

# **Young Socialist Discussion Bulletin, No.2**

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These discussion articles and resolutions were written for the Young Socialist National Convention to be held at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, December 27-30, 1969. They were written by members of the Young Socialist Alliance from around the country.

Similar resolutions and discussion articles will deal with other activities in which young socialists are involved. They are being circulated prior to the convention to assure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities before the convention meets.

Young socialists from around the country are invited to participate in the written discussion and urged to attend the convention. Contributions to the discussion and inquiries can be sent to the Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

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ON THE HIGH SCHOOL MOVEMENT: TOWARD A TRANSITIONAL APPROACH

by

Gordon Fox and Hilda Rangel

Introduction

The purpose of this article is not to provide some sort of handbook for action in the high schools. Rather, we intend to place the high school movement in perspective, so as to enable those interested or involved in high school work to approach the problems in a correct manner.

\* \* \*

The past several years have witnessed a tremendous growth in the radicalization of high school students. Across the country, millions of high school students are in motion around various issues that directly affect their lives--specifically, the war in Vietnam, the third world struggle for self-determination, and the struggle for relevant education. Following in the steps of the college and university students in their radicalization, the high school students are rebelling--and the American secondary educational system is falling apart at the seams.

High school students rebel for essentially the same reasons that college and university students do. They find themselves being forced through the molding process of the educational system, so as to be better used by the ruling class. In addition to this, the schools lack any sort of training that helps the students cope with their immediate--and future--social, economic, and political problems. These factors alone generate a tremendously alienated mass of students.

However, the above are not the only causes for the high school rebellion. Combined with the basic causes for alienation listed above is another powerful factor--the tremendous regimentation that exists in the schools. The student is forced to take certain courses, prohibited from wearing certain kinds of clothes, and, naturally, forbidden to think for himself.

The oppression of the third world peoples is another, vital factor in the development of the high school movement. The schools are racist in character in a very basic manner. The black student is oppressed to a much greater degree than the white. There is no need to expound at length on this point; let it merely be said that the oppression of black students not only adds fuel to the already smoldering fire of student alienation and discontent; it provides a direct way to link up with the black community in struggle. This shall be seen later.

All of these factors, combined with

the imperialist war in Vietnam and the mass movement against it, have combined to generate a movement among high school students that is unique in American history. It must be stressed, however, that the high school movement is not "unique" or "exceptional" in the sense that it follows its own laws. The radicalization among high school students today is a component part of the general youth radicalization. It can not be separated from the radicalization that exists on the campus. The same basic laws and class characteristics that apply to the campus also apply to the high school. The class nature of both types of educational institutions, the general structure of both institutions, are essentially the same; therefore, the high school radicalization must be approached in basically the same way as the radicalization on campus.

The high school student movement has developed along lines very similar to those of the campus movement; this of course flows from the fact that these two movements are primarily the products of the same conditions which serve the same interests--those of the ruling class. There have been, however, certain differences which must be pointed out.

The college and university student body consists primarily of non-working class and privileged working class elements. This is not the case in the high schools. The high schools are free, public, and compulsory; the high school student body is therefore overwhelmingly proletarian. The fact that a great proportion of the high school students are black magnifies the importance of the high school struggles. For the great majority of mass struggles around transitional demands that have taken place have been waged around the issue of community control of the schools. The importance of the high schools in being able to both generate and link up with struggles around transitional demands can be seen in the New York school strike where the schools were the central focus of a mass struggle for black and Puerto Rican control of the black and Puerto Rican communities.

Democratic demands can play a very important role in the high schools. A notable example is the struggle waged by the SMC at Cass Tech. High School in Detroit. The SMC there raised the demand for an assembly and referendum on the war during the fall offensive against the war. The administration refused the demand, being afraid of the support it would generate for the fall offensive. The SMC

struck back with petitions and a news conference, where it was announced that well over half of the student body had signed the petitions demanding the assembly and referendum. Taking place at the height of the fall offensive, this struggle helped to build the SMC at Cass Tech. into the strongest high school SMC in the Detroit area. The administration finally conceded to the demand; the assembly has been held and the referendum will take place beginning Dec. 9. This sort of struggle is exemplary in this way: it successfully used democratic demands to build the antiwar movement, and, perhaps more important, it raised the concept of the red university.

Defense of student rights is vitally important in the high schools. Often a radical student must function in a semi-underground fashion. The danger of arrest and/or disciplinary expulsion weighs very heavily over the student radical. However, successful defense campaigns can and have been built. The notable example here is, of course, the case of Paula Smith of Chicago. Although not victorious in the sense of being reinstated to her school, the defense was successful in the sense that the campaign helped to build the antiwar movement. It is here that the question of defensive formulations comes in. It is absolutely vital that we be defensive in our propaganda directed at the high schools. All of our campaigns, such as the ones mentioned above, would have been abysmal failures had we not been defensive in our approach. A good example of the sort of defensive tone that should be adopted is the example of Southfield High School in suburban Detroit. A YSAer there was consistently harassed and denied his rights. He replied in the same manner as the GIs at Ft. Jackson--by passing

out the bill of rights!

There is every reason to believe that the high school movement will continue to grow and develop in the same direction as that on campus. Our tasks are clear: we can and we will build a healthy cadre of revolutionary students in the high schools. In doing this, we may use many different means, in which we can raise transitional demands. A good example of this is taking place at this time: the YSA is running a socialist election campaign. At Detroit's Cass Tech. High, mentioned above, comrade Gordon Fox is running as a socialist candidate for the office of senior class president of the June 1970 class. In doing this, tremendous opportunities are opened up. Just as in Binghamton, we can raise demands in a way impossible without such a campaign. Although the office of senior class president is not the most desirable sort of post to hold, the campaign opens up tremendous possibilities for the YSA.

In conclusion, we shall reiterate our basic tasks: to build a cadre through using transitional demands, formulated defensively, so as not to lead to needless victimizations. However, we will not hesitate to fight for our rights. The administrations are willing to use force or coercion when necessary. They recognize the danger involved for their boss, the ruling class: the high schools are a fertile ground for spreading revolutionary ideas among thousands upon thousands of students. The task of the YSA is to march ahead--spreading its revolutionary program and building a cadre strong enough to provide a leadership for the high school rebellions.

December 3, 1969

Detroit

THIRD WORLD PEOPLE AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR

By Willie Petty

The antiwar movement offers unlimited opportunities for the revolutionary socialist movement and the gains can only be measured in terms of the energy put into carrying out work in this area of our activity.

Before I move on to third world people and the struggle against the war, I would like to make some comments on our high school antiwar work. In the last year or so high school students have been entering the antiwar movement in great numbers and make up a large percentage of the antiwar activists engaged in struggle against the war. Numerically they make up a majority of the student population, and their entry into the antiwar movement opens up great possibilities for the Young Socialist Alliance in regard to future struggles our movement will carry out.

The importance of high schoolers to the YSA and the antiwar movement is not so much their numerical strength as their direction of travel after graduation. In this period this direction of travel moves in three directions: 1) into college, 2) into the armed forces, 3) into the factories, shops, trade unions--areas that will play an important role in the antiwar movement and are destined to play an even more important role in the coming struggle for socialism. I will take each direction of travel separately.

1) They will bring into college their antiwar and socialist ideas, that is, any experience or education they might have picked up in past struggles. The same holds true for 2) the armed forces and 3) the factories, shops, trade unions. Any organization that sinks deep roots in the high school youth movement will have taken a giant step toward gaining hegemony over the youth movement.

How will this work in practice? Youths reached in high school with antiwar or socialist ideas take these views into college with them. Some will already be YSAers when they get to college, which will increase our influence on campus and crush our opponents on campus who will be waiting until high schoolers get to college to organize them, and if we carry out our job correctly a large number of these new college students will already be YSAers or have our line on the antiwar movement. These same high schoolers will take their antiwar and socialist views into the factories, trade unions and shops. The effect of this is sure to increase rank-and-file antiwar sentiments

and give us people in the shops and trade unions that will be important to have in the future struggles that are sure to break out in the ranks of labor. They will also take their antiwar ideas and socialist convictions into the armed forces; this is sure to increase antiwar sentiments in the army and provide a correct understanding of how to organize in the armed forces.

In the absence of any serious competition in this arena, the gains that can be made stagger the imagination and for these reasons greater stress should be put on our work in this area and comrades must be always conscious of the importance of work in this area to the antiwar movement and the long-term needs of the YSA.

Another section of the population that can play an important role in the antiwar movement and the future struggle for socialism is third world people.

Up to the present there has been little participation in the struggle against the war by third world people although the war affects them more than any other section of the population. This lack of participation flows from four reasons:

- 1) Lack of political leadership that clearly sees how the war affects third world people on a day-to-day basis.
- 2) Growth of nationalism, and a strong tendency for third world people to disassociate themselves from whites (They see the form of the movement mostly as white, as a white thing that has no connection with third world struggles; what they don't see is the content--the fact that the war affects all sections of the population; that youth--black, white, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian, Asian--are all drafted to be killed in this war; and that it is in the interest of these sections to organize and struggle to end this war.
- 3) The attacks on the antiwar movement by ultraleftists in third world communities and the abstentionism of the traditional reformist civil rights groups.
- 4) The failure of any group moving into this leadership vacuum that can show clearly how the struggle against the war relates to the struggle for third world liberation.

All of these reasons flow from a very subjective view of the antiwar movement by third world people and can be combatted by education and propaganda that shows

objectively how the war affects third world people. Propaganda and education for this purpose must be able to reach third world people at the level they are now at and raise their level of consciousness to a new height.

The level of consciousness of third world people at this point is expressed in the way they carry out struggles and what kind of struggles they carry out for liberation. At this point the struggles center around their day-to-day conditions and how to improve them.

Struggles are carried out for better jobs, better housing, better schools, more welfare, third world study programs, open admissions, etc. There is little understanding of internationalism, or how third world struggles in the U.S. relate to the international struggle for third world liberation. There isn't widespread acceptance of third world unity, there is no understanding of how the war affects the struggles of third world people on a day-to-day basis.

The objective relationship of the war to third world people is that it does affect them and their day-to-day struggles, and it is in their interest to struggle against the war.

In order to bridge this gap an objective propaganda is needed that clearly points out how the war affects third world people on a day-to-day basis and why they should struggle against this war--one that shows how third world people are affected by the draft, how the war leads to cutbacks in school funds and welfare budgets, how third world youth are pushed to the front lines to be killed, the effect the draft has on third world struggles in the U.S., tying in the international aspects of the struggle for third world liberation.

This propaganda must be flexible (because all sections of the third world community aren't at the same level of consciousness). It must appeal to the broadest section of the third world population. It must be directional (telling why they should struggle against the war and how).

Below is an example of such propaganda:

The war in Vietnam is not an issue for only one section of the American population, but is an issue for all sections of the population. Youth--black, white, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian, Asian--are all drafted to be killed in Vietnam, and it is in the interests of all of these sections to organize and struggle to end this war.

Up to this point in the struggle against the war there has been little action by third world people even though the war affects this section of the population more than any other. For third world people the struggle against the war should be a central front in their struggle for liberation and self-determination.

How can you struggle for better housing, better schools, decent jobs for tomorrow, and not struggle against being killed in Vietnam today?

The liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people is the same struggle for liberation that third world people are waging in the United States. The U.S. government that is conducting the war against the Vietnamese people is also responsible for the oppression of third world people in this country.

Our homes and our cities are falling apart because the tax money of the American people is not being used to improve our living standards. But billions of dollars of tax money is spent yearly to carry out a war against our Vietnamese brothers. Money that could be used to pay for decent housing, more money for education and welfare and to raise the living standards of all.

The direct effects of this war in the U.S. have been: a steady rise in prices, higher taxes, cutbacks in school funds and welfare budgets, the death of 40,000 American youth and over 300,000 wounded in combat, a large percentage of whom are third world. It is third world people that are hurt most by higher taxes, cutbacks in school funds and welfare budgets because they are the lowest paid and make up a large percentage of those on welfare.

Who gets drafted first? The poor people who cannot afford to go to college to get deferments. Our third world brothers are the first drafted and they make up 30 to 40 percent of the combat troops killed or wounded on the front line. Why should third world youth go 15,000 miles to fight a war when we have a war to fight here at home?

The draft has been an effective tool in the hands of the government to undercut the struggle for liberation in the U.S. because third world youth--the ones that have been in the forefront of the struggle for liberation--are drafted into the army to be killed in Vietnam.

In this respect the government is able to kill two birds with one stone: Suppress the Vietnamese people in their struggle for liberation and weaken the struggle at home by drafting third world people to be killed. It is easy to see

that third world people have an interest in struggling against this war and they should enter into this struggle and help put an end to this racist war.

For reasons stated above, the upcoming fall offensive against the war takes on greater importance for third world people and gives them the opportunity to express their anger and opposition against this war. (This could have been a call for a rally, a meeting, etc.)

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There might be need for changes, but this was just to give comrades an idea of such propaganda and a rough model to work from. How will this propaganda be used? This is where the flexibility and the relationship of the war to third world struggles come in. Imagine for a moment a comrade speaking before a third world group that was concerned with welfare struggles. The stress would be put on how cutbacks in welfare funds or failure to increase them is a result of tax money being used to wage the war in Vietnam. How the sons of welfare recipients are drafted first because their parents don't have the money to send them to college; the effect cutbacks in school funds have on the children of welfare recipients; how higher prices and higher taxes undercut their already low standard of living, tying in the relationship of their struggle to the struggle of the Vietnamese, showing why third world people should struggle against the war. This same approach can be used in regard to groups on campuses struggling for better education, workers struggling for better wages, groups in the community struggling for better housing, reaching them at their level of struggle, showing them how the war related to their struggles and what they can do to struggle against the war.

