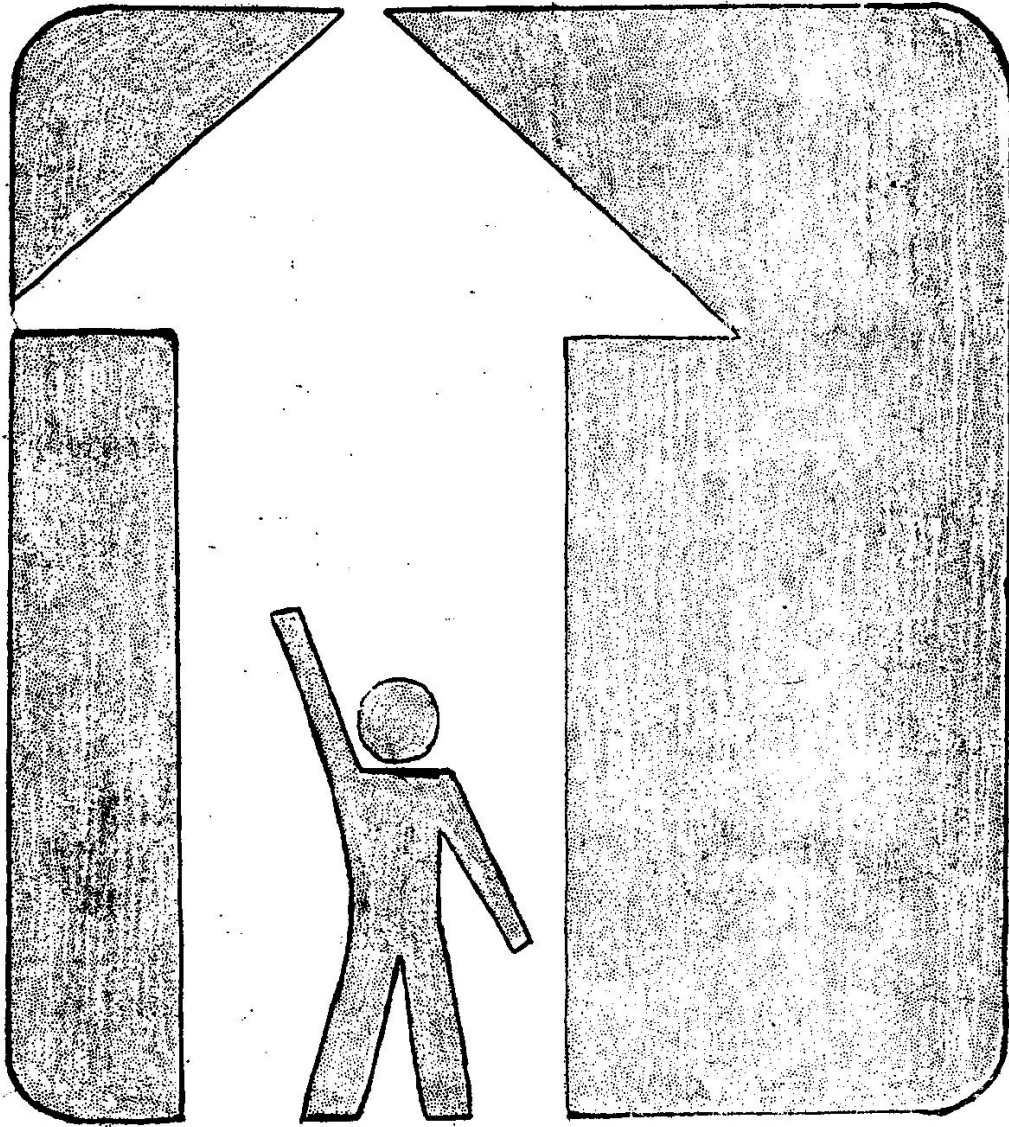


I.S. NATIONAL REPORT



FOR DISTRIBUTION TO MEMBERS ONLY

NO. 16 - DECEMBER 9, 1972

NAC 11/21/72

Absent: JT

1. MAL APPLICATION FROM BLOOMINGTON ACCEPTED ALL FOR.

" " Cincinnati " " "
" " Baltimore " " "

2. UAW PERSPECTIVE. Presentation by Jack W. on his document and discussion to be held at NC. RT will prepare critical assessment of the document to help focus and clarify NC discussion.

MOTION(SL): (i) To hold one discussion - i.e. one session of the NC - on the document. (ii) At the end of the session, all proposals on disposition of the document will be in order. PASSED 4-2 (JG, MS against).

