

# **PARTY BUILDER**

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## SWP Organizational Discussion Bulletin

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ORGANIZATION REPORT TO THE MAY 11-14, 1972,  
SWP NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLENUM,  
Approved May 14, 1972

by Betsey Stone

At the past several conventions and National Committee plenums, much of our discussion under the organization report has been concerned with the question of how to organize the party to best take advantage of the new opportunities provided by the radicalization today. Key to these discussions has been our projection of a program of expansion of the party. This program has been a very ambitious one. To give an idea of the scope of the activities we are engaged in, I want to list some of the main areas where we have expanded in the past period:

First, there's been an expansion in the number of party branches and a growth in the activity conducted in areas where no party branches exist.

Second, has been the expansion of the party departments, including our key propaganda tools: the paper, the publishing house, the magazine, and the printshop. We have also helped publish a weekly international news magazine.

Third, we're carrying out our biggest national election campaign yet. The number and scope of our local and state campaigns have also increased and we're involved in a nationwide battle to change the election laws. We're also petitioning to get on the ballot in a record number of states.

Fourth, we've continued our participation in the antiwar movement as well as helped to build the national abortion campaign and other activities of the women's liberation movement. We have also carried out a propaganda campaign around the wage controls, along with other activity in relation to the union movement. Other significant areas of activity include participation in the Chicano struggle and the Black struggle. There is also our activity in the Irish movement, our work in defense of the Arab revolution, and the defense campaign for Latin American political prisoners.

Another area which continued to take considerable time and effort is defense—that is, the various legal battles that we are involved in around the country: GI cases, deportation cases, fights for the right to sell our newspaper in public areas, and cases involving comrades victimized because they have been involved in specific struggles. One such case is that of our new comrade in Boston, Carol Henderson Evans, a former May Day leader who is under attack in relation to her participation in the May Day actions.

Finally, in the past year we have seen a stepping up of our international collaboration, communication and travel.

This increase in activity, and the growth of the party in general, has necessitated a corresponding strengthening of the national office and made necessary the move to a larger national headquarters.

*How Have We Done it?*

How is it that we, as a very small party, have been

able to carry out this considerable expansion of activity?

The essential ingredient has been the fact that we've continued, on a very consistent basis, to recruit and develop new layers of comrades who are ready to take on these responsibilities.

Three years ago, Jack Barnes reported at the plenum in February of 1969 that the party was at a turning point in recruitment. For the first time, recruitment had begun to outstrip the steady numerical attrition the party faced as a result of the long dry period of the 1950s. For the first time, more people were joining the party, and staying, than were becoming inactive.

Ever since that turning point, we've seen a steady growth of the SWP. In the last three years we have doubled our membership. This growth is reflected in the fact that 81 percent of the party has joined since 1965; 53 percent has joined since 1970.

Another statistic which helps explain how we have been able to carry out the amount of activity we have is the figure on the number of full-time comrades. In the membership poll taken in preparation for this plenum, we found that a large number—over a fourth—of the comrades are doing political activity on a full-time basis. This figure includes not only full-time party workers, but also the other movements and activities that our members are involved in—the Young Socialist Alliance, the antiwar movement, defense committees, etc.

Another factor in the expansion and growth of the party has been our attitude towards training of new leadership. Our approach has been that, given the expanding opportunities before the party today, it is important to train comrades to take on major responsibility as quickly as possible. This has meant putting a premium on the importance of branches having the perspective of replacing and releasing comrades as a way of building the party on a national scale. It has meant that every well-functioning branch goes through a continual process of recruitment, training and releasing of comrades for the national expansion of the party. Without this ability of the branches to train and send out comrades on a regular basis, we would not have been able to build new branches, to strengthen the older branches where they needed it, or to expand the national departments of the party.

In some instances, in some areas, we have moved a little too fast in this process, so that continuity between the old and new leadership was lost. We want to avoid this. But the general perspective of continual training of new leadership in the branches is vital to the growth of the party.

Another aspect of our organization which has helped us meet the challenge of increased activity has been our concept of team leadership. Given the many areas of work we are involved in, and the growing size of the branches, it has been important to develop team leaderships within the branches. No organizer, by himself or herself, could possibly "organize" all the areas of activity

of a branch today. Our goal has been to maintain a division of labor between the comrades while at the same time developing a feeling of common responsibility within the branch leaderships for the planning and coordination of branch work as a whole.

