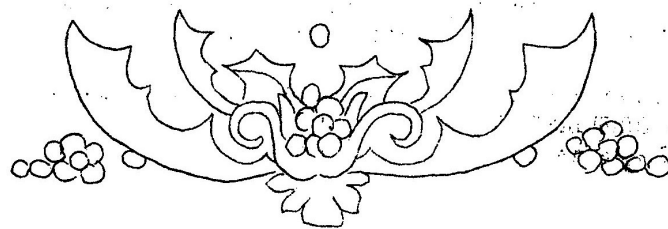


BULLETIN NO.35 DEC. 20 '72



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- Final Fund Drive Bulletin

* PASSED by NAC with the following amendments:

(1) In Section 4, delete sentence starting "We support these demands..." and insert: "We support the content of these demands, although in most circumstances we won't raise them programmatically. In many instances these demands, and the myriads of committees that usually accompany them, often serve to derail movements begun on more social questions. Where we do raise and/or actively support them, we point out the generally utopian character of "student power" type demands under capitalism."

(2) Insert at end of document: "We urge professor comrades to organize and/or participate in movements and struggles around general political and social questions, such as the war in Viet Nam, racism and sexism, the deterioration of higher education in particular and the educational system in general, the funding crisis, etc."

(3) Section 8 on tenure TABLED. See NATIONAL REPORT No. 16.

EDITOR'S NOTES. The following are NOTES FROM THE BOOK SERVICE:

- (1) New Book Service Catalogue is available from National Office.
- (2) Some comrades have expressed interest in ordering Lenin's COLLECTED WORKS. If we have 10 or more orders, the price goes down to about \$55 each. If interested, write Jim Woodward, Book Service.
- (3) The Book Service has available, to members only, hard-cover editions of Bernstein, THE TURBULENT YEARS, at \$7.00 (regular price \$12.95), while supply lasts.

NAC STATEMENT ON EAST HARLEM BOYCOTT AND SCHOOL CRISIS

Chris H.

1. The East Harlem school boycott broke out the week before Thanksgiving, was resumed following the Thanksgiving holiday, and ended December 8. The major demand was for restoration of budget cuts imposed by the New York Board of Education, with other demands for smaller classes, bilingual classes, better services, and no "excessing" and transfer of teachers and staff. Initially limited to grade schools in Local District 4, the boycott subsequently expanded and included two high schools but remained centered in District 4 and among elementary schools. Teachers respected it despite Shanker's urging to report to work; this despite the fact that most of the teachers were white. The parents were predominantly black and Puerto Rican. The parents' committee which emerged held mass meetings daily, attended by about 500 people. In these meetings, respectful but knowledgeably cynical hearings were given to black and Puerto Rican government figures (such as U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo, Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, and State Assemblyman Jesse Gray, former rent-strike leader), poverty program officials, and the Local District school board leaders. These types were unable to place themselves in leadership. The parents held out until the city discovered \$12 million to distribute proportionately to the local districts; there are possibilities of the boycott resuming, perhaps in another locale such as Bedfor-Stuyvesant. New York IS activity in the boycott was high, with near-daily mass leafleting, a successful call for a demonstration at the Board of Education (attended by 500-600 people), activity in the UFT rank and file groups, meetings with the parents; scheduling of a forum, etc., etc. According to the New York organizer, "The parents' boycott of the schools is a crucial new development in the struggles around NYC education. The focus has completely shifted away from community control and busing to the budget cuts. This is, of course, the line we took throughout the Canarsie dispute, and points toward the general line of a struggle that could unite parents and teachers." The general line of our leaflets was to spread the boycott; the immediate concretization of the call for corporate taxation was the demand to cancel interest payments on the school bonds, held by banks, corporations, etc. We have won respect and legitimacy through our work; should the boycott resume, prospects for our further intervention are excellent.

2. The I.S. convention perspective on black liberation criticizes such false strategies as Community Control and cross-busing as means to achieve full quality education for blacks and proposes instead "a political struggle, spearheaded by black workers and the black community, for massive construction of quality schools for the cities, funded by corporate taxation." The supplementary NAC statement "Political Line on School Integration Cases and Busing" (BULLETIN No. 32) elaborates this position. While we stand for the right of blacks to attend any school, our strategy is to call for

black workers' organizations and black community groups to organize mass action around these demands. . . ." The demands listed are a boiled-down version of the program in the convention document: better education including new schools, support to teacher unionism, non-racist education; full employment including equal work and equal pay, 30 for 40; rebuild the cities; convert the arms economy, tax corporate and finance income; defend the black community including workers' defense organizations. (For full programmatic statement, see the original.) The mass movement, of course, develops not according to prescriptions but according to its own dynamic. In East Harlem the lead has been taken by an ad hoc coalition of black and Puerto Rican parents; programmatically the call for no cutbacks has been amplified by demands for smaller classes, bilingual instruction, and more special and remedial programs; the issue of funding remains unclear and is, of course, the School Board's greatest talking point. While we put forward our own proposals, we stand unreservedly on the side of the boycott and press for its expansion and programmatic development. Further, while retaining an independent point of view, we point to the New York boycott as offering an example of the general direction for a mass struggle against the cutbacks in education which are occurring all over the country. It represents a way out of the sterile choices offered by the ruling class - Community Control or busing - both of which accept the premise that no material advances are to be won by the black masses and are offered by their spokesmen as substitutes for a struggle for material advances. In this context only defensive victories are possible; for example, the 32 black parents of Canarsie were able by their militancy and solidarity to break the white parents' boycott; but a massive struggle by blacks for entry into the slightly better predominantly white schools would offer no prospect for material advances for the masses of blacks. Thus a struggle of the East Harlem type offers not only an alternative to the racial polarization of Canarsie, but also a strategy for achieving real material advances.

3. The East Harlem struggle also presents a further development in the bankruptcy of community control as a strategy. The New York community control movement, as pointed out by the convention document, was initially "supported by blacks. . . as a vehicle of struggle against racism and educational rot," not out of the aim to control "their own" institutions per se. At this point community control was the vehicle for a mass reform struggle whose democratic content was correctly supported while the goal of community control itself was criticized (and should have been more sharply criticized) as illusory. Subsequently the gaining of partial local control by local school boards led to the realization of the anti-democratic and anti-working class potential of the community control demand. The local boards, becoming responsible for administration of education, as such came potentially into conflict with both teachers and parents, while the boards became, as the mass element went out of the struggle, the political vehicles for aspiring bureaucrats and politicians. The Newark strike in 1971 represented one stage in this

development. The present struggle constitutes a further stage: in East Harlem, the parents are ranged against the local board, whose role is clearly that of implementing and operating within the budget lines laid down by the city and opposed by the parents. It goes without saying that the local board has no power in the crucial area of financing, as should have always been predicted. For the first time, in East Harlem, parents and teachers are united against the local board. The East Harlem struggle reinforces our conclusion that in this period, in general, the demand for community control will not represent a fruitful vehicle for mass struggle for better education. In this period, as in the past, we continue to support the democratic demand for parent-teacher-student control of the schools, but it is necessary now to distinguish this demand rigorously from the concept of community control, which in actual social fact has become the vehicle for anti-working-class policies applied by "povertyocrat" types in alliance with liberal elements in the city government and ruling class.

4. The school crisis is national. Although local circumstances vary, the center of the crisis in every case is a crisis of funding. Naturally this is greatest in the largest and blackest cities which - in another way of looking at the situation - are those most dominated by large capital with the greatest proportion of non-propertyholding proletarians. In such circumstances the somewhat better-off, property-owning workers (mainly white) suffer under a rising tax burden and have consistently voted down taxes to fund even their own local suburban schools. The inner-city schools with no real tax base in property taxes generally to finance them would meet resistance among the better-off sections, probably in racist form. In these circumstances various proposals to transplant blacks physically into better schools - either through massive two-way busing which would simply spread out the inadequate and shrinking financial base, or through small-scale or individual efforts to register blacks in better schools, suburban schools, etc. - are simply palliatives, at best momentary. They carry the risk of racial confrontation while providing no advance for the masses of black youth. In this situation the following demands become crucial:

No cutbacks
Full Quality Education for All
Fund Education through Increased Corporate
and Financial Taxation

We call for a mass movement of teachers and parents around these demands. In the context of this call (and of the movement if it takes shape) we make clear our view of integration, suburban registration, etc., as illusory solutions, and our opposition to two-way busing as per previous statements. In general, we point to the New York boycott as an example of the kind of movement we would like to see. We point out that the whole range of democratic and union demands raised by ourselves and by community groups in the past - smaller classes, non-racist education, end of sexual and racial tracking, etc., etc. - not only are "not counterposed" to the above

demands but in fact require a struggle for these demands as a precondition for attaining them.

5. In general, the IS can expect to find its entrance into the school crisis via the teachers. Of course, we do not rule out other possibilities, but expect this to be the general case. Where a parents' movement may take shape, as in New York, our presence in the AFT will help crystallize a positive response among teachers; elsewhere, our initial perspective may be that of a teachers' committee or caucus around the above demands, combined with specific demands on teachers' wages, conditions, etc., with an orientation toward eventual linkups with parents. The NAC requests consideration by the Teacher fraction of the potentiality for integrating such a perspective into our overall work either in local instances, or nation-wide.

REPLY TO SF AND OTHERS ON TROTSKYIST RECRUITMENT

Chris H.

The recruitment of "orthodox" Trotskyists is not itself new in the IS. There are, presently, perhaps 20-25 members of the IS having the "orthodox" Trotskyist view on the Russian question. They do not constitute a distinct tendency within the IS. The question was given a new twist, however, by the recruitment of the comrades of the former Communist Workers Group, who had constituted an independent organization before being recruited and who elected to exercise their right to retain tendency representation within the IS. This occasioned the commissioning by the NAC of a document, "Orientation to SWP Recruitment," by Sy Landy, which for the first time attempted to define the political basis for recruitment from the dissident elements within the SWP.

This document in turn has engendered several polemical responses and even a proposal (by SF in his document in BULLETIN No. 33) that any decision by the NC favorable to the recruitment of "orthodox" Trotskyists should be appealed through a membership referendum.

The conception of the critics appears to be that the NAC position favoring recruitment is a turn away from the third-camp character of the IS. Further, it is argued (SF, Wayne C.) that the IS should keep out people with "orthodox" Trotskyist politics because the organization lacks the theoretical development to deal with sophisticated tendencies having theoretical differences. And further (SF, Derek B.) that "orthodox" Trotskyists are people with rather nasty personalities and different methods of functioning - different in ways the critics are unready to define politically, however. And further (SF, Wayne C.) that the motivation for recruiting them is that of a "get rich quick" scheme related to our slow growth.

The latter charge can be gotten rid of at once. It has been not our slow growth, but the IS's first hesitant steps in real proletarian work which has made the organization attractive to those "orthodox" Trotskyists with a proletarian orientation - enough so for them to subordinate public expression of theoretical differences on certain questions because of agreement on the central tasks facing revolutionaries. And if the IS were growing much faster and recruiting workers - as it is beginning to - the organization would be even more attractive to "orthodox" Trotskyists in the process of rejecting the middle-class politics of the SWP. This makes the question not one of our isolation, but one we will face continually and to a greater extent if we are successful in our tasks, and hence, one on which the correct orientation is critical.

I

Much of the criticism is based on false assumptions - assumptions likely to be accepted by those who have not read the documents with care. The critics raise a wall of hysteria and misinformation which has to be demolished before the real political issues can emerge. Landy's document (NATIONAL REPORT No. 12) is not entitled "Orientation to SWP Regroupment," as Wayne C. informs us (proceeding to a righteous denunciation of the NAC for altering the regroupment perspective adopted by the convention - but unfortunately, without checking his

spelling) but "Orientation to SWP Recruitment." However, not only Wayne C., but also SF, treat the question in terms of regroupment. SF has regroupment in mind in one of his apparently telling examples, that of British IS and the Workers' Fight group. As SF notes, Cliff proposed unification "on the basis of an I.S. sponsored minimum program." That would indeed be regroupment, that is, the formation of a common organization on the basis of a minimum position on disputed questions - in this case anti-Stalinism. Derek B. slanders Landy in this manner by charging him with proposing to recruit on the basis of "a degree of anti-Stalinism." This however is not what Landy has proposed, and Tasks and Perspectives (mimeo edition, pp. 21-22) contains an explicit argument against such a regroupment perspective.¹ What Landy has proposed is a recruitment to the IS on the basis of IS politics, including our politics on the Russian question if possible. If it proves impossible to convince an "orthodox" Trotskyist tendency of our politics on this question, what Landy says is that our politics on this question are "as fundamental to us" as the rest, and that the tendencies we recruit must understand and accept this, but that we can admit tendencies which differ so long as they are committed in theory and practice to revolutionary opposition to Stalinism everywhere. There is no suggestion that the viewpoint of the IS be revised to accord with this minimum; it is simply the minimum allowing common membership despite disagreement.