The striking California grape pickers would be approached stressing the government's role as a strikebreaker, the draft, how their struggle ties in with the Vietnamese struggle, why they should struggle against the war, etc.

In the case of more advanced groups or in relating with their followers that are trying to grapple with internationalism and how third world groups can express their internationalism in action (such as the Panthers, SNCC, etc.), we can concretely show how they can express their internationalism in action by struggling against the war in Vietnam. It might also be necessary to point out to some groups how organizing around the war offers an excellent opportunity to organize their community or get more people involved in the specific struggle they might be carrying out at that point.

Systematic and consistent propaganda of this type will play a tremendous role in raising the level of consciousness of third world people and bring them in greater numbers to the antiwar movement.

The fact that there is massive antiwar sentiment in the third world communities that, up to this point, has not been organized into action by the traditional reformist and ultraleft leaderships offers the YSA and the antiwar movement a tremendous opportunity to undercut the influence of these organizations and organize this massive sentiment into action against the war.

In order to play this role, we must take the initiative in pointing out how the war affects third world people and why they should struggle against it. In practice this would mean that in the case of traditional civil rights groups we would direct our propaganda towards their rank and file, explaining the war as just another form of oppression and discrimination, pointing out how it relates with their day-to-day struggle, and why they should struggle against it, stressing that the groups they look to for leadership are not struggling against the war. This should be combined with approaches to their leadership pointing out how the war affects the overall struggle for third world liberation, fighting to get speakers against the war that can show how the war affects third world people before their rank and file that looks to them for leadership. This same approach can be used in regard to ultraleft groups or people that come under their influence.

Objective propaganda of this type that appeals to the broadest sections of the rank-and-file sentiment in the third world struggles, coupled with organizational activity, forces reformists and ultraleft groups in the third world communities to organize this sentiment or lose their followers who are opposed to the war, especially when this type of propaganda and organizational activity is carried out by such groups as the YSA, SMC, or united-front type organizations that can clearly point out how the war affects third world people and how and why they should organize against it.

In the past the basic relationship of the antiwar movement to the third world communities has been just to request speakers for rallies against the war from groups that might be involved in struggles in the third world communities--a very one-sided relationship which doesn't serve to deepen antiwar sentiment in the third world communities or show how or why they should struggle against this war. If we are really serious about involving third world people in the anti-



war movement this policy must be changed so that it is a two-way relationship.

Here are some ways we can go about making this a two-way relationship:

- 1) Fight to get antiwar speakers with a clear concept of how the war affects third world people before third world groups on campuses or in communities, etc.
- 2) Leaflet meetings and gatherings in third world communities with propaganda aimed at the rank and file approaching the war as just another manifestation of discrimination and oppression in this racist society against third world people, showing how the war affects them and their day-to-day struggles for liberation, and pointing out why they should struggle against the war just as they struggle against poor housing, poor education, etc.
- 3) Arrange speaking engagements in the third world communities and on campuses for third world antiwar GIs coupled with the selling of antiwar literature.
- 4) Organize teach-ins and conferences on third world people and the war in Vietnam. Also it might be possible in carrying out education about the Arab struggles to have a comrade speak that can tie in the relationship of the Arab struggle, the war in Vietnam, to the struggles of third world peoples in the U.S.
- 5) Use our press, forums, articles submitted to third world publications to deepen and direct this sentiment.
- 6) Utilize our comrades running for office in election campaigns to help carry out work in this area.
- 7) Orient the antiwar movement in the direction of including more third world people in the actions against the war. In order to maximize our gains in this direction it might be necessary to carry out an educational campaign in the antiwar movement in regard to the approach needed to carry out this task.

A valuable tool to help us carry out this work would be a pamphlet that can go into the international aspects of third world struggles and how they relate with each other much deeper than a speaker or a leaflet can. At this point we have pamphlets that deal with Free Speech for GIs, third world struggles in the U.S., the war in Vietnam, but none that deal with third world liberation in the U.S. and its relationship to the war in Vietnam. A pamphlet of this type would go a long way toward bridging the gap between the objective relationship of the war and international third world struggles to the struggles of third world people in the U.S. that proceed from a subjective level of consciousness.

Here is an example of what such a pamphlet would contain:

A brief history of the Vietnamese struggles; a brief history of third world participation in past wars (statistical study); the role of the U.S. in Vietnam; comments on the Jones Act of 1917 that permits Puerto Rican youth living in Puerto Rico to be drafted into the U.S. army; how the colonial struggles for liberation relate to the struggles of third world people in the U.S.; the need for third world unity and internationalism; effects of the war in Vietnam on the struggles of third world people in the U.S.; the role the educational system plays in thrusting third world youths into the arms of the draft; effects of rising prices, higher taxes, cutbacks in school and welfare budgets on third world people in the U.S.; the role the draft plays in undercutting the struggle at home; racism in the armed forces and how it serves to push third world youth to the front lines where they are killed in large numbers; lessons of GIs United and the way to organize in the service once drafted; the role the antiwar movement plays in the Vietnamese struggle for liberation; what third world people can do to struggle against the war; organizational methods of the antiwar movement (principal points: 1) nonexclusion, 2) mass actions, 3) immediate withdrawal, 4) independence from both the Democratic and Republican parties); a short explanation of why this is the best way to organize against the war; what long-term gains third world people can realize by struggling against the war. There might be a need for additions or subtractions. This is just to give comrades an idea of what kind of pamphlet is needed.

The Moratorium and the November actions showed a marked increase in third world participation in the antiwar movement. This was due to two factors: the deepening of antiwar sentiment in the U.S. and the activity of third world comrades in the YSA and the SWP in carrying out antiwar work in the third world communities. To give you an idea of some of the modest successes in this area, I would like to briefly relate some of our experiences.

In San Francisco November 15th our comrades working in the Third World Task Force were able to organize a separate contingent of 1,000 blacks, Chicanos, Asian-Americans and American Indians that later joined the main demonstration.

In New York our comrades working in the Third World Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam were able to call a separate rally on Moratorium Day, October 15th, that drew 500 third worlders. On November 13th they held a third world conference on Vietnam that drew 85 people and sent two and a half busloads of people to the November 15th March on Washington.

In Detroit our black comrades working from a black caucus in SMC were able to increase black participation in the November actions.

In Chicago our third world comrades working in the Third World Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam were able to increase third world participation in the November actions, and Moratorium Day November 15th, for the first time in the history of Chicago, black students shut down their high schools in protest against the war in Vietnam. On November 14th, LADO (Latin American Defense Organization), that formerly had been concerned only with struggles around welfare, led a march of about 250 through the Latin community protesting against the war in Vietnam and the cutbacks in welfare funds.

In St. Louis a black comrade who is a high school teacher had the rare opportunity to be sponsor for SMC and the black student group at the school where he teaches. After many failures he was able to weld the two organizations together in time to carry out a successful boycott November 15th. (In order to carry this out he had to set up an anti-imperialist caucus in SMC before the black students would relate with it.)

This is to show comrades the multitude of forms this organizational work can and will take. In some places it can be done through existing third world organizations, in others through SMC, and in other places it might be necessary to set up united-front type structures.

The entry of large numbers of third world peoples into the antiwar movement will be a giant step towards ending the war. The militancy and combativity of third world people would go a long way in helping to offset the right-wing pressure that was brought into the antiwar movement by former McCarthy supporters.

The struggles that third world people carry out in the antiwar movement would be of tremendous educational value and would help lay the basis for a black political party.

Up to this point third world antiwar work has been carried out mainly by our third world comrades, who are numerically small and weak. In order to maximize the effectiveness of work in this area, the YSA nationally must gear into it.

Third world antiwar work also has the effect of strengthening work carried out around other demands that are raised by third world people. (Third world people reached in antiwar work can be used to intervene into struggles that break out in third world communities and third world people reached in other struggles can be used to carry out antiwar work.) This type of work is also a valuable training ground for third world comrades, and it is the type of work that we can involve contacts and new comrades in on a consistent basis.

This type of work ties right in with the activity that we are carrying out now and gives us a chance to reach the ear of a great number of third world people. Work carried out in a multinational antiwar movement is the best possible milieu to build a multinational youth group.

Our work with high school students along with our antiwar work among third world people and the success or failure of each will to a great extent determine if we will be in a position to take advantage of the opportunities that will open up for us in the coming period, and for that reason we must approach this work as the best possible builder of a multinational revolutionary youth group that will help make the coming American revolution.

December 6, 1969  
Chicago

REPORT ON CHICAGO'S REGIONAL WORK

By Naomi Allen

The Chicago local began regional work about two years ago, in order to take advantage of the openings created by the national "Choice '68" poll of campuses on the war, racism, and presidential preference. We immediately followed up by trailblazing campuses in Illinois and Indiana for the Halstead-Boutelle campaign, and supplemented our efforts in this area by touring the SWP senatorial candidates in both states. It was through these tours that we made our initial contacts and recruited the first layer of comrades to the YSA. When the November '68 elections were over, we decided to maintain our regional traveling, as the openings were even greater for revolutionary ideas after the rightward pressure of the election period was lifted.

Our original decision to send travelers onto the road was based on the assumption that the radicalization we were witnessing in the already established centers was being paralleled on the campuses outside of these centers throughout the country. We expected that these areas would be sources of recruits to the YSA, and that this would be a valuable way of establishing the YSA on dozens of campuses as the primary organization of revolutionaries. In most of these places, the radicalization was quite new and on the whole healthy, without the traces of cynicism and demoralization that characterize the movement in many of the big cities. On almost all of these campuses, the other radical tendencies were weak or non-existent. The exception was SDS, which initially had considerable strength in several places, although these SDS chapters tended to bear no relation to the national SDS and were frequently just functional antiwar committees. (Since the June SDS convention, all the factions of SDS have disintegrated, and today are scarcely to be found anywhere in the region, leaving the field wide open for the YSA.)

Since beginning this work two years ago, we have expanded our arena of work to include Missouri and Kansas, and parts of Iowa and Wisconsin; we have established locals in 7 places outside of Chicago and have at-large comrades in an additional 9 places; and we have an unprecedented network of contacts and friends of the YSA throughout the region. Many of the techniques and procedures with which we began have been modified and developed; some have been dropped. Our attention to this area of work has become more detailed and professional.

Because Chicago has done such extensive work in this field, it will be useful to set down some of the experiences and breakthroughs we have had in technique, as well as some of the on-going problems we have encountered.

Trailblazing a new campus can best be done with a huge stock of Merit literature, posters, banners, red flags, and big bundles of the Militant and the YS. A certain amount of cunning and audacity in the face of the campus administrations is a must. One example of valor and victory in the face of the enemy was at Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas, where we set up a literature table and kept it up all day, with the support of several students, despite the machinations of the administration, which tried every trick in the book to stop us. We sold \$27 in lit, and made several good contacts. Sometimes, when a campus is brand new, it is difficult to set up a meeting in advance. At Western Illinois University in Macomb, we found a friendly student who helped us set up a meeting when we arrived. We sold 30 Militant subscriptions that night and talked to people about the meeting. The next day we had a lit table and sold a small fortune in lit on this new territory, and that night we held a meeting of 40 students and recruited our first two comrades on that campus. At Purdue, in West Lafayette, Indiana, we sold 11 subs and \$22 in lit in just 3 hours at a lit table, and in the wake of the Weatherman debacle in Chicago, made fast contacts out of the best students on campus.

It also pays to have more than one speech ready. We have gone out on the road prepared to speak on the Vietnam war and socialism, women's liberation, plus a general introduction to socialism and a general talk on Marxist economics. Radical professors who get wind of our presence on campus will frequently invite the traveler to address their classes on whatever topic they are studying. Because the audience is a captive one, these classes are not that fruitful. However, establishing a contact with the professor for future use is of top importance. There is a multitude of organizations on campus who will be interested in hearing a communist speak on one or another angle that catches their eye. For example, at Indiana State U in Terre Haute, it was possible to have three separate meetings, one before an economics class on Marxist economics, one at a Catholic women's school on women's liberation, and one before an amalgam of radicals, on Vietnam and the struggle for socialism.

There are presently 66 YSAers in the Midwest Region outside of the Chicago local; more, that is, than there are members of the Chicago local. Apart from all other considerations, this makes the Midwest Region an important area of work for the YSA.

Regional traveling does not consist of putting a comrade in a car and setting him loose to trailblaze and recruit. When this is all that is done, it results in an abominable inefficiency and waste of time. In order to take maximum advantage of the traveler's time, at least one other comrade has to have the primary assignment of coordinating and planning the tour in advance, notifying contacts in the areas that the traveler will hit, having them set up and publicize meetings and lit tables, arrange housing, etc. When this is inadequately handled from the center, the traveler spends all his time just searching for people, and can produce very little.

This comrade at the regional desk in the center is the lifeline of the traveler. His job actually includes all the other tasks of keeping in contact with people all over the region as well, tasks that will be outlined below.

