

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

50¢

July-August

1969

Antiwar GIs Speak

interviews with Fort Jackson
GIs United Against the War
by Fred Halstead



The Worldwide Youth Radicalization

resolution of the Fourth International

Vol. 30 No. 4—Whole No. 193

Published bimonthly by the International Socialist Review Publishing Association, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10003. Second Class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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Fred Halstead

ANTIWAR GIs SPEAK

Interviews with Fort Jackson GIs United Against the War

When charges were dropped against the last three of the Fort Jackson Eight, I happened to be at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, doing a story on the attempt by Private Joe Miles to pass out the Bill of Rights on base. I drove the hundred or so miles to Fort Jackson, South Carolina, and got there in time to greet Privates Andrew Pulley, Jose Rudder and Joe Cole on their first evening off base after sixty-one days in the stockade.

I got an interview with them that night, May 22, and the following night I interviewed Tommie Woodfin, another of the Fort Jackson Eight. The next weekend I got the interview with Joe Miles which is the third interview printed here. These three interviews tell the story of how GIs United Against the War in Vietnam got started.

I had known Joe Miles before he was drafted into the Army in 1968. He was an activist in the antiwar movement and the movement among black students in Washington, D. C. and he was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Joe Cole was also a YSA member before being drafted, but I didn't happen to know him then. When

Miles received his induction notice he wrote the authorities about his political and antiwar views and his intention to continue to exercise his rights as a citizen to express these views after induction. They drafted him anyway and ever since he has been doing just what he said he would do: obeying orders and regulations and at the same time using every legal opportunity to express his views and organize support for them.

In early January, 1969, Miles was sent to Fort Jackson where he was assigned to B Company, 14th Battalion, 4th Brigade to attend the supply school. He spent only six weeks at Fort Jackson before the brass gave him three hours to clear base and sent him to Fort Bragg. In these few weeks, together with other GIs he met at Jackson, Miles organized GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. It was a meeting of this group, which took place after Miles had left Jackson, that resulted in the now famous case of the Fort Jackson Eight.

The bare outlines of the case are as follows: On March 20, 1969, a large spontaneous antiwar meeting was held outside the barracks of B-14-4. Within a few days, nine GIs who had been active in GIs United were picked up and confined—some in the stockade and some under barracks arrest—under charges stemming from the meeting. The charges included disrespect, holding an illegal demonstration and disobeying an order.

A vigorous publicity and legal defense campaign was launched by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. In the course of this defense one of the nine, John Huffman, was revealed by the Army to be an informer. Under pressure of the publicity and top-notch legal defense work by a team of lawyers including Leonard B. Boudin, the Army finally dropped these charges against all eight of the defendants. The legal ramifications of the case are still very much alive since suits have been filed, both at Fort Jackson and Fort Bragg, to stop the Army from interfering with the civil liberties of GIs.

The Fort Jackson Eight were: Private Edilberto Chapparro, 17, of New York City; Private Dominick

Duddie, 17, of New York City; Private First Class Curtis E. Mays, 23, of Kansas City; Private Delmar Thomas, 22, of Cleveland; Private Tommie Woodfin, 20, of Brooklyn; Private Andrew Pulley, 18, of Cleveland; Private Joseph Cole, 24, of Atlanta; and Private Jose Rudder, 20, of Washington, D. C.

Three have been given undesirable discharges from the Army: Chapparro, Thomas and Pulley. Woodfin, Cole and Rudder are now being processed for administrative discharges. A fight is also planned against the undesirable discharges.

Miles was not one of the Fort Jackson Eight since he had already been transferred to Fort Bragg. He is not being processed for discharge and has so far spent no time in the stockade, though he has been harassed almost continuously by transfers, restrictions, and threats of court martial on trumped-up charges.

When I met him last month at Fort Bragg it was after hours and he had changed into his civilian clothes. He was sporting a large "Viva Che" button on his shirt and making telephone calls to newspapers (collect, and the charges were accepted) to announce the latest developments in the struggle by GIs at Fort Bragg to exercise their rights to speak out against the war. His latest problem is that the Army has put him on a one-man levy to one of the most remote posts in its far-flung empire—a station two hundred miles north of Fairbanks, Alaska, above the Arctic Circle.

June 18, 1969

**Andrew Pulley,
Jose Rudder
and Joe Cole**

Halstead: Who brought you the news that you were going out of the stockade?

Rudder: Michael brought it to us [Attorney Michael Smith]. Everybody was very happy, jumping up and down singing.

Halstead: What did the guards say?

Pulley: They thought it was splendid.

Rudder: Most of the guards we had were very sympathetic and they were very happy. They congratulated us.

Halstead: And how about the other prisoners?

Rudder: A cheer went up in the cell block. We'd done our thing to the Army and everybody got very happy.

Halstead: So tonight you got off the base for the first time in over two months and had a nice steak dinner and a few beers and now tell us how it began that you started to exercise your rights to speak out against the war and so on.

Pulley: It started when Joe Miles suggested to some of us in the barracks at B-14-4 [B Company, 14th Battalion, 4th Brigade] that we listen to some Malcolm X

tapes. It started as all black and Puerto Rican just listening to the tapes and talking about it afterward. The first night about fifteen GIs came. The second night it built up to thirty-five. We saw the momentum growing and the enthusiasm among the black GIs in the building to the tapes. Because Malcolm X laid his rap so clear and so plain that anyone could understand it, whether he was a racist or whether he was an Uncle Tom, he could dig what the man was talking about.

And listening to the Malcolm X tapes we took it this way: that not only were the black people oppressed but so were the Puerto Ricans, so were the poor whites, so were the Indians. We realized that the working class, period, was being oppressed and exploited by the ruling class. As GIs we were being oppressed and exploited more so than any other group of people in the country because we are asked to risk our lives for something we don't believe in. And by realizing this we suggested that the meetings would be open to any person who dug what we dug.

We explained to the white GIs that if they wanted to come they had to accept black power, the demolishing of racism. They had to believe in equality and self-determination for all people, including black people, Puerto Ricans and the other minority peoples in the country. And the majority of all the people in the barracks, they agreed. It was not complicated to get over, you know. The younger generation is capable of seeing things that the older generation seldom sees. The first meeting that white GIs attended we had over eighty GIs. It was right outside the barracks.

Rudder: That day the first sergeant passed on the news that no more than eight people would be allowed to gather in the barracks together because of "URI season" [Upper Respiratory Infection]. This was actually an Army tactic to put a stop to the meetings. And despite the cold, it was the middle of January, eighty GIs showed up outside.

Halstead: What did you talk about at that meeting?

Rudder: Well, since this was the first meeting where white GIs were in attendance, we made it clear to the white GIs that in order to become active in this new GI struggle they would have to understand and accept our position as blacks and Puerto Ricans: that our commitment was to our people and our second commitment was, of course, to the struggle. But like we were first committed to instilling pride and integrity amongst the ranks of our brothers, and at the same time we were committing ourselves to the antiwar struggle and that as white GIs they would have to understand and accept this as white men, and they did.

Pulley: You see this threw the brass for a loop because they tried to isolate us. At first they passed all kinds of rumors and got white lifers [career officers] to pick fights with us, and one officer even told whites in his company to be prepared to be armed because there was some "black power Mau Mau" getting ready to attack them. But this first outside meeting knocked that out. We were all against the war, you know.

Halstead: Were you at the first meeting when whites attended Joe?

Cole: I was there. The meetings were tremendously impressive. There was profound respect. Although most of the people in the meetings, either white or black, had had no organizational experience, no one spoke out of turn. When anybody had anything to say, it was germane, to the point and profound. Even when there were disagreements, it was always "brother this" and "brother that."

For example, since I was Permanent Party [attached to the base itself, not a trainee] and there's a post regulation that prohibits Permanent Party from associating with trainees, and I had on a Permanent Party patch and insignia on my hat, when some sergeants from my company came by the meeting, some of the guys took my hat off and crowded around me so the sergeants wouldn't see me. The automatic response of those guys at that meeting was just fantastic for me to see. Every-

thing was just perfect. It was an experience I'll always remember. And all the other meetings were just like that.

Halstead: What happened at the next meeting?

Rudder: At that point we were launching a "Support Rudy Bell" drive—Brother Bell from Fort Hood, one of the "Fort Hood 43," was facing court martial.* We circulated a petition supporting him. At that meeting, also, the first inklings of a postwide petition drive were born. And at subsequent meetings this idea gained momentum and finally was launched into our very famous petition drive on post, where we petitioned the commanding general at Fort Jackson, Jimmy Hollingsworth—better known as the "Zap Zap" General**—to provide facilities for an open discussion on the legal and moral questions relating to the war in Vietnam.

Halstead: How did you get this petition around?

Pulley: We distributed it among the GIs who attended the meeting and other GIs who were interested in it. We not only got signatures at the company but also at the school—the supply school—that we were attending.

Cole: What we did was organize truth squads to go out and spread the petitions around. The main vehicle was people like Jose and Pulley going around and talking to people. Others caught on to their example and started going around circulating petitions also. We circulated petitions in the mess halls, just anyplace GIs were, and the word got around all over the post. It kept leapfrogging and in two days' time we had over two hundred signatures. After that, though, it got pretty hard because the whole company was restricted when the brass caught on.

* During the Democratic Party Convention in Chicago in August, 1968, units at Fort Hood Texas were put on alert to be sent to Chicago as 'riot control' troops. Several hundred black GIs at Fort Hood gathered to protest being sent on this duty and 43 of them, including Rudy Bell, veteran of a year of combat in Vietnam were court martialed.

** An article in the London Sunday Times of June 5, 1966, entitled 'The General goes Zapping Charlie Cong,' described General Hollingsworth personally killing Vietnamese from his helicopter when he was commander of the 'Big Red 1' Division in Vietnam.

Pulley: You know they'd have inspection to see whether your dress greens came to the second shoestring on your shoe. They invented all kinds of excuses to keep us restricted. Once we had a mandatory basketball game during off-duty hours to prevent us from circulating the petition.

One mistake we made: There were a lot of copies of the petition out that we had no way of getting back when we were restricted. We had forgot to put an address on the copies so guys could just send them in through the mail.

The brass knew when we planned to turn in the petitions, of course, because we notified the press, the radio stations and all, and of course they'd have known anyway, through Huffman [an Army spy who attended the meetings until he was exposed later]. The thing is we wanted as much publicity as possible because it was no secret what we were doing, exercising our rights as citizens.

Rudder: The most common reaction of GIs was they would sign. Huffman even testified later that two out of three of those approached signed. The problem with those who wouldn't sign was mostly intimidation. They were afraid they'd get in trouble, go to jail, or something. We explained that the right to petition was a constitutional right.

Pulley: A good eighty or ninety percent were antiwar. But there were some afraid. And one GI who signed was given a direct order to remove his name, which he did. The order was given by his commanding officer.

Rudder: That was the night we got arrested the first time. We were arrested by the MPs, taken to 12th Battalion Headquarters, lined up against the wall, had our ID cards taken and our petitions snatched out of our hands. MPs were all over the place. They didn't charge us, though, just released us in the custody of our company commander.

Pulley: But we made affidavits about all these acts of interference with our rights. The first reaction by the

brass to our petitioning was harassment. Like extensive KP. Jose and me were on KP almost steadily. This is something like a fifteen-hour-a-day job. And it's tough to take day after day. And this continued up until the time we got arrested the last time.

I had this experience with one sergeant. I asked him if he wanted to read or sign the petition. He got all upset and hysterical and told me to get away from him as if I was some type of disease. I asked him why he wouldn't even read it. He began to curse and call me names.

I told him he wouldn't like people saying things like that about his mother. And he told me if I didn't get away from around his troops he was going to hit me in the head with his M-14 weapon. So I told him I didn't think he meant what he said, you know, because I'm within my rights under the Constitution. He finally got frustrated and marched his troops away.

He came back with his company commander, a captain. The captain took me in his office and told me to give him my petitions so he could burn them. And he told me that if he ever heard of me getting petitions signed in his company area he would "put my boot up your ass." Those were his exact words. So I made up an affidavit about that too, and it was filed with the court suit.

Halstead: What was the reaction of the GIs to your taking harassment for petitioning? Did they think you were crazy for taking it, or did they admire you for it, or what?

Rudder: They thought it was about time somebody stood up.

Pulley: Well, you see, although we were being harassed, we fought back, constantly. This constant petitioning, and the constant meetings that we had—this was also a way of fighting back. They felt harassed themselves because they could not understand it, they could not fight it politically because they didn't know nothing about politics.

Cole: One of the things that developed particularly in Company B-14. You couldn't go into the company area without seeing the black power salute. This caught on around the post.

I remember when I used to drive around post on my job I'd see clusters of black GIs giving the fist to colonels and so forth. Their immediate response was to stop their car, get out and bring the GIs to attention and all that, but when they turned around the salute would continue.

The next big move on the brass' part was to transfer Miles.

