come would actually show. If they had, the tone of the conference would have been much different, and even better.

There were about 80 people there, and the ratio of members to non-members was about 5 to 3. The composition was heavily white and low in terms of industrial contacts. This is in part a reflection of the weakness (or rather newness) of our work.

Of those who did come, many joined - the conference was especially helpful with out of town recruitment. Those who didn't join moved much closer to us, and many of them will probably join in the next few weeks.

4. Planning: We set up a committee of some of our friends, through the women's caucus to build for the conference about a month and a half before. We had a couple of dinner discussions meetings about the conference, its content, purpose etc., and tried to gear our contacts up to gear up their friends to come. We also spent a lot of time doing individual contact work with each member of the committee. This was very important in bringing our contacts into the conference ahead of time, made a difference with recruitment, with the participation of Black women, and also made for at least one excellent women's caucus dinner.

5. Content: In general, the political content of the conference was excellent, giving a real, concrete sense of our work and fully integrating revolutionary politics with trade union work and class struggle unionism.

The first panel on Building the working women's movement was the least successful. Part of the problem was that a key speaker cancelled at the last minute. But from the

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beginning, the purpose of the panel was never really clear. Each speaker was excellent but we planned it so there was no organic connection between their talks. The floor discussion was dominated by men - in large part due to the inexperienced floor co-ordinators. The talk on the IS women's caucus played an important role.

The introductions could have been politically better in some cases, and in some - particularly after Barbara's opening - the chairs could have done a better job of summarizing. This will improve as we get more experience at organizing events like these, and as we get more professionalized about them; because of cancellations and whatnot, three of the chairs did not know they would be chairing until they arrived that morning.

The workshops were, in general, poor. 'What is the IS?' was the best. Both contacts and new members attended, and felt that most of their questions were answered. 'Rank and file papers' went poorly, with no contacts attending. 'How to use the courts' was dominated by two members, one of them, male. What we learned from the latter was that we cannot depend on non-members to run workshops, particularly when there is no careful, ongoing preparation with them. The workshops were the most poorly organized part of the conference. It is our feeling we should not have them at all in the future; even when they turn out fairly well they are not as good as panels and more directed discussion. The only advantage to them is that people get to talk in small groups. Informal breakfasts can serve this purpose (ours was meant to, and then didn't, when we changed the conception of the morning session). If we need to have workshops at all they should be on different angles of 'What is the IS?' - like class struggle, unionism etc., or just based on industry (with something for non industrialized contacts)

The Sunday session on joining (after Portugal) went quite well. It was carefully orchestrated. Before the talk, over breakfast, we assigned people to talk with each contact about joining - and joining at that session. However, when that was over, only two had agreed to do so publically. In fact, seven others changed their minds on the spot. The effect of workers explaining to others why they've finally decided, the momentum that can be built cannot be underestimated.

There was a bit of in-joking, veiled references etc. that many of our contacts didn't (and couldn't have) understand. We must have a clear attitude at our rallies: that all our talks, comments ideas, everything - are directed only to our contacts (and in some cases new members) - to those whom we want to convince to join us and fight for our politics.

6. Professionalism. A) we overorganized for this conference. It was necessary, because at first we had only two inexperienced working on it. But in the future, somewhat less planning should be sufficient. B) we received alot of help, particularly from the center and the women's organizer, but there were certain mess ups we can't afford in the future, like not getting Portugal buttons, or any answer on WP tee-shirt etc, C) Advance preparation would have been far easier if branches had sent in forms, on time, as requested - even when they were sent in, we did not get the information we asked for. D) Many many thanks for the posters that were made up - they were probably the most professional part of the conference, and we are looking for ways to distribute them. E) The party was the worst coordinated part of the conference, and it was the only thing that we assigned two coordinators to. In the future there will be one person responsible for any one task. F) We humbly apologize for mistakes on the party map - we understand many comrades got lost.

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7. Finances: Our total costs were a little over \$600. We raised \$220 in registration for food etc. We raised \$160 for Louisville's fight against the Klan in the fund pitch. We sold about \$100 worth of literature.

8. We learned alot from the Cleveland conference in planning ours. It will be very important to learn as much as we can from this conference in planning our recruitment rallies in the next few months.

A recruitment pitch was given under the title of the connection between women's liberation and socialist revolution and some comrades have asked for copies for speakers notes.* A copy is being sent to the center, if people can use it they should contact the NO. Tapes of this or any other talk are available from Pittsburgh.

*Candy's talk is available from the center. It costs 28¢. Also members are especially encouraged to order posters from the Pittsburgh branch. They are excellent, and will help them pay for their conference! (BW).