Similarly, Landy is not "redefining" the political basis of the IS, as charged. His "seven points" (and the subsequent points which the critics have forgotten) are put forward as "guidelines" to our "core assumptions" which are "framed here for the purpose of dealing with recruits from the SWP," and which are "consistent with the essentials of our fundamental statements but not a replacement for them." Similarly - again and again - SF confuses recruitment of individuals with recruitment from tendencies, or recruitment of individuals out of organized tendencies; however Landy explicitly states that his discussion is limited to recruitment from tendencies and that individuals "are to be adjudged differently."

Nor is SF correct in presenting Landy's points as "conditions for membership." Not only are they applied to tendencies, not individuals; they are guidelines to our politics, to the points to be stressed in recruiting - not a catechism. SF is merely panic-mongering when he warns that Landy's points would exclude persons critical of Trotskyist positions in the 1920's. What Landy says (you would never guess it from SF's polemic) is that "we identify the Left Opposition and the Trotskyist movement during the 20's and 30's as the revolutionary socialist continuation of Marxism," doing so, moreover, "as Marxists in a respectful but thoroughly critical way." This is no more than what we have always done and is, moreover, a virtual paraphrase of the way the question was always put by the Workers' Party and ISL, whom we do take as part of our heritage.

1. Joel G.'s amendment on "regroupment," to which Wayne C. refers as the position of the convention, actually does not have the political character of a regroupment perspective. It is a perspective for recruitment from the New Left and Maoist grouplets - it is implicit that recruitment will be on the basis of our full politics and nothing is said about representation on leading bodies, etc. Thus the IS's only regroupment perspective at this time is that of TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES - a negative perspective.

Let us then deal with Landy's document as what it is - a proposed guideline for recruiting "orthodox" Trotskyist tendencies emerging from the SWP, or persons coming out of such tendencies. The nub is that Landy - and Geier - favor recruiting them even if they cannot be convinced on the question of the third camp, while SF and Wayne C. oppose this. All the rest is a huge smokescreen.

II

Wayne C. makes the argument that defensism (not the degenerated workers' state theory) is incompatible with proletarian revolutionism. SF does not make such an argument explicitly, but proposes what he calls a "rule of thumb" (which Wayne C. echoes in slightly different language) that "if there is reason to believe that the issue on which we have fundamental disagreements might become an important issue in the near future...then we should admit that group or individual only if the IS as a whole felt that they would not split if that individual or group...were to be a majority on that issue." (It is implicit that in this case, the test would not be met.) These are the reasons offered for rejecting the NAC's position.

Wayne C.'s argument rests on the view that defensism and the theory of the degenerated workers' state are equivalent to substitutionism, and therefore incompatible with the commitment to proletarian revolution. "These substitutionist theories," he argues, are today "the be-all and end-all of orthodox Trotskyism." In doing so he identifies defensism and the degenerated workers' state with Pabloism not, as Landy does, in the sense that these theories laid the theoretical groundwork for Pabloism and more recent forms of substitutionism, but in the sense that these theories characterize one's politics as ipso facto substitutionist. Wayne C., like the anti-abortionists, identifies the fertilized egg with the squalling babe.²

Such an argument lacks subtlety (which is not a notable characteristic of Wayne C.'s polemic anyway). Landy (paragraph 2 on p. 7) and Geier (paragraph 3 on page 2) correctly treat defensism and the degenerated workers' state as theories contradictory to the proletarian-revolutionary core of Trotskyism. They stress that this contradiction leads to contradictory political tendencies in "orthodox" Trotskyism - toward accommodation to Stalinism and substitutionism, but also to a maintenance of the proletarian-revolutionary core despite the "orthodox" view on Russia. (Both might have added that the tendencies we are discussing condemn Pabloism; they condemn it as a departure from "orthodox" Trotskyism rather than as its consequence, but condemn it nevertheless. To Wayne C. and SF there is apparently no difference between this and Pabloism.) As is implicit in Landy and explicit in Geier (and accepted by Landy as an addition to his document though not as substitution), those whom we are discussing recruiting are those who adhere to proletarian revolutionism despite the Russian question.

2. Landy has also been criticised for not stressing the connection between "orthodox" Trotskyism and the substitutionist degeneration of the SWP. It is hard to believe that some of this criticism is political. Such a discussion is indeed missing from Landy's section I which discusses the SWP's degeneration since 1960 which has led to the splits we are discussing; the critique is, however, made on p. 7, para. 2, in the context of the points of IS doctrine which "orthodox" Trotskyists must understand and respect even if they do not adhere to them.

Admitting a Stalinist or Social-Democratic tendency would indeed be political hara-kiri; the core of these groups' politics is substitutionist. We are concerned, however, with groups whose politics are proletarian and revolutionary, but who hold a theoretical tenet which can lead to substitutionist politics at a future point if extended theoretically. Wayne C. simply treats the case as if this possibility were the present reality, and by doing so, he constructs a case against recruitment which is airtight, but which turns rotten as soon as it is exposed to the air.

To turn to the "rule of thumb," or "golden rule" - "do unto minorities as ye would that minorities do unto you" - as a rule of thumb it is not too bad, but I read it differently from SF or Wayne C. Under what circumstances would we split, if a group with "orthodox" Trotskyist politics won a majority?

Note that with the fatalism that runs through his document, SF assumes that "it does not make any sense" to admit a tendency on the assumption that they will not win a majority on the points in dispute. On the contrary, it makes perfect sense if the basis of agreement on strategic tasks is present and if one is confident that the class struggle and international politics will prove us right, especially when the questions assume political urgency, and that the third camp will lose no adherents to defensism - even if it does not convert the defensists, which is what I hope for. To pose SF's "rule of thumb" assumes, first of all, a significant probability of success by defensists in converting the IS to their views, something I think likely only if history should prove the third camp wrong. SF is talking about a future in which the IS does not grow significantly, its members are theoretically disadvantaged in comparison to "orthodox" Trotskyists, and hence, the possibility of the conversion of large numbers of IS members to these views is posed. I am talking about a future in which our members gain theoretical confidence through heightening the level of theoretical exchange, and in which we recruit in significant enough numbers that even a considerably larger group of "orthodox" Trotskyists would remain a minority. In other words, I have confidence that our politics will prove themselves, both on the Russian question and in our general recruiting.

But supposing third-camp adherents to be a minority in an organization with "orthodox" views on Russia, under what circumstances would we split? (a) If the majority views were those of the present SWP or Pabloite tendencies, that is, substitutionist through and through - the very views which led the people we are talking about to split from the SWP over the course of the years! Or (b) assuming a majority with proletarian politics, but "defensist" and "degenerated workers' state" views on the Russian question - if these differences were posed as the most urgent political questions of the day. In short, we could function in such a group, winning others to our views, until some crisis posed defensism as such an urgent political question that the necessity to act publicly outweighed the advantages of common organization. This would be the case in interimperialist war; or if, for example, the majority in such a party approved the invasion of Czechoslovakia, then the question of a split might be posed.

The same standard holds for us, today, as the majority. If the questions on which we differ seem likely to become the major questions of the day, then

we should not admit the comrades. Otherwise, we should.

SF, indeed, includes such a qualification; Wayne C., recognizing the loop-hole it opens, omits it. For the question is - do we forecast the questions assuming this character? Both Wayne C. and SF at this point rest upon Clausewitz - "war is the continuation of politics" - but this is hardly the point. In politics questions assume shifting weights over time. No one in the IS has an analysis of world politics which points to a probability of conflicts which would pose the question of the third camp vs. defensism as key questions in active form in this period. Clausewitz is simply a cover for avoiding an analysis which would show why irreconcilable differences of political orientation would be likely to arise.

Moreover, should the questions be posed in urgent form by events; who is to say that the events would not move comrades in our direction? The argument again, as with Wayne C.'s view on defensism, ignores the fact that "orthodox" politics on the Russian question are a contradiction to the proletarian core.

Finally, it is worth noting that the points about existing as a third camp minority in a larger organization are not abstract ones; they are posed by our international orientation. The international tendencies to which we are closest do not consider themselves third camp. Lutte Ouvriere is defensist vis-a-vis Russia, though not Eastern Europe, etc.; ISGB is not defensist, but gives a form of political support to the NLF - and in retrospect, the Communist revolution in China - as progressive. Yet we orient toward international ties with these groups aimed at the development in the future of an International, a centralized, disciplined political body. While we regard this development as some way off, the "rule of thumb" posed by SF already exists in our practical life in that we orient toward the creation of an international body in which our third-camp views would be - unless we could win adherents to them - a minority. Does SF propose that the third camp should be our test of affiliation to an international, or the political basis of the international such that we would not join if agreement were not present? If not, then he ought not in principle to be opposed to the admission of comrades with "orthodox" politics to the IS which would be merely a national section of such a body.

Geier correctly notes that sects are held together by "common political assumptions and perspectives" - not, on the one hand, simply by a revolutionary commitment, nor, on the other hand, by absolute uniformity on every aspect of theory. Generally speaking, I would like the IS to move in the direction of a more coherently developed theory rather than the present jumble of ideas, but there will, presumably, always be minority views. Common assumptions and perspectives are indeed the crux. Landy's document proposes that the IS shall continue to be so defined, and that in recruiting political tendencies, we shall continue to make the effort to reach full agreement. Where this cannot be achieved, one viewpoint - SF and Wayne C.'s - proposes that we reject valuable comrades. The other - Landy's, mine and Geier's - argues that we ask whether the agreement that does exist constitutes "common political assumptions and perspectives" on the questions actively posed, that is, on strategic tasks and the political questions of the period. If the disagreements here are not such as to make common work impossible, and if comrades understand, respect and agree to be bound by the points of disagreement on which they are a minority, then recruitment is the course indicated.³

3. Footnote at end of document.

III

As indicated, Joel G.'s amendment to Landy, which appears now as section I of the NAC position,⁴ agrees on the substantive question of recruitment. Moreover whether he admits it or not Joel's substantive criteria for willingness to recruit "orthodox" Trotskyists are essentially the same as Landy's in regard to the points in dispute: "acting upon revolutionary democratic socialist conclusions, sharing a common commitment to revolutionary socialism from below, emphasizing revolutionary opposition to Stalinism rather than its 'progressive' character...((and)) substantial agreement upon perspectives for the American revolution, and shared agreement on the functioning of revolutionaries in the American working class." These are substantively the same criteria (though much more loosely put) as Landy's point 7.

Nevertheless Joel G.'s amendment lays the theoretical basis for SF's and Wayne C.'s conclusions by treating the Third Camp as the defining element of the IS. One reason for the panic in the organization at the recruitment of "orthodox" Trotskyist views on the Russian question is that this has been the self-conception of the IS - one in which the third camp is the theoretical basis of all our politics and in which other questions of fundamental importance - the revolutionary party, etc. - are open and subject to question while the third camp is not. The IS has been, in effect, a multi-tendencied organization since its founding. Not apparently on the Russian question, but on equally fundamental points of revolutionary theory - the revolutionary party, the transitional program, etc. What has cohered the IS in the face of much disunity has been the unity on the Russian question.

At the same time, it must be pointed out that the agreement on the Russian question is only general, concealing differences in analysis that have never been explored. Thus the Russian question itself has provided only a loose cohesion.

Now this loose cohesion threatens to disappear through the recruitment of an explicit tendency with a distinct view; hence the panic. But what is really pointed to is the necessity of politically defining the IS, and on a range of questions, not just on the third camp.

Joel G.'s presentation of the basic politics of the IS intended as a guide to recruitment of dissident Trotskyist tendencies says not one word about the revolutionary party, the necessity of an international, or for that matter support for democratic movements. These are the sections of Landy's document which it removes. The depth of Joel's commitment on any of these points is not in question; but the omission is no accident either. The omission preserves the character of the IS as an organization in which the blurred agreement on the Russian question remains the fundamental point of cohesion.

I wish to go beyond this state of things and make the IS a Leninist organization. That is, I view the other points in Landy's presentation - independent organizations of the class, support for democratic movements and demands, the necessity of a revolutionary party and international identification with the fundamental tradition of Bolshevism and the Left Opposition - not merely as shared attitudes, but as points equally fundamental as the third camp.

4. Except the final paragraph which is from Landy's original.

The same is true of the method and purpose of the transitional program, which is not included in Landy's document precisely because the document is not a political redefinition, but has only the limited purpose of stating our fundamental beliefs as a guide to recruitment. I am for developing theory and politics in the IS in such a way as to commit the IS to all these points.