### *Geographical Expansion*

Where do we stand in terms of the geographical expansion of the party?

In the past three years, we've constructed six new branches: Atlanta, Portland, Denver, Houston, Austin and Washington, D. C. At the last plenum and convention, we projected as our next task the building up and consolidation of these new branches. And this is what we have done. All of these branches have grown in the past period. The one branch that has lost members is San Diego and we want to strengthen this branch in the coming months.

In addition to building up the smaller branches, we also took a big step forward this past year in New York City by dividing the old New York branch into three branches and creating the New York local. The formation of three new branches in New York required more than just a simple division of the old big branch. It also meant transfers of substantial forces into the New York local. In recent weeks, in conjunction with the antiwar upsurge, we've begun to see some of the payoffs from this division and reinforcement in the New York local in the form of a firmer YSA campus base and the recruitment of a number of activists from the campus. These advances in New York, which is the political center of the country, represent an important step forward for the party as a whole and should be considered part of our national expansion.

In the coming year, we want to continue to respond to the challenges of the radicalization with further expansion of the party geographically. There are many cities where we don't have branches where conditions are ripe for building the SWP. We want to begin to discuss and collectively think out just what the next expansion move should be, the character of this expansion, the timing, etc. It's reasonable that as a result of the reach-out activity that we are now doing in the election campaign, along with the continuing growth of the party, that we will be able to project moving into a new area or areas.

In carrying out this expansion, the approach we want to continue to take is that of creating branches substantial enough, both in size and leadership, to carry out a balanced program of party activity. All SWP branches, if possible, should be large enough to carry out the key areas of party activity: our election campaigns, antiwar and other mass oriented activity, propaganda such as forums, finances, and an adequate education program. Of course, there's going to be a difference between what the big branches and the smaller, newer ones can do. We have a growing number of branches in the party which are large—over 50 members—and these branches, of course, are going to have a different scale of activity than the smaller branches.

### *Relationship Between Party and Youth Expansion*

The party's conception of how it expands geographically is different from that of the YSA, and complimentary to

it. The YSA's expansion is characterized by attempting to charter new locals wherever the minimum requirements are met, with full knowledge that there will be instability in some locals. Given the YSA's nature as a broad independent Socialist youth group, YSA regional expansion is directed toward reaching out as widely as possible. One of the reasons that the YSA is able to do this, and to keep a good percentage of these recruits in new areas as long-term members of the Trotskyist movement, is because of the existence of stable SWP branches in regional centers.

Andy Rose's report to the plenum on the youth movement stressed the importance of YSA regional activity as a vehicle for recruitment to the YSA and ultimately to the party. The question of how much recruitment the YSA will do during the '72 election campaign will depend very much on whether this regional activity is carried out.

The YSA found that in the 1968 campaign a significant percentage of the recruits to the YSA came from the regions and there is every reason to believe that this will again be the case. Approximately 90 percent of party recruits are people who join the YSA first, and a large section of these still come from the regional YSA locals where we have no branches. In fact, there are some cities, such as Atlanta, where the majority of YSA recruits have come from the region.

This fall again, as part of our election campaign, we'll be organizing regional teams of trailblazers—of socialist campaigners and subscription canvassers. We want to be sure that what they do is followed up. The responsibility for regional organizing falls mainly on the YSA. But, there are many ways in which the party can help and collaborate with YSA on this job, not only by helping to make sure that capable regional travellers and organizers are available, but also by carrying out such activities as touring SWP candidates and speakers in the region.

Another thing I want to mention briefly concerns the relationship of the YSA to the SWP in the regional centers. Andy Rose pointed out that, unlike the SWP, the main orientation of the YSA is toward work on the campus. The central responsibility of the YSA leadership must be to see that this campus organizing is done. This means that the SWP organizers must avoid the tendency to prematurely assign comrades who are dual members and working on the campus into what are essentially party tasks.

The YSA antiwar director, for example, should be able to concentrate on building SMCs on the campuses; the YSA's sales director should make sure that sales take place on the campuses and the high schools; and the YSA organizer should be able to spend the needed time on the campuses, to help campus fractions with their work.