Rudder: On February 14 the first class in B-14-4 graduated from the supply school. Less than one hour after the class graduated Joe Miles was given three hours to get his stuff together and he was evicted from Fort Jackson and sent to Fort Bragg. This turned out to be a bad error by the brass because the movement started up at Fort Bragg.

We had some poor meetings right after Miles left, because it hurt us. Five or six guys were coming, that's all, for the first few meetings after Miles was gone. Then after that, bang! Fifty guys showed up and then it was smooth sailing. Those fifty guys didn't just come by themselves. Pulley and I had to do a lot of work. We went to each room and rapped and jived.

Halstead: What did you say?

Rudder: "Come out to the meeting. This meeting is yours, this organization belongs to us. This is our last chance to strike back at the brass for not only harassing us, but for killing us. It's our life. Even though we're in the Army and the Army's taken our hair away, tried to dehumanize us in every way they can possibly think of doing, we're going to show them that they can't do it, can't get away with it."

Our policy statement, statement of aims which we distributed around then, helped a great deal in remobilizing GIs United.

Pulley: During the depressing days right after Miles left, the rap that I would mostly give to encourage the

GIs, especially the brothers, to come to the meeting, was the fact that for so long we had been sitting down, you know, and just waiting on gradualism, waiting on the thing to cure itself rather than getting out and doing it ourselves. They understood it.

I would relate our parents to the struggle, that they were mostly Uncle Toms, didn't do nothing, and that what they did was not persistent; that the times were changing now; that we're the ones left to do it, because if we don't capitalism and the Army and all the other enemies that we have will definitely destroy us, you know. People dug it and began to come back. But Miles' transfer and our plan to present the petitions came about the same time, and for a while it was hard.

Cole: What we had planned to do after we'd notified the press and everyone, when we were going to present the petitions, was to fan out on post and have one hundred or one hundred and fifty GIs come to post headquarters. These were people we had contacted who'd agreed to do this. Then out of that we'd have a delegation march up to the headquarters and present the petition. The regulation on post says if you want to request a meeting that's who you address your request to, the post commander, so we were just following regulations, being very legal.

But of course we couldn't do that because B-14-4 was restricted and couldn't get out to get the word to others all around the post. As soon as we announced we'd present the petition, the stuff hit the fan. MPs on post were mobilized. There were trucks with weapons stationed around the brigade area. Anyone coming into B-14-4 area was stopped and harassed. All guards were ordered to be on the lookout for anyone with petitions. Gates to the post were crawling with guards and those entering were questioned.

So, we decided to do it another time. But the next Monday, March 3, B-14-4 was again on restriction and it was announced at formation that it would be on restriction all week.

Halstead: What was the result of this on the GIs around the base?

Cole: They began to see that the Army not only was going about perpetrating a bad war but it wouldn't even allow them to talk about it and it couldn't talk about it, itself—wouldn't allow talk about it.

Pulley: Couldn't explain it.

Cole: Right. Couldn't explain it.

Halstead: With all this extra KP and restriction and so on, how could you talk to GIs?

Pulley: Well, one thing, every week there was a new class coming into the school we attended and into the company. And Jose and myself, and the rest of the GIs United, would get to them before the brass and give them the real truth about the war and the Army—the history of the war and so on. And they dug it. We recruited many GIs that way, including squad leaders, class leaders, the gung-ho types, you know, they were even involved in the meetings.

Halstead: How did you get the petition presented?

Cole: We decided we'd just have a delegation of two people who were not in B-14-4 and who weren't under restriction that night. That was Steve Dash and myself.

March 3, Steve and I went up to post headquarters to present the petition about eight o'clock at night. There were a lot of people there, plainclothesmen, top brass, newspapermen, and so on. The commanding general was there, but we weren't allowed to present the petition. They read off a statement refusing to acknowledge it and gave us a direct order to go back to our barracks. We had to obey that order. We saluted and left.

In the meantime, of course, we had gotten lawyers and were ready to file suit against the harassment.

Pulley: The first thing you sign when entering the service is a pledge to protect the United States Constitution. And what better way can you protect the Constitution than by utilizing it? This is what we were doing. This is what we continued to do.

Halstead: What was the effect of this refusal on the GIs?

Cole: They thought they'd been robbed. And support for us mushroomed. We kept having meetings.

Halstead: All right. So you carried on these meetings, and the suit was filed and they hadn't accepted the petition. Then what happened?

Rudder: What really set the brass off was that the Huntley-Brinkley TV News show sent a whole crew, complete with cameras, lights and reporters, the whole bit, to Fort Jackson, South Carolina, to interview GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. And this was on national television. It was the first time the whole country learned about GIs United, and the whole world, for that matter. Guys here on base got mail from their parents asking what was going on. It really got around and that must have worried the brass. It wasn't but about four or five days later that we had our March 20 meeting where they swooped down upon us.

Halstead: What happened on March 20?

Rudder: Well, we were wrestling on the grass outside the barracks in the evening. It was a beautiful evening weatherwise and guys were hanging out the windows. I was in good spirits and I said, "This is a good time to rap to people." So we started rapping. At first it was just a game, nobody thought it would develop into anything serious. We just started rapping about the war, about the Army, in a funny kind of way, cracking a few little jokes. But guys were listening and I began to get serious and Pulley got serious. And before we knew it we had a full-scale GIs United meeting going on except that this time there were maybe two hundred guys standing around, looking out the windows, coming in from the surrounding area.

Some officers and sergeants came by and told Pulley to tuck in his shirt and me to get a haircut and things like that, but no orders were given to disperse. The meeting just wound up eventually and we went back to the barracks. But that night some of us were put on

restriction and the next day, four of us were put in the stockade, charged with having an "illegal demonstration," disrespect and breach of the peace.

Halstead: What had you said at the meeting?

Pulley: I said the war in Vietnam and the Korean war were the result of capitalism and imperialism, that as long as we live under a capitalist system we must have imperialism and that we were going to have wars like Vietnam and Korea. And that the only way to be safe, is to get rid of it. People dug it.

Rudder: My rap was basically about the war. I remember saying about the life insurance GIs get if they are killed, \$10,000 to a relative. I'd say, "Do you think \$10,000 is what you're worth?" And they'd shout "No!" And I'd say: "Do you think your wives and girl friends think that's what you're worth?" And they'd shout "No!"

Cole: I talked about Woodfin. He had just been acquitted in his court martial for circulating the petition. It was on a technicality, but it was a clear indication that the GIs had the right to petition. Actually this discussion we were having that night, there was something in the air. It was peaceful and no regulations were broken, but it was the GIs in the whole area challenging the situation.

Pulley: You don't even have to break a regulation. All you have to do is utilize the Constitution. Like people say, if the truth were told in the Army for a certain time, the system would be destroyed because it's actually just based on lies and hypocrisy.

Halstead: In the latest issue of *Life* magazine there's an article on dissent in the armed forces, and one part is an interview with a Marine general who claims dissent can't be allowed because it would interfere with military discipline and cause unnecessary deaths on the battlefield. What about that?

Cole: For one thing you can't convince somebody to defend anything, to fight, to kill, to accept the possibility that he might be killed, unless he knows what he is fighting for. Guys would pack an M-16 and go out in the paddy in good discipline if there were a reason for

them to do it. But there's not. It doesn't make any sense. Their enemy is not the Vietnamese peasant. Their enemy is those who send them out there. The colonel or general sits back in his goddamned bunker, his officer's bunker, and doesn't even let the enlisted man come into his bunker during a mortar attack when it's the enlisted man who built that bunker.

Rudder: I want to speak from experience there.

Halstead: Have you been to Vietnam, in combat?

Rudder: Yes. In combat. In my experience the majority of GIs in Vietnam don't like the war. They don't know what they are fighting for. In previous wars in history they did—my father is a veteran of World War II, a lieutenant in the Marine Corps, and fought the same type of warfare that I did, jungle warfare in the Pacific. I used to ask him what it was like when he was pinned down. He said as a commander, first he was thinking about how to get his men positioned to strike back at the enemy, or how he as an individual soldier could strike back at the enemy. But in Vietnam that feeling isn't shared by anybody except maybe a few lifers.

My feeling, and guys I talked to over there, our feeling was: What are we doing here to begin with? Why are we pinned down? Why are they shooting at us? Why are we here shooting at them? Why are we fighting this war? And you can't come up with any answers. So the consequence is that the reason you fight is to simply stay alive.

Another thing, the terrific amount of commitment the V. C. had had a great impact upon my mind. One time two of my buddies and I went out on a small foray—the other two guys were both killed later—we came in contact with a small group of V. C. We engaged them and beat them pretty bad, using M-16s and hand grenades. Two of them got away and we followed them. They were wounded and we followed them for almost two miles and we came across parts of hands and parts of legs. You see the M-16 round travels end over end and when it makes contact it tears. So actually we had torn them to bits. We finally came across two corpses.

They could have surrendered, but they had crawled two miles to get away to fight us again. All of us were very quiet. Nobody said anything. It showed how senseless our fight was.

Halstead: OK. So the rest of your story is from inside the stockade.

Rudder: Yes. Except that when they were taking me away, a friend of mine in the barracks had a Dylan album and he had a song on, "The Times They Are A'Changing." As I was packing and being walked away, that song was playing. The significance was lost, I guess, on the people who were taking me away but it wasn't lost on the other guys, and it wasn't lost on me.

Halstead: What was your feeling when you first went in. What did you think was going to happen?

Rudder: I was hoping I would get out within 30 days. Then again I had this horrible feeling I'd stay in for at least a year. I'll never forget, Cole and I were in the same cell together for five weeks, just him and I. I'm glad too. I gave him hell, but I'm glad we were together. I had a lot of nightmare problems.

Halstead: When did you start getting nightmares?

Rudder: Since I was in Vietnam. It first started in Vietnam.

Anyway we were in the cell together. We were in what is known as Administrative Segregation, that is in cells all day long, not allowed outside our cells except for an hour a day for exercise—basketball. We complained about it to our lawyer, Michael Smith, who in turn complained to the correction officer at the stockade and he then ordered that prisoners in maximum custody be allowed outside the cell for two hours on weekdays and all afternoon Saturday and Sundays.

It was quite an improvement. It was great. The other prisoners attributed the sudden change in exercise time to us and they felt we had a lot of power. And in a way this was true, we did have a lot power even though we were in jail because of the brilliant defense campaign that was being conducted on the outside. The brass was

scared of us, but at the same time everybody inside the stockade benefited from it. The guys would tell us, "This is a whole new type of cell block now that you're here." "I wish I had a lawyer like you've got coming to see you every day," and things like that.

Halstead: Did you hear about the actions taking place outside, the publicity this was getting, and so on?

Pulley: Right. Mike, the lawyer, used to come in almost every day to tell us what was happening. It really helped. He'd bring cigarettes, candy, books. Sometimes he'd spend as much as four hours interviewing us.

Halstead: What books did he bring?

Pulley: The books he brought were just great: *Soul on Ice*, *Malcolm X Speaks*, *Che Guevara Speaks*, Deutscher's trilogy on Trotsky, *Man's Fate* by Andre Malraux, *Hell is a Very Small Place*, *Souls of Black Folk*, *Army Life in a Black Regiment*—about a black regiment in the Civil War. It just so happened to be the South Carolina Volunteers. *The Last Year of Malcolm X: Evolution of a Revolutionary*, *Nat Turner* by Aptheker and many more.

Rudder: And then we wrote too. We wrote to people who wrote to us. I wrote to friends of mine. And this is one of the most significant things that happened in the stockade, we got letters from GIs overseas, you see, the first group of people in GIs United, many of them shipped out all over the world, to Vietnam, Thailand, Germany, Panama. It was sad that they were leaving us, we were comrades, but we all said this would internationalize the struggle. But we didn't know for sure. And sure enough, in the stockade we got our first letters from Vietnam, from some of the black founders of GIs United.

Halstead: Did you get visitors?

Rudder: Yes. Mostly the lawyer, Mike and his wife, Helen who was on the defense committee and others from the defense committee also. My parents came once too. And my girlfriend goes to school here in Columbia, and she came too. I told her not to at first, but she came anyway on her own later on.

That's something else that improved. We met visitors in a hallway, there was no privacy. There's a rule, only one initial embrace. But when I first went up there to see Linda, I hadn't seen her in a long time, and I gave her a big kiss. It shocked the guards, we blew their minds for several reasons. But they didn't stop us. I think it's because they knew we had lawyers on the job and we'd make a complaint.

So what happened was after we started kissing and nobody stopped us, everybody else started kissing their girlfriend or their wife. It was a real beautiful thing, everyone showing their affections for one another. It was a new atmosphere.

Halstead: What about the guards? What was the attitude of the guards?

Rudder: Well, first of all, there are two types of prisoners down there—not only the AS [Administrative Segregation], but there are people there under disciplinary subjugation. These people are placed in a four-by-eight room, yellow room, with a 175-watt bulb. On all day long. Not only does it hurt the man, but it makes the yellow room real bright.