Wherever possible, instead of sending the traveler out alone, a team should be arranged. Sometimes the second member of the team (the fellow traveler) is assigned on a weekly basis, to accommodate work and school schedules. But he is needed simply because the physical tasks of driving huge distances (the circumference of our region is 11,000 miles), carrying boxes of lit, manning lit tables, doing contact work, are unmanageable for one person. A team of two is more than twice as efficient as a single traveler, because it allows both members of the team to work closer to optimum efficiency than either could alone.

Money is the biggest single problem that arises in regional work. By starving the regional travelers, abusing their cars, milking their parents, and free-loading wherever possible, Chicago is able to carry on regional work at an average of \$60 per week, including everything. We found that it is possible to run one tour a year which will pay for itself and even make some money by emphasizing a flashy, public speech and demanding exorbitant speaker's fees, as was the case with the Cuba tour of spring 1969. Speaker's fees are generally available, both from movement organizations and from Student Governments and college departments. Still, the majority of the work will not break even over a period of time, and more recently Chicago has been forced to adopt a new method of raising money.

The recent radicalization has pro-

duced a layer of radical professors, most but not all young, who are more or less sympathetic to the YSA's politics, but who are nearly unanimous in their admiration of us as an activist organization. Despite their disagreements with some aspects of our program, they will usually admit that we are the only group actually out building the revolutionary movement and not just talking about it. Over a period of time, we are developing a periphery of this sort from whom it is possible to request monthly "sustainers" of \$10-\$30 designed to go directly into building the YSA's regional work. We have had considerable success with this where it has been tried. The main prerequisite is to keep in contact with these friends of our movement, send them information on what the YSA is doing, and show them the concrete results--all of which must be handled from the center, not from the road. We have also taken a hint from Cleveland and instituted an informal "pledge" of \$2 per member per month from comrades in the region. As there is no formal regional apparatus, this is just a voluntary contribution on the part of comrades in the field to help keep the regional office from going under.

The major means of communication between the office and the comrades in the region is the Regional Letter. This letter goes out from the center once every two weeks, and is a regular way of keeping in touch with comrades and breaking through the isolation imposed by distance and small numbers. We put a lot of stock in the Regional Letter and we want it to be taken seriously, and so it should not be too full of jokes, although there is a temptation to use it that way. Its purpose is not to duplicate the information in the communications from the N.O. or the Militant, but to provide suggestions for implementing our national policy on campuses and in cities in this region, and news of developments and breakthroughs in other parts of the region. It contains, in addition to sections on antiwar and other campaigns, an "Around the Region" section that summarizes these developments and, occasionally, an "Organizer's Point" that describes one of the norms of organization that the YSA uses and the reason behind it. This is also the medium for publicizing tour schedules.

The Regional Letter is a valuable tool for retaining contact between the regional center and the outlying areas, but it cannot be used as a substitute for a tour. Its main value is to supplement the personal work done by the traveler.

As our network of contacts grew, we came to need more forms of communications. We now have in addition to the Regional Letter, an Action Bulletin, which goes out to contacts, student and underground press, and financial contribu-

tors about once a month, and a general mailing list which is used for very special occasions and includes every name that we have in six states.

One such special occasion is the educational conference that we hold in the autumn and spring. These originated almost as intuitive attempts to get the comrades together and import some national leaders to talk politics with them. As we became more familiar with the situation in the region, it became clear that this was a crucially important measure needed to raise the political level of the recruits in the outlying areas.

Except for correspondence from New York and Chicago, the only thing many of these comrades see of the YSA is their \$3 initiation fee disappearing into the sunset, and occasional visits by the regional traveler. They are rarely in contact with more experienced, trained cadres, and must rely on their own reading to train and develop themselves. In view of the high level of activity among our comrades, this tends to be limited. These educational conferences are consequently in many cases a substitute for the more formal educational process that occurs in locals that have the benefit of an SWP in the same city. Recently, we have also been providing tapes of Chicago forums and educationals on request from the comrades.

We really began to feel that we were a going concern when we succeeded in convincing the locals to send minutes in to the regional office, in addition to the National Office. This helps us keep abreast of the latest developments and problems as they are happening. Chicago reciprocates with a copy of our city letter to each area.

Because the travelers from Chicago tend to have much more experience than the new recruits in the region, there is always the danger of setting a dictatorial tone, of behaving as though we are "bringing the line to the boondocks," as one comrade put it. The regional letter should invite discussion and make proposals and suggestions, rather than come down hard on what is expected of comrades. Many of the areas have developed the habit of phoning in to Chicago when they want to consult with the comrades there over a problem or in a crisis. This is a result of the very fraternal, collaborative tone we have been successful in establishing in our work.

#### Problems

When we recruit at-large members of the YSA in these outlying areas, we recruit to a short-range perspective of activism around agreement with the fund-

amental features of our program--defense of the Vietnamese revolution, black liberation, the colonial revolution generally, Cuba, women's liberation, the Middle East, socialist electoral candidates, socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, a socialist America--as well as to a basic loyalty to the organization. This is important because it prevents the problem of armchair radicalism becoming a tendency in the YSA. Nevertheless, through and parallel to building immediate actions and struggles, the YSA is building a revolutionary leadership organization of trained youth who can lead future struggles. This means that one of the main tasks of YSAers is to educate themselves in the history, principles, and traditions of the revolutionary movement, and to consciously set themselves to this task through study and classes. As one comrade put it, the big problem in the YSA as a whole right now, and particularly in the outlying areas, is not one of recruitment, but one of Bolshevizing the recruits. For YSAers recruited in a city with an SWP branch, part of the expected routine is a systematic study of our politics. It is not adequate to simply recruit people, but we must develop these recruits in turn into recruiters, people who have a good grasp of our program and can apply it in struggle and use it to recruit others. To put it somewhat differently, big city locals develop a better understanding than do isolated campus locals of the need and the way to integrate immediate, short-range tasks--such as building antiwar actions, open admission struggles, etc.--into an overall, long-range historic perspective of building a revolutionary leadership organization composed of conscious, highly-trained revolutionists. The former learn quickly the need to balance the local's program of activity to include an adequate amount of education in addition to activity. The latter usually start off oblivious to that need.

The concrete way that this manifests itself in our region is the total absence, with one or two exceptions, of any educational program in the locals. Brand new comrades tend to submerge themselves in campus issues, particularly campus antiwar struggles. This, in turn, makes further recruitment difficult for two reasons: first, because contacts see no fundamental distinction between being a YSAer and being a dedicated antiwar activist; and second, because the YSAers carry on no independent activity that makes that distinction obvious and trains the comrades to approach other radicalizing youth with the coherent perspective of revolutionary socialism.

So, what suffers under these circumstances is both the consolidation of established recruits and the recruitment of



contacts. Chicago became aware of this problem around the time that schools opened in September, and the spurt of recruitment that we expected in the region failed, on the whole, to occur, not due to lack of activity. Since that time, we have been agitating for a balanced program that includes both internal educational and contact classes and forums. Most of the locals have picked this up and begun the work. Chicago also has made a point of providing tapes for the region, and of pushing hard on the Socialist Summer School. Last summer, practically the entire DeKalb local came to Chicago for the summer and developed quite well, to the extent that their work this year has been noticeably more professional than elsewhere in the region. We have begun propagandizing already to bring dozens of comrades into Chicago for this coming summer.

The fundamental problem which the educational programs, the summer school, the regional conferences, etc., are designed to meet is the quite obvious one of a lack of experienced, trained cadre in these locals who, in general terms, are familiar with our overall strategy and know what to do next in a given situation to implement it. This lack certainly becomes formidable when fairly sophisticated problems are involved, such as coping with the Democratic Party in the antiwar movement, or heading off an ultraleft attempt to isolate the best activists in a struggle. But it is always present, and one of its more insidious effects is to stymie the healthy internal development of the local through muddle-headed and inefficient organizational practices. The "Manual for Organizers" which the YSA is projecting should go a long way toward solving some of these problems, again, as a stop-gap measure to compensate for the lack of experienced people in the field.

Another, rather different, problem is one that usually occurs not in the region but in the center! That is, the tendency exists to relegate regional work to a lesser priority than most other areas of local work. This comes out when manpower (and money) allotments are being made. Comrades feel that the region is remote, and that the most pressing needs are in the center, and they are loath to spend our resources on it.

It is perfectly true, and cannot be overemphasized, that without a strong base in the center, it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish bases in outlying areas. Nevertheless, when the most urgent long-range needs of the region are sacrificed to an immediate problem in the center, comrades are acting in a truly short-sighted fashion. An example of this occurred during the October Moratorium, when the political decision was made in Chicago that it was more important to send the last of our gigantic bundle of Militants to one of the least fruitful of Chicago campuses for its Moratorium activities, than to send them to the traveler, who was stranded on a brand new campus with great potential for recruitment, totally without this most important tool, on the eve of the Moratorium! Similarly, it is an on-going battle to take the personnel out of what is, of course, a grossly understaffed center, in order to send them on to the road. Several big city locals have not yet been able to see beyond their own city limits in this respect, and are carrying on no regional work to speak of. Comrades should consider that between now and the revolution we are going to be in a continuous crisis of understaffing, since the more people we have, the more openings will emerge. With regional work, as with all other areas of our work, we make allotments on the basis of political importance. If we wait until we have a surplus of competent people sitting around looking for assignments before we put someone on the road, regional work will never get done.

As a general rule, there is not a single campus in this country where it is impossible to have a vigorous local of the YSA. Our degree of success in reaching this goal depends entirely on what we put into it--in terms of manpower, time, money, and other resources. Regional work should not be considered a separate entity from other tasks, such as building the antiwar movement, the black struggle, etc. It is clear that building the YSA, recruiting the best young radicals to our ranks and to the perspective of revolutionary socialism is a prerequisite for success in every aspect of our work, from building a healthy, viable antiwar movement, to making the American revolution.

December 8, 1969

Chicago

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

by Karl Toth

( This document is being presented as a counterresolution to the YSA National Executive Committee resolution on the antiwar movement entitled " The New Stage in the Antiwar Movement: A Strategy for Young Socialists.")

Our aim must be to build a mass revolutionary movement, to give leadership to the working class and fight to bring Marxist theory to workers and students.

Our aim cannot be just to build large demonstrations or to try to find short cuts to building the revolutionary movement.

The anti-war movement in this country shows what a deep crisis capitalism is in. This was demonstrated by the size of the November 15 marches in Washington and San Francisco, and by the fact that many many thousands of workers and students marched for the first time in opposition to the war.

We cannot look at the anti-war movement by itself. It is part of the class struggle and the deepening crisis in international capitalism. The Vietnam crisis is deepening at the same time as a recession is beginning. The GE strike is taking place at the same time as the revelations about the Songmy massacre. The working class in this country and internationally is under attack. The ruling class must force the standard of living of the working class down and to do this it must break the power of the unions. It can only do this by unemployment and job cuts. We already have 4% unemployment and it will continue to increase. But the working class is fighting back. This is the meaning of the mass strike wave in Italy and France. In Italy 20 million workers went on a general strike and in the U.S. this is why we now have 150,000 GE workers on strike.

It has been argued that in order to help the Vietnamese people we need most of all large demonstrations. To fight on working class demands would be futile, it would not build large demonstrations, it is unrealistic, etc.

This is pragmatism, starting with what is immediately successful in terms of numbers. If Lenin had started that way there would have been no October Revolution. If Trotsky had started that way there certainly would have been no Fourth International. This doesn't mean we don't want mass demonstrations, we don't want numbers, but the numbers have to follow from the class struggle and the fight for Marxist principles. We have to

start from the objective needs of the working class, not with a numbers game.

The YSA leadership rejects the idea that the hundreds of members of the YSA can change reality, that they can function as a part of the class struggle, that they can get a response by fighting on the November 15 march and in their unions and on the campuses for working class demands which must be raised now and connected to the fight against Nixon and for the NLF.

Trotsky said that this was the period of the crisis of leadership and this is precisely what the working class does not have. In this period the working class must have a political arm, a labor party. The labor party is one of the most important fights we must wage today. No one else will do it.

We must turn the anti-war movement to the working class. The anti-war movement gives us a great opportunity to build the working class movement, to raise the consciousness of the working class. And this is also the only way we will build a real anti-war movement, for the working class and only the working class can stop war.

What we have in the anti-war movement today is a popular front. The YSA leadership says we have a single-issue, non-exclusionary, non-electoral united front. What this means is that we have formed a bloc with the liberal capitalist politicians. We do not fight for a working-class program, but keep the movement on a middle-class protest level.

What is the difference between the single-issue Popular Front against fascism of the Stalinists and the so-called single-issue united front against the Vietnam War? There is none. They are based on the same line.

Why is it after 30 years of struggle by the Trostskyist movement against Stalinism and Social Democracy, the betrayers of the working class, that we can now work in the same anti-war committees and help build the same movement? Have the Stalinists changed, have the liberals and pacifists changed? Have they become objectively anti-imperialist or pro-working class? The answer is no. It is our organization which has changed. It is the YSA which has given up the fight for the transitional program and the labor party, the fight against Stalinism and the trade union bureaucracy. That is why we and the CP can work together, because they know we do not threaten their

system as long as we do not fight for the working class.

We must turn to the working class and base ourselves on the objective needs of the working class. We must begin from the class struggle in the U.S. and internationally. This means a real political fight on the campuses and with all sections of youth. We must fight for Marxism, for a working class perspective. We must bring the fight for theory and for a new leadership of the working class to youth.