At present, I am against recruiting political tendencies - as opposed to individuals - who do not share the IS's viewpoint on the questions enumerated in Landy's points 1-7. Specific formulations and points within these could be and should be fruitfully amended but Landy's presentation of our "core assumptions" - including the class nature of Stalinism, see paragraphs 4 and 8 of page 6 - represent the proper guidelines for recruiting tendencies. This, I suspect, is a difference with SF, whose document suggests openness to the idea of recruiting a tendency which did not share the belief in the necessity of a revolutionary party and international. This is the real disagreement behind SF's discussion of Trotskyism in the 1920's. Would we wish to recruit a tendency which did not identify the Left Opposition and the Trotskyist movement in the 1930's as "the revolutionary continuation of Marxism"? What would such a tendency be politically? Anarchist? Luxemburgian? Such tendencies are, first, unclear - or wrong - on the question of the revolutionary party, which I place, and believe the IS should place, in a position of strategic centrality in this period; such tendencies are, second, theoretically muddled altogether - in fact, during the period of the 1920's and 1930's, much less today, they had no coherent existence. Trotskyism - viewed "respectfully but thoroughly critically" - is the source of our views on the revolutionary party, our heritage of strategic ideas on Fascism, the testing and refinement of revolutionary theory in China and Spain, and much more besides. It is this heritage - the heritage of historical lessons which the working class does not carry in its collective memory - which constitutes a main part of our justification for existence. That is why we identify with the Left Opposition and Trotskyist movement and would not wish to recruit a political tendency whose theory placed it outside this tradition.

IV

SF and Wayne C. raise a series of further objections to the recruitment of persons with "orthodox" Trotskyist views on Russia. In the case of SF, the opposition is to placing a priority on recruiting from this milieu even if the comrades can be won over on the Russian question (paragraphs 15 and following).⁵ These objections are basically of two kinds.

First, it is objected that our political backwardness will make it difficult to absorb persons with a high degree of theoretical training. Such an attitude can only perpetuate our backwardness. It is a recipe for fudge. If the political views themselves are judged admissible, then the comrades ought to be admitted; no other viewpoint is principled. If the political views are deemed admissible, then debate with them will increase the organization's sophistication - keeping out admissible political views because of a fear of debate, on the other hand, can only lead to theoretical sloppiness

5. What SF says is that "there are higher priorities than orientation to the SWP or other Trotskyist groups." Absolutely everybody agrees with this. The basic point of view is that there should be no priority at all toward this kind of recruitment, though SF is not for turning them away if they come knocking.

and to dogmatism - the perpetuation of our third-camp point of view simply as "our" point of view. For, fundamentally, the "orthodox" Trotskyist ideas are there - anyone who wishes to become the master, not the follower, of theory will have to learn to cope with them not simply in the sense of being able to win arguments (though this itself would be an advance!) but in the sense of internalizing their strengths and their refutation. This is not, obviously, to say that we must seek out opposing ideas and recruit them in order to prompt our own political development - it is simply to say that the attitude of keeping out ideas not on the basis that they are judged politically inadmissible, but on the basis that we fear their disruptive effect, leads away from the development of Marxist theory.

SF's document, indeed, reflects a disrespect for theory, and for revolutionary organization. His point 6 describes the Trotskyist movement and its debates as "historically irrelevant sects," "sterile and dogmatic debates," etc. It is an attitude very fashionable in the IS, and basically reflects our own weakness on the importance of revolutionary organization, stemming from the period in which we maintained revolutionary theory but abandoned, for an indefinite period, the conception of revolutionary party organization. SF's objections to the tiny amount of material there has been in Workers' Power on opposing Trotskyist groups is of the same character. It assumes, first of all, that such articles and debates are of no external interest, that we can recruit, as we used to do or at least think, simply on the basis of our mass work, that anyone who might even be attracted to the ideas of, say, the Spartacist League is already a hopeless idiot. On the contrary, our present contacts both in the student/former student milieu and in at least some cases in the working class are very much interested in the differences among Trotskyist groups, our response to charges by other groups, etc. Like it or lump it - that's just how it is. More fundamentally, a serious attitude toward theory and organization dictates respect for the Trotskyist movement both in its virtues and in its organizational and political failures - revolutionary theory was, in a past period, grounded in precisely these organizations, and they retain an attraction to the seriously political precisely because their ideas are the closest, except for our own, to being right. If revolutionary theory and organization are important, then our commitment to them demands the closest attention to the theory and organization, where correct and where mistaken, of the movement in which we have our roots.

The other basis for objection to "orthodox" Trotskyists presented by SF is one of political style. Although qualified, this is disgusting and insulting. People have a different attitude toward political debate and set a higher premium on counterposition of political ideas for political reasons, not because of personality deformations.

Behind this offhandedness, however, lies a profound political difference. SF's references (and Derek B.'s implicit ones) to the differences which have already arisen with "orthodox" Trotskyists is the giveaway - for these differences have not been on the Russian question, where the comrades understand and accept their minority status, but on American questions, on questions of political method disguised or misunderstood as questions of "style." It is the American political orientation of these comrades, understood as "style," that SF wishes to keep out of the IS.

This ought to be stated frankly and argued politically, not by innuendo and snideness and not by using the Russian question as a red herring.

It is impossible for me at this time to take a position on the specific differences with the recently-recruited comrades, but it is obvious that behind them lie different conceptions of political functioning. Part of the difference is over the question of program, its importance in our work, the importance of raising our own programmatic orientation in mass work as distinct from "getting the class in motion," etc. The viewpoint of the recently-recruited comrades on these questions needs to be expressed. However, one ought not to make an argument for keeping their views of the IS on the basis of "style." More generally, "orthodox" Trotskyists on the basis of their theoretical training may disagree, as we know, on certain points basic to I.S. theory... i.e., the third camp. On other points, such as the revolutionary party, the importance of transitional program, the necessity of active involvement in the working class and of the basic character and thrust of trade union work, the grouplets and tendencies which are now splitting off from the SWP are in agreement with the direction the IS has chosen for itself. On certain of these points, such as the use of program and the nature of our work within rank and file groups, there are differences within the IS. These differences, however, cannot be used to present arguments against recruiting groups falling within the range of views of the IS, on the misleading grounds of "style." What is involved is politics and on American questions, that is, trade union questions, program, and revolutionary organization, the politics of many of these comrades may represent a gain for the I.S.

V

SF and others argue that the recruitment of tendencies ought to be a power reserved to the NC. While I agree with certain points put forward by the comrades, such as the desirability of a period of joint work, I cannot agree with this one. The NAC, subject to the authority of the NC, ought to formulate the line for recruitment. That the initial recruitment of an "orthodox" Trotskyist tendency was undertaken without the formulation and discussion of a general line is indeed a fault, but that is now past history - what we are debating now is the line itself, and whether NC ratification ought to be a part of it. If the line itself is discussed, debated, amended, and passed, then the NAC ought to be empowered to implement it, as with any other line. I am not at this point for beginning the process of reserving powers from the NAC to the NC; again, this substitutes a mechanical safeguard for political development. Only through granting the NAC full power to guide the politics of the IS and make decisions consonant with that role can the NC in fact come to fulfill the active, daily supervising and intervening role it ought to have.

VI

I had intended to include in this document a discussion of the points and charges made by Wayne C. in his section on political action. This is now impossible. It is sufficient to say that the line of the organization is not

found in Sy and Laurie Landy's document on critical support for the SWP, as Wayne C. believes, but in the document to which that was counterposed, DF's "Resolutions on the 1972 Elections," which was written last winter, introduced at the April 1972 NC, debated on the NAC both before and after that NC, tabled by the NC to the NAC, passed by the latter body, and not adopted undemocratically as Wayne C. believes. It is not my fault, and oughtn't to use up another stencil, if he doesn't read his minutes.

Additional Note from Page 5:

3. Derek B.'s "On Recruitment" (National Report No. 13), which is offered as an alternative to Landy, has two characteristics: (a) it offers a definition of the IS as a third-camp organization (paragraphs 1 and 2), and (b) it offers guidelines for recruitment which are looser and sloppier than Landy's (the rest of the document). Derek B. advances (paragraph 3) loyalty to carrying out majority views and (paragraph 10) a "degree of anti-Stalinism" on the Russian question several degrees lower than Landy's. (The author's amendments pose a new paragraph 10; like Landy's point 7, it is entirely compatible with "orthodox" Trotskyism, but is vaguer in language than Landy's.) And the definition of the requirements for agreement on Russia (paragraph 12) are also sloppier than Landy's. In fact, the substantive core of this document (as distinct from the language, etc., which is laced with reassuring phrases such as "socialism from below") would result in recruiting absolutely everyone who has been recruited under the present policies, and then some. In view of this it is difficult to know why the document was advanced. Derek B. does, however, take this opportunity to offer for a vote as IS policy the charges that our recent recruits have views on revolutionary leadership "and on much else" which "differ from those of the majority," and that their political practice is "very different from ours in the past." As we shall see, the offering of these charges is not to be ignored just because they are unsubstantiated; it is a clue to what is really going on.

ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN IRELAND

Robert St-Cyr
Belfast, November 1972

It is difficult enough for me to get a hold of a typewrite and a place to use it; it is all but impossible to send material for our internal bulletin in the required form. This failing of mine combined with the pressures of work on the national office staff and the general assumption (drastically erroneous though it is) that everything a revolutionary needs to know about Ireland was written 50 years ago; have resulted in sections of my lengthy reports to Detroit and New York which were intended for the IB not appearing there.

Today (13 Nov) I received the IB No. 30 for Sept. 10 which contains notes on the Irish Question by Greg Alden (whoever he is?). GA has seen something of what I have written since arrival here but very likely it has been incomplete. His brief paper opens up a dozen questions but I will confine myself to dealing only with the nationalities issue.

I have jotted GA's margins with the repeated words "but Britain" and "but British workers." These words point to the central factor missing in GA's thinking on Ireland and the whole IS approach to the question. Following unquestioningly in the footsteps of bourgeois Irish nationalism, most contemporary Marxists accept as natural the dichotomy Irish: British. The terms are mutually exclusive when used either by Irish Catholics or most socialists, just like Germany or France. An example is Brian Trench's April article in the British IS No. 51 which is supposed to demolish the two nations argument. Trench there makes a fair case for the lack of a distinct national identity among Ulster Protestants, and I basically agree with him, yet he can write, three times no less (go back and count them), that the Ulster Protestants are British, or rather as he prefers, "think they're British," and say no more. He accepts it as conceivable that there might be two nations within this one island, and then thinks that he has shown it not to be the case. But he is so steeped in the premises of Irish Nationalism that he can trip over the truth and not recognize it as the factor he must explain away. It is as if he had discovered that the Protestants thought they were Americans, or Greeks, or Martians. The notion is so preposterous to him that it simply needs stating to be dismissed. Even if Ireland and Britain belonged in a comparable category with Germany: France, socialists should still know that there was a problem there; those French Germans, the Alsations.

Irish Nationalism, like most romantic movements of its kind, believes the Irish nation to be the creation of God or nature, above mere "events," or, in other words, above history. For Nationalists the sacred soil of this cool, damp island is what makes the eternal nation. Sadly, James Connolly, who properly deserves to be considered a revolutionary socialist otherwise, completely and uncritically accepted this pathetic, ahistorical view of Irish history. He applied nothing of the Marxian understanding of history to his own country. Furthermore, he accepted the shallowest of the bourgeois nationalist historians of his day. He believed that ancient Gaelic Ireland

because tribal, rather than feudal, was also egalitarian and communistic. Indeed, it was materially poor but aristocratic. He insisted upon the "restoration" of the Gaelic language even though he was hardly familiar with it himself because he thought of it as an essential guarantor of Ireland's cultural independence from Britain (**he was right, but I wonder what he would have said of Marx and the Bolsheviks' writing concerning the connection between language and economics) and, more unmarxianly, because he thought this pre-bourgeois language (i.e., extinct in its written form) was more conducive to socialist thinking than that arch-bourgeois language we and the overwhelming number of the Irish people remain stuck with. There are today, leaders of the left opposition in the Official Republicans who will tell individual ISers that the Official movement is not socialist (which is heresy inside that movement) and cannot become such without replacing the current command (which is dangerous talk in a military organization). Yet these same men, or some of them, will also insist that socialism and an English-speaking population in Ireland are incompatible.

By about 1910 most Irish Catholics had come to accept Gaelic revival as a good thing, something essential to Irish nationality. Protestants never accepted this. Of course, very few Protestants' ancestors ever spoke Gaelic. But prior to the Protestant Plantation of Ulster, and yet the "revival" was cherished there as much as in any other Catholic area. Over the centuries the religious community of Irish Catholicism - for reasons now hopefully well known - became the vessel uniting Gaeltacht and the Pale (the English-speaking region of the South) in a common developing nationality distinct from, and in opposition to, the British Protestants of Ulster. If British policy had been to discriminate only against Gaelic-speakers, rather than Catholics generally, no Irish nation would have developed.

The entire national question in Ireland has been looked at out of focus. This island, or its northern portion, is usually seen in the center of the picture with bits of the other island protruding in fuzzily at the top and the right. The maps which the TV broadcasters use are greatly improved upon, in terms of representing history and economics, by the BBC weather map of the archipelago which follows them. From this latter map one can see that Scotland's southwestern projections nearly touch Ulster's east coast (12 miles at the narrowest). For the economist and historian the close-up should focus not on the mid-point of the western island but on the middle of the Irish Sea. Toward the upper left would be east Ulster and Belfast, then Scotland's Clydeside to the upper right, England's Merseyside at the bottom right with Dublin in the fourth corner.