And these were really great guys. They really were politically together. We could talk to them through the bars. We could have political discussions; not only political discussions, but about whether God existed, and so on. Violent discussions—all day long. Philosophy, science, medicine, politics, economics, the whole bit. And these people were supposed to be the most dangerous people in the whole stockade. But they weren't—well, they were to the Army. But not to us. The guards—I must say we were pretty lucky in terms of guards. When we first got there there were a couple who were really bad. They'd purposely spoil the food on you. But most of the guards were OK. Some were Vietnam veterans and we got along with them real well.

Halstead: When did you first find out about Huffman, the spy?

Rudder: Mike Smith came into the stockade and told

us, "Huffman's an agent." Just like that. Wow! We had to be shocked.

Pulley: I had to be shocked all right. But I never dug him. When I heard the news, the hatred built up. But we really didn't have to worry about that.

Cole: We were always aboveboard legally. We realized very quickly that if we didn't operate that way it would be a quick trip to the stockade for no good cause. So we had gotten our heads together and decided that our best bet was not to operate underground but to let as many people know about us as possible.

We knew there were a lot of agents around anyway so we decided we wouldn't fall for the normal GI escape of using drugs and so forth. Huffman was always trying to convince us to use LSD and so forth. We told him it was illegal.

Halstead: Was he using it?

Cole: Definitely.

Halstead: And he was trying to get you to use it?

Cole: Yes. He also tried to get us to cold cop a barracks sergeant. That is, hit him in the head with a boot when he was asleep. We told him that was illegal too. At that point we had questions about Huffman because he didn't seem to understand what GIs United was all about. We weren't after any individual sergeant or anything like that. We weren't after any products of the system. We were after the system, after the war that was killing us and killing Vietnamese. So we had our doubts about Huffman, but it was still a shock when he turned out to be a spy.

Halstead: What happened next?

Cole: They started putting pressure on us to take Chapter 10, that is sign to accept an undesirable discharge in lieu of trial. They said within ten minutes they'd have us out of the stockade and within a day and a half, out of the Army. They had some real masterminds in snakery, in viperishness, including one Army lawyer who was appointed a defense counsel—some of them were OK, but not this one—who would come and tell us we were going to do long terms. And they'd say the

only way we could avoid five or nine years in prison was to sign the Chapter 10. It was real strong pressure. We decided it was up to the individual to make this choice and Chapparro took it, because he had personal problems and had to get home. But these kinds of undesirable discharges, under this pressure, ought to be fought in court.

Halstead: What did you think this meant?

Pulley: We thought it was a good sign in our defense. If they were so anxious to get us out, offering us discharges day after day, which they don't normally do, they must be feeling the pressure. This one lieutenant would come by and talk about the good times we could be having back on the block, in only a few days, if we'd just sign. I thought about that.

Halstead: That's a natural thought.

Pulley: Right. Cole was strong though. He kept drumming to us about Malcolm X serving time and Eldridge Cleaver serving time. But the thought was still there, and eventually I did sign a Chapter 10. That was just before they dropped the charges.

Halstead: Why do you think they dropped the charges?

Rudder: Well, in the hearing to decide on whether to court martial us or not, our lawyers just demolished them. It was brilliant. And the world was watching. They couldn't move without looking bad.

Pulley: The key for revealing to the audience how innocent we were was that their own prosecuting witnesses were confused, kept contradicting themselves: one guy saying the order to disperse was given, another saying it wasn't. And Huffman, the pig, was the main witness and he had to admit we did everything above-board.

Cole: Nobody can say enough about Mike, who came every day, and all the other attorneys. When I first saw Boudin, I thought I was looking at a movie. And the solidarity we received—like messages from the Harvard Strike Committee, the San Francisco State Black Student

Union, and all that. It was all that that meant a hell of a lot.

And those students that came out in Columbia for the habeas corpus hearing. You know, the Army told us when we were taken into town for that, "If anyone tries to mob you or assassinate you, we'll protect you." But when we got there, we had a demonstration on our behalf, opposing the racist war in Vietnam, by South Carolina University students. It was beyond words.

Halstead: Let's wind up with this one point. Where does the movement stand now? And what will happen with you guys discharged?

Pulley: The seed has already been planted. The tree will continue to grow, whether there's a "ringleader" or not. They can't stamp out a thought.

Rudder: GIs United was an answer to the call of history. When people are oppressed, they're going to rise up against that oppression. We were only a reaction to the system, rather than an initiating factor. And it's already caught on at posts elsewhere in the country, including Bragg, where Brother Miles is rapping along. In the stockade we received letters from Vietnam, from guys who'd been in GIs United here, asking for literature. Our release from the Army will strengthen the movement.

Halstead: What was the reaction from GIs you've seen since you got out of the stockade?

Cole: The reaction, even from lifers, was that we had a right to speak out against the war and that the Army had no right to put us in jail. And down to the next level of ordinary GIs those guys say not only do we have the right to do what we did, but what we did was right, and they want to do it too.

Pulley: I was talking to a GI today, and he was curious, so I ran it down to him. He said: "Damn it, this is what the Constitution's all about, this is what America was founded on. This is why people came over from England because they were denied their freedom, they were denied to speak, denied freedom of religion." He was angry. And he congratulated us for the job that had been done.

Tommie Woodfin

Q: When did you join the Army?

A: On November 12, 1968 in New York. I was inducted at Whitehall Street.

Q: How old are you?

A: I was twenty last Saturday.

Q: Were you drafted or did you volunteer?

A: I volunteered.

Q: Why?

A: Well, to explain that I'd really have to go back to a year or so before I came into the Army. I was active with the movements toward liberating our people who are oppressed in America, the black movements in Harlem. I was active in many of these movements. I always felt that a revolution was going to come down, that it was just a matter of time, and I wanted to be prepared for it. I knew, in the revolution, who I'd be fighting and that they would be prepared. So I thought about the Army. I thought that if I could come in here I could learn everything this man had to teach.

Q: That's interesting. I remember SNCC, which started with a pacifist attitude and did move to self-defense, but

nevertheless still maintained an attitude toward the military of "Hell no, we won't go." Many of them completely rejected any possibility of working with black GIs, calling them "black mercenaries."

A: Yes this is true. But I and the young black militants I was associated with felt differently about this. On this we looked to Robert Williams.* He said the American Army was the most perfectionist army in the world and this is how we saw it, a place to learn things that would benefit the revolution the most. We weren't reluctant to join the military. The movements I was with were not publicized, but they were large in number on the blocks and were composed mostly of younger brothers such as myself. And from experience—like the Harlem riots—we saw that we were no challenge for this man. We knew we had to educate ourselves more. We knew we had to really prepare.

Q: Were there others besides you who did that?

A: Definitely. Many. And we thought we'd find other people in the military who thought along similar lines. I think we succeeded.

Q: Where were you sent for basic?

A: Fort Jackson. I've been here ever since.

Q: Were you in on the first meetings here of GIs United?

A: Right. The meetings at first were black brothers. We saw eye to eye on most everything. The brass' reaction was to try to stomp it out before it got started. They said this was a black power Mau Mau group organizing and they tried to throw fear into the whites to get us. This was when we were listening to the tapes of Malcolm and discussing them.

We knew we had to do something about the Army harassment plan. Like brother Joe Miles said: Every GI catches hell. When you're black you catch even more hell. And we organized the move toward getting more support. You see the brothers that were active in the

* Robert F. Williams, a black ex-Marine who advocated armed self-defense as chairman of the NAACP branch in Monroe, North Carolina. He went into exile in 1961 to avoid arrest on a trumped-up kidnapping charge. He went first to Cuba, then to China.

meetings then were always discussing what we would do when we got out, not what we could do now while we were in the military. We rapped about the riots and what we did in them and so forth and how they were snuffed out and how we were no challenge to the man. And then we rapped about how this was good being in the military. It's really important for what we can learn here. But then we thought we could do things right inside.

And to answer the brass' attempt to snuff our meetings out, we more or less liberalized our meetings by asking whites to attend. We hadn't really kept them out before, they just hadn't come. We broadened it, to get some broader ideas, you know. We explained to the whites that we weren't organizing a movement against them, we were organizing GIs, that we all were GIs and we were all against the war.

Q: Had you ever heard Malcolm X speak in Harlem?

A: Yes. I was always down on 7th Avenue and 125th Street just to listen to Brother Malcolm. I listened to him rap at the Audubon Ballroom too. It was something us black people really loved.

Q: At the meetings on base, did you take part, did you speak?

A: I spoke at most all the meetings I attended. I related my ideas to them, that I was fed up, and they would say they were fed up too, and we'd see what we could do about it. I circulated the petition. In doing so signatures were coming in like mad. Seemed like nobody I talked to among the ordinary GIs were against what the petition said, at least in the building where I was. If they didn't sign it was because they were scared of what the outcome might be if they did sign. In my company I got so many signatures that the next morning I was called in by the company commander and he showed me a copy of the petition, and asked me did I have one, and I said yes and that was all. Then later he told me I would be court martialed for petitioning. I was court martialed on March 18.

Q: What happened there?

A: I was acquitted. Really due to the genius of Mr. Howard Moore, my attorney, they couldn't prove that I had been made aware of the Fort Jackson regulation against distributing a leaflet. They refused to try the case on the basis of a petition. They just wouldn't rule on that.

Q: What was the reaction of other GIs when you were acquitted?

A: They thought it was great. They didn't make a big distinction on the technicalities involved. I tried to explain to them that petitioning was one of our constitutional rights and after my acquittal nobody was brought before court martial for petitioning. When they found out I'd been acquitted, a big cheer went up in the 14th Battalion, and also in the 16th Battalion, they told me.

Q: Well General Hollingsworth in this article in the Columbia paper says there are only eight or so trouble-makers out of 23,000 at Fort Jackson.

A: There are only eight or so who have been victimized for this particular activity.

Q: How many of the men at Fort Jackson are against the war?

A: Fort Jackson is a training center and GIs are coming and going all the time and it's hard to tell. But mostly every GI I talked to does oppose the war. But most of them are not really politically educated about the war. This was the whole purpose of GIs United—to educate about the war in Vietnam and why it is wrong. This is what they saw and what they tried to snuff out, because we were educating people about the war in Vietnam.

At one time the 4th Brigade commander gave an orientation talk to every incoming NCO and officer, explained to them about a bunch of "anti-imperialists" called "GIs United Against the War in Vietnam." He was sharp enough to use the term "anti-imperialist," which is what we were. And Hollingsworth, the general, gave an orientation to all the incoming NCOs and officers on the post about "those Communists, GIs United Against the War." And he said it was a very small thing, like he said to

the press. But then he said some unusual things. He said, "You people handling basic training, you're going to be troubled by this, and it's up to you to snuff it out."

Q: How did you learn about this?

A: Some black NCOs who were there told us.

Q: How did you choose the name GIs United Against the War in Vietnam?

A: We wanted a name that just told what the group was. We had to have "GIs" and "United," because it was blacks, whites, American Indians, Puerto Ricans and we were against the war in Vietnam, so after some discussion at the meeting, that name was chosen.

And using the name GIs United, we hope the name would be influential to other military posts, that just hearing the name they'd know what it was about.

Q: OK, so after the March 20 meeting they arrested nine guys and you were put on barracks arrest?

A: Right. I was confined to my room and couldn't leave it without a guard. But people in the barracks would come up to my room and rap to me and I would get over the thoughts. When the brass found out about this, they restricted everyone else from coming to my room. I was restricted to the room under those conditions for thirty-nine days. A guard went with me to the latrine. Then after the charges against me were dropped—before they were dropped against the last three—I was taken off arrest and just restricted to post.

Q: Then what did you do?

A: I continued the promotion of GIs United. Jackson is a post where people come and go so by the time I was released there weren't many left from the original GIs United. It was like starting all over again. So I went over to the basic training area and whatnot and I started talking. Then I drew up a petition to ask the post commander to fly the flag at half-staff on May 19, in honor of Malcolm X—his birthday. I got response on this petition. Almost everyone I talked to was signing. Very few were reluctant to sign. Before they stopped

me I gathered one hundred and twenty signatures, in less that one day in a mess hall.

Q: Were these signatures all from blacks?

A: No. I would say the majority of those who signed the petition were non-black, including many whites. But they were all young GIs and WACS [Women's Army Corps].

Q: How do you account for this?

A: I don't know exactly. I think every American, at least every young one, feels something for Malcolm X. And I made this point in the petition too. I put in there, "Malcolm X, whom the American people loved and honored."

Anyway I went to the mess hall. I was getting favorable responses from almost everyone. People were approaching me, lining up to sign even before they knew what it was, because they had heard about me, and about GIs United. They had gathered around and were waiting in line to sign the petition. Then officers who saw this came up and I handed them the petition and asked them to sign it. They read it and handed it back to me. They didn't sign and they didn't stop me then. But as I was leaving the mess hall one of the officers told me to come with him. He took me to the orderly room of my company. In about ten minutes, someone yelled "atten-chun!" and coming through the door was the battalion commander, full-speed-ahead, toward me.