On this basis we must develop our program, our fight on the campuses against reformism and Stalinism, our fight against the war in Vietnam and against racism. We must begin with the transitional program. We must return to the road of Trotskyism and return to the transitional program.

I propose the following motion on the work of the YSA in the anti-war movement for discussion and vote at the forthcoming convention, counterposed to the line of the NEC draft on the antiwar movement:

1. The Vietnam crisis is getting deeper as the Vietnamese workers and peasants continue their heroic

struggle while political and economic troubles develop internationally and especially in the U.S. itself.

2. The present situation in Vietnam combined with the economic situation gives us a great opportunity. We must fight to bring a working class program into the fight against the Vietnam war.
3. The YSA must break completely from the liberal sections of the capitalist class in the antiwar committees. We must intervene independently with our program in this movement and on the campuses and high schools and trade unions.
4. The YSA must bring the transitional program into this fight.

We must fight for the slogans of jobs for all, the smashing of racism, along with the fight for immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops from Vietnam, the fight against inflation and the building of a labor party.

New York

December 8, 1969

BOSTON'S EXPERIENCES WITH THE SMC

By Mike Kelly

Objective Conditions

Objective conditions for organized antiwar activity were quantitatively and qualitatively better in Boston this fall, standing in sharp contrast to last year. The changes making a turn-out of 100,000 to hear Camejo and others on Oct. 15th possible were:

- 1) A growth in antiwar sentiment coupled with a desire to express it.
- 2) A growing disillusionment with Nixon's policies. The "honeymoon" is ending.
- 3) Ending of SDS's hegemony over Boston's high concentration of students. This was due to rejection by all the new students and many of the old of SDS's factionalism, sectarianism, and the adventurist defeats SDS had led the movement into. There also seemed to be an awareness of the need for mass actions reaching out to new layers of the population. This cut across SDS's strategy and tactics, of course. SDS meetings were small and ours (SMC) large from the beginning.
- 4) The lack of an electoral channel for the antiwar sentiment (i.e., "peace" candidates). We had but one such candidate--Michael Harrington's successful off-election year congressional race. His campaign didn't affect the Boston movement. The distance of his congressional district from the center of our activity means this was no real test for our SMCs. There does seem to be a greater awareness on the part of SMCers of the trap of bourgeois politics. This spring will provide a real test and challenge for us since we face both an incumbent antiwar senator and governor.
- 5) A widening split in the ruling class. Friendlier press coverage reflected this split. Boston papers, especially the Globe, built Oct. 15th for us. They didn't build Nov. 15th as much because it was a more distant action and they got the word to smash SMC to facilitate liberal domination of the antiwar movement. Local moratorium formations and others of their ilk gave us a convenient cover--especially before Oct. 15th. It was difficult for anyone to attack us. McGovern's speaking also drew many to Oct. 15th. Endorsement by various religious (Cardinal Cushing, for example) and political leaders (Kennedy, Mayor White of Boston, Governor Sargent, et al.) gave the Oct. 15th mass march and rally, as well as the community actions, unbelievable legitimacy.

These factors combined to enable us to build numerous and strong SMCs and to

intervene through them to dominate the fall offensive in Boston for all intents and purposes.

Political Developments and Problems

Opposition to our strategy and tactics in the antiwar movement came from both the right and left. Unlike some parts of the country, however, we had no opposition within the SMC. On the right we had the local Moratorium Committees allied with the local "new democratic coalition" type grouping, Mass Political Action for Peace (PAX). They provided the only serious opposition we faced. On the ultraleft front we faced three groupings: PL (WSA or SDS Boston, take your pick), November Action Coalition (loosely identifiable with RYM II politics), and the Weathermen (RYM I). They posed no serious threat, these three groupings, but are worth discussing. All three ultraleft groups turned out to be isolated from the masses of student activists (never mind the developing mass antiwar movement), in sharp contrast to the SMC with its mass following.

Weathermen posed no political threat. They hardly number more than 20 and their line isolates them from the activists. However, their foolish adventures in the city's schools hurt us a bit as the Boston school committee and the press used it as a club on the whole movement. Our own methods of organizing, defensive formulations, antiwar coalitions and one friendly paper (Globe) meant that we were able to begin to disassociate ourselves from Weathermen. Their adventure in Chicago received no support locally and the press was careful by then to distinguish between SDS factions, the rest of the movement, etc.

PL's influence in the movement declined along with the rest of SDS. If its previous sectarianism and adventurism weren't enough to chase new forces away their "orientation" to the fall antiwar offensive was.

PL-SDS called its own demonstration for Oct. 4th! They hoped to undercut us. They openly admitted they wanted to get the jump on us and counterposed their demonstration to ours. They bragged they would bring thousands to their action--more than we could!

PL-SDS's weakness came out early. At two regional conferences they called

they could hardly muster a little more than a hundred at each! The second, smaller one, in fact, was called because the first was "small and unrepresentative"! Politically they had difficulty differentiating themselves from the SMC and YSA. The "No Negotiations" they tacked onto the Immediate Withdrawal slogan went over everybody's head. First, we were clear in our literature and talks that the U.S. had no right to negotiate. Secondly, people didn't realize that PL meant this to also mean the NLF (their "sell-out" line). The political distinctions were too fine for most to worry about. Also, their attempt to wish us away by ignoring us backfired. By not coming to SMC meetings, especially the mass meetings, they missed real opportunities to differentiate themselves and possibly recruit.

Rather than avoid debates and ignore them, we went to PL-SDS meetings and played a "Mutt and Jeff" routine with them which further isolated them and educated the SMCs to our politics. We went to these meetings proposing a United Front on the Fall Offensive. We made it well-known we were doing this. In other words, we pushed the theme of unity which made sense to the SMCers, standing in sharp contrast to the blatantly sectarian character of Oct. 4th. PL-SDS's clear rejection of a united front opened the door for us to attack their politics without appearing sectarian to the SMCers.

As it turns out, we actually put out more leaflets attacking Oct. 4th, PL-SDS's sectarianism, and counterposing Oct. 15th than PL-SDS put out building it! This criticism was nicely worked into a leaflet calling for an Oct. 2nd Mass Meeting to plan for Oct. 15th! They attracted 300 to 350 to their "mass" march and rally. This helped to further demoralize them, according to our reports. Their total isolation was probably the main factor in their joining in building Nov. 15th, though under their own slogan and with a post-rally demonstration at the Labor Dept.

The November Action Coalition is a motley crew of various SDS remnants in the area loosely organized around the Old Mole (a local radical paper) and RYM II politics, i.e., Support the NLF, their slogan for organizing in the antiwar movement. NAC suffered a fate similar to PL's. They were forced to join in building Nov. 15th because of their almost total isolation. Their campus complicity action against the "imperialist" research at MIT flopped. No more than 500, half not even from MIT, participated. Their own rallies twice voted down the leadership on its original tactics of building seizures, etc. Our experiences with it are interesting. We were divided over

whether to join to build this action with NAC, just challenging them on tactics, since it was a complicity issue, or to attack their campaign the way we did PL's. Finally we decided that to support it would mislead independents into believing that NAC's strategy was a correct one, i.e., organizing around a campus complicity issue at this time (Nov. 4-8), called by a group that was directly counterposing this strategy to ours of building massive antiwar demonstrations (Nov. 15). Their action was counterposed as a "sharper" and more effective strategy for the antiwar and revolutionary movements. We pointed out that the struggle at MIT would represent a de-escalation of the struggle when counterposed to Nov. 15. We said that all forces should be thrown into building Nov. 15th with no deliberate diversions.

Unfortunately enough, we didn't plan and execute our political attack on NAC well enough as we hesitated between a "hands-off non-sectarian" approach and a clear criticism of NAC actions. At our second mass meeting of Oct. 29 where NAC came to argue for their line this hesitation made for confusion which resulted in an unsatisfactory compromise of "No endorsement, No attack" which hampered subsequent efforts at educating the SMCers against ultraleftism. Nonetheless, many NACers were shaken by the mediocre reaction to their action as compared to the response SMC was getting.

From the right we had to deal with several formations. On a number of campuses in the area individuals such as student body presidents, editors of student newspapers, etc., were the local representatives of the National Moratorium Committee. On some campuses they started committees, such as at Harvard, generally small and undemocratically organized, of course. We also faced a group called the Boston Area Faculty Group on Political Issues (BAFGOPI), representing some of the liberal and radical faculty in the area. Lastly, we confronted Mass Political Action for Peace (PAX) and its youth front Vietnam Peace Action (VPA).

Initially we had a bit of difficulty dealing with these formations on the question of Oct. 15th. We weren't sure whether our national perspective was to build Oct. 15th in some way or just use it more to build for Nov. 15th than as an action in and of itself. SMC national literature gave Oct. 15th but small attention, likewise the Militant, so we leaned towards the former perspective. However, the tremendous response to our propaganda at the first campus to open in the fall--Boston University--showed us that students wanted to do something Oct. 15th, knowing about the Moratorium. (We had a thousand on our mailing lists and



meetings of 80-200!--business meetings!) We saw the possibility for building Oct. 15th along our lines and sharply counterposing it to the decentralized, dispersed precinct-type organizing and activity Moratorium and Mass Pax wanted. We felt that building Oct. 15 would enable us to prevent Moratorium from consolidating a hold over the new activists, allow us to differentiate ourselves from them and start educating against the eventual thrust of their organizing--peace candidates and realignment of the Democratic Party, through base building for the '70 congressional and gubernatorial primaries and elections. This perspective proved to be correct.

Our perspective became one of organizing a mass march and rally for Oct. 15th and fighting for it in the coalitions. No other group wanted it originally--just us. One factor in our favor was the character of the individual Moratorium organizers--most were not consciously base building for reform of the Democratic Party, for future "peace" candidates, etc. They were not firmly wedded to Moratorium politics. We undertook to win them over to our perspective. We won enough of them over. At two meetings early in the fall where we, BAFGOPI and most of the local Moratorium organizers met, we won a majority over to our perspective. This put pressure on Mass Pax and other groups in the coalition later to be called Boston New Mobilization. Ken Hurewitz, the Moratorium's northeast coordinator and wedded to their politics, counterposed rallies in different towns and one larger (5,000) closed rally which McGovern could speak to with no other speakers!

Correctly gauging where the "independent" Moratorium organizers were at was a key to winning our perspective. They wanted to build the whole fall offensive which National Moratorium and Mass Pax didn't. Some we won over so completely they joined the SMC right away! We used the already established and strong BUSMC, representing the whole campus with no competitors, as a club against Moratorium. Here it was functioning already and planning a mass march and rally. In other words, we faced them with a fait accompli which we defended and they had to attack--a difficult position for them! We easily won over Northeastern University Moratorium Committee (it later became an SMC chapter!) and used it to split the Moratorium. We inveigled the Harvard Moratorium Committee to hold joint meetings in the dorms with the SMC at Harvard where our perspective prevailed. They reacted to this pressure and moved in a healthier direction. As it later became known, the Boston Moratorium organizers helped produce a split in the National Morator-

ium meetings, acting as the left wing!

Mass Pax, correctly seeing our Oct. 15th plans as cutting across their community perspective, fought us tooth and nail to kill the mass march and rally. Some of their community organizers came to coalitions and actually pleaded for us to call off our plans as it would destroy their base building. Unable to kill or sabotage the plans, Mass Pax contested us for control of the march and rally, particularly the speakers list! They wanted to turn it into a Reform Democratic Party rally if they could. They proposed Kennedy, McGovern, Cesar Chavez, and Galbraith--no others--as the speakers! Nice try, but they failed. The march and rally came off as the comrades know with a range of speakers including McGovern and Camejo. The 100,000 Camejo spoke before was one of the largest audiences we've ever had like this!

One mistake we made here was "trading" our control (routes, marshalls, coordination) of the mass march for the rally itself. We didn't recognize until too late that they never wanted to control the march and our vulnerability with them controlling the rally was great. Mass Pax marshalls at the rally site controlled the speakers platform enabling them to slip John Kenneth Galbraith on the platform and shove Camejo from second to fourth on the speakers list. If we hadn't protested and gathered our forces for a possible confrontation, he might have been last or not given a chance to speak as they didn't want him to speak. They, of course, tried to blur the slogan of immediate withdrawal but it came through and the debate in the press over it was indicative of the new stage of the antiwar movement.

In anticipation of redbaiting when our "honeymoon" with Moratorium was over, the electoral orientation they would eventually take and the presence of the ultralefts, we put an emphasis on political discussion in all SMC meetings and with key SMCers individually. To date this education has done us in good stead. We've converted several Moratorium campus and high school committees to SMCs while maintaining, indeed increasing, the number of our own.

Our coalition work was curious. A very loose tripartite (SMC, Moratorium and the Faculty Group) was formed to organize the Oct. 15th march and rally. The New Mobilization Committee proved unable to become the organizational channel for all these groups which had never engaged in antiwar coalitions before. There was no working relation comparable to that which had existed in previous coalitions. It is difficult to pinpoint why this was the case.

### Organizational Points

Most of our organizational experiences are undoubtedly familiar to most comrades so I'll just hit one or two things which may be different and helpful.