Within this quadrant, over 2,000 years, a great coming and going of populations could be traced. The movement would be especially heavy where the islands are closest: Ulster-Scotland. The Scots, of course, invaded from Ireland, bringing their Gaelic tongue, 1500 years ago. In the 17th century thousands of Protestant, English-speaking (i.e., Lowland) Scots invaded Ulster displacing great numbers of the indigenes. Then over the last 150 years thousands of Ulster people, "native" and "planter", have gone to Scotland looking for work. At the same time...

skilled workers were being imported from Scotland (and less so Northern England) to start the shipbuilding and engineering industries of Belfast. People from the west coasts of England, and less so Wales, were also invading Ireland from the 12th-15th centuries. By 1500 the eastern lowlands of Ireland were English in speech, like most of the opposite shore of the sea. But to the north of the picture; the Scottish highlands and islands were united with the rest of Ireland in language and literature.

By 1900 the greatest shipbuilding firm in the world was Harland and Wolff's of Belfast. Harland was a Yorkshire engineer who came to Belfast to make his fortune because the city fathers were willing to invest in the sort of harbor works necessary to build giant ships. Wolff was a Hamburg Jew and an engineer with family connections in Liverpool-based shipping. H&W's first contracts were with this Liverpool-firm. (H & W were also elected MPs from Belfast.) Today this firm is partly-owned by Aristotle Onassis and partly by the British government. In mid-century it was cheaper to ship goods by sea from Belfast to Glasgow or Liverpool than by rail the hundred miles to Dublin. H&W branched out from the Lagan to the Clyde and Mersey. They did small scale repairs at the latter, then Britain's busiest port region, and foundry work on the Clyde (they owned part of the present UCS complex close to Scottish coal and iron sources. Ireland has no iron and only poor quality coal.

Why did Belfast produce sophisticated industrial products for the national and world markets while Dublin shipped agricultural products and unskilled labor to Liverpool? The answer is complicated and parts of it much in debate among economic historians. The plot thickens when one learns that 18th century Dublin experienced quite a bit of industrialization, but while Belfast went ahead and overtook Dublin, the latter fell far behind. Since tariffs, or their absence, affected Ireland as a unit this cannot be the answer.

The key to the answer lies in the differences between the two populations. The British Protestant colonists - as distinct from the Protestant Ascendancy landlords who dominated throughout Ireland - were farmers, traders and craftsmen who brought the bourgeois democratic age with them to Ulster. The native Catholic population represented a society part-tribal, part-feudal which had been militarily defeated. (The landlords often preferred Catholic tenants over Protestants because they often would accept worse conditions.) The greater security of tenure which the Protestants usually obtained for themselves provided the basis for the development of the linen industry in the Ulster countryside. Eventually the Ulster Catholics secured equal treatment on the land; supported in this by Protestants where the Catholics were a distinct minority, but opposed where Protestants themselves were in a minority or where the balance was roughly 50-50%. Evenly-mixed North Armagh and its adjacent districts were the birthplace of the Orange Order in 1795.

Though the Ulster Catholics were always behind the Protestant "average" they enjoyed better conditions than prevailed for the average Catholic peasantry of the West and Far South. And it is important to remember that the better-worse scale deals with averages. There are, and have for long been, poor Protestants below the level of the Catholic average. These people were the last

hold-outs of Orangeism during those mid-nineteenth century periods when the movement was in low repute among the bourgeoisie and skilled workers. Sometimes the more reactionary landlords (the landlords, NOT having created Orangeism, always had a difficult time maintaining control over the more rambunctious plebian elements) sought to mobilize the Orange Order, based on their Protestant agricultural labourers, against the interests of the Protestant bourgeoisie. They found little support for Orangeism among the farmers and skilled workers except when the Catholic nationalist movement was on the rise. Then all sections of Protestants, but also including the big bourgeoisie, rallied round the Orange banner. It is this phenomenon which merits the Ulster Protestants being labelled a nation (but clarification of this to follow).

While it is true that Protestants had a "natural" advantage over Catholics in the development of trade and industry - and it was the general current of trade and industry in Ulster which attracted investment from the bigger island to establish heavy industry in Belfast - it is also true (as I have written in ISUSA publications 1970-71) that the Protestants organized anti-Catholic discriminatory practices to keep that lead for themselves and their children. In the notoriously discriminatory shipyards it has been the workers themselves who squeeze out the Catholics, especially from the skilled trades, regardless of who the employers hire. At H&W the craft union branch was usually the same as the Orange lodge which was the same as the neighborhood group. Today it is the Loyalist Association of Workers inside the yard and the Ulster Defense Association on the streets of Ballymacarrett at night.

In the big, old industries, at least, it seems not that the employers discriminated against Catholics to weaken the class, but rather that the Protestants, confronted with an influx of rural Catholics in the mid-century (Belfast was about 10% Catholic in 1800 but about 30% in 1850. The metropolitan area is about that % today.) organized discrimination themselves to prevent the bosses using the Catholics against them. In the 1920 pogrom, which occurred in the midst of the independence war, the bosses at Mackie's foundry tried to protect their (lowest-paid) Catholic workers and to divert the mob into a purge of union organizers and socialists. The boss failed on both counts. Of course, whoever is to "blame," the end result, a divided and economically weakened work force, has been the same.

The critical point is that too many leftists in Ireland have naively believed that the bosses or better still English Tories, like Randolph ("Play the Orange Card") Churchill in 1886 a harmonious relationship between the Protestant and Catholic masses. B. Devlin, MP, is certainly the most renowned purveyor would-be truth. Those of her view assumed that once the Protestant workers heard this hidden "truth" - provided it was told them by anti-clerical Catholics! - their commitment to Orangeism and the British connection would begin to crumble away. Thus would the stubborn sectarian sod be broken in readiness for the planting of the socialist seed.

Every leftist who follows the Republican tradition wants to figure out how to make these "peculiar people," the Ulster Protestants, into Irish nationalists. If one looks at Ulster history; repeated violence and counter-violence along the religious divide for 350 years,

one should rather marvel if these two peoples had agreed to form one nation in this island separate from Britain. Looking at economic history alone one sees the North becoming increasingly integrated into the British (i.e. national) economy while the South is dominated by British capitalism in a way (understandably) considered odious by the Southern bourgeoisie and much of the peasantry.

The interesting question is not "why do Ulster Protestants consider themselves British?". You might as well ask why do most Scots consider themselves British, or why most Texans don't want to be re-unified with Mexico. (Can 12 miles of water really constitute a natural divide, an inevitable national divide?) The question we should ask is "why did most Catholics want to secede from the British nation?" We must not make the assumption that island equals nation. Certain populations, undergoing particular historical experiences, develop into nations.

The people of the Greek islands feel themselves to be of one nation with those Greeks on the Balkan Peninsula. The same goes for the Danish islands with Jutland. And I have yet to hear of the Sicilian liberation movement although Sicily, another great emigrant producing island, would seem to have had a similar economic history as Ireland vis-a-vis its metropolitan center. But a re-reading of Jack Trautman's Black Lib. document in IB No. 26 of June (pages 6-7) will tell you - those who may still think otherwise! - there would be one paramount question which Lenin, were he to hear of a Sicilian nationalist movement, would ask: "Does it represent the majority of the Sicilian people, especially of the toiling masses?" If the answer were no, he would not bother going on to ask, "Will it mean a blow against some imperialist power?" (I have confined myself to European examples because other matters have to be considered for "truly" Third World cases.)

(Incidentally Lenin's information on Ulster 1912-14 was completely wrong. He wrote that both the Ulster working class and the bourgeoisie (!) favored home rule, and only some landlords in Tory pay had recruited the Lumpen UVF to prevent this. Imagine what he would have said to Connolly had he known that one-third of the Irish working class opposed Irish independence and had armed themselves to prevent it. Would the Bolsheviks have launched the revolution with only Moscow for them and Petrograd against them. This would be the parallel to Connolly's situation in Dublin 1916. Going ahead as he did in 1916 was the de facto confirmation of the partition so far as the future of the class struggle was concerned. It only remained then to draw the line between the two states. But I do not condemn Connolly so much as some might assume. For me the partition was inevitable and something which arose from centuries of development in Ireland; not manipulation from the outside. I criticize Connolly only for not fully recognizing what he was doing.)

The English, in effect, conquered Wales, Ireland and Scotland. Only (Lowland) Scotland of the three had the strength to hold out for terms of surrender as it were. Gaelic-speaking Scotland and Ireland were decimated but together - though hardly harmoniously for the first 150 odd years - Lowland Scots and English colonized over a long period of time, yet its language has survived with much greater vigor than Gaelic - for reasons I don't yet understand.

By 1880 (to put it very late) the United Kingdom was no longer England's empire off the European coast. It had become the British

nation, a cherished union of English, Welsh, Scots and Irish (Protestants). But to maintain the whole of the archipelago under the one state was to prove an impossibility and an injustice. Increasingly it became obvious that most of Ireland, Catholic Ireland, was not a voluntary member of this national family of peoples.

Wales could have been expected to follow (Catholic) Ireland's example had it not been for the extensive conversion of the Cymric-speakers to Evangelicalism in the 18th century and the developing of the coal and steel industry in South Wales which seems to have knit the Cymric-speaking mining valleys with the English-speaking coast. Methodism was once the "national" movement of Wales. Militant cultural nationalism is much in evidence these days, but political separatism is still peripheral and likely to remain so as long as the British working class counter-offensive is not defeated and reversed. It is still quite conceivable that under the pressures and strains of declining British capitalism, Welsh separatism could become an important movement. In mid-November it was announced that a giant steel mill in Cymric-speaking Ebbw Vale (sp. correct) was losing half its workforce by 1980. ISers in Wales are totally opposed to Welsh separatism. (Ditto for Scottish nationalism among Scottish ISers) But in Ulster, according to IS, the workers must become separatists; they are not permitted to be British.

I agree with the opposition to Welsh nationalism, but I think British IS fails in its Leninist duty in not demanding Wales' right to separation. I agree that Ulster should have the right to secede from the UK and join with the rest of Ireland when a majority want it. I no longer think it remotely reasonable to urge Irish unity - but, hopefully, circumstances might change? - except as a re-unification of the whole archipelago via a workers' revolution. This is a point which both Sy and GA seem to have dropped since I left New York in February. I wonder why?

Again my one-nation detractors make a great mistake in assuming that radicalization south of the border is likely to have a positive impact on Protestant workers. If this radicalization included a commitment to the national "liberation" struggle it will ensure civil war in the North and the massive expulsion of Catholics from east of the River Bann.

GA still insists that the divide within Ireland is basically religious, although a very deep one, and therefore imagines that a secular South automatically becomes more attractive to Ulster Protestants. True it would remove a negative feature but it would provide no positive attraction. A vigorous, effective workers' movement would be a positive inducement but if were mixed up with Republicanism as opposed to a clear bi-national, bi-cultural perspective, it would only serve to worsen the situation for the Northern minority. I think the Southern people generally, and Southern workers particularly, are increasingly disinterested in the national annexation struggle, which is not the same thing as saying that they are unconcerned about atrocities against Catholics in the North. Minority rights are not the same thing as Irish unity.

GA ignores the fact that the Protestants "think" they are British. (But why aren't they? And where they are a majority in the northeast why is their territory not allowed to remain a part of the UK?) They are not neutral or undecided on the national question. They have fought for 90 years now to remain British. They once could be Irish patriots and British nationalists, the way Scots are

Scottish patriots and British nationalists (and even internationalists while not ceasing to be British and proud of their Scottishness.) Is Sy Landy, a New York chauvinist, any less of an American and also an internationalist? It is only Catholic nationalism in all its variations which sees Irish and British as antagonistic terms.

But, in the course of this century, in the ever-recurring battle against Irish nationalism, the Protestants have increasingly demoted their Irish identity and emphasized their Ulster provincialism within a more closely integrated British identity. Two world wars, the "welfare state" and mass communications have accelerated the latter trend and widened the gap between the North and South of Ireland. The Ulster Catholics are not uninfluenced by this trend either. The differences between Northern and Southern Catholics are somewhat reflected in the constituency of the IRA before and after 1970. Now it is much more Northern than was the case before.

All of Ireland is too closely involved with Britain, throughout its history, to treat it as an entity ever likely to be as separate from Britain (even within the EEC) as France. I can still say that I sincerely respect the desire of the Catholics - where they are a majority! - to be nationally independent. But the Irish working class has always taken its particular lead from the workers of the larger island. Connolly learned his Republicanism from Fenian relatives but his trade unionism and socialism as a worker in Scotland. Jim Larkin, of course, was born and bred in Liverpool. For Protestants there need be no embarrassment, as there is for Catholics, in discussing or adopting "foreign" ideas if they are imported from Britain.

In my discussions in New York and Detroit I was forced, in simply describing the facts of the case, to stress differences between Catholic and Protestant in Ireland rather than to place the whole story in the wider and necessary British context. (The fact that Sy Landy denies there is any British nation - they are all English colonies? - also threw the New York discussion off the proper track.)