MOTION(JG, JW): (i) To hold one NC discussion on the content of the document. (ii) A second additional discussion (abbreviated) to decide what additional material is needed for a document on auto perspective. FAILED 2-4 (JG, MS for).

3. UAW REFERENDUM VOTE. TABLED; more complete discussion to be held.

The remainder of the meeting was occupied with preparation of discussions for the NC meeting, including international report and resolution, NATSEC report, Women's Liberation discussion, Press and Publications, Trotskyist recruitment, etc. No motions, etc. were brought up.

NAC 11/30/72

Absent: JT

1. MAL APPLICATION FROM BLOOMINGTON ACCEPTED ALL FOR. (Bloomington now has four I.S. members).

2. NATSEC REPORT (mostly information gained from conversations at the NC). Ann Arbor I.S. now has six members, and is involved primarily in educational activity.

1000 copies of WORKERS POWER were distributed at the GMAD plant at Doraville, Ga. and were well received. Another similar distribution is planned.

A meeting will be taking place among NY comrades interested in moving to NJ. The first issue of the Southern Newsletter is out and can be obtained from Knoxville I.S.

Indirect reports from the Thanksgiving YSA convention indicate that the YSA now has no plans for the "mass anti-war movement" - i.e. no new mobilizations, etc. Its perspectives are to continue its campus activity, only on a lower level. An article in the NYT on the YSA indicated that of the convention registrants, a total of 15 were active in the black movement and none in the Chicano movement. Jenness ran well in the Cleveland area, receiving 16,000 votes (as opposed to about 1,000 in the state of Michigan).

3. EVALUATION OF NC AND RESULTING TASKS OF NAC.

Following a round of discussion on the overall character of the NC meeting, a discussion was held on the problems associated with the international perspectives document mandated by the international report to the NC. Proposals will be brought in to next meeting on the nature of the document to be written as well as other supplementary documents (on bureaucratic collectivism, etc). Proposals will also be made on the creation of the Women's Commission and allocation of NAC tasks.

4. PROFESSORS' DOCUMENT. Discussion of Seattle document TABLED because of JT's absence.

5. BOSTON. After discussion, the NAC has asked the comrades of the former Committee for a Workers Government (CWG) to consider moving from Boston to Detroit, and to discuss possible dates.

6. IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUBS. Discussion of request by SB and JM (NY I.S.) for approval of their perspective for joining Irish Republican Clubs in NYC, as well as recommendation that comrades in other cities consider the same course. Discussion to be concluded after arrival of other documents requested.

NOTES: The IRC are support groups for the Official IRA, but are ~~ix~~ not the IRA itself; i.e. joining the IRC is not an act of politically joining the IRA. The IRC has recently dropped the ban on members of "other disciplined groups", so that members of the I.S. can join openly. Membership is based only on agreement to a very broadly worded statement of principles. The IRC provide the most important center of ~~ix~~ political life in the Irish movement at this time, given the demise of the Anti-Internment Coalition.

7. BUREAUCRACY. A proposal pertaining to the back debts owed to the N.O. by the LA branch, received from IA, was TABLED to the N.O. staff. This is regarded as the first step toward constituting the staff as a subcommittee responsible to the NAC for the handling of administrative and minor financial questions.

(An amendment calling for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' inspectorate over this spreading organizational bureaucracy was anonymously offered, but withdrawn).

8. CLEVELAND REPORT. JG and Doug P. visited Cleveland following the NC to talk to contacts. There is a possibility of comrades moving to Cleveland, which the NAC has established as our next industrial priority. Among other developments, the group around the paper MODERN TIMES continues to exist.

A small bit of background on Cleveland: the city is 80-90% proletarian, and 40% black. It is a vast industrial center for steel, auto, transport, etc; within an hour are ~~xxx~~ the cities of Akron, Youngstown, etc.

Discussion of implementing priority of Cleveland colonization. Requests have also been submitted to the NAC for comrades to move to Pittsburgh, where there exist industrial and general political openings for the I.S. Our feelings are that Cleveland should be the higher priority at this time, because of its central importance for the whole Ohio Valley and also because building a presence there would facilitate later colonization of Pittsburgh and surrounding areas as well.

9. INDUSTRIAL BULLETINS. RT to prepare reports on various areas of rank and file activity and bulletins. Transfer bulletins to be discussed next week.

10. FUND DRIVE REPORT. For the second consecutive year, the I.S. fund drive has topped 100%. (After final late payments are collected the total may go as high as \$16,000). All branches with quotas of \$100 or more have reached 100%, except for SF and Boston who will soon in their final payments shortly. The shortcomings of the N.O. and a couple of smaller branches were made up by the overfulfillment of the drive in Detroit.