Given the size of Boston and the number of SMCs functioning (20 plus), we quickly found we had to substantially beef up our city staff. We were unprepared in this respect. We lost some time and opportunities because of the necessity to break new people in and reorganize the work. To pay this staff and supply the literature for the SMCs (we found it made more sense than each doing its own leaflets, et al.), we put a heavy emphasis on fund-raising and made it a regular activity with regular people assigned to it. The result was we brought in enough money (\$16,000 to date) to pay off our initial \$1,000 loan to get us started, send considerable monies to the N.O. of the SMC, send and support a Boston comrade to work with the national SMC, avoid the money constraints we've known in the past, and come out of Nov. 15th with \$2,500 or so to build for the spring actions. Quite a difference from past mobilizations!

One major problem we encountered was a communications problem between the city office and the various school and college committees. Frequent citywide steering committee meetings helped to alleviate but not completely solve this problem. These citywide meetings were very useful as they brought many of the key SMCers together for coordination, planning, education and a wider perspective. A regional traveler turned out to be a citywide traveler, what with all the city and area SMCs. We were unable to free anyone for real regional trailblazing.

Comrades might share their experiences with mass meetings as we've had questionable results with them here. I mean citywide mass meetings, not campus ones, which often drew 100 to 200 and

went well. They turned out to be little more than informational meetings without really involving the independents in the decision making et al. Having some opposition at one, from NAC, made for educational opportunities, but apparent disinterestedness after the first mass meeting of 600 to 800 made for a poor attendance of 160 at the second.

I understand that redbaiting took a toll of some SMCs around the country, so I'll comment on what I think made it possible for us to go unscathed. Our hammering home of SMC's four basic points of nonexclusion, independence, mass actions and immediate withdrawal; educating as to the nature of National Moratorium, the history of the antiwar movement; and operating very openly as YSAers (wearing YSA buttons, selling our literature at all SMC meetings, leafleting for our forums and classes and just talking with individuals) brought us through the redbaiting in good shape.

Our Nov. 14th Student Strike was overshadowed by Nov. 15th as was the case in some other parts of the country, I understand. We also had a "lull" here after Oct. 15th, it being so big.

There seems to be real potential on many of the campuses for complicity campaigns. Tufts SMC has had an anti-ROTC demonstration to kick off its ROTC campaign and BUSMC has effectively intervened on the BU campus around GE and free speech after anti-GE demonstrations were broken up by police on campus. We're also developing high school rights campaigns in several schools. So our activity in the SMC in the up-coming period will revolve around building for our regional and national SMC conferences, GI work, high school rights, complicity campaigns and supporting the GE strike, the latter being a very popular issue amongst all the radical groups, by the way.

December 10, 1969  
Boston

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

by Norman Oliver

Trotsky once said "...the crisis of this historical epoch is the crisis of leadership." The black struggle is a concrete example of this statement. Since there has already been a significant amount of discussion on the potentialities of the black struggle, I want to deal here with the lack of leadership within the black community. More specifically, I want to deal with, and hopefully dispel, some illusions about the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (DRUM, FRUM, ELRUM, MARUM, etc.)

Perhaps the best way to approach this is by first reviewing the history of the League. The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) emerged out of a struggle at the Dodge assembly plant in Hamtramck, Mich. A number of black workers, having become dissatisfied by the way the UAW was handling their grievances, felt it was necessary for them to organize independently of the union. They began publishing a weekly newsletter, DRUM, which kept the workers informed of what was happening in the plant and also carried exposes of individuals in the management. DRUM began holding meetings to discuss and make decisions on the activities it carried out in the factory. A few successful "wildcats" were organized in May-June of that year, 1968, and this led to the formation of similar organizations in other plants. The League simply coordinates the activities of these different plants and publishes the Inner City Voice. This is all well and good, but the League then became less and less a viable organization and more and more the organizational expression of ultraleft politics. That is, the lack of a revolutionary socialist leadership or the direction of one, led the League into the same pitfall the IWW fell into. Trying to combine in one organization the mass organization that is needed and the revolutionary organization which is also needed but which, at this time, cannot possibly be mass.

Let me explain what I mean. The struggles that have taken place for black studies programs and open admissions on the campuses and the spreading of black caucuses and the struggle against the racist character of the construction industry have shown that the masses of Afro-Americans can be organized on a nationalist basis. However, it is only on a nationalist basis that the masses of Afro-Americans can be organized and mobilized. To attempt to organize the black community on the basis of "Marxism-Leninism" is to limit one's self to the revolutionary nationalists who, at this

time, are not exactly massive. In other words, organizing in this fashion isolates the revolutionary nationalists from the rest of the black community, i.e., the masses of Afro-Americans.

Nonetheless, the League has succeeded in doing just that. Because of its perspective of building a mass revolutionary black party, the leadership of the League has limited its membership in the organization to that of revolutionary nationalists. We have seen what happens to organizations which have isolated themselves from the masses of the community. For instance, it is precisely because the Panthers are isolated from the black community, that the capitalist class is able to execute its program of liquidation against the Panthers. Check out the whole development of SNCC from a mass, viable organization to a name of the past. It is the present isolation of the revolutionary nationalists from the masses of blacks that is the basic reason for the lack of leadership in the black liberation struggle.

For the struggle for self-determination to be successful, it is of paramount importance that those with a long-term perspective of smashing capitalism participate in and provide leadership for the masses of the black community in order to bring Afro-America to that same understanding that capitalism must be destroyed before Afro-Americans can ever determine their own destinies. If the revolutionists are isolated, the field is left open for reformists such as SCLC. Perhaps the most disgusting example of this is how the struggle for black control of the schools was misled into reliance on liberal politicians in the struggle that took place recently in New York.

Because of the diverse and uncoordinated nature of the black struggle, it is necessary to build a mass black party to give central direction to these diverse struggles. However, merely propagandizing the need for a black party is not enough. It is necessary that revolutionary nationalists also initiate mass struggles in the community. For it is only through mass struggle that the black community will gain the consciousness necessary to build a mass black party.

In order for this party to be effective in providing the leadership that is needed in the black struggle, its program must be formulated on a nationalist basis. That is, it must struggle for the realization of the demand "Black

Control of the Black Community." The realization of this demand will mean the destruction of capitalism because of the whole dynamic of the black struggle.

As I indicated above, it will be only through struggle that a black party will be built. For example, the struggle to end the war in Vietnam, like other struggles within the black community, is intimately linked with the formation of a black party as well as the demand for black control of the black community. The demand to end the racist draft is a concrete issue in the black community. Coupled with the demand to bring the troops home now, a powerful mass movement within the black community can evolve challenging the control and authority of the government within the community and at the same time lending aid to the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

I have mentioned a number of times the words "revolutionary nationalists."

It should always be kept in mind that the only consistent nationalist is a revolutionary socialist. For it is only with an understanding of the accumulated experience of the working class in its struggles for an end to wage-slavery, i.e., Marxism, that one can draw the lessons necessary to make the black liberation struggle successful. Of all the tendencies within the workers movement, it is only the Trotskyist movement which has the knowledge, understanding, and has drawn the lessons from this accumulated experience of the working class. This is why it must not be forgotten that our long-term perspective is that of building a mass revolutionary socialist youth movement. A movement that will play an integral part in the making of the American revolution. We must recruit and build the YSA.

Detroit

December 12, 1969

NOTES ON THE PUERTO RICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK CITY

by Miguel Padilla

Over one million Puerto Ricans, or approximately one third of the island's population, are now living within the borders of the United States, for the most part within the borders of large urban slums. The vast majority of these over one million Puerto Ricans originally immigrated to the United States in an attempt to escape the dead-end traps of poverty and unemployment which are part and parcel of an economy which is manipulated to serve the interests of North American imperialism which controls it. These immigrants who have come to the land of plenty have come only to face the same problems they thought had been left behind on the island.

According to a recent survey taken in 1966 and reported on by Labor Department official Herbert Beinstock, the subemployment rate for Puerto Ricans in slum areas in New York is 33.1%, and the unemployment rate in 10%. In New York City, 80% of all Puerto Rican wage earners earn less than \$5,000 annually, while in New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut, the figure is 86%

The public educational system too, is not famed for its ability to meet the needs of Puerto Rican communities. In 1966 the New York City public educational system produced a grand total of 37 Puerto Rican students who went on to continue a course of study in a four-year college or university! The drop-out rate among Puerto Rican males in New York City high schools is an astronomical 84%, while 76% of all Puerto Rican high school students never get to graduate. The problems Puerto Ricans are facing in the fields of employment and education along with the problems of inferior and inadequate housing, medical care, sanitation, etc., are all products of a decaying capitalist system which cannot, or more precisely, will not, provide solutions to the problems it creates. Over one million Puerto Ricans have jumped out of the frying pan and into the fire and the heat is producing a revolt in Puerto Rican communities across the country.

During the last five years, eruptions have occurred in several major Puerto Rican communities, most notably in Chicago, Passaic, New Jersey, and New York City. These rebellions have in many ways paralleled those that have occurred in the Black ghettos. As in the Black rebellions, the backbone of the Puerto Rican revolt has been the youth who catch the major brunt of the burden caused by the unsolvable contradictions in which North American imperialism finds itself entangled, both national-

ly and internationally. In N.Y.C., it is among Puerto Rican youth on the campus where this mood of rebellion is finding its most advanced political and organizationally expression.

A growing number of Puerto Rican ghetto youth are finding their way onto New York City's college campuses. The largest number of Puerto Rican youth are concentrated on the campuses of the City University, which is composed of four major colleges and a network of two-year community colleges which are all geographically dispersed throughout the city. This influx of Puerto Rican youth onto the campuses has been a result of the SEEK program, which has been, nevertheless, a feeble and inadequate attempt to somewhat rectify the blatant policies of exclusion which are characteristic of the system of public higher education in New York City in relation to Puerto Rican and Black students. At City College the SEEK program has meant an increase in the number of Puerto Rican students from about 70 in 1967-68 to 160 in 1968-69, out of a total enrollment of 10,000 day-session students. City College is adjacent to the largest Puerto Rican community in the United States!

The new stage in the Black student movement that was signalled by the struggle waged out at San Francisco State swept across New York City's college campuses last spring. It was in union with this new wave that Puerto Rican students in New York City began to awake and to act decisively. In the spring of 1969 six campuses experienced occupations and shut downs. In every instance the actions were spearheaded by coalitions of Black and Puerto Rican students. The demands were basically similar in all the struggles throughout the city, focusing on: 1) Black and Puerto Rican studies, and 2) new admissions policies that would allow for an increase in the number of Black and Puerto Rican students. The fact that Puerto Rican students were struggling alongside their Black brothers and sisters seems only logical since both oppressed minorities suffer under similar conditions, are forced to send their children to the same rotten schools, live in the same dilapidated neighborhoods, etc. But this union in struggle was a new phenomenon and the polar opposite of what has been going on in the Black and Puerto Rican ghettos for some time, where divisions have been fostered around who is to get the few crumbs of what anti-poverty funds are available. The consciousness displayed on the part of Puerto Rican students in their



alliance in struggle with Black students had a tremendous impact on those sectors of the Puerto Rican community which were mobilized in support of the students. Many of these elements were anti-poverty program types who learned a lesson in who the real enemy is. The most dramatic of the struggles waged last spring took place at the City College of New York where four hundred Black and Puerto Rican students seized one-half of the campus and kept the school shut while they negotiated with the administration for two weeks. The action at City College touched off the other actions which rocked the City University. More important, however, was the fact that the concept of open admissions which was raised by the students at City College became the focus of discussion throughout the student movement in New York City. The idea that the educational system was totally responsible for the failure of Black and Puerto Rican youth in regard to their gaining admittance to colleges and universities and that admissions policies had to be defined by those who were the victims of this oppressive system was a qualitative leap from a demand which called simply for more Puerto Rican and Black students. The struggle at City College also brought into relief the need for a city-wide organization which would be able to coordinate the mobilization of Puerto Rican students and the general Puerto Rican community in support of a struggle to counteract right-wing mobilizations and propaganda which were carried out through the mass media and the Democratic Party during the City College occupation.

It was around the City College occupation that the organized Puerto Rican student movement first started displaying a nationalist consciousness in relation to the independence struggle on the island. The Puerto Rican flag flew for two weeks over the south half of the City College campus and this nationalist display encouraged the MPI (Movimiento Pro Independencia) to set up a formal working relationship with Puerto Rican students, a task which they had found extremely difficult to carry out in the past. MPI provided the major forces which helped to mobilize support for the students in the Puerto Rican community and their influence in the consolidation and growth of the Puerto Rican student movement has continued to be a major one. It is around these two questions of what type of open admissions policy is needed and how it can be won, and how can Puerto Rican students aid concretely the struggle for Puerto Rican independence that the Puerto Rican student movement is beginning to consolidate on a city-wide level.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1969 these questions continued to be discussed but it was the events taking place in Rios Piedros, Puerto Rico, which served

as a focus for the resurgence of the Puerto Rican student movement in New York City this fall. At the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedros, FUPI (Federation of University Students for Independence) mounted a demonstration to protest the sentencing of a Puerto Rican student who refused induction into the United States army. The ROTC building at the University was subsequently burned down. The government used the incident as a cover to unleash a wave of political repression arresting over 40 leaders of various left-wing organizations in Puerto Rico. A defense committee was established in New York City involving most Puerto Rican campus groups, as well as other radical and socialist organizations, including the YSA. A campaign was launched to raise money and to get out educational material on what was happening in Puerto Rico. The working relationship established between the various Puerto Rican campus groups around the defense work has become the basis for the formation of a city-wide organization which is now in the making.