I do think that in many regards the Ulster Protestants could be considered a nation unto themselves. If the rest of Britain ever abandons Ulster then a separate state will be established here in preference to one Irish state. But even for those with a strong and narrow Ulster particularism there is still a larger British loyalty. Others may see three nations in these islands: British, Irish Catholic and Ulster Protestant. (Presumably Sy imagines four - but why not five, at least.) When I use two nations, however, I mean within the the archipelago; that is, British (with four sub-nations, and perhaps the Blacks as a developing fifth, etc.) and Irish Catholic.

The UDA has now openly backed Vanguard's "independent British Ulster" plan. (This was in early November. I think it significant that it took them so long to arrive at this position; i.e., Craig is not their Fuehrer.) "independent British Ulster" means that if Westminster tries to "soften us up" (i.e., not restore a Stormont with some measure of real control over internal security) for a gradual takeover from the South then the UDA-Vanguard will seize control themselves either (a) forever - as a small and especially vicious minority (UVF) want, or (b) until Westminster compromises.

The real issue facing Ulster in the next six months is not what will the IRA do next; but rather how far is the UDA prepared to

go in opposition to the Tory White Paper (i.e., new constitution for Ulster). Short of openly renouncing their campaign of national aggression the IRA can have little effect on what happens now. The second Lenadoon incident (of early November) on the "border" of Andersonstown shows that the IRA is incapable of actually defending Catholic people. (The first incident at Lenadoon Ave. was associated with Provo-sponsored occupations by Catholics of Protestant houses. In the second, Protestant gangs attacked and drove out Catholics from the street.) The days when the initiative lay with the IRA and the Catholic minority mobilized behind nationalist politics are gone. Which is not to say that the "nationally-mobilized" Catholics of 1971-72 could not - from among their workers - spark an offensive on the class front. But, of course, that would require compromising with "imperialist"-minded Protestant workers. And that we couldn't stand. "Long live the ghettos!" "Long live the National Liberation Struggle!"-- "Long live Death!"

The Provos can, very largely correctly, take the credit for getting London to overthrow Stormont. Likewise they are responsible for the spontaneous formation of the UDA along with the outrages that have been committed around the UDA's "fringes." Considered in abstract the overthrow of Stormont was a welcome and democratic achievement. This potentially progressive occurrence should be consolidated and built upon for the advantage of the workers' interest. The present, faltering attempt to sever the British link is anti-democratic and guaranteed to provoke a civil war situation with no hint of any benefit to the class or to socialism - not to speak of Irish unity - coming from it.

The ball is now in the UDA-Westminster court. The questions of the day become: (1) will the UDA be able to establish a provisional government that could be half-way effective, (2) will Whitelaw dare strike against them while they are unprepared, or (3) will London compromise, and (4) could the IRA convert itself into a real defense force - never mind the sniping-bombing business - in the face of mass Protestant attacks (the smaller Officials might be more qualified for this task than the large Provos.

We (i.e., me and "two-nations" advocates inside British IS) would support the IRA if the Catholic areas should (again) become subject to mass Protestant attacks. We would support them, however, only so far as they served a defensive function. We condemn their annexationist aims. We also do not support - under the present circumstances - "independent British Ulster" simply because it would (besides being economically ridiculous) be too hostile to the large Catholic minority.

Catholics must be eagerly supported in their democratic demands and simultaneously persuaded of the error of demanding as a right the separation from Britain. Most Catholics, I think, are already convinced of the error of the latter but the extreme Protestants wouldn't care if it could be proven true; they want the final solution to the Catholic question - expulsion. Tragically, for the interests of a self-reliant working class, only the forces of the capitalist state can at present stand between the extreme nationalists on either side. If socialists go on contributing to the confusion of socialism and anti-imperialism with the Republican annexationist demand then they must share in the responsibility for prolonging the day of reconciliation within the Ulster working class.

If GA is not prepared to permit the Protestants self-determination he had better say so completely and stop playing around with "rights" he is ultimately not prepared to grant. His is an outrageous corruption of

the Leninist position. The protestant workers made their choice 90 years ago and in every generation they have had to fight to see it respected. They have had to fight both against the Catholics and, from 1912-14, against their very own Liberal government. The tragedy of Ulster is that they have accepted bourgeois leadership in this struggle whereas if an effectively militant workers' movement had been developed, Catholic workers would not have sought the dead-end of a Catholic republic as their only alternative to second-class status in a 50 year long depressed economy. Protestant workers have accepted the Orange argument that the only answer to Catholic nationalist **subversion** is the enforced inferiority of the Catholics. Thus the vicious circle perpetuates itself. This is the ideology to be overcome and not the absurd notion that British Protestants should become anti-British, Irish separatists before they are "allowed" to consider socialism, or even become "mere" class militants.

((I have made this much longer than I hoped because - as we know so well - it is impossible to discuss any nationalities dispute without discussing a range of related issues. Obviously I have not been able to more than mention these issues. Perhaps the N.C. will permit another opportunity? Nevertheless, the critical point to remember in the Ulster dispute is that it is a two-sided nationalities dispute and not one of national liberation vs. imperialism such as, essentially, we find in Viet-Nam. This our leadership fails to recognize.))

THE POLITICAL FUNCTIONING OF COLLEGE PROFESSOR MEMBERS
OF THE I.S.

Document for submission to NC or NAC by Felix Katz (Seattle), S.F. (L.A.), and N.H. (Madison)

1. An important arena in the struggle for socialism is the bourgeois university. While it is inconceivable to think of a fundamental change in the university coming about in the absence of a victorious working-class movement, we do not therefore write off the university as a political arena until some distant day. On the contrary, the day-to-day work of revolutionary socialist professors includes raising pro-working class ideas to students and fellow faculty, fighting for a democratic educational system, recruiting cadre from the campus - in short, politicizing the university, both internally by raising and supporting democratic educational demands, and externally by attempting to ally campus workers, students, and faculty to the working class movement.

2. As far as the functioning of professor comrades within the I.S. is concerned, we expect them and all other non-industrialized comrades to do their share to make the I.S. a revolutionary tendency in the working class. College professors, because of their training, skills, and background, are in a position to aid greatly in this effort. We demand that our professor members devote a disproportionate amount of time to such activities as contributing to the political education of the branch, doing research for the labor fractions, preparing pamphlets, and writing articles for the newspaper and theoretical journal. It should be taken into consideration that professors generally have a greater amount of free time than other people with full-time jobs.

3. We reject the conception (advocated by many on the New Left) that professors have to get fired in order to prove that they are revolutionaries. Of course, in certain circumstances (strikes, periods of great campus unrest, etc.) professors may be expected to put their jobs on the line - there is no mechanical way of deciding in advance exactly what might require this. Whether we encourage our professor comrades to act as test cases in defiance of autocratic university procedures or regulations depends on a whole host of factors. Often the political rewards of these acts are minimal; in some cases they may spark an upsurge of political activity on campus.

4. Democratic Education We are guided in our functioning within the university by our belief in democratic education. The fundamental principle underlying this is that education is a two-way process, not a one-way street where professor-experts pour knowledge into the students' heads. We look toward a university where all decisions are made democratically. For example, during the Cambodia-Kent-Jackson-State upsurge, in university departments all over the country, demands were made for one-person one-vote (students and faculty voting on academic matters; students, faculty, and staff on non-academic). We support these demands, though in more conservative circumstances we wouldn't raise them programmatically any more than we would raise "workers' control" in our trade union work. Nevertheless, all our university work is done with democratic education and campus workers control as the ultimate goal. Above all, we reject the elitist notion that

professors know what is best for the students and therefore should - to some degree - control their lives, just as we would reject analogous notions that anybody, because of their position in society, should control the lives of others.

5. Teaching. We attempt, when possible, to teach courses which give us opportunity to put forth our political views. Sometimes this can be arranged outside of the department proper - for example the "twentieth Century Marxist Thought" course which several Seattle comrades taught under the General Studies program at the University of Washington in spring, 1972. We consider good teaching to be an important goal, especially in courses with ideological content. In addition to the fact that we have an obligation to our students to try to be good teachers, the reputation of the I.S. on the campus will be based in part on how we relate to students both inside and outside the classroom.

6. (a). Hiring and Firing. We participate in departmental hiring and, out of necessity, in firing decisions whenever it is not possible or desirable to abstain. Though each decision is, of course, in a broad sense a political one, the political importance attached to these decisions is usually negligible. However, there are cases where the political factors outweigh any personal or professional criteria we might apply in deciding who should be our departmental colleagues. These are elaborated in (b), (c), and (d). Also, we raise and support demands to extend decisions on hiring and firing to include students, with full voting rights.

(b). We raise and support demands for compensatory hiring of women and minority faculty. Frequently college administrators have grudgingly consented to this policy - in such cases our role is to exercise vigilance over the implementation of such a policy. We also raise the demand that the minority and women's movements should have the right of equal participation in the formulation and implementation of such hiring programs.

(c). We do what we can to bring Marxist and other radical scholars to our universities. More often than not these individuals will be pseudo-Marxists or otherwise dubious politically. Nevertheless, we encourage their hiring and oppose their firing for three reasons. First, their very presence on campus helps to legitimize the study and application of Marxism. Students are confronted with ideas, methodologies, etc. which they would not otherwise get, except in even more distorted form. Second, these individuals provide us with forums and arenas where we can debate the meaning of socialism and expose social democratic and stalinist currents. Such opportunities do not readily arise when we are surrounded by bourgeois scholars only. Third, because Marxists and radicals have been deliberately excluded from the universities, this is a fair compensatory demand.

(d). It frequently happens that a popular professor is fired (i.e. not re-hired) for not having finished his/her Ph. D., insufficient publication, alienating the higher ranked faculty in the department for one reason or

another, etc. If there is student support for this person's rehiring, we side with the students, whatever our personal or professional feelings about him/her might be. In such cases, the right of students to study what they want and from whom they want takes precedence over our opinions about academic competence or the type of education we feel should be predominant.

7. Academic Freedom. We are for academic freedom, so to speak, "from below." That is, it applies to students and faculty equally. For example, we are in favor of grades being appealable to a joint student-faculty committee and not being the monopoly without appeal of one professor. We support democracy in the classroom, defending the right of students to present different views, but do not advocate the gangster methods popular with certain groups which in effect deny the right of free speech to reactionary or racist professors. We vigorously combat the racist and anti-working class theories of people like Banfield, Jensen, Lipset, and many others, but we reject the demand for the banning of certain textbooks as the current PL-SDS campaign demands. Instead we put forward the demand that a book or article refuting Jensen, et al. also be required. For a more elaborate discussion of this problem, see the excellent pamphlet by Mike Parker and Jack Bloom entitled The Social Sciences and Racism, published by the East Bay branch. In all such cases, our task is to put forward a democratic revolutionary socialist view on education and civil liberties, counterposed both to elitism and the undemocratic nature of "academic freedom from above" and the anti-civil libertarian views of Marcuse, PL, and many others.

8. Tenure. In a socialist society, there is no tenure for teachers. We oppose job security for those whose jobs give them any degree of control over other people. Nevertheless, under socialism, everyone is guaranteed work suited to their abilities and an income suited to their needs. Since this is impossible under capitalism, we oppose the abolition of tenure if it means increasing the power of college administrators, trustees, and politicians to decide on hiring and firing. We support abolition of tenure only when there is a corresponding increase in the power of faculty and students to make these decisions and where the above conditions of security are met - an unlikely event under capitalism.

9. Grading, exams, etc. Since we realize that, under capitalism, the primary function of grading, exams, personal recommendations, etc. is social channeling, our strategy for this period must be to support the deemphasis (and ultimate abolition) of all of these. That is, we advocate opening the universities to all who wish to attend them, with no restrictions, whether monetary or academic. Even where testing might serve a necessary function (to practice medicine, for example) the entire procedure for the construction and supervision of such tests has to be taken out of the hands of the elite which now administers and benefits from them. We welcome the current trend toward relaxation of grades, as it lessens somewhat the competition between students. The demands for credit/no credit grading are a step in the right direction; we support them and choose this option for ourselves when we can.

10. Academic Institutions. The academic department, the faculty senate, the college council, etc. are the parliamentary or semi-parliamentary bodies of the bourgeois university, and are usually thoroughly undemocratic and elitist in theory and practice. Given this situation, we don't have the slightest obligation to respect their procedures or decisions. Their minimal relevance to our work, however, means that outside of hiring and firing we will rarely treat them as political arenas, except that now and then they might be useful platforms for purposes of debunking and exposure.

11. Women's and Minorities Studies. We support demands for women's and minority studies departments and programs. We point out that while these programs are a democratic right and may serve to increase consciousness, they do little to change the basic nature of the capitalist university. We advocate that these programs be under the control of the communities affected by them, with a proviso for trade-union protection of faculty and staff.