BRANCH REPORTS ON WORKER MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

AMHERST--The branch is working with a local working class group which they feel is their best recruiting ground and toward which they will orient their rally. They also have some students around them whom they hope to recruit in addition to their worker target. They are doing some strike support work, so recently that it probably won't produce results by the end of the campaign, unfortunately.

BAY AREA--With a worker recruitment target of 8, the branch is reorganizing its structure both with an eye for using the meetings for contact recruitment and for making the branch habitable for new worker members. Contact work now is being done through IBT and CWA work, the women's caucus, the RT and with Sugarworkers in Sacramento and Salinas. The culmination of the campaign will be the early December rally.

BLOOMINGTON--The dynamic in B'ton is somewhat different, in that there is little rank and file struggle going on there; comrades there must use the somewhat slower strategy of an educational program. Nonetheless, they have already recruited one worker, and expect to recruit 3 more.

BOSTON--At present, Boston has 3 good postal contacts with whom they hope to start a WP discussion group. They are gearing up toward a talk in early Nov. by a national speaker, and their rally later in the month.

CHARLESTON--The comrades think they will recruit one IBT'er in the next week, and are now planning a series of forums. No recent information from these comrades.

CHICAGO--A target of 6 was adopted, but no recent news from this branch as to how their work is going. They held an October forum on the Klan, are planning a November forum on racism to build for their rally. They have just recruited a new comrade in South Bend and have the possibility of developing a branch there.

CLEVELAND--Prime recruiting areas are IBT, steel, and the CLUW women's caucus. They have already recruited one IBT'er. Because of the large responsibilities for national publications and national fraction work, the branch has great difficulty doing local contact work; moves to correct this situation are being made.

DETROIT--Five workers have already joined. A class series, one-to-one meetings, educationals at branch meetings and inviting contacts to branch meetings, the women's caucus activities, and activities around Portugal will be prime recruiting areas.

LA--The branch is focusing on contacts made through the rank and file newspapers it is active in. Two new worker members have recently been recruited, one from PO, one from IBT. A series of movie-discussion and party evenings for contacts and families are planned; a politically relevant film or documentary is shown, followed by a discussion. A rank and file conference has been planned for the near future.

with two panels consisting of IS members and local militants, discussing labor strategy.

LOUISVILLE--Although we have no recent report from this branch, their plan was to make specific assignments to specific comrades, to use WP and WP discussion groups (including writing letters and articles to WP), public IS meetings, forming a local labor coalition to support busing, a showing of a film, and mandated social events and parties. They have already recruited 3 CWA'ers and 2 non-worker members.

NEW YORK--New York aims to create a consistent worker periphery around them; they see the Portugal rally, TDC, the UFT strike, the CLUW fraction, UA, and sanitation as major arenas and tools to be used in the campaign. The IBT branch is successfully using the new national publication and the TDC campaign, as well as improving WP sales. Their best prospects are in parcel. Thy City branch has already recruited one non-worker, and one worker in District 37. The CWA branch has already recruited one worker and is now getting new contacts who are being invited to branch meetings.

PHILADELPHIA-- Three have already been recruited from their left periphery, and they are now able to get moving on their worker contacts. They have a postal WP group starting now, and think it will produce results. Plans to use the St. Louis open branch meeting plan.

PITTSBURGH--Two new worker members were recruited through the recent successful women's conference; 3-4 other contacts appear fairly close to joining. Because of some recent difficulty integrating new members into the branch, suggestions for new member integration outlined in NR #22 are being implemented. Contact work centers around IBT, steel, and WP and the new national publication (turning buyers into sellers). A large women worker dinner discussion is planned for mid-November.

PORTLAND--Much of the contact work centers around the fractions. Three or four worker contacts expected to be recruited during the campaign. The women's caucus is planning dinners and activities focusing on working women contacts and the wives of male contacts. The recruitment rally next month will feature a street theater group and a socialist singing group, in addition to national and local keynote speakers around their major industrial work.

SEATTLE--The branch has just recruited one new worker member that opens up a whole new range of contacts in key industry. More possibilities for long-range recruitment coming out of the PO campaign. A rally is planned for late next month at a union hall rented for the occasion. Seattle encourages other branches to look into the possibility of trying to rent union halls for rallies.

ST. LOUIS--Not surprisingly, the comrades in St. Louis plan to use WP as the major tool of their worker recruitment campaign. There is also emphasis on the use of pamphlets from the center and the basic educational series. Being first in the field of worker recruitment, they have already had their first losses, too. The effect on the branch has been far from disastrous and many lessons are being learnt.