The NAC salutes the entire organization for this important effort, which indicates the increased seriousness and commitment of the I.S. to our goal of building a revolutionary organization. Special thanks are extended to the local fund drive coordinators and to the national fund drive directors, Jim W. and Karen K.

11. NAC ASSESSMENT. IMPORTANT! The assessment to finance the NC meeting is \$ 5 per capita. We ask that the payment of this assessment be in by Feb. 1.

12. BRITISH I.S. TOUR. A leading comrade of the ISGB will be visiting the U.S. and is willing to speak to I.S. branches on various topics. Offer to be eagerly accepted. Additional information will be forthcoming as dates for the visit are finalized, and a full schedule of speaking engagements for I.S. branches will be negotiated.

13. ECONOMICS PAMPHLET. A series of essays on the economic crisis by Art F. is in preparation. It will be printed by the I.S. as a contribution to the discussion among Marxists on the nature and extent of the crisis in the economy. The pamphlet consists mostly of essays reprinted from a number of years ago, plus an introduction by David Miller.

14. PRISONER DEFENSE WORK. Report on NY work. An interview with a leader of prison rebellions will soon appear in WP. We intend to investigate the possibility of building a major national defense case around one or more prisoners with whom we have contact. MOTION (SL). On the basis of information available at this point, we suggest that the NY I.S. approach certain black prisoner(s) in connection with a possible public defense case. We request complete and continuing reports on this work. ALL FOR.

15. BAY AREA TELEPHONE. Discussion of a report from Bay Area concerning a physical attack by union bureaucrats at a membership meeting on members of the Militant Action Caucus (a grouping supported by the Spartacist League). BA comrades request guidance from NAC on strategy and tactics for building a united front defense against violence and using such defense as a tool for building the rank and file BELL WRINGER group.

In the discussion there was general agreement on immediate tactical steps such as proposing joint defense groups, etc. Contact will be maintained with the BA fraction as things develop. BELL WRINGER has succeeded in getting its proposal for a system of elected shop stewards passed by a membership meeting, after which the violence against NAC broke out.

NAC MINUTES - DECEMBER 5, 1972

1. FUNE DRIVE REPORT. \$15,500 collected at end of drive with slightly more expected. All quotas in excess of \$100 have been collected except for Boston, which promises payment shortly. The N.O. is the only quota which has fallen far short of fulfillment.

2. NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT. Request from San Francisco for guidance on whether to give critical support to a ballot referendum calling for 30 for 40¢ which is being pushed by PLP; SL requesting more information from the branch. Report by SL on conversations with members of "Leninist Tendency" recently split from SLP; contact being maintained by local branch.

3. N.C. MANLATES. (A) Preparation of International Perspectives discussion. SL preparing outline for International Perspectives document, to be discussed with NAC. Document to focus on the contemporary international scene; while it will embody conclusions on nature of Stalinist social system and other "basic" questions, it will not in itself focus on these, reserving them for collateral documents as well as discussion material. Motion (MS): NAC in preparation for International Perspectives discussion should reproduce for discussion previous documents, e.g. Ian McMahon's "International Scenes," Draper's "Independent Socialist World Outlook"; should also discuss ISGB documents on Stalinist countries and Third World. ACCEPTED.

(B) Women's Commission. SL discussing with several comrades who have been mentioned as possible members of commission. Discussion postponed.

(C) Canada traveller. Litto.

(I) Black-Brown Coordinator. Motion (SL) - see ATTACHMENT I. PASSEL 7-0.

4. NATIONAL REPORT. Motions: JT - To have branches send stencils for branch minutes to N.O. for inclusion in National Report; FAILEL 1 (JT)-5-1(JG); JT - National Secretary instructed to find a branch willing to mimeo all branches' minutes for mailing to branches; FAILEL 2 (JT, JG)-5; MS - NAC recommends that each branch have a "national report," including significant material from branch minutes as well as NAC minutes, at each branch meeting; PASSEL 7-0; SL - NAC recommends that each branch send branch minutes to other branches in multiple copies rather than single copy as at present; PASSEL 7-0. CH to write circular letter to branches on this.

5. PROFESSOR DOCUMENT. Discussion of document on political activity of college professor members of IS (see BULLETIN). See also ATTACHMENTS II A-C. Amendments by CH on tenure, RT on student power and political activity (see ATTACHMENTS). Motion (JG): to TABLE amendment on tenure together with appropriate section of original document, refer to authors of document for comment; PASSEL 5-2 (CH, SL). RT amendment

on student power PASSEL 5-2 (JG, JT); on political activity PASSEL 7-0. Motion (LF) - Document to be treated as discussion document rather than as line; FAILEL 3 (CH, SL, LF) - 4. Voting on document as a whole, with exception of paragraph 8 - 3 (JG, JT, MS) - 0 - 4 - PASSEL.