12. Unions. On campuses where AFT locals exist, we join and participate in them. Whether we should form such locals where none exist is a matter to be decided by the national AFT fraction and local branches. The national AFT fraction should develop a program for our functioning in college locals. We do not now do political work in the NEA or AAUP, though this may change in the near future as these organizations may be functioning more and more like real unions. In any event, union activities, except in special circumstances, should occupy a small percentage of our professors' political time given the limited intellectual and material resources of the I.S. Far more often than not, the time and resources of our professor members will be more valuably employed in intellectual ~~tasks~~ and organizational tasks which at least for the time being are more fruitful than faculty unionism. However, as suggested above there are special circumstances where this might not be so (say, a campus where a strong faculty AFT could be decisive in combination with a strong AFSCME organizing drive and/or militant student movement. Or at an urban community college, where the job is more similar to that of public school teacher than college professor.) We should harbor no illusions that professors' unions are likely to be a fighting force for a democratic university. While they will defend faculty salaries, job security, etc., it seems unlikely that they will ever fight to yield decision making power to students. This is another reason why our campus political work can never be exclusively union-oriented.

13. Professional Activities. We do not discourage our professor members from doing the necessary work to keep their jobs, get promoted, etc. - if it is understood that political work is not a secondary leisure time activity. That is, we are not careerists. We strongly encourage this work to take political lines when possible, i.e. we encourage Marxist scholarship, which should be acknowledged by our organization as a legitimate form of political activity. From time to time, radical caucuses will form in the various professional societies to which professors belong. While we may participate in them, we generally accept no bureaucratic responsibility for them. At this stage in the development of the I.S., we have far more important political tasks.

THE GAGE PARK QUESTION

by Kevin Bradley

The Gage Park school fight has to be put in the context of the general social situation in Chicago. For decades hundreds of thousands of Chicago blacks have been confined to Ghettoes, similar to the situation of Jews in Europe, except that there are not physical walls, but ones of racism and violence. Blacks are pushed into a confined, overcrowded, deteriorating neighborhood, denied proximity to decent jobs, and suffer as an oppressed community.

As blacks get steady jobs the basis is laid for a stable family life and an attempt to improve one's lot and move ahead. Blacks try to move out of the Ghetto into better neighborhoods where rents are lower, conditions better and where there is less overcrowding. The prevailing low cost public housing is so shabby and crime ridden that it has no appeal to the many black workers seeking to flee their miserable conditions to a better life for themselves and their families. As they try to move into new white neighborhoods they are met with fire bombs and racist violence.

The whites, and especially the white workers into whose neighborhoods blacks are moving feel threatened by the black advance and fight to keep blacks out. Often white neighborhoods are destroyed, and lifetime investments in homes ruined by panic selling and blockbusting. There can be no doubt that the consequence of blacks moving into white neighborhoods is a deterioration of their conditions, and the precipitation of their flight to the suburbs.

As a consequence, whites fight to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods, and as such are a party to the keeping of blacks in the teeming ghettos. They in fact take part in the racist oppression of blacks. It is in fact clear that to tell blacks that they should not move into white neighborhoods because that will pull down the standards of their fellow workers, but instead that blacks should lead the fight against overcrowding and urban decay through a fight for massive building financed by taxing corporate profits--such an appeal to blacks would condemn them to remain in ghetto misery until such a fight was successful. If we do not support the right of blacks to move, and only urge them to lead the fight against overcrowding, we in effect condemn them to remain in worse conditions than whites until the fight for massive public housing is successful. That is why we support without conditions their right to move into white areas, and always push for their leading the fight against overcrowding.

In fact the situation need not deteriorate for the whites if they choose a non-racist alternative to fighting blacks moving into their neighborhood. If the whites really want to fight the deterioration of the city, and their neighborhoods, and in fact they get involved in the fight to better their conditions, they can see natural alliances in blacks who face a far worse situation of overcrowding, urban decay and rotten social services, and who face a common ruling class enemy. That is why we as socialists and the to-be-developed political leadership in the black community must work to convince whites of this alliance based on mutual self interest, not simply the preaching of brotherly love, nor the giving up of relatively better positions, but a joint fight for better conditions for all.

There are then two counterposed strategies for the race conflict over housing. One is to deny our support to blacks to move into white areas if it will lead to a deterioration of the whites conditions (given a racist, not progressive response on the whites part) unless the blacks wage a fight against overcrowding and deterioration for all, including the whites who exclude them in a racist manner. Such an approach says that blacks must try to lead whites who are immediately oppressing them and excluding them from their rightful due, and that if blacks do not agree to take this step, we cannot support their demands to be allowed in.

The other approach supports without condition the right of blacks to move into white areas, regardless of the bad effect it may have on whites if they respond in a racist manner by fighting blacks or fleeing from them, instead of welcoming them into their neighborhoods and joining with the blacks in a common fight over their own and the blacks needs for better housing.

The one method puts the burden on blacks, urging them to lead those who today are racially oppressing them, and urging them to subordinate their rightful demands, the other supports unconditionally blacks, while appealing to whites, in their self interest to join the fight with blacks and to subordinate their racist feelings. Needless to say only the latter response will be able to convince the black community that they have an interest in the fight to better the conditions of white workers, whereas the former approach will lead blacks to hesitate and even oppose taking up the fight against the overcrowding of whites. We would be denying blacks the legitimate right to better their conditions immediately, which they would rightly see as strengthening the immediate racist oppression they suffer under.

Intimately connected to the question of housing is the one of the schools. As the white parents of Gage Park put it in the banner outside their school auditorium, "First our schools, then our homes". The two are connected. Just as black parents push into white neighborhoods to better the conditions of their families, so too they seek an immediate better education for their children, which they see in the white schools.

It is not simply the white liberal pro-bussing forces that advocate bussing and integration to pit black against white. Blacks want to enter white schools because of the well considered desire to escape the super-overcrowding of black schools (which is worse than that of white schools), to enter the more stable white schools where the students visibly learn more and have better access to jobs. To condemn the pro and anti-bussing forces as offering no real solution to the problems of black people is to condemn in fact the black parents (overwhelmingly black workers) who rightly see the entry of their children into white schools as an improvement for them. To minimize this improvement means to minimize the real gains black students will get; it is to be unsympathetic in reality (despite the best of intentions) to the real needs of black people today. To oppose bussing means to deny them an immediate improvement in their conditions until a long term, real solution is possible.

In most cases where blacks ^{are} moving into white neighborhoods, the response of the whites has been to yell "Keep 'em out" and they have used violence against blacks. Naturally revolutionary socialists support the blacks right to move, and also raise the general fight against overcrowding. In the Gage Park situation a generally correct slogan "Fight Overcrowding" is being used for reactionary purposes. Mrs. Shrader, head of the white parents group, has repeatedly said that the issue at Gage Park is overcrowding, not race. But her group proposes that it be mainly blacks who transfer to other schools. The black community has responded, "The issue is race, not overcrowding," and have quoted Jesse Jackson's phrase, "It's not the bus, but us." Clearly the whites are using the issue of overcrowding in this case to keep blacks out. This was proven when Mrs. Shrader got up at one of the many white parents meetings and said the issue is overcrowding, not race, and many of the whites in the audience yelled back, "Hell no, it's race." White youth have been wearing white berrets and spitting and shouting racial epithets at the blacks.

It seems strange tht the blacks should deny the issue of overcrowding, especially since they are fleeing the super-overcrowding of ghetto schools themselves. If socialists approached the blacks and urged them to take the lead in fighting overcrowding, they would be told to go to hell. The only way the blacks at Gage Park will take up the fight of overcrowding for whites, would be if the whites unconditionally supported their right to attend Gage Park High.

In the Gage Prk situation we support the blacks in the current battle, but that is not a strategy leading to a solution of the problem. It is necessary to split off a section of the whites who will support the attendance of blacks at Gage Park High in order to join in a common fight against overcrowding.

If some of the whites really, sincerely want to fight overcrowding, and they are willing to do something about it, perhaps they can be broken from their racist solidarity with other whites. It is our job to point up the role of the school board which grants the white parents the right to meet in school facilities to organize attacks on blacks, and which also is planning to fire 1,200 teachers, and cut 17½ days out of the school year. We also have to point out the role of the Catholic Church and its desire to protect its property, and the social demagogue Alderman Francis Lawlor, who has been fighting to preserve an all white community. The entire tax burden falls on working people, and the school tax falls on the homeowner or is passed onto the renter. A real fight to improve the schools means taxing corporate profits, which means a break from the Establishment which won't go along with that.

If a group of white parents whose kids attend Gage Park would come out and support the right of blacks to attend the school and offer a common fighting alliance against overcrowding, it would completely change the situation. Of course we do not tell blacks to wait for such a development, which might not occur, but we work towards it. We strive to convince blacks of this strategy, and also would attempt to find whites who will support the admission of blacks into the schools. The united front of ^{the} white community with the local Establishment and against the blacks has to be broken.

In our work in the teachers and social workers, we will strive to get the unions to adopt this position. In our bulletins we will argue this position. Our members at work will strive to bring up the Gage Park subject, and try out this position on their fellow workers. We will send a delegation to Gage Park and attempt to carry out this line.

BUSING AND THE NAC

Mike P.
East Bay Branch, 11/72

The recent NAC motion providing "guidance" for the Detroit Branch on dealing with the busing issue should be proof enough of the bankruptcy of the majority position on black liberation.

We quote the entire relevant section on this point from the NAC minutes 8/31/72 to provide the proper context:

k. BUSING AND THE TEACHERS' CRISIS IN DETROIT. Report from Jim U. (Detroit) on the situation facing the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT), including the possibility of a strike forced on the teachers by Board of Education demands for reduced salaries and other measures (note: in the meantime this strike was averted when the union and Board agreed in essence to an extension of the previous contract). The Detroit exec has requested guidance from the NAC on the line to be pushed by the DFT fraction with respect to the busing issue and the Roth decision [2-way busing including suburbs] which the DFT has come out against but is supported by many teacher militants with whom we wish to work.

MOTION (DF):

(1) Our basic position, in line with the positions adopted at the convention, is that both the pro-Roth and the anti-Roth decision forces represent bankrupt, racist dead-end strategies. We oppose both the anti-Roth forces as defenders of the privileged status of white suburbs, and the pro-Roth forces as liberal proponents of a program offering false hopes to the black community. To pro-Roth forces among the blacks we emphasize that the issue of the Roth decision will be settled in fact in the courts, over the heads of both the black community and the teachers, and that whatever the courts decide we will have to fight for the elementary rights of both (note: there are union-busting aspects to the Roth decision in that it completely scrambles up the bargaining unit picture and potentially could leave the entire negotiation of teacher contracts in the hands of the courts.) PASSED 4-0-2 (JG, JT abstain).

(2) Our program for the DFT and the strike, should it occur either now or in the future when money to run the school system is gone, will emphasize in positive terms the need for an alliance with the black community by the DFT. Among other demands, we will raise the concrete call for an immediate doubling of funds to inner-city schools. The DFT should also state its willingness to support, should it arise, a movement for black community control of black schools. Last sentence FAILED 1-3-2 (DF for; CH, SL, RT, against; JG, JT abstain); rest of part (2) PASSED 4-0-2 (JG, JT abstain).

(3) We will raise our point of view opposing the program of the Roth decision among teacher militants with whom we come in contact, but will attempt to work with such militants around a program for the strike and the DFT even if we are in disagreement on this point. PASSED 4-0-2 (JG, JT abstain).

AMENDMENTS (CH): (1) Although we seek to build alliances with any groups in the black community, we expect the union to be the main arena for activity around our point of view. FAILED 1-1-4 (CH for, DF against).

(2) The self-interest of the union now leads to a program of leading a massive fight for quality education for the black community, if possible in alliance with elements in the black community, as the only way to defeat the attack by the Board of Education. In addition

posing the DFT as the champion of education for the black community, is the only way for the DFT to counterpose itself to the racist opposition to busing. ACCEPTED

Correction: In part (2) of DF motion, the phrase referring to 'alliance with the black community', should also read "...through an appeal especially to working-class forces within the community."

There are many good reasons to oppose busing from the point of view of the struggle for black liberation.

The theory behind busing is implicitly and often explicitly racist. The theory is not an intermingling of two cultures so that each can benefit from the other, but rather exposing the "inferior" culture (black) to the "superior" culture (white). That is one reason why even theoretically planned integration programs place blacks in a minority in all schools. The idea of placing whites in a predominantly black school, i.e. exposing white to black culture, is anathema.

Further, so long as racist administrators, teachers and ideology predominate integrated education can have a negative impact on black children's ability to learn. There is much proof that response in school learning ability is largely a function of expectations. What tends to happen in integrated schools where teachers and the system itself have adopted, even if subtly, racist notions about the superiority of white culture is that children tend to respond to these expectations. As a result white children do perform better and this is reinforced by such racist institutions as "tracking", IQ tests and so forth. This in turn encourages and reinforces the sense of inferiority of blacks.

This is not to say that ghetto schools are in their present state more desirable for blacks than busing to integrated schools. Not only are ghetto schools poorly funded but the individual schools reflect the racism of the society at large. Entire schools are organized according to the expectations of racist administrators (eg college prep courses not offered in some schools, attempts to use methods and materials designed for white middle class backgrounds, etc.). And when an individual or small group of teachers attempt to break this pattern by building on ghetto experiences or appealing to a sense of black pride, racist school administrators are quick to end these "deviations".