TO: All Branches
FROM: Black Commission
RE: Tapes of Talks at IS 1975 Summer School
DATE: October 29, 1975

The Black Commission is pleased to announce that the long-heralded tapes of the talks given at the IS 1975 Summer School are at long last to be made available. Branches may order copies on the enclosed order blank. All orders must be prepaid with a money order. Because the majority of the talks were representative of the old IS style (much lengthy blathering, academic, abstract), we have selected out the four best and most useful for this period of our work. They are:

#1--Blacks in the Union (1940-70)--by Kim M.--60 minutes--\$2.50

This tape covers the period in which blacks entered industry and the new industrial unions in large numbers. Beginning with WW II, blacks entered basic industry and were organized into the CIO unions. At each point in the 30 years covered by this talk, however, blacks had to fight their way in. Even during the drastic labor shortage of WW II, blacks had to organize and fight to get decent industrial jobs. Then they had to fight to keep these jobs and fight to get influence in the unions. The talk describes these fights, how blacks have organized in the labor movement, and how black workers have become a key, militant section of the industrial working class.

#2--The Civil Rights Movement--by Marilyn D.--90 minutes--\$3.00

This tape covers the period beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1956, following the development of the Civil Rights Movement in the early 60's, the development of the black power movement in the mid-60's, the Black Panther Party, and the black workers' struggles of the late 60's. Emphasis is on the political atmosphere in the mid-50's that set off the civil rights movement, its growth and the political process that occurred as part of building a real movement. The dynamics that led to the black power movement, and the influence of Malcolm X and his ideas are a key point made in the tape. The Black Panther Party is emphasized, especially its importance as the best of the black power organizations in the late 60's. The political problems of the Panthers--especially their lack of understanding of the crucial importance of the working class--are also included. Also discussed are DRUM and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and the significance of the ghetto rebellions, as well as the reasons for the collapse of the Black Movement.

#3 --Black Women--by Barbara W.--90 minutes--\$3.00

This talk traced very briefly the history of Black women in America, making the point that Black women have always played a leading role in Black liberation struggles, i.e., the abolition, anti-lynching, civil rights and revolutionary Black struggles. It also talked about how, when and why Black women would join a revolutionary organization. The stress the IS has on industry, and our past work in CLUW brought us into contact with Black women militants, and provided us

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with a concrete way to work together. Finally, the talk also dealt with the special problems Black women faced because of racism in society, and stressed the importance of any women's movement, or organization speaking to these needs. The issue of ~~abortion~~ abortion, for example, was discussed. Black women, and rightly so, see the whole abortion issue tied in with forced sterilization. Any working women's movement that fights for a women's right to choose, also must fight to end forced sterilization. In the discussion that followed, members talked about experiences in the trade union and women's movement, which related to building Black and white unity.

#4--The History of Black Nationalism--by Joel J.--90 minutes--\$3.00

This tape begins with a short theoretical discussion of the tendency of the black community to develop nationalist politics in response to white racism. It then discusses the development of nationalist politics in the US from the first world war to the black power movement. It focuses mainly on the development of Garveyism and the Muslims. It discusses the tension between different wings of the nationalist movement at different times--between the activist wing and internally ~~oriented~~ oriented religious wing during the early development of the Muslims, for instance.

Comrades should understand that these tapes are not technically-acoustically perfect--the speakers come through loud and clear, but the discussions ~~are~~ are somewhat hard to decipher at times (the discussions being ~~the~~ the best parts of the tapes, of course). Also there are some gaps (comrades continued to talk while the tapes were being turned over.)

How should these tapes be used? Because of their length, they are probably not suitable for branch educationals. Instead they should be used with close contacts or new members for training and integration--listen to the ~~same~~ tape together, one to one, and then discuss it.

orders will be ~~filled~~ filled as promptly as possible.

In solidarity.

THE WHOLE IDEA OF THESE RALLIES IS TO PROVIDE A SHOWPIECE FOR I.S., A SHOWPIECE FOR OUR POLITICS AND OUR ORGANISATION. IN VIRTUALLY EVERY BRANCH THERE WILL BE A WHOLE RANGE OF SPEAKERS WHO WILL GENERALLY COVER THE FOLLOWING TYPES. EC MEMBER/IS SPOKESPERSON, LOCAL MILITANT FROM INDUSTRY, MILITANT FROM OUT OF TOWN AND IN SOME CASES A MEMBER FROM A FRATERNAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION. THE BALANCE OF THE PLATFORM WILL BE GOOD FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF MEN/WOMEN AND BLACK/WHITE. IN SHORT IT WILL BE THE MOST IMPRESSIVE PLATFORM EVER ASSEMBLED FOR IS IN EVERY CITY AND NO-ONE NEED FEAR THAT CONTACTS WILL BE UNIMPRESSED BY IT. THE SPEAKERS WILL CARRY THREE THINGS (THE DIVISION OF LABOR ON THESE QUESTIONS WILL BE DECIDED BY THE N.O. AND BRIEFING SHEETS WILL BE ISSUED TO ALL SPEAKERS.) OUR MAJOR POLITICAL POSITIONS, OUR NATIONAL WORK AND OUR LOCAL WORK AND THE HEAVIEST EMPHASIS WILL OF COURSE BE ON INDUSTRIAL WORK. THE AIM IS TO HAVE LIVELY, BRIEF, ENTHUSIASTIC AND AMUSING SPEAKERS.