The trend toward strengthening the SWP branches represented a big step forward for the party. In concurrence with this, the lowering of the age limit for party members in the YSA was also an advance. But we want to make sure a balance between the YSA and the SWP is maintained. In line with this, we may want to make some exceptions to the age limit in order to maintain the necessary continuity and leadership in the YSA. And, we must weigh very carefully before asking dual members under 25 to end their work in the YSA to do exclusively party work.

## *Branch Departments*

During the fall and winter, many branches did not give enough attention to the development of the branch departments—to forums, bookstores, sales of the press and educational programs. This spring, most branches where this had been a weakness took steps to change this and there has developed a better awareness of the importance of integrating such activities as sales, forums and educational weekends with our other activity.

It is the combination of our different areas of work—our election campaigns, activity in the antiwar movement and other movements, and our propaganda and educational activities—which, taken together, lead to recruitment and long-term growth. If press sales are neglected, for example, all our activity suffers and recruitment goes down.

## *The Newspaper*

Big steps have been taken in the past period to make the paper a more effective tool—the number of pages has increased, the layout improved, new members have been added to the staff, and now we have a Southwest bureau.

Along with these improvements, the circulation of the paper has gone up—bundles have increased slightly and we've had several large subscription drives. One of the best signs that the paper is getting around to a lot of new people is the letters column, where many of our new readers are writing in and expressing their ideas.

Despite the steps forward, sales is an area where there is still a very big gap between what we are doing and what we should be doing. We are not now making as full use of the paper as we could be as a tool to recruit, to spread our ideas, to educate, and to better influence the various movements we are involved in.

One of the best examples of the potential power of our paper, if we use it correctly as a tool for reaching out to numbers much broader than ourselves, is the role which it has played in the Chicano movement. The SWP has contributed a great deal to the building and political development of the Chicano movement, out of proportion to our size in numbers. One of the main reasons we have been able to do this is because we have influenced and helped build the movement through consistent sales of the paper. This has been done at conferences, meetings, demonstrations, etc., and, in addition, great care is taken to make sure that Chicano organizations, Chicano newspapers, as well as interested individuals in the Chicano movement receive the paper.

Some branches have already made a special effort to improve sales and it was encouraging in preparing this report to read some of the letters which come into the business office reporting on the progress of these branches. One thing these reports showed was that in every branch where real progress has been made, this was a result of the leadership of the branch putting time and thought into it, so the sales were organized and motivated in a creative and political way. Not only does the Executive Committee as a whole have to give attention to this area, but a responsible and leading comrade should be assigned to head it up, a comrade who has the experience and knowledge to politically lead this work, to inspire and organize the branch as a whole.

Another key ingredient to successful sales of the paper is the integration of sales into all our different areas of activity. Antiwar fractions must see as one of their main tasks getting the paper into the hands of contacts and people they meet in the antiwar movement. Comrades on campus, comrades participating in Black struggles, the women's liberation movement, in their unions and on the job, etc., must do the same.

This means that when we are involved in an antiwar upsurge, such as we see now, we see sales as a key part of our activity. As an example, I want to read from a letter to the business office by the Atlanta sales director, Seth Wigderson, describing the approach they took to sales in the recent upsurge:

"With the approaching of April 22, our sales tactics completely shifted. Both the SWP and the YSA were put on a mobilization basis for the two weeks preceeding April 22. We suspended completely all normal sales organizing. Instead, after consultation with the leading comrades, all sales were organized as part of our regular antiwar mobilization assignments. . . . This worked out well. Rather than seeing comrades' activity swallowed up by the mass movements and sales slump to near zero . . . we saw sales integrated into our mobilization. This has been especially true on the campuses which have clearly emerged as the main areas for our sales."

This point, of integrating sales into our activity during special political events or upsurges, of avoiding routinism in sales, is particularly important because it is at times like this antiwar upsurge right now when we have the best chance of getting the paper to gatherings of people who are the most likely to be interested in our movement.

Some of the branches which have raised their sales have set a goal of selling 10 papers per comrade per week. Other branches have decided to begin their bundle increases more modestly with the perspective of raising them higher over time. The important thing is for each branch to begin to work toward selling larger bundles than we are now, on a regular basis. This means regular sales on the campuses, in the Black community, and at work places.