We believe that our program for fighting racism in education is not through a program of planned integration and assimilation, which we believe is based merely on different but no less racist assumptions as indicated above. We believe that in the absence of any other alternative busing is preferable to racist ghetto schools, but we raise a positive program of community control of schools as the best way to fight racism.

This is the argument we make to those in the IS and else where who advance busing as a program for black struggle against racism in education. But this is a complicated question which is not adequately covered here because our main point is something different. If the Transformation Caucus is incorrect on its position on busing, at least it is trying to put forward a program for black struggle against racism in education.

The IS majority rejects busing as a "shuck". But they offer no alternative to busing as a program to fight racism in education. To call for abstractions like fighting for "quality education" (NAC minutes) is meaningless. That is why everyone from Humphery to McGovern to Nixon can call for "quality education" as an alternative to busing. What is the content of that slogan that makes it a real program for blacks and others to struggle around now which makes the IS version different from Nixon's?

Our program according to the NAC "will emphasize in positive terms the need for an alliance with the black community by the DFT." But alliances are not built around abstract programs and slogans like "quality education", but around struggles over concrete demands.

What does the NAC propose?

The motion presented to the NAC called for "immediate doubling of funds to inner city schools." The motion went on to raise the issue of black community control. (We will say more about how this was raised later.) The NAC however deleted this suggestion of community control.

The motion as it stands represents serious faulty illusions about the nature of racism in the schools as in other institutions.

It is true that funding is one aspect of racism in education, but it is not the decisive one. In fact, in some school districts, ghetto schools are actually slightly better funded than their counterparts in working class and middle class white areas because of federal grants. This is the case, for example, in Richmond, California, dominated by a reactionary (John Birch) racist school board willing to use federal money in this way to stave off demands for integration of other programs.

The decisive question which must be faced is the question of control. So long as the schools in black areas reflect racist conceptions because they are controlled and dominated by whites who have these conceptions, additional funding will not change the racist nature of education.

The NAC motion refuses to come to grips with the fact that the question of racism is bound up in the question of control. It seeks to sidestep the issue with abstractions like "quality education" or liberal doses of money. And that is why the NAC motion ends up sounding exactly like Hubert Humphery.

The NAC can not escape the conclusion of its politics.

In opposing busing, the NAC opposes the only real implementation of social intervention to break up the ghetto school system if that is desired. Simultaneously, in opposing community control, the NAC opposes the only real program which might change those ghetto schools from institutions of racist oppression.

In our view, the NAC position amounts to nothing more than accommodation to the racist prejudices of the white working class.

The original motion as submitted to the NAC did at least raise the issue of control of ghetto schools. But it did so in the mildest form possible. "The AFT should also state its willingness to support, should it arise, a movement for black community control of black schools."

This is an inadequate response to the crisis. We attempt to be political leaders within both the teachers union and in the black community. If community control is, as we believe, the appropriate program we should be raising it forthrightly, not hinting at it. If it is not the right program, then we should provide leadership by saying so and stating what the correct program is.

Many ISers shy away from or oppose the concept of community control because it means different things in different situations.

In New York in 1968 it represented a democratic demand in a struggle against racism in the schools. In New Jersey in 1971 it was a cover for Baraka's (Leroi Jones) reactionary struggle against the teachers' union.

But the fact that a demand or slogan is used to cover for reaction should not deter us from raising that demand with our content and explanation.

We do not cast aside the demand for socialism because it is used as a cover for Stalinist reaction; the demand for freedom/democracy because it is used as a cover for US imperialism; the demand for higher wages because it is used to defend conservative trade union bureaucrats; or the demand for workers' control because the slogan is used as a cover for class collaboration.

On the contrary. Precisely because these demands are attractive, ruling class and conservative elements will attempt to raise them as a cover for reactionary programs. It therefore becomes even more critical for us to be in the forefront with these demands providing them with our content and direction - democratic control, teachers rights, etc.

We press for democratic control of the schools within the community because we recognize that different class forces as well as reflections of white racism exist within the black community. We oppose attempts to use "community control" as a cover for creating a political base for a narrow section of the black petit bourgeoisie or poverty crats. We expect that a political struggle with these elements will be a continuing one under the current conditions of racism and capitalism.

Community control does not solve these questions. It does help bring these questions to the fore by raising the question of what class shall control within the community.

We continually point out that under capitalism, community control cannot completely solve even the problems of racism in education. To achieve genuine democratic control of the schools requires fundamental struggling against capitalism. Community control is in this sense a transitional demand. It provides part of the basis in struggle for alliances between white workers and the black community, as well as raising consciousness about the nature of capitalism.

Some questions, like teachers rights, student involvement, methods of teaching will continue to be problems under any form of community control, just as they are questions now. As a result, these questions should not be confused with the issue of community control. Community control or not, under capitalism, teachers will still have to organize to defend their rights and demand more control over immediate class room decisions as well as participation in educational decisions.

The problems raised by and associated with community control of the schools are extremely important. Especially given our work in the AFT they must be worked out to make our program real. Unfortunately the national organization's opposition to community control blocks these questions from serious consideration.

end

THE 1972 CONVENTION AND BEYOND

Miko P.
James H.
(East Bay I.S.--10/72)

The 1972 I.S. convention marked a number of important advances for the organization. The large number of non-delegate members in attendance, the seriousness of the convention, the increased level of theoretical debate, the new members who participated actively, the obvious commitment and dedication of members all helped build a sense of confidence in the I.S. and its future.

Yet the convention also showed problems developing--problems which if not cleared away will prevent the organization from adequately meeting its tasks in the coming period.

The decisions of the convention led to a change in the leadership of the organization. But one would be hard pressed to understand the political differences on the basis of the documents passed and defeated alone.

In part, this is because of the considerable regional parochialism and cliqueism which continued at the convention, although considerably less than in previous years.

In part the responsibility belongs to the new "minority" (Weber-Geier group--Transformation Caucus) and others not in the "majority" like ourselves for not presenting documents early or not presenting them at all. One of the most hotly debated convention resolutions ("Weber II") was written as a discussion article and then submitted as a resolution. Another and probably most important document on transitional program (Geier) came out only at convention time.

Part of the problem was the tone of convention debate---The main aim was to "flush out" the true positions of political groupings. So where real differences exist they were magnified. Part of the debate was a continuation of the debate of 2 years ago on the role of socialists, which might be described as intervention vs. program for the unity of the class. But in the past two years, both the present majority and "minority" (Transformation caucus) have moved considerably closer to each other on the political questions involved.

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Given the confusion at the convention, it is no wonder that the post convention confusion on the politics of the convention is so great. Interpretations vary from city to city and from individual to individual.

The authors of this statement (along with a number of other delegates) were not in either the majority or the T.C. This fact does not make our views on the organization more objective, but merely means that we analyze the I.S. from a different vantage point.

We have not formed a political tendency because we don't believe the political basis for such a division presently exists within the organization. The present majority is in no way cohesive politically and defined itself mainly in relation to the minority.

The issues on which the minority defined itself are, in our mind, too limited to justify a thorough-going political tendency. We will demonstrate this in the course of this discussion.

Industrialization. The most explicit issue of convention debate was industrialization.

The minority resolution (Weber I--amendment to Tasks & Perspectives) spoke to a real problem. The organization had adopted an industrialization as its top priority over two years ago. A large number of our members have gotten politically relevant jobs for political reasons. In a number of industries we have begun to play important political roles in developing struggles.

But despite the formal perspective the organization as a whole has lagged behind. There has been little NC or NAC discussion and leadership on the political work of industrialized members. There has been little organized back-up for industrial work. The net result is a tendency for industrialized members to become isolated from the life of branches and for there to be a tendency toward political divorce of our "trade union work" from our other work.

These were real problems faced by the organization and they were correctly raised by the present minority. (It should be remembered that the Transformation caucus was in the majority on the previous NAC and as such bear a greater responsibility for the organization's failures as well as successes in the industrialization process.) Unfortunately, in trying to change the focus of the organization toward industrial work, the Weber amendment also had a number of errors which allowed it to be discredited. Most importantly:

It failed to state (and in discussion Weber supporters denied) the importance of non-working class work in developing the politics of the organization and in helping to build our ability to play a leadership role in industrial situations.

Secondly, it placed responsibility on individual members to demonstrate that their political work in non-working class arenas was "exceptional" rather than placing the responsibility on the branches and NC to see that our industrial work was actually the focus of political work and that all members were involved in industrial fractions.

The tone of the present majority was to pay lip service to industrialization while refusing to deal with real problems that exist. In order for the I.S. to sustain the bulk of its membership in industrial work and relate politically as an organization to that industrial work, it must be transformed into an organization with different kinds of work habits and/or different kinds of discussions.

There is nothing "immoral" about our petty bourgeois backgrounds. Every revolutionary movement must recruit heavily from among petit bourgeois intellectuals who have been trained in dealing with abstractions, who are partially freed from the social pressures of direct relationship to the means of production. But to state this is also to recognize that an organization of petit bourgeois intellectuals does not become socially rooted in the working class spontaneously. The process requires conscious acts by the membership to transform the organization.

And it is this problem the present majority simply refuses to confront. Instead, we get a nervous humour in response. A leading member of the majority on the NAC began a convention presentation with, "I'm petit bourgeois and I'm proud." Others responded with amendments to delete references to "overcoming/ the petit bourgeois aspects of the I.S. which in many ways have been a dominant feature."

Neither resolutions nor self-flagellation are solutions to the problem, nor is denial of its existence. What is required first is consciousness that the problem does exist, and then thorough examination of the nature of the organization including details from time of meetings to structure of the organization to the topics and nature of debate.

Workerism. The charge of "workerism" was repeatedly hurled at the Transformation caucus. But "workerism" is not a question of organizational priorities-- i.e., industrial focus. It is a political conception.

And as a political conception, "workerism" is the responsibility not of the present minority but the present majority.

The issue dates back several years. At its heart is the notion that democratic struggles of non-working class sections of the population (e.g., antiwar movement) are important not in and of themselves, but only useful insofar as we can provide them with a "working class orientation." The phrase "working class orientation" in most cases turns out to be little more than a cover for the lack of any real program for these movements, combined with some sectarian posturing.

The previous leadership capitulated to this notion and it led to disastrous results in the past two years. In the anti-war movement, for example, the perspective was to fight in NPAC trying to crystallize a "pro-working class" caucus. (The perspective reflected the worst political habits developed in the student movement. Rather than do the patient day-to-day work required to build a base we flitted to organizations and conferences that we had no part in organizing because that was where "the action was.") Despite all the effort that went into it (a quarter of the organization descending on Cleveland for a conference), we got little out of it. NPAC was basically a shell, and a "working class orientation" was no real program.

What we should have been doing was to assign a few people to do regular and systematic work with GI's and veterans. Part of the reason we didn't do this was the political conception which we held and obviously communicated toward others--we had contempt for the anti-war movement as such--that it had no value except in so far as it "oriented" toward the working class."

The same political perspective also developed in our work in the women's movement. Again, rather than assigning a few people to do patient work within the movement or a section of it, we devoted enormous energy trying to relate to spectacles staged by others. Rather than trying to take the lead in struggles we postured at the back with our pat phrase of "working class orientation."

The question of our political attitude toward non-working class democratic struggles is as old as Marxism. Lenin devoted a major section of his attack on economism in What is to be done? to precisely this point.

"He who forgets his obligation to be in advance of everybody in bringing up, sharpening and solving every general democratic question is not a Social Democrat." (Lenin's emphasis) WITBD, International, 1932, p. 80

"We must train our Social Democratic practical workers to become political leaders, able to guide all manifestations of this universal struggle, able at the right time to 'dictate a positive programme of action' for the discontented students, for the discontented Zenstvo, for the discontented religious sects, for the offended elementary teachers, etc, etc. For that reason Martynov's assertion that 'with regard to these we can come forward merely in the negative role of exposers of abuses...we can only dissipate the hopes they have in various government commissions' is absolutely wrong,"
ibid., p. 82

"...the reply to the question: What must be done in order that the workers may acquire practical knowledge? can not be merely the one which in the

majority of cases the practical workers, especially those who are inclined towards Economism, usually content themselves with, i.e., 'go among the workers.' To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social Democrats must go among all classes of the population, must dispatch units of their army in all directions." --p. 77

Lenin is of course writing for a specific situation and it is dangerous to lift quotes from Lenin without regard for the historical context. He mentions in passing that the early policy of exclusive concentration of forces in the working class was necessary when in order to consolidate their position in the working class.

The immediate task of the I.S. today is to root itself in the working class.

By necessity this limits our ability to place resources in non-working class movements. But our politics should not be made to conform with our organizational limitations, and we should not lift to the level of political principle what is forced upon us by our lack of resources.

That we do not have the resources to root ourselves in the working class and engage in more work in non-working class struggles is regrettable. Yet, this does not relieve us of the responsibility to provide political leadership for these movements by developing and putting forward programs for these movements. It is our ability to do this, even while our forces are concentrated in the working class, which is the real difference between revolutionary work on the one side and economism with revolutionary posturing at IS functions on the other.