6. RANK AND FILE NEWSPAPERS. NAC began regular discussion of rank and file newspapers concentrating on their political content; discussion of Seattle Semi, Grub Line (Chicago), Fifth Wheel (Bay Area), TURF - all relating to IBT. No motions. Next discussion to be on United Justice Train (publication of United Justice Caucus, Detroit) and United National Caucus.

7. PRISONERS' DEFENSE. Discussion of possible defense case in NYC; New York Branch to send materials to National Office.

8. IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUBS. See ATTACHMENTS III AND III-A. SL motion approving entry PASSEL 5-0-2 (JG, JT). Motion (JG) - To ask SB and JM for more detailed information on nature of Irish Republican Clubs and what we hope to accomplish in Irish work generally, and the political perspective we hope to carry out. PASSEL 6-0-1 (LF)

Statement on abstention (LF): I abstained on this motion because it indicates nothing specific about the kind of information wanted. In particular there is no indication of how the information requested should go beyond previously submitted perspectives documents. If there are serious questions being raised regarding the viability or correctness of our perspective and political line in Irish work, they should be posed as clearly as possible.

9. TEACHER REQUEST. Discussion of NAC statement drafted by CH in response to request for interpretation of IS line by a teacher comrade (see BULLETIN). After discussion, vote was TABLED to allow JT to prepare counter-document.

10. CONVENTION DOCUMENTS. Report by CH: Convention documents were typeset and are being laid out in NY to be electrostencilled and mimeographed in semi-attractive form suitable to be given to contacts; long delay in production is due to considerably heavier work-load in NY than anticipated.

11. EAST HARLEM SCHOOL BOYCOTT. Document prepared by CH, to be revised and presented next week; discussion of tactical perspectives; SL to remain in consultation with NY comrades;

I

MOTION (SE): Comrade CJ to be added to staff as black-brown work co-ordinator on full time basis. Duties to include participation in and guidance of our work in this area which has been given a top priority politically by the NC in line with the convention decision. His work to include development of policy, organizational projects and campaigns (e.g., proposed defense case), stimulating black and brown fractions, recruitment, W.P. writing, education tours. His work to be under the authority of the leading IS committees, to start in late winter, early spring and to be based in Detroit. PASSED 7-0.

II A

MOTION ON TENURE (CH): To substitute the following for section 8 of the Seattle professors' document:

We oppose the abolition of tenure. Rather, we call for tenure for all teachers from the moment of hiring. This means firing only for specifically defined questions of job performance, with full rights of public hearing, examination of records, etc., as well as appeal to governing bodies. We are for job security for teachers, and oppose their having power over students through required courses, required attendance, etc. The present tenure system, i.e., tenure after a number of years, on promotion, or by specific vote, allows firing of a teacher by his/her colleagues on the basis of his/her scholarship, and we reject the conception of merit of value-free scholarly evaluation which this often implies; it is also frequently a mask for directly political discrimination. These, not the retention of poor teachers, are the major objections to the present tenure system. Even more would the abolition of tenured job rights deny security of tenured job rights deny security to teachers with unpopular views or unorthodox methods or interests.

II B:

AMENDMENT TO PROFESSOR'S DOCUMENT, SECTION 4 (RT): Delete the sentence starting "We support these demands. . ." and replace with

We support the content of these demands, although in most circumstances we won't raise them programmatically. In many instances these demands, and the myriad 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.

II C

MOTION (RT): To add at the end of professors' documents:

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.

III

MOTION (SL): The NAC agrees to Comrades J.M. and S.B. of N.Y. joining the Irish Republican Clubs. The perspective of supporting the Irish struggle and of winning a layer of the IRC to revolutionary socialism, including "single jack" recruitment is accepted. If the IRC were actually the IRA on American soil, any possible entry line would be co-ordinated with the Irish SWM and on a different basis. Comrades in other branches entering IRC should work on same line and immediately contact N.Y. IS for information. Letters from S.B. and J.M. to be attached to minutes as guidance. If the work of these comrades in any significant way curtails our ability to criticize the IRA or inhibits our support to the SWM as the necessary revolutionary organization in Ireland we will reopen the question. We will notify the SWM of our step. PASSED 5-0-2 (JG, JT abstain)

III A
Letters

November 24, 1972

To the NAC:

Dear Comrades:

At its November 20th meeting the New York exec tabled to the NAC the question of our joining the Irish Republican Clubs. Since the Irish Republican Clubs (IRC) are a national organization and the decision could effect comrades in other branches, it was felt that this was a national question. Questions were raised on the exec as to whether this would constitute membership in two socialist organizations, whether it was equivalent to joining the Official IRA, and whether IS comrades would still be free to make their differences with the IRA clear. The question of whether we would require anyone recruited from the IRC to resign upon joining the IS is involved.