Sales should also be an activity which new comrades, contacts, and supporters of our election campaign can participate in. This, again, means not organizing sales in a routine way, but organizing them so that campaign supporters and other contacts will be inspired to participate. We want to have an atmosphere in the party where such a priority is put on sales that every new person coming around will automatically be drawn into this activity. Another thing which will be helpful in this is use of the "buddy system," that is, helping people who have not sold before to get the hang of it by sending experienced sellers out with them.

There are increasing numbers of campaign supporters who support the paper because it is the newspaper of the SWP election campaign. Comrades may have noticed in the sales column that a number of YSJP chapters are taking bundles to sell. During this summer and fall, it will be important to accelerate this process, and we hope that the sales column will help do this. This column will be written for campaign supporters and other supporters of the paper, as well as for comrades, so that they will begin to identify more with the paper and will want to join the campaign to get the paper out.

One more small point on setting quotas. It is all right

to aim toward a general goal of selling a certain amount of papers per comrade per week. But this should be seen as a general goal for the branch as a whole, not as a formal quota which each comrade is required to conform to. If we try to raise sales by simply requiring that each comrade sell so many each week, we tend to fall into the trap of trying to pressure comrades into doing something instead of politically inspiring them. Moreover, if you take the approach that anyone who does not sell ten papers will be frowned upon, this doesn't take into account that there are always going to be differences between how many papers different comrades sell. In some branches there are comrades who, for one reason or another, are unable to sell or who should not be pressured into selling. Moreover, there are others who are real champion sales people and we should give special recognition to these comrades. The point is, although selling the paper must be a consistent activity, with the norm being that everyone participates, we want to avoid routinism or formalism, and strive to motivate and organize the work in a political way.

In addition to increasing the bundles, we also will continue to expand the circulation of the paper through special subscription drives. Our successful drive last fall for 32,000 new subscriptions was a big step forward in this regard.

An indication of the ability of the party to meet the challenge of such a large drive was the fact that if you go back and look at the chart of how the subscriptions came in week by week during that drive, you'll find that the line goes out and up in an even way. Before, when we've had sub drives, the line on the chart has tended to go along very low until the end, when there would be an upward spurt as comrades began to realize that the crisis was approaching.

In this drive, the majority of the branches planned ahead and there was no last-minute crisis. There was never a worry, on a national level, about whether we would make the drive or not. In addition, the regional sub-getting teams turned out to be very successful.

There were some problems. In several branches the quotas were too high. In several others, the work of getting the subs did not begin soon enough, so there was a certain crisis at the end. But in other branches that began the drive with a big push—as did Philadelphia and the Twin Cities—they found that the last part of the drive was smooth sailing.

The renewal drive this spring, unlike the sub drive, was not as successful as we had hoped. The rate of renewal was just under five percent. This was about the same renewal rate as we got for the sub drive last spring. It is a little lower than the renewal rate of about 8 percent that we got for the drive in the previous fall.

The renewal drive was projected as an experiment to try to find a better way of turning some of our new subscribers into potential members and to increase the number of long-term subscribers. Unfortunately, when the drive was projected in both a letter to the branches and in reports at the YSA convention, it was reported that our average rate of renewal was 10 percent, and that we wanted to use this drive to push this rate up over 10 percent. This 10 percent figure was not correct. When the business office looked into it more carefully, they found that in the most recent big drives the rate was 5 and 8 percent. The experience of the renewal drive showed that these lower figures are a more accurate reflection of the percentage of people we can expect at this juncture to become more

long-term readers.

One of the biggest problems with the drive was contacting our subscribers. I remember when we were discussing the renewal drive in the Political Committee, Al Hansen pointed out that when the party had experimented with renewal drives in the past, the problem was that we couldn't find the people. And it was not different this time. We had hoped that the fact that the subscribers were often grouped together in specific campuses and specific dorms would make it possible to locate them, but this did not turn out to be the case.

The business office reports that in some areas as many as 25 percent of our subscribers moved during the period of the drive. According to a recent article in the *New York Times*, 18 percent of the population as a whole moves every year. Readers of the paper—who are often younger and more mobile—apparently move even more than this. We found that even when some college youth would stay on the same campus, they would move from dorm to dorm, or floor to floor, etc.