It is in the political sense that the majority is "workerist". The Tasks and Perspectives document offers not a word of analysis or program for the anti-war movement, the student movement, the liberal discontent around the Democratic Party, etc. But most tragically, this "workerist" political approach can be seen in the documents on black liberation which were discussed extensively at the convention.

Black Liberation. The bankruptcy of the majority's political approach appeared most clearly in the national organization's position on black liberation.

In the Laddy Document or that document as amended, there is virtually no program, no demands that we advocate for blacks as blacks to struggle around which deal with racist oppression.

Instead we find slogans like "Black workers take the lead" and program and demands which are the demands of the entire working class -- These are implicitly and in some cases explicitly countered to specific demands and struggles of blacks on issues of their own special oppression.

We favor raising class-wide demands both propagandistically and agitationaly as a means of providing political direction to struggles on specific demands; but counterposing the classwide demands to the special ones reveals a lack of understanding of the relationship between consciousness and material reality and the role of struggle in developing consciousness.

If white racism or black nationalism (in any sense of the term) were merely ideas arbitrarily stuck into people's minds then they could be fought by counter arguments and abstract programs. But unfortunately both white racism and nationalism are rooted in material existence in American society. (This is covered in more depth

in the 1970 convention resolution.) In other words, the "disunity" of the working class has a material basis which in turn will have an impact on consciousness. It is nothing more than idealism to believe that the working class can be unified merely by putting forth a program for class unity, which program already assumes a unity and high level of consciousness before the program's struggles can even begin.

It is unreasonable to ask blacks to take the lead in fighting for class-wide demands instead of their own special demands when the white working class is unwilling to struggle itself and is racist to boot. The net result of such a demand is to tell blacks to wait until whites are ready to struggle before blacks can do anything about their own oppression.

Yet this is essentially what the majority position does when it gets down to specifics. For example, we have examined the majority's position on busing in a separate document.

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What was not discussed at the convention is as important as what was discussed in indicating serious problems in the I.S. Two areas are particularly notable.

Stalinism. The I.S. has long been defined in part from the rest of the left by its conception of working class democracy and therefore its analysis of Stalinism. This has not been an easy position to maintain given the liberal and stalinist illusions which permeate the left. Gradually over the last few years the question has receded in importance both within the organization and in our external work. The last convention discussion on international questions was in 1969.

The I.S. cannot survive as a third camp organization with this continued drift. The political searching of Maoist collectives, the fractures in the S.W.P., as well as the numerous radicals from the disintegrated new left requires us to sharpen and develop our theories of Stalinism.

We must do so because these elements are interested in political theory at a high level. We must also do so because the I.S. cannot assimilate and educate new members to third camp politics if those politics are not live ongoing political questions for the organization, but are relegated to the category of radical esoterica.

Our job of developing third camp politics is all the more difficult given the degeneration and discontinuity of our tendency--but all the more necessary. The theory of bureaucratic collectivism must be updated, altered and expanded to include such topics as the internal dynamics of stalinist societies, stalinist movements in the advanced industrial countries, polycentrism, etc.

Trade union question. Also missing at the convention was any serious discussion on trade union perspectives. Two years previously the I.S. adopted in somewhat vague terms a perspective toward "struggle groups." During the period between conventions there was considerable debate over the perspective and the Draperite group who opposed this perspective left the I.S. Yet the 1972 convention document dismissed the previous perspective with no analysis and a few gratuitous remarks.

If convention resolutions are to be taken seriously and are to be the guides for disciplined action, then they must be taken seriously by their authors. If the former position was a mistake, then it must be reanalyzed to show why the mistake was made and why a change in position is correct. That is the minimum respect for

for the positions we take.

Moreover, we believe that this year's position represents a step backward. The 1970 perspective contained a number of errors and crude formulations, but more importantly it contained a positive contribution to socialist understanding of trade unions and reform movements in this period. In rejecting the view that trade unions were simply reflections of workers' consciousness and pointing to the process of integrating the unions into the state, the perspective began to spell out guidelines for our activity within unions.

The argument that the discussion should be discarded because it was too abstract is unworthy of a socialist organization which correctly understands the need for theory on every other question. In reality, the shift in perspectives and the "pragmatic view" of our trade union perspective--our most important work--is one more sign of the economism or workermism which the majority has slowly developed.

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Thorough-going political tendencies are dangerous things. From our past histories we know that organizations based on a number of competing tendencies with thorough-going political differences and each with its own suborganization are unstable at best. A multitendency organization usually produces a period of bitter internal battle at the expense of outside work, training in the habits of sectarianism, factionalism, and a demoralizing split.

We do not strive to achieve this situation. On the contrary we wish to avoid it, provide full rights for political tendencies as a protection to democratic rights. Some organizations specifically prohibit factional organizations except for a few months preceding a convention.

We don't think that this is sufficient for a real minority to win over members to its point of view and we therefore have no such restrictions. But this will only work if members understand the seriousness of political factions and strive to act responsibly.

The Transformation caucus has established itself as a thoroughgoing political faction. Yet the basis for the faction is agreement only on the strategy of industrialization (which is a political question). It is notable that the T.C. explicitly decided not to include the Trautman document on black liberation as a basis for membership. That is, while forming an organized faction they chose to exclude the main political issue of the convention.

We believe that the political issues in the organization have not been sharpened sufficiently to warrant ongoing political tendencies. What is needed now is to sharpen political debate on a whole series of questions without the encumbrance of trying to force the factional division over one issue onto another.

M.P.

J.M.

ENOUGH OF CRUMBS--WE WANT TO HAVE OUR CAKE AND EAT IT TOO

Randy M.
Beth C. (Boston IS)

We feel the analysis presented by Landy in his women's document is both incorrect and grossly inadequate. In general it seems that the shallowness of Landy's argument, and the thought underlying it, stems from the fact that Landy makes no attempt to evaluate the changing economic and social role of women in this period and to relate these changes to the special oppression of women under capitalism--a point of which Landy seems barely cognizant. Given the above, we have decided to focus our critique and discussion along two basic themes: (1) We attempt to show why Landy's characterization of the relationship of the women's movement and working women to certain forces within the Democratic Party has little basis in reality. (2) We attempt to present the kinds of questions we feel that one should be asking in order both to come to grips with the position of women in this period and to develop a program with which to orient to working women.

To begin, Landy's first major error is that he assumes the organized women's movement which developed in the late Sixties, etc., was monolithic. This is definitely not the case; trends existed within the movement on at least two major levels. That is, on the one hand, there was a polarization between female separatists and the socialist women, and on the other, there was an opposition between women who wanted to limit the movement to the consciousness of middle class women and those women who fought to orient the movement in general toward working class women. We admit that this characterization is at best a simplification of what occurred. Of course, it would be impossible for Landy to deal with the remnants of these trends, some of which have become localized groups involved in community organizing projects, in women's health centers, study centers, etc., if he does not even recognize that they existed.

But let us return to Landy's women's movement. According to Landy, the women's movement (women's movement=NOW and the WPC) has been swallowed up by the Democratic Party. The position which he derives from this fact is that the IS should orient toward combatting the evil DP in order to save working women from a fate worse than death. However, by coming to this conclusion, Landy has falsely set up NOW and the WPC as straw dogs. We feel that by examining both the political and class constituency of the above-mentioned groups (something Landy does not do), one would find little that would ever attract working women to these groups or the DP. For the most part, both of the groups are made up of ~~of~~ college-educated and professional women (and a few female labor bureaucrats) who have programmatically little to say to working class women. Not only is this situation true, but the entire bankruptcy of their program as is, was shown by their almost total capitulation to McGovern (as the lesser of two evils) in the last election--a factor which seems impressionistically at least to have turned off a portion of the outlying base (semi-political middle class student and ex-student types). Thus even though the election points to the ineffectiveness of these groupings to fight for even their limited goals, Landy would have us spend our time combatting this "powerful" monster which might steal working class women away from us.

Landy's position becomes even more untenable when one looks at how Landy proposes to combat this evil--by calling for a labor party, pure and simple. We are not denying such a demand is central to our program; however, we do not feel that such a demand should "constitute" our program--a program is more than a demand or a set of demands.

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Besides being totally incomplete in and of itself, such a program gives no recognition to the special oppression of women in this society. Such a program would lead the IS to subordinate the right of women to organize independently to fight their own oppression.

Tabor's amendments seem to point to the fact that he realizes this mistake; however, we feel that his patch-up attempt is unsuccessful because it does not challenge Landy on his analysis of the women's movement and the DP, nor does Tabor provide a more complete analysis to correspond to his extended list of demands.

Thus we see the central mistake of the document and its amendments as being substitutionism (in the loose sense of the word)--Landy substitutes the Labor Party demand for programmatic development, and Tabor substitutes demands for analysis.

The other major short coming of this document ~~and~~ is the lack of an analysis of the position of women in this period. Significant changes have occurred in the composition of the work-force (i.e. large numbers of women with families are forced to work out of economic necessity). These women upon entering the work force come up against many barriers of hiring, promotion, obtaining benefits, etc.--all of which have made women more aware of the discrimination against them as women. It is here that we can clearly see the impact of the middle class women's movement. Although the middle class women's movement did not succeed in organizing these women, the ideas generated by this movement have influenced working class women as shown by women fighting for equal pay, opening of jobs held by men and demands for equal ~~the~~ benefits.

While the IS has made many generalizations as to what such a development means; we have not undertaken any serious analysis of this trend. Where women are concentrated in industry, which jobs are opening up to them and to what extent they are unionized or nonunionized are all questions which require more than superficial generalizations. To what extent are women concentrated in jobs that are an extension of their traditional role in the family and the way this situation is changing due to a tighter labor market and pressure from the federal government is another important consideration for us to come to terms with.

While we must look seriously at the organization of women at the work place and within the unions we must also look at the organization of women that goes beyond the workplace. The oppression of women has many aspects--her exploitation and oppression at the workplace being only one aspect. Working class women have participated in many struggles on a community level and will often see their involvement in this as primary to their identity as workers. In the last few years it has been women who have most actively led the fight against school busing (i.e. Pontiac, Michigan). Although many women in such situations are organizing for racist reasons we must recognize that they have come together and organized themselves outside of the workplace. If we do not recognize that women do not necessarily see themselves only as workers but as women, wives and mothers then we do not fully understand the multi-faceted oppression of women.

A serious study of the developing changes in the work force and the organization of women in the society are urgently required. Many of the problems in developing a decent women's document stem from a lack of understanding and analysis of the present period as well as an incorrect understanding of the history of the women's movement.

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To begin to develop an understanding of these questions and a strategy for winning working women to our politics we feel there should be regional conferences. These should also include specific tactical discussions concerning the role of women in the unions, rank and file caucuses, the different problems women face in male-dominated vs. female-dominated industries, to what extent women should work to organize independent women's caucuses and what role women should play in those women's caucuses organized by the bureaucracy of the unions. Discussions should also be held concerning the problems of women within the organization and the relationship of a socialist organization to the developing struggles of working class women which will occur both inside and outside the work place.

On a local branch level there should be educationals and discussions on some of the above-mentioned points since it will only be a well-educated organization, rather than a few individuals, that will push for programs addressed to working-class women.

Landy's document is only one more example of a token and piecemeal effort that so far has been presented on the subject and thus should be rejected. All the documents thus far have one thing in common--they jump off in the middle and go nowhere. We must start at the beginning and examine the basic theoretical questions and to paraphrase an old friend, we must take two steps backward in order to take one step forward.

END

IS fund drive

BULLETIN
NO. 5 - '72
DEC 4

A Socialist Newspaper - Published in the Interests of the Working Class

FINAL REPORT —

SUCCESS AT LAST !

Scoreboard

DRIVE HITS 102%

BRANCH	Quota	Total	%
Austin	75	60	80
Ann Arbor	100	111	111
Boston	350	194	55
Champaign	60	85	142
Chapel Hill	60	0	-
Chicago	1200	1308	109
Cincinnati	60	30	50
Detroit	2500	3229	129
East Bay	2000	2000	100
Knoxville	40	40	100
Lansing	60	40	67
Los Angeles	1500	1500	100
Madison	500	500	100
New York	3500	3500	100
Pittsburgh	45	10	22
Portland	200	200	100
Rochester	60	120	200
Riverside	40	40	100
San Francisco	600	544	91
Seattle	850	880	104
N.O.	1650	894	54
TOTALS	15,000	15,285	102

The second annual I.S. fund drive has become a success. The goal of \$15,000 has been surpassed by several hundred dollars, and the final total is expected to approach \$16,00 as late contributions continue to come in.

All branches with a quota of \$100 or more have surpassed it as of this date, with the exception of Boston and San Francisco. These two branches have indicated that they will meet their quota shortly. Most of the smaller branches also met their quotas.

The NAC has extended congratulations to all I.S. branches and members-at-large who contributed the bulk of the funds to make the drive successful. Readers of Workers' Power also contributed a significant amount to the drive.

Late contributions will still be gratefully accepted. Make your check payable to "International Socialists" or "Joel Geier" and mail it to I.S., 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

Next year's fund drive is only ten months away !