The YSA has been able to make contact with the Puerto Rican student movement on a limited scale principally around the defense work which was being carried out. Articles in the Militant and a public forum where a collection was taken to be forwarded to Puerto Rico helped to establish a working relationship. In the future the YSA will be able to collaborate further in such efforts. Projections are being made to conduct teach-ins sponsored by the USLA Justice Committee on the Puerto Rican independence movement. There exist tremendous opportunities to draw Puerto Rican campus organizations into the antiwar movement due in large part to the example set by the students in Puerto Rico and the struggles they have waged against ROTC and the draft and the solidarity they have expressed with the Vietnamese struggle. The 1970 Socialist Workers Party election campaign will also provide us with tremendous opportunities to approach the Puerto Rican student movement. The concept of Black and Puerto Rican control of our own communities, which was one of the main campaign slogans in the recent SWP mayoralty campaign is a concept which the students relate very strongly to. The role played by the Democratic Party in the attacks upon the City College students where even Herman Badillo, Puerto Rican Democrat from the Bronx, joined in on those attacks have served to completely expose the Democratic Party in the eyes of Puerto Rican militants. The Communist Party, which has been trying to get a toe-hold into the movement, suffered serious setbacks when it pushed for support to Badillo, who was then running in the Democratic primaries for mayor of New York. Most important will be the work

that our Latin comrades will be able to carry out inside the Puerto Rican campus groups. The YSA's ability to influence, lead and recruit the newly-radicalizing layers of Puerto Rican student militants

will increase as we become the best builders of the Puerto Rican student movement.

New York

December 12, 1969

REPORT ON THE 1969 CLEVELAND CAMPAIGN

By Syd Stapleton

When discussion was begun on the mayoralty campaign here there were feelings that the Stokes campaign would be a little too difficult to take on in the situation where the Trotskyist movement had little or no contact with the black community. The petitioning was seen as an arduous and drawn-out task that would not be able to contribute much to the influence of the Trotskyist movement in the area.

Experience in the campaign proved exactly the opposite. The critical political issues raised by the Stokes campaign made the impact of our campaign very sharp, and the degree of attention in the city focused on the race made the campaign of public importance in almost every segment of the population. To outline this experience I will list the major areas of work or importance for the campaign, and list the most important lessons. There will be some overlap, but I'll also try to list some of what we think are the most important general conclusions at the end.

1. Use of the media. The most important single area of the campaign was the use of the media. In addition to heavy newspaper coverage, including three front-page stories, the news coverage in the electronic media was excellent. The major news, rock and TV stations normally carried campaign releases on the news, and press conferences received good coverage.

A fairly good estimate of the amount of TV and radio time is 25 hours (7 or 8 of which were TV), and the estimate may be low in instances where tapes were played more than once. Also included in that time are 30 one-minute spot ads on the only rock station in the town, and 18 minutes of prime time in the last week of the campaign played as part of a three-part presentation on the candidates.

We held five press conferences during the course of the campaign but found them to be the least productive of any press-oriented activity. The best results came from almost daily press releases in the last part of the campaign, in the form of attacks on what the other candidates said, applying transitional demands to public transportation, strikes, crime, etc. Another important factor was keeping the press informed of public meetings. The newspapers refused to cover the campaign for a period of time until we demanded meetings with the city editors and got reporters assigned to the campaign. Newspaper coverage again deteriorated in the last three or four days of the campaign, but after we had gotten two

weeks of almost daily coverage. When we were given TV time to explain our own programs we did everything possible to carry the youth and audacity of the campaign into those areas. Professional-style work with films, tapes, skits, photos, etc. made the spots and program have terrific impact in the radical movement, and did not at all cut us off from working people or high school students.

Needless to say, the impression of the campaign as a serious, innovative, and reasonable alternative created by our use of the media had an impact in every other area of our work. High school students set up meetings because they had seen things they liked on TV; liberals gave us money because of the issues that we were able to raise, etc. People thought of the Socialist Workers Party as a big operation.

This attitude of the media towards us as a serious political force has continued since the campaign. We received coverage for the YSA regional conference and the announcement of our 1970 campaign slate was a top news story on both radio and TV.

YSAers may have noticed that there was a series of long articles on the campaign in the Militant, especially at the beginning (in June and July) and at the end (in late October and November). Comrades must remember to treat the Militant as the most important sector of the media. The most political people in the country outside of ourselves read the paper. For members, the paper can serve as a way to spread ideas that can be useful in other places in other campaigns. With long campaign articles appearing regularly, the Militant becomes the most powerful piece of campaign literature we have. Thus, Militant sales become an activity that we can involve campaign sympathizers in. Stories on the campaign you are running become a hot local angle that can be used to increase sales. The fact is that no matter how friendly your relations are with the local media, there is no other paper (at this time) that will print stories exactly as we want them and has other articles that people interested in our campaigns will want to read.

2. The black community. Going into the campaign the situation in terms of leadership in the black community was as bad or worse than any city in the country.

An example is in the case of the railroading of Ahmed Evans. The astrologer-reformist-cultural nationalist leadership of the black community has effectively prevented the formation of a united-

front type defense committee. The overall situation, of course, has not changed radically, but the campaign was generally seen as the only consistent and public defense that Ahmed Evans has had.

In the last month three young black people have been recruited to the YSA as a result of the campaign, which is the most important gain in the movement in that area in a long time. These young people will serve as the basis for forming a Third World Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam.

We were not able, however, to have any visible impact in the black high schools. Meetings that we organized in the schools were either not attended or packed by the "cultural nationalists," in spite of the fact that they were organized around Malcolm X tapes in addition to campaign speakers.

The Harris campaign, the endorsement by us of independent black school board candidate Gloria Gould, and the political points raised and publicized in the mayoral campaign have created a reservoir of sympathy for our movement in the black community which we expect to have further dividends. One example of that which may not be entirely accurate is a newspaper poll which indicated that Stapleton would get .5 percent of the vote in the black community, which is 500 to 1,000 people. The fact is that we received our votes from all over the city. Our highest totals, in a ward by ward breakdown, did come in the black community. In one ward, which went very heavily for Stokes, we even outpolled the Republican Perk.

3. College campuses. On the two college campuses of the area that we have had no contact with, meetings set up by the student newspapers led to five students on one and six on the other signing up to join the YSA. There can be the perspective for functioning fractions on these campuses within a couple of weeks. On the two campuses where we have people, the fact that we were not a novelty, that there was an enormous volume of antiwar work, and that our own people were overextended already, reduced the amount of possible gain. However, on the major campus, Case Western Reserve, we were able to organize three large forums, to get 50 votes in a mock election, to set up dorm meetings, and towards the end of the campaign to begin the recruitment of the people who had worked on the campaign without joining the YSA. The Young Socialists for Stapleton and Harris (YSSH) was the vehicle for this work and proved effective both in this regard and as a mailing list to be used in building the YSA and the national convention.

4. High schools. High school meetings, speeches to "urban problems" class-

es, etc. were set up in one of two ways. Either a YSAer or campaign supporter in the school wangled the meeting, or the school set it up as part of three presentations, one each by the major mayoral candidates (the SLP ran a write-in campaign). The campaign was seen by a whole layer of students as the logical expression of their antiwar, generally alienated feelings, and the only limitation on the number of kids that we can recruit is our own level of organization. At the meeting for which we were most organized, Stapleton spoke to 400 girls, held a seminar with 50 of them afterwards, and signed up 18 to join the YSA. That experience could and should be repeated at almost every high school in the area.

5. The campaign forums. Our own public meetings were organized around the idea of relating the campaign and its momentum to specific issues in the radical or black liberation movements. Close to 200 people attended one of the largest forums in the history of our movement here, which was a debate with the Weathermen by the two candidates. A forum on black control held in the evening at a predominantly black high school was the second most successful. However, they were no substitute for party or YSA activities involving people who became supporters of the campaign.

6. Trade unions. Probably the single least successful area of campaign work. Not one union gave the candidates an opportunity to speak, but the use of transitional demands did evoke a favorable response from plants where we have comrades, with the central question being the war in Vietnam. The fact that Stokes came out for immediate withdrawal didn't impress older people or young people who saw the importance of building the movement against the war, since it was possible to raise proposal after proposal for ways that Stokes could make his opposition to the war real. Of course, he declined to accept any of them.

7. General impact of the campaign on the antiwar movement, older ex-radicals and active liberals. The clarity of the campaign around the war and black control, and the discussion that it was able to generate around those questions were generally seen as very valuable, even by those who have in the past been hostile to the party. We were able to raise contributions from older ex-party trade union officials, people who had not functioned in the radical movement, and in one case from an official of local SANE who had withdrawn from the antiwar movement to work on pollution. Wearing his Stokes button, he wrote out a check for \$20 on the basis that the campaign obviously had the allegiance of all radical young people (!) and was doing the things that he would like to do. The Socialist

Workers Party is now generally seen as a major independent force in the movement, and as one that makes it embarrassingly difficult to be against the war and at the same time to support the Democratic Party. The campaign was received in a friendly way by the Ethical Culture Society, for example.

8. Printed material. In the course of the campaign we printed and distributed around 100,000 pieces of printed material of various types. These included a poster, stickers, two printed leaflets (the type sometimes known as brochures), a flyer on black control of education, two buttons, hand-outs on a variety of topical questions, announcements of forums and campaign rallies, etc. Printing was the single largest expense of the campaign. It is important to have the basic literature ready early in the campaign. The design of campaign material, especially the basic things that will be used throughout the campaign, should be well done. If you are not fortunate enough to have talented artists in your area, it is better to pirate ideas from other branches or to produce something with Art-Type (or Deca-Dry, or Press-Type, or whatever it's called in your area) than it is to produce shoddy, poorly designed work. Another avenue to explore on this might be your local Artists Against the War committee. There might be someone there willing to design buttons, stickers, etc., cheaply.

9. Some general statistics. Syd and James spoke to 7,100 people at at least 40 public meetings. Only six of those were campaign forums, although high school and dorm meetings organized by our efforts made up another 10 of the meetings. The figure is somewhat inflated by the fact that one of the meetings was the Kent State University meeting with 3,000 at it, but then the City Club debate, with only 150 actually there, was carried live by five radio stations and was listened to by an enormous number. Only forty-five endorser cards were collected during the campaign, but that flowed from a general lack of consciousness on the question, rather than any difficulty in getting endorsers. Once we began circulating "I would like to join the YSA" lists at meetings where a big pitch was made to join, 48 people signed up to join in the last four days of the campaign. That process is not at all concluded since there is little overlap between the "I want to join" lists and the endorser list--which is predominantly young people.

#### Some general conclusions

Getting on the ballot, combined with the fact that the campaign was one in which there was a lot of general interest

because of Stokes, was the single most important factor in making the campaign a success. It compelled stations to give us equal time, compelled the media generally to take us seriously because of the 20,000 signatures we had collected to get on the ballot, and once those things had given us an opportunity to develop our ideas, the other things tended to fall into place.

Second, there is no reason for our campaigns not to project the kind of identification with the youth radicalization that our publications do. Transitional demands can be presented in such a way as to identify with the humanitarian inclinations of young people, while not making them offensive (unnecessarily) to other sections of the population.

Third, it is very important to not limit the application of transitional demands to formulas. We run in elections because people have illusions about elections. People also have illusions that the issues that other candidates raise are real issues. Application of a transitional approach to statements by the other candidates, specific proposals they make, attacks they make on one another, and so on are very important in developing the view of the socialist program as a serious contender for power on all questions--not just "ours." Some of the best responses that we got came from an attack on a big charity drive in town that had previously been looked on like motherhood. We exposed the phony participation of the corporations, did a muckraking job on the thing, and then let out with a series of proposals for creation of real solutions for public health. Another example is a statement on art and culture in this society which was printed by the biggest entertainment weekly in the city--and was read by thousands of young people--tying the problem to the war, the subjugation of art to advertising, etc.

Last, we had some problems during the campaign. They came from the fact that we were simply not prepared to recruit the young people who came to agree with us during the campaign. Had we been more conscious of the opportunities that would be presented by the campaign, we could have literally signed up 200-300 young people wanting to join the YSA. Another problem was that the campaign became largely a branch activity, not involving larger numbers of people in actions.

Finally, this local campaign has built up a very good momentum which will be continued on a statewide basis by the 1970 campaign.

December 13, 1969

Cleveland



PSEUDO-NATIONALISM AND NEO-SEGREGATION

By Jim Hamilton

"It was a case of the whites saying to the Negroes, 'you must create a ghetto for yourselves.' It is tactless and false and can only serve to repulse the Negroes. Their only interpretation can be that the whites want to be separated from them."

--L. Trotsky

"The slogan of national culture is bourgeois...deception. Our slogan is the international culture of democracy and the world working-class movement."

--V.I. Lenin

The recent advocacy of separate all-black school systems by the present YSA leadership is repugnant to those of us who remember the hateful system of segregation.

Black separatist ideas have appeared in the Negro population in the past when the movement for black freedom has run up against a stone wall of repression.

Booker T. Washington was the original black capitalist. Marcus Garvey rose during the period of the KKK's greatest reign.