BEING A SHOWPIECE IS MORE THAN PARADING OUR IMPRESSIVE POLITICS AND SPEAKERS, THE WHOLE ~~THE~~ RALLY MUST BE PROFESSIONALLY ORGANISED, SERIOUSLY DONE AND RUN LIKE CLOCKWORK TO GET THE MAXIMUM BENEFIT FROM IT. SPECIFICALLY, THE FOLLOWING POINTS ARE IMPORTANT....

a) If possible the rally should be in a union hall, most certainly we should avoid holding it in university premises.

b) The hall should be attractively decorated with good posters (especially from Portugal) around the walls, a large Workers Power banner behind the speakers, ~~and~~ a smaller banner along the front of the speakers table, etc.

c) If possible there should be some form of political entertainment, one branch has a theatre group, another a band, etc. Certainly some suitable music can be played before and after the rally.

d) The speeches should be very concise and to the point, there will be many speakers and the whole thing (platform speaking) should be less than an hour. This gives plenty of time for questions and discussion from the floor. This part too needs to be well organised with new members particularly ready to get up and speak from the floor about why they joined.

e) There should be a serious collection (of the kind that was done at the Portugal rallies) on behalf of I.S. This means there has to be a comrade prepared to give a brief rap about why we need the money and then do a collection starting with larger bills and going down to peoples change. The branch will take from this collection the cost of the room only and immediately send the rest to Detroit. Speakers expenses for all out of town speakers will be paid by Detroit.

f) After the discussion period the N.O. speaker will sum up with a particularly heavy rap about joining and working with us and ask people to come and see them down at the front as soon as the meeting is over.

g) There should be a well stocked lit table at the rallies and a WP table (which should be pushed by the chair) which should be used for signing up subs and getting people to take bundles to sell (new weekly is the emphasis here). There should also be a display on the wall in some prominent spot of the R&F publications we are involved in and another display of a few back copies of Socialist Worker. There should be suitable captions for them.

h) It is very important that the chair be competent, be a worker and preferably have some position in the labor movement. The chair should introduce him/herself properly and do the same service for the other speaker. The traditional "Ernest is speaking next" is not good enough.

i) The same marshalls who are used to assist in the fund raising should be situated by the door and aggressively sell the Fight for Workers Power pamphlet at the end of the meeting.

j) There must be a form on each chair for name and address of people who want more information and want to join and people should be asked to hand them in on their way out. There should also be the usual mailing list out

k) It is vital that serious and efficient childcare is set up for the rally and extended into the period of the party which must be held for members and contacts after the rally.

l) To create the correct atmosphere for recruiting workers at these XXXX rallies and bringing our newest members into a closer relationship with the group by building their confidence in the organisation...and atmosphere can be very important in an undertaking like this, it is important that we fill the room. The only atmosphere a half empty hall has is the atmosphere of a morgue. The room should therefore have the capacity to hold a meeting 50% bigger than the previous largest non-portugual meeting that the branch has held and this figure should be regarded as the target attendance figure.

Across the country more than 1000 people will attend these rallies if we do them right. Their benefit to us as a showpiece will go much further than just the immediate recruits it should help us strengthen our periphery for the next round of recruiting. Doing them right means preparing well in advance, by the end of next week all the details should be settled and we should start building for them. They have to be seen as a real event that contacts would be foolish to miss, that is the feeling that has to be built up for the whole month preceeding them. We have to have an enthusiasm for the rallies which is infectious, we should be talking about them all the time, projecting the speakers, certainly wiping out the idea that this is just another old forum. If branches want to addXX extra speakers to the list they have been given (check with your organiser immediately if you don't know the list) in order to make a greater impact that is fine as long as you tell us and ensure the one hour barrier isn't smashed. Portland and Seattle should get an extra speaker from the Canadian IS for instance and any other ideas people have on the rallies will be gratefully received. The notes we have given above do not claim to be exhaustive, there are many other things that have to be covered. The most experienced members must be given responsibility for the rallies to ensure that everything is covered. If these things are done in the routine sloppy way they will fail. Every single member, without exception, has the campaign and rally as their first priority for the next six weeks and that should ensure that we have the resources to make the rallies a success.

Glenn Wolfe.