We feel it is important to join the IRC at this time in order to continue meaningful Irish work. As the CP has taken over the NAIF and the SWP is increasingly chasing the Provisionals, the radical people in the movement have virtually all joined the IRC. Until now most of our contact with the Irish movement has been through our work in the Anti-

Internment Coalition. The Coalition is rapidly declining and very few Republicans are still attending meetings. Now our only contact with many of the best Republicans comes at pub parties and demonstrations. Fewer and fewer.

If we join the IRC, we will have two basic aims: 1) continuing long-term individual contact work aimed at recruiting people to the IS, and 2) attempting to influence the political activities of the IRC in the United States. We would try to convince them that their most important task is to reach Irish workers in the U.S. with socialist politics. Specifically we should urge them to involve themselves in trade union struggles here and urge their members to get jobs where they could play a political role. We believe that any serious attempts in this direction would convince many of them of the need to join a socialist organization.

It became possible to join the IRC after their September convention when they dropped all bars against members of other organizations joining the IRC. The only requirement is agreement with the Republican principles:

"We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.
We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic.
We oppose all foreign financiers, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.
We place the rights of the common man before the right of property.
We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland."

The IRC were formed as a support organization for the Official Republican Movement in Ireland. They are in no sense an Irish or Irish-American socialist group in this country. Their principal activities here are raising money for the movement and carrying on a propaganda campaign to explain the struggle in Ireland to the American public. However, most of the members consider themselves to be radicals or socialists, and many of them are open to the idea of doing political work here. At their recent convention they passed resolutions opposed to the Vietnam War and for legalizing abortion. They were the only Irish support organization to consistently oppose both McGovern and Nixon for president. Unfortunately although they are formally committed to the necessity for a socialist revolution in America, their activities have been limited almost exclusively to Irish questions.

Membership in the IRC is in no sense to be considered joining the IRA. If one or two members of the IRC occasionally like to speak as if they were IRA members it is simply an expression of naive romanticism. In Ireland members of the IRC are regarded as no more than friendly observers at Republican Clubs or Sinn Fein meetings. Moreover, the British IS has allowed membership in Clann na h-Eireann which is actually a disciplined organization and has much closer ties to the IRA.

Members of the IRC are not only aware of our criticism of the IRA, but also of our support for the SWM. We will continue to make this clear through leaflets, news articles, personal conversations, etc.

We urge that you discuss this immediately and approve our joining the IRC. Also, we recommend that comrades in other branches investigate whether IRCs in their area are worth joining.

Comradely,

S.B.

J.M.

November 30, 1972

To the NAC:

Dear Comrades:

After speaking with Sy by phone we would like to add several points which may not have been clear in our letter about joining the Irish Republican Clubs (IRC):

1. We do not believe that the whole membership of the IRC or the IRC as an organization can be won to socialist politics. We do believe there is a layer of people in the IRC we can reach through patient joint work and discussions. In addition to continuing to talk with them about Irish politics and our criticisms of the IRA we want to propose that they begin working in unions here as we outlined in our first letter. As we explained in that letter we believe we can do these things much more effectively by joining the IRC.
2. The IRC is not a disciplined organization as socialists understand discipline. There is nothing in the IRC constitution about discipline. The only recent examples of "discipline" came when members got drunk and disrupted parties and were ordered to apologize afterwards.
3. We have asked the members of the NY exec who had doubts about our joining whether they wanted to write the NAC about this. They have all replied that they are not opposed to our joining and are not going to write the NAC about this. One comrade felt our joining would make it difficult to continue to criticise the IRA as we intend to do.
4. We think comrades in other branches should investigate the IRC in their areas. If they have attracted young working class people who are moving towards socialism as they have here we think comrades should consider joining. We will be happy to provide information and advice.

Comradely,

J.M.

S.B.

ADDITION TO ATTACHMENTS II.

(The following is paragraph 8 of Seattle Professors Document.)

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.

STATEMENT TO THE NAC CONCERNING IS FUNCTIONING AT THE AFT NATIONAL CONVENTION

Marilyn Danton, East Bay Branch

I want to raise three specific things which happened at the recent national AFT convention in St. Paul. I find these very disturbing, and believe that they raise serious questions about IS functioning with respect to majority decisions taken by the organization.