I snapped to attention and he said, "Private Woodfin, do you know who I am?" I said, "Yes sir, you're the battalion commander, sir." And he said, "Private Woodfin, when you're in my mess hall you're on military hours and you won't get any signatures on any petition on military hours." So I had to do my thing after five o'clock.

I learned from the clerks in the company that right after that the post commander, General Hollingsworth, called the company and wanted the lowdown on what I was doing and the brigade commander also called and they had called the JAG [Judge Advocate General, the legal branch of the Army] officers to see about me. Then

my two JAG attorneys came and I told them what had happened and we all laughed about it. But after that nobody said anything to me about it.

Q: What else did you do?

A: Well, Malcolm's birthday passed and that petitioning was over. So then, new troops were coming into the company and I thought it was the obligation of GIs United to orient them about what had happened here at Fort Jackson. So another fellow GI United and myself went up to the barracks and distributed the *Short Times*, a GI newspaper, to the new troops. We got favorable response and rapped a lot. After about an hour a field sergeant came up and snatched the papers out of my hand. I told him to give them back because it was my personal property. I told him, "Anybody takes some of your personal belongings they are a criminal, and you know how you deal with criminals." He gave them back. He was really humiliated right in front of the troops. He left.

Q: Have these new troops heard of GIs United, in the papers and so on?

A: Yes, they've heard of it. If they haven't seen it in the papers, they've been told about it by their company commander. The majority I have talked to heard about it in that way. But the truth was all distorted. They were told GIs United is Communist and they should refrain from getting involved with this left-wing, Communist stuff. But once I explain it to them, they understand and they don't go for that propaganda.

Q: What is your status at the present time?

A: I'm pending a hearing for discharge. They want to get rid of me. I could receive either an honorable, a general or an undesirable discharge. I think from what I've learned about the Army it will be the latter. But that will be taken to court.

Q: Well that will be six of the Fort Jackson Eight discharged out of the Army, and the others probably transferred. What will happen to the movement?

A: The movement will definitely still go on. For example,

when GIs United first started, we told people they would be sent all over, to other bases and overseas, and that they would have to carry the word. And we pointed out to them that they had the leadership ability to organize another GIs United wherever they went. This is what some of them have done. We've received letters from brother GIs United in other bases, and even from Vietnam. I also received a letter from a Marine in North Carolina who said he'd read about GIs United and that Marines there had organized and things were looking good for a newspaper and maybe a coffee house.

A couple of the original GIs United from here at Fort Jackson are now in Vietnam and they have written to us and told us they are organizing a GIs United there. For doing this, they said, they have received harassment, but they say they won't stop. One of them said that for giving the salute, the fist salute, he was put on guard duty. But they say they won't stop.

Q: What are you going to do when you're discharged?

A: I'll go back to New York. I'm going to get back in the revolutionary movement there. I really wish the Army would let me stay here. I feel I could do greater work on the inside than on the outside. But they're going to throw me out. I guess I can't complain, except to sue for an honorable discharge, because I never broke any regulations in the Army.

Q: Have you been reading about the upsurge of activity in the high schools?

A: Right. Just before I came in I was active in the IS 271 thing.* When the doors were opened that morning for the school kids, right up under the policemen, I was there to help open that door. And then later, after we were arrested down here, we got letters from those students at IS 271. From students from the ages of ten to the teens. These are the letters that keep us going, that let us know people believe in us and in what we're

* Intermediate School 271, a junior high school in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district of Brooklyn which was the center of a community control struggle in 1968.

doing. And when we were in confinement these were the letters, from these young students, that we cherished the most. They made the walls of confinement bearable. I hope to talk at 271 when I get back to New York. We published some of their letters in *Short Times*.

Q: A lot of the high school students face the draft. And they might be interested to hear your experiences.

A: This is what I hope to do, orient them as to what the Army is really all about. I wouldn't tell them to join the Army. But in the event they do get taken into the military, I hope they will be a GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.

Q: You say you're going to go back and join the revolution. In your opinion what is a revolution?

A: Well since I've been in the military and since I've been in confinement I've done a lot of reading. So now my scope is more or less broadened. At first I had thought it would be just a black revolution. But now I've done a lot of thinking and reading and had some experiences and I think that way it would be snuffed out. For one thing, in the black revolution, black people might unite. But there are oppressed white people too and it would be bad if they felt that getting rid of the white capitalist control was going to mean snuffing out all the white people together. We've got to get some of the whites broken off from the other whites, the capitalists. And here in this struggle in the Army we saw that happen, with the GIs. So it can happen.

I think I would alter my thoughts toward a socialist view, a socialist revolution in America, not only among black people, but among all oppressed people here in America. This is the revolution that is going to make it.

Joe Miles

Q: When did you get to Fort Jackson?

A: I got down to Fort Jackson the first week in January or so [1969]. I was very much impressed with the level of consciousness of the GIs in the company, B-14-4, I was assigned to, and especially class one, the class in supply school that I was in during my AIT [Advanced Individual Training] there.

It was the first time I had ever seen a bunch of GIs together who were really thinking. That's the biggest thing you could say: They were thinking. They were thinking about the war, about society, about, "Why in the hell am I in the Army?" It wasn't a thing where guys were just passively accepting the Army and saying, "I've got my two or three years to do and I'm going to just do my time and act right so the man won't mess with me, and then get out." That wasn't the case. There were guys bitching and moaning all over. Not just about small things like shining boots, but "fuck the Army," "fuck the war," "fuck the draft," this type of thing.

Among the brothers was something that really impressed me too. In general the brothers had a very

well-developed level of black consciousness. When they greeted you with the power salute and said, "How you doing *brother*?" they really meant it. They understood to a degree, that we're brothers, we're black, we've got something in common. Maybe we can get together and do something else.

One indication of that is the impact that Pulley had on guys in the company. He got there before I did, and automatically, because Pulley was such a tremendous black revolutionary, he was branded—quoting the company commander at the time—"this black power punk." And Pulley comes in with his Afro and not taking any stuff off of anybody, especially the lifers. "Wow," people thought. "There's a brother right there standing up for black nationalism," and he was respected. This was before anything ever got started.

So that's the way it was there. The GIs were just sort of bubbling. And all this time, before the first meeting, I'd been talking about the war and about black nationalism and giving out copies of *The Militant* and things like that and drawing a group of guys around. I thought maybe we should do that first. And these guys, I'd rap them a little bit harder and say, "Well we ought to do something about the war," and get together and talk about how we could go about it.

Other little things were developing which translated this consciousness into everyday life: Pulley would just insist on his dignity. And I wouldn't cut my hair or my mustache. The lieutenant would make the mistake of trying to put me down in front of a formation. But I'd just put him down.

He'd say, "Cut your mustache." I'd say, "I'm authorized to have a mustache, sir," and, "My hair is regulation two inches." It was, too, just barely, but it looked longer. Then he'd yell, "I give you a direct order to cut your mustache, do you understand me?" And I'd say, "I hear you, sir." And he'd argue, "Do you understand me?" And I'd say, "I hear what you say, sir." All this in front of the troops and he'd make himself look foolish. He'd

give me a direct order to trim my mustache and I'd trim it—one hair. Everybody watching. It wasn't only me. It was Davis and Pulley too.

Davis was a firey guy. He was seventeen. I gave him *Evolution of a Revolutionary*. And boy when he got into Malcolm, nobody could talk to him. "Don't talk to me, lifer," he'd say. And when he would talk to the guys he was really tremendous. So this whole tone was developing prior to the meetings.

Well, we got together one night and I said, "Let's listen to some Malcolm X tapes." The reaction was, "Yeah, man, wow!" People had heard of Malcolm, knew of him, knew something of his ideas. So the first night we listened and it was beautiful.

People were really listening. Malcolm was getting into everybody's mind and doing all kinds of things to them. And people would listen to Malcolm, not only listen but understand, I mean really basically understand what he had to say. And they'd say, "Yeah, we got to *do* something."

Things that were coming out of the first meeting were like, "We've got to get civilian help." "We got to organize." "We got to get all the brothers together." And these were guys with no political or organizational experience before. This was the level it started out with. It was phenomenal. And not only that, the whole tremendous sense of pride and unity and blackness. It was like Malcolm had been made for this kind of audience and we were ready for him. It was like walking around during one of the rebellions, just saying, "Oh my, I'm so glad I'm black." Walking around and just, "Wow, I'm black, man!" Really something. That whole emotional thing was something that I'll treasure for the rest of my life.

Q: Were these guys all black?

A: All black but Jose, he is Puerto Rican. So right at our first meeting, the first thing that came out was, "We've got to have another meeting." It wasn't whether we'd have another meeting, but when we'd have one. We had a meeting every day, Monday through Thursday.

Friday guys could take off for the weekend. And for two or three weeks like that. "Not have another meeting, that's silly, got to have a meeting every day."

So it was Malcolm's ideas that were the basis of forming GIs United, you know, his ideas so far as waging a political struggle, one of unity, an uncompromising program, one of sustained struggle. All these things that he put forward, we said, "That's something we can apply to our struggle." The idea of having a common denominator, a common oppressor, the idea of getting together and educating ourselves, of teaching ourselves to become leaders, of educating ourselves about the war, talking about it among ourselves so we could talk about it to other people. All these things were coming out from guys without any initiative on my part. I'd just sit back and we'd listen to Malcolm X. And they'd come out with some of the most beautiful things you'd ever want to hear regarding the war, the black struggle, things like that.

So we had another meeting and thirty to forty guys came. This was even better. The first night was just guys from my floor. The second night was guys from all over the barracks. They heard about it and just popped in to listen to Malcolm X. So we listened all over and this time the talk was even better by the guys.

Q: What tapes were they?

A: *Grass Roots* and *Ballots or Bullets*. At this time though, coupled with this whole tremendous sense of nationalism, of blackness, was this thing of "whitey motherfuckers," really jumping down on what white society had done to us for all these years. At a later meeting we discussed this whole thing out, including our relationship to the white GIs.

Q: Pulley told me that it was a pretty conscious decision on the part of the group, that is that the lifers and the brass had started to attack them as racists and had started to spread rumors among the whites and had even threatened to arm some of the whites at one point. It was in the course of discussing this, he said, that

they decided to emphasize the war issue and make an attempt to bring whites in.

A: Yes. It was a very conscious decision on the part of the blacks. It was a question of understanding that we have a dual role, black and GI. And purely on that, on the black guys understanding that and having that just little bit higher level of consciousness and political awareness, we were able to get through that phase. If it wasn't for that it would have been isolated, and it would have been busted up, it could have ended in a lot of victimizations or something like that.

Q: How long did this discussion take?

A: Basically just one discussion. But first, we had the meeting that second night. And the mood was like, "I'm a man, I can be myself." That was what came out. That's what you'd say, when you came from a meeting again where we all began to feel our blackness, to re-discover ourselves, to begin to get political. And that's the whole key. That was the key to the awakening of all these black GIs and the birth of GIs United. It was that political feeling, that we were able, really able, to fight them back. Not only fight them back but help ourselves and maybe even win. You know the guys were beginning to think like that, like, "How are we going to buck them? How are we going to do it? How are we going to help ourselves? How are we going to protect ourselves?"—things like this. Not just blow off steam, but how we're going to really do it.

And this was because of Malcolm too. Like he explained the need for unity and organization. Before the meetings got started there was a high level of consciousness, sure, but any actions against the situation were spontaneous, short-lived, and an individual thing. There was a qualitative change in guys' consciousness, outlook and even attitude, once the meetings got started. Here and there someone would think about doing something before. But once the meetings got started it was, "Man, they'll never be able to stop us. The whole world is going to hear about us. We can do anything." A real qualitative change,

just confidence, just guys becoming confident, from all being together and finding out, "Damn, we feel the same way!" And we'd think about the way other guys felt and we'd realize they must feel the same way too. "We really *can* do something!"

So guys were running around there in brotherhood. The brotherhood there, you could cut it, cut it in the air. We'd hug each other, greet each other, spend ten minutes shaking each others' hands. Guys would grab the PA [Public Address] system and announce, "All you brothers on the third floor, black and proud, let me hear you." And guys would come yelling down the steps, "black and proud."

Q: And what did the officers think about that?

A: They didn't know what to make of it. I started giving out reading material: *Malcolm X Speaks*, *The Case for a Black Party*, and *The Militant*. People were reading *The Militant*. They loved it. That's even true at Fort Bragg. So we had that type of development too. And the thinking didn't stop at the meetings. It got to a point in the second week where all the brothers would sit together at lunch. You'd pull some tables together, then, fifteen guys would sit together and start rapping. Just ignoring everybody else. This big black caucus, right there at lunch time. They were afraid to do anything about it. They'd give us a ten minute break in class and a bunch of brothers would get together and start talking. It wasn't a thing where guys would say, "Oh, good meeting," and go to sleep. It was "good meeting" and the wheels would still continue to turn.