Moreover, we found that even those that did not move were often not at home when we came to visit them. The problems of this were compounded by the fact that a very large number of subs were gotten in the regions, so that comrades had to drive long distances—two, three, maybe more hours—often only to find that when they got there they couldn't locate the subscribers. They found that even if you called ahead to these subscribers in the region, it was difficult to track them down.

We had a little more success doing this type of calling and visiting the cities.

One encouraging thing was that when we did find our subscribers, we got a fairly gratifying renewal rate—in some areas about 15 percent. Also, a significant percentage of subscribers endorsed the campaign or expressed interest in our activities. And in some of these efforts we made valuable contacts.

But, we feel that the conclusion to be drawn is that we should not carry out this kind of renewal drive again. The renewal rate, even when we did find the people, was not high enough to warrant the effort. It is much more worthwhile for us to concentrate on subscription drives to expand our subscription base.

Within this context, we do want to continue to do a certain kind of renewal work. The business office felt that one of the positive things which did come out of this drive was a new consciousness on the part of the branches of our subscribers as contacts—that these are people we want to relate to, that we may want to send mailings to them on special occasions, etc.—especially the subscribers who renew on their own.

So in the future the business office will continue to send lists of these subscribers to the branches, which can be used for special mailings, etc.

We will also want to continue the stepped-up promotion work from the business office, with certain modifications in what we did this year.

### *The Magazine*

Like the newspaper, the magazine has taken some big steps forward in the past year—the staff has been increased, the number of people writing for it has broadened, certain problems with the layout which were related to the new press have been ironed out, and the magazine

now comes out promptly—sometimes even a little ahead of time—every month. The staff has also taken steps to overcome what has been the chief criticism of the magazine up until now, and this is that comrades felt that much of the material in the magazine was too much of a repetition of material in the newspaper. This has meant understanding the need for a more clear division of labor between the paper and the magazine.

More discussion is needed on the question of the relationship between the various publications—the role they should play, how we can continue to improve them, and the different ways in which we can increase their circulation.

The newspaper is our main vehicle for reaching out in the most broad way to new people. The magazine plays a more specialized role, and it may be helpful in boosting circulation of the magazine if we take this more into consideration in planning sales. Because of the more limited number of articles in each issue, magazine sales could be related more carefully with the contents of that particular issue. In the present issue, for example, with the articles on the prisons and on the Gary convention, this would be very good for selling in the Black community.

This doesn't mean that we don't want to sell the magazine broadly. The bundles and circulation are quite low and we want to change this. We want to sell a lot more copies of the magazine than we are now. We should hawk the magazine at demonstrations. We've found that the magazine always sells well on mass actions. We should also push it at literature tables, take it to radical meetings, place it on bookstands, and make a special effort to get it into the hands of our contacts.

### *The Publishing House*

Gus will report during the discussion period on the continuing, very exciting, publishing program. There are also reports in the folders which show some of what is projected.

Between 1969 and 1970, we saw a big jump in sales. This year, sales remain at the same generally high level, but instead of another increase in sales there has been a modest decrease. This is most likely a reflection of the political lull—the fact that 1971, and as yet 1972, have not been years of as intense radical political activity and upsurge as 1969-70. This lull is reflected particularly in pamphlet sales, where every category of topic has seen a marked decline.

In addition, there is a general downturn in the publishing business and all the radical publishing houses have suffered from this. Since our sales each year have included an increasingly higher percentage of commercial sales, what affects the publishing houses affects us too.

The job done by the branches in pushing sales I think in general have been very good. Most of the branches have representatives now and a campaign was carried out this spring to get out the catalogue widely and to encourage professors to take more classroom adoptions. We won't know the results of this for some time, since it takes time for these orders to come though.

Some of the statistics I gave earlier—the fact that 81 percent of the party has joined since 1965 and 53 percent since 1970—indicate the importance of having consistent educational programs. Education is an area where during this spring, we've begun to see an improvement. Most of the branches now are carrying out educational programs, including contact classes, new members classes, as well as classes directed to the branch as a whole. In addition, more branches are making a conscious effort to plan and hold educationals along with the branch meetings, although we don't see these branch educationals as any kind of substitute for a regular branch educational program. The national education department has published special material to help the branches with their educational programs. The syllabuses which are being sent out now for the summer school can be very helpful, and branches should make use of them. There are also tapes, speakers, and the education for socialists bulletins for use in these educational programs.