The first problem occurred in relation to our position on the ERA taken approximately two years ago: The majority position taken at that time was as follows: We oppose the ERA presently before Congress and call for a new ERA which would not abrogate the existing protective legislation, but would extend it to men. When I arrived at the AFT Convention, a comrade from the Bay Area who had been in New York recently informed the AFT fraction that there had been reconsideration taking place in NY concerning our position in light of the new situation, to wit: that the ERA had passed Congress, and that therefore our earlier position made no sense, since it was clear that the ERA would eventually pass in the 3/4 states necessary and thus become part of the Constitution. Our new revised position being considered should then be the following: We support the ERA, but in those states where substantial and real as opposed to discriminatory protective legislation existed, we call for laws extending this protective legislation to men prior to passage of the ERA. The main state in question here is California. Clearly there are problems with this position, not the least of which is that if this amendment passes 3/4 of the states, and not those with substantial protective legislation, like California, it would still become law, regardless of what happened in California or the other 1/4 of the states. Now, the organizational problem which I want to raise is the following: According to this comrade, when this was raised in NY to the National Secretary and others, with respect to the coming AFT Convention where the ERA would be an issue, it was deemed okay to revise our position along the lines stated above. I find this extremely disturbing. At the least an emergency NAC discussion should have been held to determine what to do, and whether or not to revise the position. Maybe it would have been wise to revise the position, but it should not have been done so cavalierly, and undemocratically. Positions taken by the organization should remain in effect, until changed or revised by the proper body democratically elected by the organization. Otherwise, what does it mean to take any position?

(ENB. The revised position was the one pushed for by the fraction, with many misgivings on the part of some. The East Bay Exec has recently passed motions concerning what happened which are as follows: "The position of the IS on the ERA at the AFT Convention raises serious questions about the determination of policy within the IS. At the very least, any proposed change should have been referred to a special meeting of the NAC." Passes 4-0-2 ((WC, JJ)); and: "We further reiterate our continued support for our position of opposition to passage of the ERA until existing legal protection of working women be protected and extended." Passes 4-1-1 ((BP opposed, JJ abst.)). Statement by JJ: This motion was originally proposed with the intention of repudiating the position taken by the AFT comrades, a position entirely consistent with our "original" position. Statement by BP: I voted against the motion because I think we have to reassess our position, which was completely correct when it was made. As the ERA hemes closer to passage, I think we are going to have to put more emphasis on getting protective legislation extended, and less on opposition to the ERA.)

The second problem occurred around the question of community control of the schools. At an early meeting of the United Action Caucus during a discussion of program, one Bay Area comrade presented a point for inclusion entitled "democracy in the schools." Upon seeing it, I raised the question that we could not present such a point, since it was in effect a position for community control of the schools, something which had been squarely defeated at the last convention. This comrade told me that this had been raised with comrades in NY, including, if I'm not mistaken, the National Secretary, and had been told that such a position was okay since it was for democracy in the schools which we are for. If this interpretation is correct, then I don't understand the majority position adopted on black liberation at the convention. The formulation of democracy in the schools, which calls for parents, teachers and students to control the schools (curriculum, administrators, etc.) is the usual content we give to community control. Note: I don't have the exact wording since it was turned into the UAC Program Committee. Thus, since the majority decision was opposed to community control of the schools, I don't understand the position of the comrades in NY. If on the other hand, such a formulation for democracy in the schools is within the context of majority positions taken at the convention, then I don't understand what the black discussion was all about, since the one position in favor of this was soundly defeated. Surely, we are not just applying this to schools other than black ones. Before drawing conclusions to this problem, I would like to take up the third one, since it leads to the same conclusions.

The third problem concerns our position on busing. When we were going over the resolutions to see which to fight for, etc., there were two on busing, neither of which actually supported busing outright, but the thrust of both was in support of busing. The same Bay Area comrade who put forward the position on democracy in the schools, informed the rest of the fraction that he had gone over these resolutions with people in NY and that it was okay to support them, since what they actually did was to come out against Nixon's racist policies of attacking busing. The actual resolution that he proposed we support was as follows:

WHEREAS, President Nixon has publically opposed busing for the sole purpose of racially integrating public schools and declared such as the official policy of his administration, and

WHEREAS, President Nixon, in his address to the National Convention of Catholic Educators, announced his support for a program of federal aid to non-public schools, and

WHEREAS, thousands of private schools exist in this country solely for the purpose of maintaining racially segregated education; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we the members of the American Federation of Teachers reaffirm our belief in the wisdom and justice of the 1954 Supreme Court decision banning segregation in education on the basis of race, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we reaffirm our belief that children, whether black or white, who are subjected to a racially segregated education are, by the very fact, receiving an inferior education, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we condemn the fact that racially segregated private schools receive federal tax exemptions; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we voice our strenuous opposition to extending federal assistance in any form whatsoever to racially segregated private schools; and be it finally

RESOLVED, that we voice our strong protest and opposition to the policy of the Nixon administration which bans busing for the purpose of desegregating the public schools of this nation.