It was a flip-flop in the whole mood of that whole company. Politics was introduced and everybody was talking politics. They'd discuss it on their own, in their own little discussions, asking themselves even tactical questions. The thing was swelling, spreading, it was for real. It was a real movement. It wasn't artificial. The whole GIs United was an outgrowth of the nationalist consciousness and antiwar feeling among the black GIs and other GIs.

And that's why it's going to continue to grow and continue to function no matter what they do to us, because they'll never stop the way guys feel. They can't give an idea an Article 15.* They can't put thoughts in jail.

And I think that's something the brass doesn't understand. They just really don't understand it. They think, "Well, we can harass them, we can give them an Article 15, we can put them in jail and that will be the end of it." But they're dead wrong. They just don't understand. They think they're so high up. They think they've got everything on their side so much, they think, "Why, we'll always be in power." They have this total illusion. They don't know that people really have feelings and when they find something to believe in they'll sacrifice for it, and fight for it.

Q: OK, so what happened after the second meeting?

A: Well then came the thing with this lieutenant. He had us after formation, the whole company, talking about, "Well B-14-4, you guys are no good. We're going to train you twenty-three hours out of the day and the twenty-fourth you'll shine your boots. We'll train you seven days a week, time off only for church on Sunday and we'll make you go." This type of thing. So two guys were pulled out of the formation and taken into the supply room for so-called smiling. "You smiled at me. You get out and go into the supply room." So we're all standing there and a guy, a white guy, faints. Jamros. I moved over to help him, he might have been hurt. He had really fainted, he wasn't faking. The lieutenant tells everybody to stand back at attention and I said, "Well sir, he should be helped, he needs medical attention."

So he says, "You get back over in that formation, *boy!*" I say, "*Boy!* I'm no boy sir." He said: "Are you disobeying my order? Are you trying to be smart?" And I said, "No sir." And he said, "Well you get out of that formation too and go to the supply room." So as I walked behind him toward the building, he was between me and the company, I threw the salute, the clenched fist. All these

* Company punishment, the most common form of administrative punishment, not as severe as a court martial.

brothers standing there at attention threw that salute back. All he could say was "dismissed." He was really flustered.

They put me on an extra detail for stepping out of formation to help the guy that fainted. That night was the first time we started getting through to some whites, because white guys were pissed off. It was a good thing that guy was white.

Guys would say, "You mean they put you on detail because you stepped out to help that guy and then called you *boy*?" Brothers were furious that night, but even white guys were pissed off. They'd tell me, "You did right." And Jamros came up and said, "If you need a witness or anything let me know."

So the third meeting was that night and they called a special formation for the exact time the meeting was scheduled. I was on detail. But when I got off, they had the meeting anyway, late. It was about fifty black guys and just as it was over, the CQ, a sergeant, came in. The fifty guys were there and someone was just putting on a record for some music. And as the sergeant walks in somebody yells out, "Get that white mother. . ." Well, the sergeant just started smiling, asking, "Is everything OK?" He just smiled his way right out of the room. We weren't going to do a thing to him, but he was shook up.

So that was Thursday and we set the next meeting for Monday.

That Saturday Pulley and I went to IG [Inspector General] to lodge a complaint. I made a complaint about the "boy" incident and he complained about lifers trying to provoke him into a fight so they could court martial him. They really hassled him a lot. One of them told him once, "Maybe if someone put a gun to your head you'd change your ideas." Pulley used to throw out such beautiful raps to these lifers, he'd blow their minds. To them he was just this eighteen-year-old black power punk.

We went to the IG, and we saw this lieutenant colonel, which was very unusual, that high a rank. In essence he just told us to go to hell. He said, "You got a chip on your shoulder, and you're wrong." And he got on Pulley,

told him, "You need an education, you don't know how the country runs. You don't know what it's all about." So we left. That whole experience was a tremendous lesson for the guys. We discussed it at the next meeting: Going up the chain of command, we'd never get anywhere, that's just ridiculous, that's a sham. They tried to make us the criminal and the lieutenant the victim. Malcolm's old thing was as true as it ever was.

That weekend was when all the fights broke out. A sort of crisis came along. There must have been a dozen fist fights around the company. Brothers were going around and every dude they considered a racist was wasted. They just went to work on them. A brother would come up to one and say, "So you're a racist, eh?" and pow, just start right in. I was away for Saturday night and Sunday, and when I got back there was a problem. That's when the Army made the charges against several black guys who had been in the meetings, charges for assault and so on. Actually the guys they charged hadn't done anything. But there was a general situation around there of fights happening.

Then guys started discussing it. "We're all going to end up in jail if this keeps up," and, "What are we going to do about our relations with the whites?" We had to have a serious discussion about all this at the next meeting. It was by far the best meeting we had had. Sixty guys showed up. We didn't play Malcolm. We talked. And I made some notes beforehand on what I would say. It was still a tremendous emotional thing. That whole thing, the blackness *against* whites hadn't died down, the peak hadn't been met.

At this meeting we said, "Well look. We've got to sit down and discuss what our tasks are, what faces us and what we've got to do." So I'd say, "We've got to plot a course like Malcolm said, that makes us appear intelligent instead of unintelligent. Look, what threat is an everyday white GI to us? What can an individual white person do to us that's a threat to us? How will some of the things that have been going on help toward us or-

ganizing and reaching out to the other brothers? How will it help us to organize against the war?"

And sort of explaining, "Look, this is a young generation, and it's different. There's a bunch of John Browns running around too." And explaining the fact that this white GI is just as much a victim of the system as we are and this is a guy that could be our ally. "Look, we can use him, man." I pointed out that one brother might get a court martial and for what? Because a lousy stinking non-com got pushed. But what good is that? What good is the guy in jail to us? He's just where the man wants us, out of action.

And the fact that this white guy is a victim of the system like we are and he's just as much opposed to the war as we are and he can be our ally. They can't bust down so hard on us if we've got allies. The guys saw it. I just outright told them that's what we can do and that's what we should do and they said, "Yeah, you're right."

Also I took that opportunity to explain that the racism that was a threat to us came from the brass and the lifers, they're the ones that send us to Nam, give us Article 15s and court martials, extra KP and all that, not some white private; not only that, but the facts of just where racism came from, that it was a result of the capitalist system, that it was an economic thing; that it was the rationalization for slavery of Africans when the capitalist system was extending itself to the new world. And we brought it up to the present day society where racism is used to divide us, to make us fight each other; that our struggle shouldn't bring us into conflict with the white masses, but with the establishment; that our fight for self-determination will have to be against the brass, the capitalists, the establishment, rather than against the individual white guy. "Like this individual white racist is not going to give up his life or go through any great pain to maintain his racism. He's just not. But we will, to gain our freedom. Oh, there will be some, but we can handle that. But most of the GIs who are white have got more against the brass than they got against us." That's what we explained.

These straight GIs, ordinary black GIs, picked it up, they understood it and at that meeting too, we laid down the basis for our organization: against the war, for black self-determination, and like that, what came out in the position paper of GIs United.

At that meeting the decision was consciously made to set up an organization and set up a program. At that point the organization was black led and black run—and it still is at Jackson—but it was decided to include white GIs if they agreed with the program, if they agreed with our right to black power, black self-determination, and understood our struggle, and were against the war and for freedom of speech.

Then we outlined the general program and perspectives and one was to end the war and for immediate withdrawal. We decided organizing around the war was the way to get most guys involved, we could get maximum support from the civilian world, and overcome this racist thing they were trying to use against us. It was all a very conscious decision on our part. One of the points of the program was black dignity and black self-determination. Our purpose, was to train and educate brothers, right down the line, and the purpose of the group was to come together for political action and also for political education. We very clearly laid this out at our meeting.

Tuesday night we had another meeting, about fifty or sixty guys. We talked about drugs then too, about not using drugs, about plants and spies. The guys understood and they spoke against using drugs in the meeting. Nobody spoke in favor of it.

We started circulating the petition asking for a meeting on base. Our first thing was to use the petition to try to build a postwide organization. The guys understood from the very beginning the importance and significance of unity and what it meant in terms of their own self-protection, that the best defense we had was one hell-of-an offense. We knew that they could deal with one or two or three GIs, or maybe a company of GIs, but it would be hard for them to fight a whole postwide move-

ment that had outside civilian support and publicity. The first *Militant* article that came out about us. We went crazy. Guys were jumping up and down in the mess hall. Guys would say, "The world is going to know about us." They were excited. They knew what it meant in terms of defense, of protection.

One mistake—well it was more a weakness than a mistake, because it was hard to change—was having most of our strength in B-14-4. We understood this was a weakness from the beginning but there wasn't much we could do about it because we were trainees. We didn't have time to get around post. Other people who were trainees, it was hard for them to come over to our brigade and hard for us to get to them. Also they started putting us on restriction and stuff like that. We tried to alleviate that by sending teams over into other brigades, but it was hard to get away. But two-thirds of B-14-4 was GIs United.

That Monday meeting was very important. It was a long one. We discussed the same things again and in detail at subsequent meetings. That was democracy, man. We got together to discuss in detail *what we were going to do*, how we were going to do it and why we're going to do it, and why we're going to do it a certain way. Everybody participated in the discussion, and we'd have a disagreement here and there, and we'd discuss it down, and settle it, and discuss in detail.

When you'd come out of a meeting a guy who wasn't there would ask, "Why do you want an organization?" Every guy to a man could tell him. A guy would say, "Why a petition?" and every guy to a man could tell him: "Because we can use the rules against them, it's a way to build an organization, it's a way to put the brass on the spot." Any man could tell you that.

So that was the type of meetings that we had. All these questions were raised: Why an organization? Why a petition? Why a position paper? How to defend ourselves. Why not to take dope. We'd discuss these things, at great length really, because most guys hadn't had any

experience organizing. We spent two or three weeks doing this. It was very good we did too. When these guys go to other bases, they are doing their thing. And after they shipped me out, and cracked down some, Andrew and Jose built GIs United right back up again, because there was an understanding on everybody's part just what had to be done.

Q: OK. Now tell me about when you were transferred.

A: The day we graduated from the supply school at lunchtime the sergeant came to me and told me I had three hours to clear post. So while I was packing we talked and tried to stall and figure out what could be done. The sergeant was watching. We blew his mind. My locker was one solid wall of literature and guys were coming in and talking. It was a warm thing. When I was leaving some guy got the mike on the PA system and yelled out, "We're going to carry on."

So they took me to town, to the bus depot, bought me a ticket for Fort Bragg, and that was the last of Jackson for me. The weekend after I left, though—I came back on a pass—we had a Malcolm X memorial meeting at the UFO [a coffee house] in Columbia. One example of guys' understanding the need to spread out, organize and things is that in a few short weeks we had got the petition going, spread GIs United postwide in a sense. We had guys in basic training, guys in AIT, some guys in Permanent Party, we held the press conference, held the Malcolm X memorial meeting, and a GI teach-in.

The UFO thing was good. We couldn't get the tapes we wanted of Malcolm X so I spoke about Malcolm, Curtis spoke, Andrew spoke, Jose spoke. That session we should have got on tape. It was one of the best sessions. But all of this was an example of how guys understood what had to be done, and not only understood it but carried it out, which is just as important.

Q: What happened at Bragg?

A: I went to my company and spent the first couple of weeks just feeling my way. The general situation at Bragg was different from Jackson. There are a lot of

Vietnam vets where I was at Bragg; that's good; a lot of Permanent Party; that's good; guys been in for a while; that's good. Unlike the trainees, these guys get a little more money, some of them have a car and can get around easier. Some of them know people in town. They get off every night after work. In general they've got more freedom of movement than trainees. And they've been through the mill.

All that was very important. At Bragg, the brass are not able to restrict us and mess with us the way they did at Jackson. We're not trainees, and they'd never get away with it. The whole place would just blow up if they tried to do something like that. In some ways though it wasn't as good. Down at Jackson there were a lot of brothers. Up at Bragg, I ran into a bunch of Toms. It blew my mind. I tried to play a tape of Malcolm X one night. It just didn't work out. So—back to the drawing board.

One thing that was very good for me then was that I spent a week in a replacement company talking to Vietnam vets. That's all I did. It was very good because how you rap to a Vietnam vet and a guy who's been in the service a while is different from how you rap to a guy who's been in eight weeks. It was an educational experience for me. It enabled me to work a lot better. You see, at Jackson, only a few of the trainees had been to Nam, including Jose and Mays, but most were just out of basic.

Then I wrote up a petition in support of the Fort Jackson guys. I didn't know what response it would get. But the response was good. In a week, just in my company, a hundred signatures. This was from white and black. The all-black thing never materialized in Bragg the way it did in Jackson.

I think this is due mostly to the fact of so many guys being veterans of Vietnam. Having been in battle situations where you depend on another guy regardless of color tends to break down a lot of the racism in some ways and reinforces it also in different ways. But it was very

easy for guys at Bragg to understand being brothers in struggle. This is a real struggle, against the brass and the war, and they'd accept anyone who'd fight with them. They just sort of apply that battlefield experience into the political battle.