The civil rights movement of the early 1960s was able to accomplish the bourgeois democratic tasks of winning voting rights and open public accommodations for Negroes but was unable to develop a transitional program for the economic liberation of black people which would have required a class analysis and a revolutionary socialist program.

The black nationalist movement is generated by the Negro petty bourgeoisie who hope to gain jobs in public administration and small business as the "Africanization" of the black slums proceeds. They advertize in Muhammad Speaks and take \$25,000 a year jobs with "war on poverty" agencies. Many of these same "nationalists" date blue-eyed, blond "honky" women.

Negroes do not constitute a nation like the Vietnamese and Algerians or even the North American Indian tribes. Many of the scientific characteristics of nationhood (language, territory, culture) do not apply. Blacks have the same language as whites. New York Negroes have a "Manhattan," not a "Southern" accent. The black belt no longer exists, with Negroes scattered as far as Toronto and Honolulu.

Black culture, especially since the introduction of television, is a hundred times closer to the American Melting Pot

than it is to any African peasant tribe. What Negro culture does exist is a culture of poverty, akin to the subculture of the Appalachian poor whites which, of course, is not a "national" culture.

Classic imperialism (like that in Angola or Czarist Russia) is based on forced assimilation. The oppression of blacks is much more akin to the type of repression experienced by the Jews in Russia or by women everywhere. In fact, white women workers in America earn less than do American Negro males. The oppression of Negroes is a caste rather than a national oppression. (See "Castelike Status of Women and Negroes" by Roxanne Dunbar in No More Fun and Games, third issue.)

Nationalism of oppressed groups is not always revolutionary. Lenin fought against East European Jewish nationalism which ended up as reactionary Zionism. Trotsky opposed "self-determination" for Sudeten, Austrian, Tyrol, and Saar Germans. The Fourth International saw the partition of India as a "thoroughly reactionary step."

Religious nationalism was the tool of British imperialism and the native bourgeoisie to derail the permanent revolution begun by the independence struggles. Even today there are bloody communal riots between Muslim and Hindu workers and peasants.

Black nationalism in British Guyana played the CIA's game in turning the Negro population against the Indian immigrants and resulted in the overthrow of Cheddi Jagan's government.

Our policy should be one of revolutionary integration, assimilation, and final miscegenation as practiced today in revolutionary Cuba and advocated by Lenin and Trotsky as the final solution to the "Jewish Question" in Europe. Hawaii, Cuba, and mestizo Mexico show the possibility of the creation of a successful melting pot in the Americas.

The world capitalist system is in economic crisis. The rulers of America want to create a recession, lowering the wages of workers and greatly increasing unemployment while funds for the "urban crisis" are curtailed. The Ford Foundation's support for black nationalism complements this.

Black workers will fight white workers for a diminishing supply of jobs. The black masses will be kept down by putting "Afro" administrators in charge

of schools, hospitals, and stores--thus deflecting the masses' growing anger at high prices, welfare cuts, and the reduction of funds for public services.

The black suburb of Kinloch, Missouri, has had "community control" for years. In 1937 the white citizens of Berkeley, Missouri, neatly split off the Kinloch district in order not to have to pay taxes to support public services for Negroes. Today Kinloch has a black mayor and administration, but terrible streets, fire protection, crime rate, and a horrible educational system.

Fayette, Mississippi, with its Negro mayor, cops, and aldermen, is even a worse slum than Kinloch. Charles Evers, with all his influence in the national Democratic Party, can't even get one small capitalist to locate his plant in Fayette. There is even talk that the only railroad through Fayette will close down.

The demand for black political power through a black party will be bought off through the election of more Hatcher, Stokes, Evers, and Adam Clayton Powells, but the condition of the people in the Hough-type slums will only get worse.

In the 1968 New York teachers' strike, the plutocrats Lindsay and Rockefeller played the game of communal strife between Jewish and "third world" workers in hopes of smashing the trade unions and strengthening the Taylor Law and cutting back the cost of public education. In St. Louis, when an "incompetent" black teacher is arbitrarily transferred by a Jewish-controlled "community" school board, the YSA correctly demands "due process," reinstatement, and AFT organization. In Brooklyn, when "Jewish" teachers are arbitrarily "transferred" by the "community," our YSA leadership led the scabs in union-busting.

"Decentralization" means that the "third world" communities will have to pay for public services out of their own miserable tax bases. Black and white teachers will lose seniority rights, be replaced by scab para-professionals, and have to bargain with a multitude of separate school boards who will seek to drive down their wages and working conditions by playing localized bargaining units off against each other.

The corollary of black control of the black community is white control of the "white" community, which is just what Wallace, Maddox, and all the other racist politicians want. Black studies is a demand which logically leads to black separatism, a new version of Otto Bauer's "cultural nationalism." Lenin's polemic against segregated "national" schools is well-known in his Critical

### Remarks on the National Question.

The distortions of Negro history, like the mistruths about the labor movement and women's place must be rooted out of the school texts used by all races.

Open admissions for third-world kids should be replaced by the demand for stipends for all working-class youth.

We have had black universities for decades (Howard, Fisk, Tuskegee) and it hasn't ended race oppression any more than girls' colleges have brought women's liberation. In fact, co-education is a fountainhead of the women's liberation movement.

The demands for black studies and separate government-subsidized all-black schools can only legitimize the demands of religious groups like the Catholics, Lutherans, and Hebrews for government aid to parochial schools.

A Marxist transitional program for revolutionary assimilation would include:

1) A separate organization of black militants to fight for the special needs of the Negro community, just as women's liberation groups meet the special problems caused by sexist discrimination.

2) A renewed fight for open housing, especially in the newly-constructed suburbs and apartments. Full enforcement of all civil rights laws.

3) Government-financed low-rise, architecturally beautiful, integrated housing projects.

4) Militant defense against repression, such as the current witchhunt and pogroms directed at the Black Panther Party.

5) All cops (black, white or brown) out of the black community permanently.

6) For a Black Guards organization to provide armed self-defense of the ghetto against:

- a) racist terror
- b) police brutality
- c) criminals and hucksters

7) Militant anti-discrimination caucuses in the trade unions but not dual unionism or decertification advocated by some petty-bourgeois nationalists.

8) Unemployed leagues and welfare rights organizations.

9) 30 for 40; a 4-day week; jobs for all.

10) Organize the unorganized (i.e., Charleston and Memphis).

11) Open admissions of all high school graduates (or equivalent) to college with full government stipends.

12) Apprenticeship and trade school programs with full wages and guaranteed jobs for all students.

13) Improved public services for all through taxes on the big corporations.

14) Independent Negro political

action, but on a class-struggle rather than a nationalist program. However, this should be subordinated to the demand for a labor party.

A class-struggle program, taking into account the special needs of oppressed groups, rather than a pseudo-nationalist cover-up for separate but

unequal apartheid, can bring black liberation in a Socialist Integrated America. The correct leadership of the Fourth International is crucial in this and every revolutionary struggle.

St. Louis

December 13, 1969

BALANCE SHEET OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

(The document entitled "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International" is being presented to the YSA National Convention for discussion and a vote. It has been approved by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and by the National Executive Committee of the YSA.

( This document opened discussion of this question in the world Trotskyist movement. The resolution which is presented below is a contribution to this discussion. It was written by two members of the French Communist League, Daniel Bensaïd and C. Scalabrino, and appeared in the September 1969 issue of Quatrieme Internationale. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.)

1. The student movement in the 1960s was everywhere in the vanguard of the reviving revolutionary struggles. The particular political mobility of the student milieu arises from the accumulating superstructural contradictions of which it is the focus: the crisis of bourgeois ideology which affects the youth as a whole; the problems of employment, training, and professional careers which concern the intellectual workers; and the institutional crisis of the university.

2. A component part of the youth in general, the students were the first to be affected by the crisis of bourgeois ideology, which they are called upon to glorify and perpetuate. The bourgeoisie of the period of imperialist decadence is not the creative bourgeoisie that rose to power to accomplish its historical tasks. The values, morals, and history of this bourgeoisie can inspire no enthusiasm. The cause of the crisis seems clear—the youth cannot identify its hopes with those of the bourgeoisie, or tie its fate to this moribund class. This is all the more true because the values so much preached by the schools, the academies, and the authorities are denied daily by the crimes imperialism commits in its death throes. Losing its morality and ideals, the bourgeoisie has replaced them with adver-

tising slogans. It no longer seeks to inspire defense of the ideals of the rising bourgeoisie ("liberty" and "equality") but conformity to the robot image of the average consumer, the mediocre bourgeois of the period of decadence. No young generation can identify with this ideology. And more than any other young people—since they are the heir apparent and the appointed continuers of this tradition—the students experience the crisis of bourgeois ideology very intensely.

3. As future "professionals," the students are haunted by the problems of employment. In those branches where the professional perspectives are precisely defined, to be a future specialist is frequently synonymous with future unemployment as a consequence of the imperatives of continual economic reorganization. In the liberal professions, long years of study often culminate in beginning a slow climb in the restricted hierarchies.

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4. More specifically, the students find themselves in the center of a contradiction which they may strive to surmount but which they can never resolve because it involves the fundamental contradiction in the capitalist mode of production—the contradiction between developing the produc-

tive forces and maintaining the relations of production. This same contradiction bears on the universities which are compelled to respond simultaneously to two contradictory demands—(1) advancing the productive forces through a general increase in the level of skills at the price of an increase in the social costs of training; and (2) retaining the productive relationships through fragmentation of knowledge, discriminatory recruitment, and respecting the private profits of the capitalists as individuals. The bourgeoisie everywhere tries to deal with this contradiction by measures and reforms which themselves are hybrid and contradictory and which perpetuate the institutional crisis and instability of the university.

5. The increasing needs for skilled manpower are bringing about a diversification of university recruitment and its extension to the middle strata. These strata, attracted by the prospects of assimilation into the upper classes, do not bring rebellion into the universities with them. But everywhere they are an element of instability. Caught between an insecure family background and an uncertain professional future, the children of the petty bourgeoisie on occasion are ready to make the authorities pay for the insecurity and anguish which is their lot.

6. The student population, rooted

in the contradiction of the university, lacks both social and political homogeneity. Even if the time spent in school has been extended, even if the concentration of university complexes has reached immense proportions, even if the diversification of university recruitment and the professional careers open to students create stronger ties than ever between them and the rest of their generation in the high schools and factories, for all that the contradiction in the university system does not constitute an objective foundation for bringing the students as such over to the side of the proletariat and does not make the students natural allies of the workers. There are no homogeneous student interests to defend.

7. The student milieu has given birth to movements and political currents whose poles are outside the university, in the class confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the working class on the national and international scale. A part of the students have aligned themselves with the established order, whose benefits they are destined to share; another part have gone over to the proletariat. But there is nothing natural and spontaneous about this lineup, especially when the workers—deprived of revolutionary leadership—fumble and mark time.

8. This is why in the advanced capitalist countries the politicalization of the students has generally taken the path of anti-imperialist struggle. The students have not found the least perspective in the Social Democratic or Stalinist workers organizations in their own country, which have submitted to the status quo. As a result, the Vietnamese revolution provided a symbol and an example of the international struggle of the proletariat in which a part of the student population recognized what it was waiting for and which restored its hope.

9. Moreover, mobile, unstable, and continually renewed, the student milieu provides few openings for the working-class bureaucracies, above all at a time when the crisis of Stalinism and its ideology echoes that of the bourgeoisie. Thus the student movement represents the weakest link in the chain of political integration forged and maintained by the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic and

Stalinist leaders to preserve the international status quo.

### III

10. Shaken by the interplay of contradictions all of which come to a focus on the campus, the university population produced a powerful student movement. Impelled by the crisis of bourgeois ideology and of the educational structures, and inspired by the example of the colonial revolution, this student movement escaped the control of the working-class bureaucracies. The extreme contradiction in the universities has given the student movement an energy which has enabled it, alone and in spite of its isolation, to wage vanguard struggles distinguished by a revival of violent forms of combat, of direct action, in defiance of the political rules of the game accepted by the working-class leaderships.

11. However, the student movement by itself cannot deal with the contradiction of the university, which rests on the very foundations of capitalism. It is incapable of political and programmatic independence from the working class.

12. As a result, the student movement is torn between its revolutionary vocation and the objective limits of the university community, between its mass character and its role as a substitute vanguard, at a time when, as the weakest link in the political system, it finds itself thrown into the vanguard of the struggles.

13. This is why the student movement cannot be analyzed as a distinct entity; one could only describe its fluctuations, often irrational and unpredictable. In order to understand it and give it political direction, it must be analyzed in connection with the variations of the coordinates that condition its existence and its development, for in itself the student movement has no history or memory. These coordinates are on the one hand the workers movement (the extent of its mobilization, the political forces which compose it) and on the other the development of the revolutionary vanguard, which is still in too embryonic form to really play a leadership role.

### IV

14. The evolution of the French stu-

dent movement illustrates the relationship between the student movement and the workers movement in a very complete way. After the Algerian war, in a period of relative quiescence in working-class struggles, the student movement became the guilty conscience of the workers movement. Against the spurious rationality of the bourgeoisie, it counterposed its own programmatic rationality—it relied on the power of reason and the word to unmask the contradictions of capitalism and demonstrate the validity of the socialist view without having to take into account a relationship of social forces caused by lack of mobilization of class.