This resolution was passed by the Convention with an amendment which committed the AFT to fight in the Senate against Nixon's anti-busing legislation (voice vote).

I believe that it is clear that the above resolution could not be interpreted in any other way but to be in favor of busing, although it does not actually say so. Thus, in line with the majority decision taken at the recent convention, we should not have supported this position.

The conclusions to be drawn from these last two problems are as follows: Two positions (busing and democracy in the schools - read community control) were deemed okay to support (and were supported by at least some comrades) by majority position comrades from NY, despite the fact that at the recent Convention both of these positions were defeated. My question is then, what to the decisions arrived at in our conventions mean, if they can be gotten around a month and a half later? As you know, I supported both of these positions stated here, and was defeated at the national convention. However, I take seriously the positions taken by our organization, and feel disciplined to uphold them in any arenas in which I participate, as I believe the other comrades do from the Bay Area. Moreover when the organization takes positions which I support, I want them taken seriously, and not as these mentioned above have been taken.

In light of the foregoing, I request the following from the NAC: 1) a response as to what our position is on democracy in the schools, and what does this position mean in relation to the perspective passed on black liberation; 2) a response on the resolution stated above, on busing, with respect to the question of whether it is consistent with our position against busing; 3) a response to the question raised concerning the ERA, and possibly a discussion at the next NC on whether or not we should revise our position.

To conclude, I find these three instances to raise serious questions with respect to IS functioning in line with majority decisions taken by the organization. At best it is sloppy, and at worst, thoroughly undemocratic.

Note: None of this is to be viewed as an attack in any way on the Bay Area comrades mentioned, since they were apparently putting forward these positions after consultation with majority position comrades, and in some cases the National Secretary.

For Revolution and Democracy

Marilyn Danton

This is in partial response to the letter by Marilyn B. on the activities of the teachers' fraction at the AFT national convention. (Ruth A. is also preparing a response.) While not attending the convention, I was present at the pre-convention discussions in Detroit and New York City. Also I had post-convention reports, not only from our comrades, but also from two contacts who were very impressed with the performance of the IS.

Marilyn criticizes the IS fraction for not carrying out the IS majority position of opposition to the slogan of "community control." Instead, she notes, we raised the demand for "democratic control of the schools by teachers, parents, and older students," or something to that effect. However, there was no contradiction in this.

The slogan of "cc" was first raised in NYC by the black and Puerto Rican liberation movements, after all attempts to achieve meaningful integration, by "busing," etc., had failed dismally. The slogan symbolized the desire of black and brown working people to have control over the institutions which dominated their lives, in this case the monolithic school system. The IS supported this movement and its slogan. We sought to deepen the movement's program into clear opposition to the bourgeois state and support for an alliance with the teachers. One way we did this was to advocate a particular content to the "cc" slogan, namely, "democratic control of the schools by teachers, parents, and older students." Unfortunately, no one else adopted our interpretation, not the black groups, not the unions, not even (!) the other socialist tendencies. In fact, the most widely accepted interpretation of "CC" was the exact opposite: "reform of the government to provide control by community representatives over the teachers and students, to make them work harder." Knowing this, we supported "cc" anyway, as long as there was a real movement behind it which provided it with its real content. However, precisely because of its wrong program, the "cc" movement as such ~~xxx~~ played into the hands of the ruling class, and was destroyed by the 1968 strike. At present there is no organized minority liberation movement in NYC, and no reason to assume that the next stage of the black and brown struggle will be over "cc." Today "cc" is widely understood to mean local school boards which are generally anti-union and are in no way progressive (e.g. Fuentes in District 1, NYC); to mean support of a centralized "black" anti-labor board in Newark; to mean anti-black racism ~~x~~ by whites in Forest Hills and Canarsie, NYC. We no longer advocate "cc."

Nevertheless, we continue to advocate an alliance of working class parents, teachers, and older students in opposition to the bourgeois state. Therefore we advocate "democratic control of...by...etc." The slogan changes, but not the program. (Of course, if a movement were to arise which advocated "cc" with our interpretation we would support it. But that is the point; we do not expect such a development.)