At Bragg you get these white southerners, active right along with the black power guys. It's that war. It's just radicalizing all kinds. These guys come around radicalized by the war, by their own experiences in Vietnam. Some of them have the most reactionary type of backgrounds. But they go to Vietnam and that experience starts them thinking and it leads to other things.

Like after we got a group going at Bragg we did play Malcolm X tapes, to a black-white group and it had some of the same effect on the white guys as on the blacks. There was a lot of discussion, a lot of dialogue. The white guys now are interested in learning about black nationalism. They want to know what it is. Malcolm opened their eyes to the fact that it wasn't "get whitey." There's something else there. They want to know, to read. There's no paternalism at all involved, especially with the southern guys. It doesn't work that way. They want to know what's happening.

Things that happened better in Bragg were: It spread out to five or six other companies. Someone would come up and say there's a guy in this other company that wants to sign the petition and I'd go over there and he'd have ten guys that wanted to sign, or a group that wanted to meet. It spread out. We were able to do this because we had the freedom to do it.

I got transferred to an MP company. But just before that, we had a meeting in the service club and formed a GIs United. Up until then I was the only link between everybody else. But the brass was one day too late in transferring me, because after that meeting it was off the ground.

Q: So you had to go to this MP company across the base where you are isolated, but after hours you can still get back once in a while?

A: Yes. I've been at the meetings. But I'm not able to be there to rap during the day.

We had three or four meetings in the service club before we got kicked out. Then we went out to the patio. Then they kicked us out of there. Then we went outside. We've been holding regular meetings ever since April when we had our first one. More or less the same thing is happening as at Jackson with guys feeling that they can do something.

We've got a tremendous cross section of guys here at Bragg. From every background. We've got some who aren't radical too, just against the war and for GI rights. Having all these veterans is a real milestone. Not only does it carry moral authority for a guy who's been there to speak out against it, but that whole experience of physically being there is a radicalizing experience for many.

Q: What was the reaction of the guys to your attempt to pass out copies of the Bill of Rights?

A: That's still going on. This time about thirty guys signed the request for permission to pass it out, and I didn't sign it. I didn't have anything to do with it. Jack Riley, a Vietnam vet who is white and from Mississippi, showed up out of the blue Thursday to turn in the request to the PMO [Provost Martial's Office]. They flipped.

GIs United at Bragg has been going a little more than a month now and our meetings are still growing. Not only that, but there's always new guys coming to every meeting from all over the post. The main bulk is in the 12th Support Brigade, but there are also guys from the 82nd Airborne, from the Special Forces — the green berets — yes, even them. And other companies and outfits too.

It's just amazing how widespread the antiwar sentiment is and how much sympathy there is for the antiwar movement. Here among the most gung-ho dudes there are, supposed to be America's diehards, the 82nd Airborne. And to walk through one of their barracks is like walking through some college dormitory as far as opposition to the war is concerned.

Q: What about the green berets?

A: Some of them come to our meetings. In spite of all their training.

Q: So there's a request to pass out the Bill of Rights, signed by some 82nd Airborne guys as well as others. You've also got the suit asking for a meeting on base?

A: Yes. There's a lot of things. You see here at Bragg, the first meetings started off on a higher level organizationally. We had the position paper from Jackson and we knew about petitioning and those things. So for the first two weeks we talked about organizing. Much different from how it started at Jackson where it became an emotional thing and where the long political discussions preceded the organizing. Here, it's organization first and now we're just getting into the long political discussions, Malcolm tapes and that. We're really busy. There's the Bill of Rights thing, the petition campaign, plans for going to the antiwar conference, for summer action, now there's my defense also, trying to stop my transfer to Alaska, north of the Arctic Circle.

Q: Yes, what about that?

A: That's made a lot of people angry and of course they got a good laugh out of it, because the Army isn't being very subtle. Even if they send me—the lawyers say there's a fifty-fifty chance—there'll be a good cadre of GIs United here.

THE WORLDWIDE YOUTH RADICALIZATION and the Tasks of the Fourth International

This is one of the key resolutions discussed at the World Congress of the Fourth International held in April. A future issue of Intercontinental Press will publish all the major resolutions of the congress as well as reports.

A fresh generation of revolutionary youth has come upon the world scene and is playing an ever more important part in its politics. Over the past decade, a movement has grown from symptomatic indications of a mood of rebellion against a number of rotted institutions into a powerful revolt of youth on a global scale.

The social group most affected by this process of radicalization up to now has been the student population, which, owing to its increasing social weight and its sensitivity to world politics, has taken on greater and greater importance. The student youth do not reflect in a direct way the interests of the class to which they belong, or to which they will belong, but reflect primarily the contradictions and class struggles of society as a whole. The student radicalization mirrors and announces the current crises of the world capitalist system—hence its characteristic strengths and weaknesses.

The powerful student radicalization has shown its capacity to serve as a transmission belt speeding the development of a radical political consciousness among other social layers of the same generation. In several countries it has triggered mass action by the working class as a whole.

The growing combativity and revolutionary elan of this new generation have been proved many times over, in all three sectors of the world revolution. In Czechoslovakia the student movement played a central role in initiating the struggle for socialist democracy during the spring and summer of 1968.

In Pakistan the students touched off a social crisis of revolutionary proportions which brought down the regime of Ayub Khan. In Mex-

ico in the summer and fall of 1968 mass student demonstrations around basic democratic demands led to a sympathetic response from the masses of Mexico City and precipitated a political crisis for the Diaz Ordaz regime.

In France in May 1968 the student revolt catalyzed the biggest general strike in history and precipitated a revolutionary situation. The May-June events in France provided a graphic demonstration of the fact that not even the main centers of capitalism can avoid the dynamic effects of the student radicalization. These lessons have not been lost on the capitalist ruling class internationally.

While the bourgeoisie and their echoers in working-class circles decry the "conflict of generations," the "generational gap," and even "symbolic parricide," the issues posed by the youth in revolt are not primarily generational ones. They clearly reflect the major class conflicts of our time. The fundamental significance of this unprecedented radicalization of the youth is the emergence of new forces, ready, willing and able to enter the arena of class struggle on the side of the colonial peoples and the working class and to give battle to world imperialism and its accomplices, who falsely claim to speak in the name of the working class and its allies.

The new wave of radicalization began during the late fifties in response to the upsurge of the colonial revolution, the new rise in the Afro-American struggle in the U. S., and in reaction to the Khrushchev revelations of Stalin's crimes and Moscow's suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. It was furthered by the Algerian revolution and given added impetus by the revolutionary victory in Cuba. It reached a qualitatively higher stage when U. S. imperialism escalated the Vietnam war, making Vietnam the focal point of the international class struggle. Millions of young people around the world rallied to the defense of the Vietnamese people.

The radicalization of the youth is of crucial importance to the Fourth International and its sympathizing organizations. It poses a major challenge to the entire world Trotskyist movement—how to provide leadership for it and win the best of the new generation to the banner of the Fourth International. Whether the Trotskyist current in a country is a small nucleus or an established tendency of some strength, this central task remains unchanged. *To recognize and carry out this task is central to the work and orientation of the International in the next period.*

I. Root causes and common features of the worldwide youth radicalization.

The political character of the radicalization of the new generation is rooted on the one hand in the crisis of imperialism and on the other in the correlative crises of Stalinism and the Social Democracy—

the historically bankrupt major tendencies in the workers' movement. The new generation is achieving political understanding during the most intense period of social convulsion in this century. In Vietnam it has seen modern imperialist war in all its brutality. In a few brief years it has witnessed big revolutionary upheavals and counterrevolutionary bloodbaths. Current history consists of a succession of upheavals and not even the United States is immune, as the ghetto uprisings and campus revolts bear witness.

The economic contradictions of imperialism are the underlying source of the social explosiveness of our era. Even while there has been a prodigious expansion of the productive capacities of the advanced capitalist countries in the past two decades, the gap between the rich and the poor nations has steadily widened. Successful revolutions in China, Cuba, and North Vietnam, along with the destruction of capitalist relations in Eastern Europe and North Korea, have removed vast areas from the sphere of direct imperialist exploitation. Political instability and the threat of revolution in one colonial country after another have inhibited capitalist investment in these sectors. At the same time competition between the major industrial powers for a larger share of the world market steadily intensifies.

These economic contradictions are intertwined with the necessity felt by imperialism to halt any further advances of the world revolution. *The efforts of the imperialists to maintain their exploitation and oppression and crush revolutionary movements have been the prime factor in radicalizing the youth in both the advanced capitalist countries and the colonial countries.*

While the example set by the insurgent youth in their challenge to capitalism has affected the youth in the workers states, the dissidence in these areas has been engendered primarily by the efforts of the bureaucratic caste to maintain their privileged positions and totalitarian rule.

The continuing crisis of world Stalinism has been a powerful factor in radicalizing the youth in both the Soviet bloc and the capitalist countries. The prestige and authority of the Kremlin have considerably diminished since 1956. The Sino-Soviet conflict, the Cuban revolution, the Vietnam war, and finally the invasion of Czechoslovakia have all contributed to the disintegration of Stalinist monolithism. The counterrevolutionary implications of the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" and the "parliamentary road" to socialism, and the grotesque distortions created by the absence of workers' democracy and the abuses committed by a privileged bureaucratic caste, have become increasingly obvious to growing numbers of radical youth.

The Social Democracy is equally disqualified in the eyes of the new radical generation. The Social Democrats have become so thoroughly identified as guardians of capitalist rule that they have no attraction for the youth. Their youth organizations, with rare exceptions, are, like the Communist party youth organizations, empty shells with few active members or followers.

The new generation has come into politics under the impetus of a succession of victories. The Chinese, Algerian, Cuban, and Vietnamese revolutions and the advancing Afro-American liberation movement, have been key rallying points and sources of inspiration and emulation. The new generation has seen defeats, some of them bitter and tragic as in the case of Indonesia. But it has not undergone the numbing experience of such terrible and enduring catastrophes as the rise of Stalinism and fascism before the second world war and the betrayals by the Communist leaderships in Western Europe following that war. Most of them were too young to have had direct experience with the early years of the cold war. Many recall the victory of the Cuban revolution as their initiation into political life.

The dissident youth in the workers states have grown up during the erosion of the power and influence of Stalinism and are obliged to come to grips with all the problems involved in the antibureaucratic struggle.

While the interlocked crises of imperialism and of the historically superseded leaderships of the working class have shaped the basic political development of the student radicalization, they do not suffice to explain the social weight of the current student movements. Students have often engaged in forays in the past without causing much concern to the capitalist rulers or the bureaucratic regimes of the Soviet bloc.

The enhanced social weight and political impact of the student movement derive from the fundamental changes that have taken place in the sphere of education under pressure from the scientific, technological and industrial advances involved in the "third industrial revolution." These developments call for a more highly educated and technically qualified type of personnel which is capable of innovating, developing, and operating the most complex, up-to-date means of production and destruction.

These economic conditions require larger numbers of better educated people not only among the administrators and superintendents of the productive processes but also in the work force at all levels of industry and trade. Higher educational and cultural standards flow from higher levels of productivity and greater "capital intensity." The steady rise in the norms of qualification all along the line has greatly altered the character and structure of higher education, particularly in the more advanced countries over the past twenty years.

It has also resulted in the increasing proletarianization of white-collar workers as intellectual labor is introduced into the productive process on a larger and larger scale and the relative weight of unskilled manual labor is reduced in the productive process.

On a world scale, and in most individual countries, the facilities for higher education and the size of the student body are undergoing explosive expansion. According to the latest UNESCO figures, between 1950 and 1963-64 the student population in the world's colleges and universities more than doubled. In France it multiplied by 3.3;

in West Germany, by 2.8; the U. S., 2.2; Italy, 1.3; China, 6; Czechoslovakia, 3.2; the USSR, 3; East Germany, 2.8; Turkey, 3.7; Colombia, 3.5; India, 2.2. The high-school population has increased even more during the past fifteen years.

This turbulent growth has created more problems than it has solved. On the one hand, the educational setup has not been reshaped quickly enough or thoroughly enough to suit the requirements of the ruling class in the capitalist countries and the experts entrusted with looking after its interests. On the other hand, the demands imposed upon the university in transition from the old ways to the new have generated great dissatisfaction among the student body and sections of the faculty. The students' feeling of alienation resulting from the capitalist form of the university, from the bourgeois structure and function of higher education and the authoritarian administration of it, has become more and more widespread. This dissatisfaction has led to confrontations and sharp collisions with both the academic administrators and the authorities over them. The university has consequently been plunged into a severe and permanent state of crisis which cannot be overcome short of a revolutionary transformation of the social order.

In view of the rapid turnover of college "generations," these clashes touch layer upon layer of students in a relatively short period of time. They find that the university is often not equipped to train them in the skills they need to find employment or that it insists upon molding them according to the crassest needs of big business or the bureaucratic regime. In any case, the university is not designed to impart the most elementary truths about living society. In complicity with the established authorities, it tries to hide or to distort these truths and even to insist on falsifications. The insistent demands of the students for freedom of political inquiry and activity and control over the universities they attend bring on the now familiar head-on confrontations with the academic officials and the ruling class or bureaucratic caste which stands behind them.