We can anticipate that one of the most educational aspects of our work in the coming year will be the international discussion. All the basic questions of revolutionary strategy will be part of this discussion: the question of the transitional program, popular frontism vs. united front, nationalism, terrorism vs. mass action, building a Leninist party, etc. Discussions such as these always help motivate comrades to read the classic works of Marxism, where these questions have been debated out before and there's no reason to think that this won't happen in relation to the international discussion.

The culmination of the summer schools will be the educational and activists conference in Ohio. The theme of the educational part of the conference will be the question of revolutionary strategy on a world scale. There will be a series of general lectures, taking up the key questions before the world revolutionary movement, as well as classes on a whole range of topics relevant to revolutionaries today.

It will also be an activists' conference where we can hold panels, workshops, and other discussions on all aspects of our activity. It will provide an opportunity for comrades to share experiences, to discuss how we can better coordinate and organize our activity. In order to facilitate this discussion, an SWP Party Builder will be published leading up to the conference, where comrades can contribute their ideas. The "activists" part of the conference will help the party prepare for the big challenges ahead of us, especially the tasks in relation to the election campaign.

The conference will be a place where we can bring friends of the party, especially YSAers, YSJPers and other campaign supporters. We want to make a special effort to invite as many of our supporters as we can to the conference, although it will not be publicly advertised and built. The educational aspect of the conference will be planned so that there will be some classes of special interest to people newly interested in socialist ideas. YSJPers and other newly involved people can also participate in some of the activists' panels and workshops.

## THE TRADE UNION PANEL

by Frank Lovell

As already announced, we will be holding the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference in August. This year we would like to organize the trade union reports more carefully in order to explain how we are applying our basic strategy in the union movement today. Therefore, we take this opportunity to submit some suggestions and solicit advice about how these reports should be prepared by comrades active in this area of work.

All branch organizers and educational directors have received study courses covering aspects of our socialist program and areas of current activity. Among these study courses is a five-session class outline for "A Marxist Approach toward the Labor Movement." Many branches will use this outline for their summer educational sessions. Comrades in unions should pay special attention to the basic material referred to in this study outline.

Much has changed since our convention last year, most of the changes resulting from the New Economic Policy of the employing class proclaimed by Nixon on August 15, 1971.

The most important change to be noted is greater ferment in the ranks of the working class and within the union movement. This results from the new economic and social pressures upon the working class. The government wage controls have noticeably reduced the standard of living of millions of workers. The employing class, taking advantage of the new relation of class forces, has launched an attack on working conditions in order to increase productivity. Evidence of this is the new division of General Motors, the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), which was established for the specific purpose of speeding up production in the assembly plants. A similar operation has been undertaken in the steel industry. There is hardly any industry that is not now undergoing some form of reorganization by management with the aim of increasing productivity through the simple device of job speed-up and lay-offs. This carries over even in the field of public education where class size is increased and the number of teachers reduced for want of money to operate the schools.

There are several things we must consider, all of which should be taken into account (though not all will be included as specific and explicit points) when comrades prepare reports on their trade union work. The following should be kept in mind:

### 1) What is our trade union policy?

This is the subject of Class #3 in the 5-session study course referred to above. So there is no need to elaborate upon it here. It will be studied and discussed in the summer educational classes.

### 2) How have we been able to implement our propaganda campaign for a Congress of Labor?

This has taken several forms. One of the most direct and successful was our work in the teachers' union, largely because of the sense of impending crisis resulting from the government intervention in the protracted negotiations and strike action of the longshoremen on

the Pacific Coast.

We can look forward to a detailed description and explanation by our comrades of how they were able to adapt our concept of a Congress of Labor to explain the economic and social problems of society and what the working class can do to solve these problems.

### 3) What are the workers most concerned about now?

The basic issues most commonly and continuously discussed are the war, inflation, and unemployment.

We are the only ones who offer specific and direct answers to these problems. We must constantly and continuously explain our concept of the sliding scale of hours and wages (as this applies generally and in specific industries) to meet the twin evils of unemployment and inflation.

This is the subject of Class #2 in our 5-session study course.