15. In the period of reviving workers struggles, the student movement, inspired by revolutionary groups that had broken from the Social Democracy or the Stalinist movement, rediscovered the reality of the workers movement and the possibility of linking up with it. In this period, the student movement constituted itself either as pressure groups acting on the workers movement or as supporters of the workers movement. As a pressure group, the student movement acted through liaisons with the unions on common problems (training, employment); as a supporting force through populist movements inspired by Maoist groups. During this period, the developing student movement slipped into the preexisting structures of academic vocational associations where it found an ideological forum and a vaguely unionist rubric that legitimized its attempt at hybrid unionism.

16. The student movement could not remain forever on this tight leash, drawn behind a workers movement under Stalinist or Social Democratic domination. It had to either submit and return to the bosom of the "democratic" forces or rely on the resources of the student population and alone, or at the risk of isolating itself, take the initiative and try to upset the status quo in the class struggle. The student movement was driven to this choice. Economic struggles that were halted or diverted as they ran up against a state speaking in the name of the "national interest" seemed increasingly futile. Thus, the mobilizing structures taken over from the vocational interest-group associations seem too constrictive. The example of the March 22 Movement at its birth was typical.

Along with this movement, the vanguard groups took the initiative of combining the fragmented political activities of the student movement into an anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, and antibureaucratic movement. After this turn, the student movement ceased to follow its natural channels; it was organized by the vanguard groups which defined its role and its objectives, no longer in accordance with campus criteria but in accordance with the general relation of forces, an overall evaluation of the class struggle. In this altered form, the student movement acquired the means to play the role of a temporary substitute vanguard, of accelerator or detonator of the class struggle, more by its exemplary forms of struggle than by its programmatic content.

17. Once the workers movement began to struggle, the student movement could not continue to play its role of substitute vanguard by giving an example of determination and courage. The workers cannot limit themselves to moving through the tactical breaches opened up by the students. They need strategic perspectives and slogans which the student movement, incapable by itself of going beyond a certain level of political comprehension—that of petty-bourgeois radicalism—cannot provide. In the face of this problem, the student movement yields to the revolutionary vanguard.

## V

18. The temporary vanguard role played by the student movement is not a novelty requiring any revision of Marxism. Already Engels, Trotsky, Mao Tse-tung hailed the vanguard role played by the students in Austria in 1850, in China in 1919. This role merely testified to the fact that the bourgeoisie was no longer vigorous enough to make its revolution and the proletariat was not yet mature enough to lead its own. Today, the vanguard role of the student movement is no longer a sign of the insufficient objective maturity of the proletariat but of the bankruptcy of its Social Democratic or Stalinist leaderships.

19. It is no less true that the student movement can only play this role with the perspective of a linkup very shortly with the workers movement. Without this perspective, the student move-

ment is condemned to maintain an impossible balance between its revolutionary function and its mass character, continually pulled by reformism on the one side and ultraleftism on the other. This contradiction can be resolved only by constructing and developing a revolutionary organization capable of transcending the student "point of view" and offering a strategic design, an organization capable of playing a vanguard role in the workers movement as well as in the student movement.

20. Building such an organization demands qualities of doggedness, of perseverance, of firmness, which are far from inherent in the fickle, unstable, and unremembering student population.

This is why we see the flowering in the student movement of a gamut of ideologies that are just so many escape routes from the fundamental task of building the revolutionary organization.

21. An early variant of these ideological evasions consisted in the dynamics of a group, a phase of introspection in which the student movement searched for the reasons for its political impotence in its own lack of consciousness. A subvariant was populism by which the movement endeavored to efface itself by doing penance in the service of the masses—all under the theoretical aegis of Mao's thought. Introspection and populism are the infantile deliriums of the student movement.

22. Anarchism and spontanéism are its adolescent deliriums. Incapable of surmounting the contradiction in the student movement (between its revolutionary role and its mass character), the anarchists prefer to deny this movement outright. For them the student population is sociologically petty bourgeois; consequently there can be no revolutionary student movement, only anarchist militants intervening in the student milieu by direct action and propaganda of the deed. The objective is, by means of the question of violence, to radicalize this student petty bourgeoisie still tainted with a squeamish humanism. The objective is to draw the student masses into the wake of an activist minority. But since the "solidarity" of the mass of students is associated more with sentiment than political consciousness, it would be futile to try to give it an organizational form.

23. As incapable of resolving the contradiction as their anarchist cousins, the spontanéists dissolve the student movement in the cultural revolution. For them the students are a natural ally of the proletariat. The only obstacle in the way of revolution is the lingering fascination of decaying bourgeois ideology, the cop everyone carries in his head. Through a spiritual conversion, termed cultural revolution for the occasion, everyone must drive the cop out of his head. In this way he comes directly to the revolutionary movement (without class distinctions) and not to the student movement. In a word, between the student under the spell of bourgeois ideology and learning and the revolutionary militant there is no longer any place for an overly encumbering student movement. The problem is thus removed but not solved.

24. The common denominator of these student ideologies is an antiauthoritarianism which combines the student movement's awareness of the hoax of the strong state and its resentment of a hated father figure. The student movement blames the bourgeois society which has nourished it and educated it for betraying its own teachings and its own precepts and covering up this betrayal by an omnipresent and arbitrary state authority. To this betrayal the student movement reacts by seeking a new antiauthoritarian humanism into which it dissolves the class struggle. And since it does not have the means of carrying out a proletarian revolution by itself, it contents itself with a "cultural revolution." It attacks culture by preference because it began by sustaining itself from it. Mao-spontanéism is the most all-inclusive cocktail of student ideologies in which populism, spontanéism, and antiauthoritarianism blend. All these ideologies converge on one point and that is to reject the revolutionary organization which threatens them as their own negation.

## VI

25. In the period when new vanguards are emerging from the youth radicalization, these vanguards find a favorable environment for growth in the student milieu. Since they are too weak to confront the bourgeois regime directly or to compete with the recognized working-class leaderships, the student movement offers these organizations shelter and protection. By

its mass mobilization, the student movement compensates for the vanguard groups' weakness. During this period these new vanguards are primarily student groups regarding themselves as parricidal offspring of Stalinism or the Social Democracy. It is only through transforming themselves that they can link up with the Fourth International which is the bearer of the strategical acquisitions that constitute the alternative to Stalinism.

26. This transformation enables the incipient revolutionary organization to raise itself to the level of an overall strategic understanding, and to finish off the student group outlook that perpetuates the social and political characteristics of the student movement. The revolutionary organization must be virtually torn out of the student movement.

27. The student movement as such has neither memory nor history, it is absorbed in ephemeral actions, in acts of bearing witness, in spectacular demonstrations. In contrast, the intervention of the vanguard is not spectacular. By organizing and training militants it weaves the fabric of the political memory of the student movement. It is the mast that bears the sails of the student mobilization. It is vertical with respect to the horizontal dispersion of student agitation (anarcho-Maoist agitational focuses). Through the improvisations of the student movement it traces the coherence of its own revolutionary design. The balancing of the student movement between reformism and ultraleftism cannot be broken except by the hammering intervention of the revolutionary organization.

## VII

28. The development and reinforcement of the revolutionary organization does not mean the end of the student movement but a change in its function. In the early period, the student movement, because of specific conditions in the universities, was in the lead of the youth radicalization. The development of a revolutionary organization makes it possible to reconstitute the student movement, which is foundering in repetitious actions dictated by its contradiction, into a movement of the youth in general. This broadening is a precondition for increasing the mass movement's capac-

ity for struggle. It has been made possible by modifications in the relationship of forces between the vanguard and the state, between the vanguard and the bureaucratic working-class leaderships.

29. The basis for such a youth movement lies in the struggle against the regimentation of youth. This regimentation begins with vocational training in all its forms (high schools, universities, apprenticeship, technical education). It includes the housing, transportation, and working conditions imposed on youth; the organization of amusements, culture, competitive sports, all the repressive recreational structures offered to the youth (scouting, camps, athletic clubs); and sexual oppression. Finally this regimentation culminates in the army, the last stage of integration into bourgeois society.

30. The youth, not having gone through the great defeats of the working class, does not bear the burden of this dead past. It is a profoundly powerful element of political renewal and is shaking the bureaucratic yokes.

31. The mass youth movement we have to strive to develop must be distinguished, however, from the youth affiliate of a revolutionary organization. Such a youth affiliate assumes the existence of an already strong revolutionary organization.

## VIII

32. The attempts to define a strategy for the student movement as such have generally ended in failure. The strategists of the Critical and the Negative Universities, as these terms indicate, reduce the student struggle to an essentially ideological struggle against the bourgeois university. As soon as the student movement moves on "from the criticism of the university to the criticism of society," it is faced with problems of revolutionary strategy that only a vanguard can resolve.

33. In a parallel way, revolutionary trade unionism in the student milieu leads into reformism. You cannot restrict yourself to applying in limited areas an all-encompassing design which you have the means to carry through only in the universities. This way you end up with the slogans of student control, even student management, in the universities and high

schools, which, in isolation from the overall situation in the class struggle, are thoroughly reformist.

34. Any attempt at a student strategy is thus liable to a double trap. On the one hand, there is the danger of reformism, of patching up the system under the pretext of a partial transitional strategy applied to the university. On the other hand, there is confrontationism which is only a policy in bits and pieces.

35. The Red University is not a slogan. Like workers control, it is a general theme of struggle which should be filled out by concrete slogans in specific situations. The Red University is not an institution that can be counterposed to the bourgeois university; it is a movement of struggle by which the vanguard seeks to direct the student movement as a permanent striking force against the system. The Red University is not a line for the universities but the tactic of the vanguard in the universities, a subordinate part of its overall strategy.

36. The university slogans of the organization may attack the problems of professional training by demanding flexible training and a guarantee of employment at the level of skill acquired. But the implementation of these slogans requires the mobilization of the workers movement, in which the embryonic vanguard does not hold the initiative. That is why the slogans centering around the theme of workers control of education retain a propagandistic character.

37. Incapable of an overall strategic program, the student movement can meet the bourgeoisie's university policy only by organizational resistance (maintaining the independence of the movement and opposing participation in collaborationist structures) and tactical political initiatives laid out by the vanguard in accordance with its evaluation of the political conjuncture as a whole.

These initiatives revolve around three major axes—support of workers struggles, support of anti-imperialist struggles, and the struggle against regimentation. It is under this last heading that struggles for freedom of expression, political organization, and against the bourgeois educational policy fall.



IX

38. A student trade union as a means of struggle is a scheme that could have reality only in a consciously defined framework of student self-management. The reformist workers organizations, anxious to humor their allies, have maintained this myth of the autonomy of student demands. The student trade-union structures fly into bits as soon as political struggles revive. Moreover, united mass political organizations of the student movement, such as the FUA and the March 22 Movement were in France, can have only a temporary existence. Based on specific tactical agreements, they must disappear or fossilize once strategic problems come to the fore. Caught between the slow attrition of the student-interest organizations and a nostalgia for united political organizations, the student movement runs the risk of fragmentation into fiefs (Italy) or atomization.

39. The most favorable organizational outlet for the student movement presupposes already quite powerful revolutionary organizations. In this case, a process of cartelization develops. The breakup of Zengakuren provided an example of this which will not prove an exception. The revolutionary organizations, which alone are capable of resolving certain strategic and practical problems (like demonstrations which at a certain threshold of confrontation require a degree of discipline and organization that does not come naturally to the student movement), will reorganize the mass movement around their own political initiatives.

X

40. The student movement and the youth radicalization cannot be considered simply as a windfall for the vanguard, which can win the youth involved over to its program and recruit new elements among them. This youth radicalization, in which the student movement occupies a prime position, enables the vanguard to alter the relationship of forces between it and the bourgeois state and the working-class bureaucracies. The specific role of the student movement offers the still weak vanguard a margin for maneuver, an opening to get a foothold in the political arena, to carry

out its initial experiments without being under the double fire of the bourgeois and bureaucratic repression. In this sense, the student movement is playing a precise and specific historical role.

41. But this opportunity for the vanguard is also a test. It cannot be satisfied to profit from the student movement. In order to play its role, the vanguard must grapple with the student movement, organize it en masse, engage in a continual polemic against its spontaneously generated ideologies. Ceaselessly threatened by opportunism of the left and right, the vanguard must have enough theoretical firmness to resist the ideological pressure of the movement and enough political understanding of the conditions of struggle left by the breakup of Stalinism to get in step with the movement without dissolving itself in it. The road is difficult; no verbal schematism can make it any easier. But it is by this route that the resurrection of the revolutionary vanguard will come.

42. If this phenomenon holds true

primarily for the advanced capitalist countries, it is often true also for the colonial countries and for the forces destined to carry out the political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated or deformed workers states. In the colonial countries, the student movement often combines the characteristics of the Western student movement and the classic features of a liberal intelligentsia struggling against imperialism. In the degenerated workers states, the rise of the student movement is often based on the defense of freedoms rather than anti-imperialism, but the political characteristics of this movement also offer striking similarities, both in its role and its limitations, to the student movement in the advanced capitalist countries.

Understanding the role and the limitations of the youth radicalization is one of the keys to advancing the sections of the Fourth International and developing the world movement itself from a propagandistic International to an International rooted in the masses and capable of responding to the new tasks of the period.

# COME TO MINNEAPOLIS



## **YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION Dec 27-30, 1969 University of Minnesota**

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