While the specific issues, whether on or off the campus, which incite or rally the students to action vary considerably from one country to another, and even from one university to another, their movements are strikingly similar in pattern. The rebellious students find themselves arrayed against the powers that be and confronted with a showdown struggle.

Thus the sitdown occupation of the Belgrade university in June 1968 precipitated a national political crisis in Yugoslavia, as did the demonstrations of the French students a month earlier. The student demonstrations in West Germany, Japan, Pakistan, Egypt, and California have had powerful political repercussions.

In the last two decades, as it has grown in size, the student population has strikingly altered in complexion in several important ways.

- 1) The time spent as a student has appreciably lengthened. Millions

of young adults now spend their most productive and energetic years in the university environment. Many family restraints have been left behind, and they are not yet restricted to holding down a job to earn their livelihood. They have access to more information than the ordinary citizen and time to absorb and discuss its implications.

2) They are concentrated in educational institutions or areas to a degree exceeding the work force in all but the most giant factory complexes. The overwhelming majority of these educational institutions throughout the world are located in the major urban industrial centers where the working class is also concentrated and where the decisive battles for power will take place.

3) While the composition of the student body in the capitalist lands is still preponderantly middle-class in origin, there has been some influx (a significant one in the United States) from working-class backgrounds.

4) Social distinctions and stratifications within the student body are not so sharply defined as they were twenty or thirty years ago. A college degree no longer means that the holder automatically becomes a government functionary, a small businessman, or a member of the professions. Under today's advanced technology, a college graduate will more likely become a highly-paid technician or a skilled worker in the productive apparatus. He has nothing to sell but his more qualified labor-power and no perspective of escaping the essential condition of a wage worker. These circumstances tend to link him more closely to the industrial working class. The attitudes of university students are more and more influenced by this situation so that growing numbers tend to identify with the status awaiting them after graduation rather than with their family origin.

5) The owners and organizers of the economy are far more dependent for the operation of their enterprises upon the qualified personnel coming from the higher educational institutions and are therefore far more concerned about their moods, attitudes, and political orientations.

6) Students have stronger ties than previously with the rest of their generation in the high schools, factories and draftee armies, making their radicalization a more serious matter for the rulers. Regardless of class, youth are subject to more or less the same restrictions imposed by the norms of patriarchal bourgeois society, norms which usually prevail even in the countries that have abolished capitalist property relations. They are subject to the same discriminatory laws such as those dealing with political rights, military conscription, and social restrictions. These factors help to cement the ties between various social strata of the generation.

All these conditions taken together give the student population impressive social and political significance. The opinions and actions of this social layer have great impact on national life.

The new features of academic life are most evident in such highly

industrialized powers as the United States, Japan, Germany, and the Soviet Union. But all countries which compete in the world market or the military arena are subjected to their presence and pressures to one degree or another.

The pace of the global radicalization of the students, the ways in which it is refracted through diverse issues, and the depth of its impact vary considerably in the developed capitalist countries, the workers states, and the colonial lands. Nonetheless, the intensity and impact of the student demonstrations in Paris and Tokyo, Mexico and Brazil, Egypt and Pakistan, Poland and Czechoslovakia, testify to the universality of the phenomenon. The almost instantaneous world-communications network and the degree of international travel play a large role in this continuing universalization. The rebellious youth in one area rapidly copy the methods, take up the slogans and study the political lessons of struggles in other areas. The general admiration for heroes such as Che and the common inspiration drawn from the Vietnamese revolution are indices of a surprising degree of homogeneity in the youth vanguard the world over. They speak a common language.

The international interdependence of political ideas and experiences is key to understanding the current student radicalization as a world phenomenon, despite the variations determined by national particularities. Given the various social and political factors outlined above and the explosive character of our epoch, the current student radicalization is not just a conjunctural phenomenon, but a permanent one that will be of continual concern to the revolutionary movement from now on.

II. Ideology and politics of the student radicals

The student radicals exhibit a broad spectrum of ideological tendencies and political positions. For the most part, they disdain the Stalinism of the Moscow school and the reformism of the Social Democracy.

The treacherous, class-collaborationist role of Stalinism and Social Democracy is responsible for the fact that the student radicals as they gain political understanding have no mass workers' parties to turn to to learn the traditions and organizational and political norms of revolutionary politics. The new generation of radicals begins by rejecting Stalinism and Social Democracy, and bypassing them in action. In doing so they usually come to see themselves initially not so much as a clearly-defined alternative ideological current but as an alternative political vanguard, united in action around particular issues.

In their quest for a new ideological basis, the student rebels originally resurrected some of the primitive notions which had been tested and found wanting in earlier periods of socialist and labor history. The emphasis placed by the Cuban leaders on practice and their dis-

counting of theory helped to foster this trend. The new radicals initially neglected scientific theory and a carefully-worked-out political program of struggle in favor of pragmatic expedients. These served as a charter for impressionism and opportunism and later as an excuse for adventurism. In place of democratic centralism, "participatory democracy" and decentralization were advanced as nostrums. Under these banners, however, small uncontrolled cliques often manipulated movements in an undemocratic way. They substituted spasmodic actions, "propaganda of the deed," or "revolutionary style," for patient and persistent organization of the revolutionary forces.

The radical student movement goes through different organizational stages and forms, but these are not necessarily consecutive. Thus while in one country the student movement may evolve from a "student unionism" phase, through an anarchistic "participatory democracy" stage, to a stage where it sees itself as made up of various ideological tendencies, in another country all these various forms and stages may well overlap to a greater degree, or exist simultaneously.

Many of the radical student currents failed to recognize, or denied, the decisive historic role of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard party. The essence of their position was repudiation of Marxism in the field of ideology and Leninism in the sphere of organization. On the key question of Stalinism, over which many had begun their course to the left, they were unable to explain its nature as the historical antithesis of Leninism.

The basic weaknesses of many of the student radicals—instability, ultraleftism and inability to solve the organizational question—are rooted in the social nature of these currents. The same conditions which enable them to quickly reach a high level of political sensitivity—more leisure, less job discipline—make it more difficult for them to understand the need for a permanent organization, long-term strategy and patient and persevering political action.

The result was the paradoxical phenomenon of large numbers of young people moving to the left of the Communist and Social Democratic parties in their temper and activities but remaining deficient in their theoretical equipment and organizational concepts.

For example a layer of the new radicals in the West drew inspiration from the views of C. Wright Mills, Herbert Marcuse and others, who doubted the capacity of the working class to serve as the prime historical agency for social change, denying that it possessed the revolutionary potential ascribed to it by Marxist theory.

They disqualified the industrial workers. In the advanced capitalist countries they interpreted the twenty years of relative quiescence as evidence of a permanent structural characteristic of the working class. In the workers states, they held the workers to be incapable of breaking the rigid bureaucratization. In the colonial world, they noted that workers were often a relatively privileged layer compared

to the poor peasantry, and drew the conclusion they were thus incapable of leading revolutionary struggles.

They identified the working-class movement with the Stalinist and Social Democratic organizations and union officialdoms. They initially saw the possibility of victorious revolution in the postwar period only in the colonial world where the peasantry remains preponderant.

The general crisis of bourgeois ideology and the repulsive aspects of bourgeois society that have started many radical youths in search of collective political solutions induced others, often known as "hippies" or "beatniks," to seek an individual means of maintaining personal freedom without overturning capitalism. Some have reached utopian positions, believing that bourgeois society can be transformed through love and unselfishness. This tendency toward petty-bourgeois escapism and self-indulgence, the search for a new "life style" has its political reflection in the various anarchistic tendencies that exist in every country.

However, the political outlook of the radical students has not remained static. It has begun to evolve quite rapidly in the past two years. The various currents have been exposed to all contending schools of thought in the radical milieu, have gone through intense internal disputes and sometimes bitter factional alignments, and started to regroup. Maoism, spontaneism, neo-anarchism, state capitalism, Castroism, and Trotskyism have all won adherents and left their marks on the activists and their organizations.

The new radicals often attempt to combine theoretical and ideological elements from all the various political currents in the working class. But after a time, the march of events and experience in struggle compel many of them to define and further clarify their positions. Political tendencies emerge which basically reflect the different currents in the world labor movement. The thrust of the youth radicalization has been away from the opportunism of the Moscow wing of Stalinism and the Social Democracy. But lacking mass organizations with principled class struggle traditions from which they can learn, and frustrated by the limitations placed on the role a student vanguard can play, the biggest danger in the student movement becomes one of ultraleftism. Competing with, and systematic polemicizing against these various opponent currents is an essential part of winning the best elements to the banner of revolutionary Marxism.

The various weaknesses which are often seen among the new radicals and their organizations, however, come nowhere near outweighing their strengths:

- 1) By and large, national and international politics absorb the new generation of radicals. Often unacquainted with extensive mass mobilizations in their own living experience, many have had to arrive at revolutionary conclusions through independent critical thought, and have had to work out solutions on their own to important and complex problems.

2) The days of Communist and Socialist youth organizations, primarily concerned with social activities, sports contests, ye-ye, etc. are gone. The best of today's radical youth are attracted to the revolutionary youth groups and join them because of the militant actions they initiate or take part in, around the most burning political issues of the day, because of their political programs, their international perspectives, their seriousness toward theory.

3) Above all, the current radicalism of the youth is characterized by the rebirth of an authentic internationalism, the kind of solidarity that is the complete opposite of the narrow bureaucratic nationalism of the Stalinist movement. The greatest impetus to this development has been given by the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions. The courage of the Vietnamese in resisting the aggression of American imperialism helped bring into being a worldwide effort on their behalf. The Cubans contributed to this revival by setting an example in their own appeals, by Che's call for "two, three, many Vietnams," and by their insistence that the best way to defend a revolution under attack from imperialism is to spread it to other countries.

The new radical generation is aware that it confronts a common enemy in imperialism, the capitalist ruling class of the United States in the first place. It has already shared a series of common political experiences in the struggle against imperialism (Cuba, Vietnam). International campaigns are readily geared together and joint actions rendered more effective by the ease of communication and travel in the world today.

4) One of the most promising characteristics of the student radicalism is its anti-authoritarian bent, its lack of respect for tradition and its readiness to challenge and question most of the hallowed norms, rules, and regulations of the past. In its search for answers to problems which it did not create, the new generation is willing to consider with an open mind precisely those solutions which have been regarded as heretical and taboo. In fact, whatever is opposed by the state, school, parents, church, employer, or bureaucracy is thereby recommended to the rebels.

5) Many young radicals are groping toward a revolutionary Marxist understanding of national and world politics. Leaving aside those who reject Marxism and Leninism out of prejudice, without seriously studying and testing them, most of them are earnestly striving to make their way in a confused, experimental way through the fog of lies and distortions spread by the capitalist agencies as well as the falsifiers of Marxism.

They may be temporarily diverted in the blind alleys of Maoism, neo-anarchism, or ultraleftism, but bit by bit they are rediscovering the truths of Marxism and learning how they apply to contemporary reality.

It is these qualities of the new radicalization, and its development outside of, and as an alternative to, the organizational forms of

Stalinism and Social Democracy, which give it key importance for the world Trotskyist movement. It is the existence of broad currents with these political strengths that makes it possible and crucially important to build broad united-front organizations for struggle around specific issues. It is also these political strengths that open unparalleled opportunities to win large numbers of this new generation to revolutionary Marxist youth organizations, and the very best of them to the revolutionary party.

III. Strategy of the "Red University"

Radical student circles are hotly debating the central question of orientation. What should be the direction and objectives of the student struggle? What kind of relationship should the student movement seek with the broader struggle of the working masses and oppressed nationalities? What sort of program should the revolutionary vanguard put forward for the student movement?

The reformist tendency maintains that students should concern themselves primarily with narrowly defined university issues—grades, courses, the quality of education, living conditions, narrow campus politics. They see struggles around such issues in isolation from the crisis of capitalist society as a whole. They counterpose such limited struggles to the inclinations of the politicalized students themselves to take up issues of key concern to the world, such as the war in Vietnam.

At the opposite end of the spectrum stand the ultralefts. Most of their strategies come down to turning the energies of the student body away from the academic milieu altogether, to leaving the campus and taking the student activists to the factory gates or into the "community," to distribute leaflets proclaiming the need for revolution. The Maoists epitomize this in the slogan "Serve the People."

Both of these orientations should be rejected as one-sided and sterile. The revolutionary youth vanguard, to be effective, must put forward a program that transcends the campus in its goal, but at the same time includes it; that connects student demands with the broader demands of the class struggle on a national and international scale, that shows students how their own demands relate to these bigger struggles, are an integral part of them, and can help to advance them. The program put forward by the revolutionary youth must tie together the long-range perspectives and daily work of a revolutionist in the school arena. The program put forward by the revolutionary youth is one that mobilizes for struggle around the basic issues of the world class struggle *and* the needs of the student population itself.