Marilyn also criticizes the teachers' fraction for not opposing and even voting for a resolution on ~~xx~~ busing. However the resolution was merely an attack on Nixon's use of the busing issue, and not explicitly pro-busing. Whether to vote for it or abstain was an unimportant issue. The important issue was that the IS teachers had decided beforehand to concentrate upon the questions of merger-and-mass-action and of labor-party-and-McGovern. (To vote against it without making a fight--with no other opponents of the ~~xx~~ resolution around--would have made us look silly.) We are not required to fight on every point we disagree with. We ignored the pro-Zionist resolution, without any feeling that we needed to make a "principled" stand against it.

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Frankly, I am disturbed about the accusatory tone of my friend Marilyn's letter. She could have written, "I am glad to see that comrades of the majority have interpreted their positions to mean what we were saying all along; this shows that we were right. However they are still being self-contradictory in not using the slogans of "cc" and "busing." And so on." Then we would have to respond. It is perfectly possible, as ~~xxx~~ far as I can recall, that the majority document on black liberation did not discuss this matter of "democratic control..." and is open to criticism on that account. However, if I read her correctly, what Marilyn is doing is to attack the teachers' fraction for doing what she believes should have been done! Furthermore she knows that neither she nor anyone ~~xx~~ else of the minority on the black question (that is, most of the fraction at the convention) raised either of these points at the convention or beforehand; so she shares in any "blame." All of us should try to use a more comradely tone.

CLARIFICATION OF POSITIONS ON COMMUNITY CONTROL AND BUSING

Chris H.

The NAC has received a request from a teacher comrade for clarification of the IS's positions on busing and community control in the light of IS support for certain motions at the AFT convention - one motion calling for "democracy in the schools," the other opposing Nixon's attempt to ban busing. The NAC does not wish to focus on the procedures used in the teacher fraction or the tactical correctness of raising or supporting a given demand at a union convention, matters which are best left to the fraction itself. This motion is for the purpose only of clarifying our substantive position.

1. The position adopted by the convention was that it was correct, in the past, to give support to the general democratic content of the "community control" demand. This content was the demand for better education, non-racist education, and power for parents, teachers and students in setting school policy). At the same time, conception of community control itself should have been criticized as utopian and, insofar as it was realizable within the capitalist context, fundamentally conservative. That is, the "community" itself is a classless concept while the real community includes different classes; without the specification of - and struggle to win people to - our democratic content, the demand would mean local control by the local power structure, a power structure which in the main is subservient to the (white) ruling class. In the initial period of community control struggles it was possible to put forward "democracy in the schools" and "parent-teacher-student control" as our content and attempt to win the mass forces who were in motion at that time to such a conception; this would have involved turning them against the local board chiefs, though we correctly gave critical support to the Ocean Hill-Brownsville local board in the specific situation of the 1968 strike. Subsequently, the community control movement has died out while community control has become more and more the vehicle for integrating local elements of a coalescing black power structure into the overall power structure of the cities; in Newark and even more in East Harlem at present, the local control boards are clearly the local representatives of the central school board, city administration, and ruling class, and are clearly obstacles in the way of the need of parents and teachers for better schools. In the present period, to call for community control even specifying a democratic content would be equivalent to calling for the takeover by community forces of a local power structure, that is, a reformist strategy. In this period we continue to support the overall democratic demand for parent-teacher control of the schools, but distinguish this sharply and rigorously from the demand for community control which, as a demand, no longer has progressive content. The demand for community control today has the real social content of a mask for anti-teacher - and anti-parent and student - policies of the city administrations and school boards, acting through the vassal local boards.

2. For our general position on integration and busing, see NAC statement "Political Line on School Integration Cases and Busing," BULLETIN No. 32. As stated there, we support the general democratic demand for the right of blacks to go to school, live, work, wherever they wish - in predominantly white or predominantly black situations. On this basis, we generally give critical support to struggles for integration since they partially win this right. However, we do not see a struggle for integration at this time as a strategy for black liberation or for achieving better education. Within this general position, we do not support two-way busing since, first, it represents no material gain for blacks, and second, it is based on immediate transfer of some students to worse schools. In general, we put forward a struggle by black workers and community groups for full quality education as our strategy. Without attempting to judge the tactical situation at the AFT convention, the NAC notes that the resolution quoted in the communication by the teacher comrade gives the impression, though evasive in actual words, of being a pro-busing resolution; while we are in favor of vigorously denouncing the motives and actions of Nixon, which are racist, the questions to be asked in given circumstances are whether a given statement reflects our actual position on busing, and also whether an issue is to be made of the question in the given circumstances. These are tactical questions and this statement attempts only to clarify the actual position to give guidance to fractions in their work; the NAC has full confidence in the fractions' ability to judge the requirements of given situations.