### 4) How do we relate the antiwar movement to our work in the unions?

In several unions it is possible to organize shop antiwar committees, or local antiwar committees, sometimes regional antiwar committees. These committees should be, or try to become, official bodies of the unions, subject to the vote of the membership.

We can expect several reports about this work in various unions from several sections of the country.

### 5) How is the women's liberation movement expressed in the unions?

Women are 40 percent of the work force. In some unions women are a majority. Several unions have a women's department, such as that in the UAW.

Our comrades in several instances have organized the "women's equal rights committee" in their shop or local union. These should be official union committees and can operate quite effectively to win on-the-job concessions.

We will have reports about this means of effective union work.

### 6) Have any Black caucuses been organized recently or do any now exist?

Some Black caucuses were organized in the auto union and the steel union early in 1968 and 1969. They attracted attention at that time and gained widespread publicity because of some militant actions at the Ford plant in Mahwah, N.J., and the Chrysler plants in Detroit.

The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) in Detroit was one of the products of this upsurge of militant Black workers. However, the movement receded. It failed to establish lasting caucus formations because the ultraleft leaders of it gave it a dual-union twist, and because other leaders who succeeded in getting elected to local union posts were co-opted by the union's white officialdom.

The position of our party was stated in our P. C. memorandum titled "Black Caucuses in the Trade Unions"

(Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 27, No. 11, August 1969). Our position on this question has not changed, and we will support the formation of Black caucuses when such a movement develops in the future, as is likely.

If there is evidence of a revival of this movement within any unions where our comrades are members or in industries where our comrades are working, we should have reports of it. In some building trades unions Blacks work on permit and are excluded from union membership even when they are a majority on some construction sites. Where these workers organize and demand full membership in the unions we should assist them in every way possible.

7) How does our election campaign relate to the union movement?

Linda Jenness was the first and only candidate for president who denounced and explained the government wage controls when first imposed last August and who also proposed that the unions prepare seriously to fight these controls. (See "The Wage-Price Freeze Swindle" which includes a statement by Jenness.)

This fact can be used effectively by our comrades in unions to explain how, why, and what kind of politics are important to the union movement.

Where we have local candidates in unions they should take full advantage of their position to influence their fellow workers.

We will have reports of how this has been done in several instances.

8) How can we establish a connection with the workers in every area where we have a party branch?

The sale of *Militants* at plant gates has been urged — some branches have had success with these sales.

We hope to take greater advantage of sales at plants where comrades are working, the sales (regularly) to be conducted by others who are not working there. Working comrades in many cases are able to make individual sales in their place of work.

In addition, candidates will be able to speak at plant-gate meetings during the summer months. We have already had some experience with this under the adverse weather conditions of winter and succeeded in getting endorsements for the campaign. It goes without saying that such endorsements deserve special and personal attention.

These experiences are useful to the development of our trade union work and should be reported at the trade union panel.

9) How do we develop our class struggle program and make it meaningful in the course of our present propaganda campaign in the unions?

In the Bay Area we have been successful, through the efforts there to promote a statewide conference of labor (referred to above #2), in extending our propaganda campaign to include the need for a broad class-struggle left wing.

This basic aim of ours can be explained and advanced among militant workers in connection with everything we do in the unions. We should give added meaning to all our work by explaining our basic aim to advanced workers whenever and wherever we can get their attention.

The panel reports should provide interesting and useful examples of how this is done.

10) For those comrades now looking for work: what kind of work should they seek? where should they look?

Usually the best job is the one you can qualify for that pays the most money. Comrades can now find jobs and do important political work eight hours a day (in addition to and in conjunction with assignments at party headquarters and antiwar offices) while being paid by the boss.

We are not now proposing any turn in party activity, only that we now pay greater attention to on-the-job opportunities and to the very important area of trade union work and the new possibilities that are opening up for us here.

Whenever we are on the job (whether in a union or non-union shop) we should talk, try to raise the political level, talk about the problems of the working class (the war, the inflation, the unemployment), raise class consciousness, prepare for development of the class-conscious left wing.

Wherever workers get into a fight with the boss, when the union calls a strike, we should help out in every way possible. Join the fight.

We have examples of how this can be done from our experiences in the Bay Area Teamsters' locals, and hope to have reports of this and other similar experiences.

June 10, 1972