The student population is not homogeneous. Students come from varying class backgrounds with widely differing interests and they are on many different levels politically. Their only homogeneity

consists of their common position as students in a capitalist society and university—or a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

Many politically advanced students in the course of struggles around diverse issues, come to comprehend the need to gain control over their education and educational institutions and to recognize that this goal can be fully satisfied only with the revolutionary transformation of society. But they puzzle over a way of formulating the objective so as to tie it in with the current struggles in society as a whole. How can the battles over prevailing educational conditions be linked with the desired goal of completely transforming society? It is difficult for them to see how their fight as students fits into the general fight against capitalism. This is a source of frustration and of searches for shortcuts to the revolution, which, in turn, breed opportunism and ultraleftism.

During the massive student protests in Yugoslavia in June 1968, the Belgrade students summarized their demands with the call "For a Red University!" This formulation was very apt in their situation. They meant that Yugoslavia is supposed to have a socialist educational system but that actually it has been shaped to fit the interests of the ruling bureaucracy. Consequently the Yugoslav students face problems that are quite comparable to those faced by students in the capitalist countries. To solve these problems, they demanded that the Yugoslav educational system be transformed to what it ought to be—let the bureaucratic university give way to a "Red" university.

This idea was also advanced by radical students in some of the capitalist countries and adapted to their situations.

"For a University that Serves the Working People—for a Red University!" With this basic orientation radical students seek to answer the questions: "What kind of education shall students get? Toward what ends should this education be directed? Who shall control the educational facilities? What layers in society should the educational institutions serve?"

The concept of the Red University means that the university ought to be transformed from a factory producing robots into an organizing center for anticapitalist activities, a powerhouse for revolutionary education, an arena for mobilizing youth in a struggle for the complete transformation of society.

The Red University concept as it has appeared on the campus up to this point, is a big advance over slogans which refer to the narrower goal of student-faculty control over the university. The struggle for autonomy and self-administration is only one aspect of a rounded program aimed at helping students to understand the role of the university under capitalist domination, to educate them to the need for a socialist revolution and to enlist them in the movement to bring the broadest layers of this generation into the struggle for that revolution.

Included in the concept of the Red University is the need to counter the teaching of bourgeois ideology, which goes under the name of

"education," whether in the field of sociology, philosophy, economics, psychology, or whatever. Revolutionary students must understand the need to confront the prestige and authority of the capitalist university and its normally pro-capitalist faculty on its own level of theory and ideology. They must fight against converting knowledge and its acquisition into a mystique, the concept that higher education is something reserved for a select and highly intelligent few and not accessible or comprehensible to the working masses.

The university as an instrument in the class struggle—a Red University—is opposed to the liberal view of the university as a sanctuary of a privileged minority, remaining aloof from the social and political controversies in the rest of society. The resources of the university should be made available to the exploited, the poor and the oppressed. Students and faculty should have an absolute right to invite anyone they please to address them on any subjects they wish. They should be free to establish close ties with working-class organizations and parties, the minorities, and the popular masses, becoming a source of information and enlightenment for them.

The strategy of seeking to convert the capitalist university into a Red University has special application in reference to oppressed national minorities. The need for one or more leading centers of higher education has been felt at some stage by every powerful movement of an oppressed people for self-determination. In the struggle for national freedom in the epoch of the death agony of capitalism, a university shaped for the special needs of an oppressed nation serves as a symbol and an agency for developing national consciousness and national culture in a way most conducive to overcoming narrow nationalist limitations and giving the struggle an international perspective. For both democratic and socialist reasons, the demand for the establishment, extension and improvement of such facilities under nationalist control must be fought for by the revolutionary vanguard.

In Belgium the demand for Flemish universities in Flanders, notably at Louvain, won broad support among the Flemish-speaking population and a struggle over this issue even brought down a government cabinet in Belgium.

In the United States, owing to the rise of black nationalism as an increasingly strong force among the Afro-Americans, the Red University concept has appeared in the variation, "For a Black University!"

The insistence of black students upon greater access to higher education, upon control over the curricula, finances and professors in independent facilities where they can study their own culture and history, upon the inclusion of courses of particular interest to Afro-Americans and upon opening the doors to "Third World" students has led to university and high-school battles from one end of the country to the other. Backed up by direct actions involving both black and white students and faculty members, the actions aimed at forcing the school authorities to concede on these issues have exposed the determination

of the white supremacist rulers to maintain control over their educational factories. These efforts have also awakened many students to the revolutionary implications of black nationalism and the lengths to which the capitalist class will go to oppose the Afro-American struggle for liberation.

As is shown by its origin, the call for a "Red University" is similarly applicable to student struggles in the Soviet bloc. The universities in the workers states have acted as prime centers for expressing grievances of the populace against the bureaucratic regimes. In their recent struggles, the Polish, Yugoslav, and Czechoslovak students have advanced concrete demands stemming not only from their own particular problems but also from those facing the entire working class and its allies. Prominent among these have been the call for political freedom, workers' control of production and an end to social inequalities.

In the colonial and semicolonial countries the concept of the Red University can readily be linked with the traditions of radicalism and the struggle to establish or to preserve university autonomy. There the students are now playing, as they have often done in the past, a role of first-rate importance in the struggle for revolutionary goals. They have undertaken actions that rapidly bring them into conflict with antidemocratic regimes, that soon involve issues going beyond the universities and lead to the mobilization of popular support among the workers, peasants and other oppressed sectors of the people.

The battles engaged in by the radical students of Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia, Pakistan, India, Egypt, Mali, Turkey and a number of comparable countries show how universal this pattern is.

IV. A program of democratic and transitional demands

The universities and high schools are all the more important because of the size of the forces involved, their mood of combativity, the actual struggles they themselves initiate, their location in the big cities where the greatest potential forces for revolution are assembled, their ties to the workers, peasants and plebian sectors and their readiness to include issues going far beyond immediate campus problems. In addition to all this, experience has repeatedly shown how valuable the universities and high schools are, both as testing grounds for the education and development of young radicals and as sources of recruitment to the revolutionary party.

An impressive example of the possibilities opened up by a correct policy is provided by the international campaign which was organized by student militants in a number of key countries in support of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and its struggle against American imperialism. To launch the solidarity campaign, international connections in university circles were utilized. Through agitation and

actions around this key issue, hundreds of thousands of students became politicalized and radicalized. The attempts to organize large numbers of students in demonstrations on behalf of the Vietnamese revolution frequently posed the right of the students to use university facilities for ends that outraged the authorities, bringing the students into collision with them. Political issues were thus brought to the fore in sharp form. These confrontations in turn mobilized more students in the defense of their democratic rights and further intensified the struggle.

The validity of the political approach outlined in the founding document of the world Trotskyist movement, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, has received striking confirmation in the struggles involving the students. What is now required is to apply this approach in a better planned and more thorough way, working out a set of democratic and transitional demands for application in this field as it stands today.

The student struggles cannot be isolated from, or counterposed to, the political issues arising out of the world class struggle as a whole. Neither can the struggle for the Red University be isolated from the task of building a "Red" youth organization with links to a "Red" Leninist party. Similarly, the program of democratic and transitional demands arising from the student struggles is organically linked to the rest of the transitional program as outlined in the founding document and developed since then. The program of demands for the student movement represents a concrete application of the general approach outlined in *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*.

The ultimate objective of the Fourth International is to link the student struggles with the struggles of the workers and national minorities at their present levels of development and to orient them toward a combined drive for state power, bringing into the struggle all the forces opposed to the capitalist or bureaucratic regimes.

Proceeding from the existing state of development and level of consciousness of the students, these demands express their most urgent needs and grievances, directing them in the most effective way against the institutions and authorities that have come under fire from the students themselves. In mobilizing around such slogans, young militants can come to understand the validity of the transitional program as a whole and become educated to the necessity of a fundamental change in the entire capitalist system.

Because of the decay of the capitalist system and the erosion of democratic conquests, made in some instances almost two centuries ago, many of today's student struggles begin over the most elementary issues such as the right of free speech. However, they tend to develop beyond this level quite rapidly, going beyond the campus, beyond the framework of democratic freedoms as conceived in the most revolutionary phases of capitalism in its rise, reaching into the economic

area and bringing up problems that can actually be solved only under a socialist system. A clear understanding of this logical progression makes it possible to advance a consistent series of interlocking slogans that can readily be adjusted for particular situations. Above all, it facilitates the recognition of suitable slogans of this type originating from the ranks in combat.

A combined demand for free education and for a decent standard of living—to which everyone has a democratic right but which can be provided only in a socialist society that has overcome the limitations of the capitalist system—is offered in the following series of suggestions for students in orienting their actions:

1) A university education for everyone who wants one, the full expense to be underwritten by the government.

2) No maximum age limit on free education; no limitation on the number of years a person may continue in school, or resume school after dropping out, post-graduate studies included.

3) Decent housing for students.

4) An annual salary for all students adequate to their needs and safeguarded against inflation by automatic compensating increases.

5) Guaranteed jobs for students upon graduation.

In the struggle by students for control over their own education the following list of "student power" demands have been advanced to one degree or another in various universities internationally:

1) Abolish government-controlled student organizations. Recognize the right of students to organize and govern themselves according to their own free choice.

2) Joint control by students and faculty over the hiring and firing of faculty members and administrative officials.

3) Let the students themselves democratically decide what subjects should be taught.

4) Abolish the powers of professors and administrators to arbitrarily penalize students.

5) Freedom of political association for students and professors.

6) The right to utilize university facilities to promote educational and cultural activities of direct interest to organizations of the working class, peasants, oppressed nationalities and plebian masses.

In the struggle for political freedom on the campus, some of the following slogans have become central issues in major confrontations:

1) University autonomy, to be won or to be kept inviolate.

2) Repeal of all laws infringing civil liberties. End the witch-hunt.

3) The police and all other repressive forces to be strictly banned from entering university grounds and buildings.

4) Dismiss all government officials responsible for victimizing students, workers, national minorities, political dissidents.

5) Dissolve the special police forces and secret political police.

6) Release all the political prisoners.

7) Abolish the censorship, whether official or "voluntary," of the press, radio, television, and the arts and sciences.

8) For freedom of the press, freedom of association and organization, freedom of speech, assembly, petition, and travel and the right to engage in demonstrations.

In student struggles directly involving national minorities, the fight for their rights comes sharply and specifically to the fore, as has been dramatically shown in the United States in relation to the struggle for black liberation. The issues arise most often around violations of democratic rights, or battles to establish them. They are not confined to the university level but extend throughout the educational system to the primary grades. Consequently struggles in this field immediately affect the oppressed communities as a whole to a much greater degree than is the case with majority groups, and the issues are more easily seen as involving much broader questions concerning the perspectives of a national minority in a decaying capitalist society. Because of this, the possibility of student struggles having catalytic effects in the minority communities deserves special attention.

The slogans in this field can be summarized in the following categories:

1) Recognition of the right of the oppressed national minority communities to control their own public affairs, including education from kindergarten up.

2) Representation of national minorities on all policy-making or policy-implementing bodies of the schools.

3) Against racism and great-power chauvinism. For truthful teaching of the history and culture of oppressed national minorities in all schools, with periodic reviews by educational committees elected by the oppressed national minorities.

4) Recognition of the unconditional right of a national minority to use its own language in the educational system.

5) Unlimited government-financed educational training through post-graduate study for oppressed national minorities.

6) Establishment of adequately financed, independent, university-level educational facilities under control of national minorities.

A special area of concern to students is the relationship between the school administration and the giant corporations and their government. For big business and the military, the university constitutes an indispensable recruiting ground. Linked with this is the role of the universities in highly questionable research projects undertaken in the "public interest." In connection with antiwar campaigns, where a natural connection is easily seen, important struggles have been initiated in this area. Typical slogans fall into the following sequence:

1) End the ties between the university and the military.

2) Abolish secret research by the university for the government.

3) Abolish secret subversion by government agencies of student organizations.

4) Expose the ties between university officials and big business by making public *all* investments, holdings, and contracted projects of the university and of all directors, trustees and administrators.

5) Abolish research of special interest to big business.

6) No recruiting of personnel on the campus by the big corporations.

7) Lower the voting age and the age limit on holding public office. Old enough to fight, old enough to vote and to have a voice in deciding public affairs.

The permanent perspective of large armed forces in the capitalist countries, aimed against the colonial revolution and the workers states and available for domestic repression, makes the following central demands important to student youth as well as working-class youth and youth of national minorities.

1) Defend the democratic rights of all youth conscripted in the army. No restrictions on soldiers exercising their full citizenship rights.

2) Abolish capitalist conscription.

In countries suffering totalitarian regimes as in Spain, South Africa and elsewhere, the universities have repeatedly demonstrated their importance as incubating centers of organized revolt. The experience in Spain is now particularly rich in showing how the efforts of students to break the grip of government-sponsored student organizations and to organize along independent lines parallels similar efforts by the working class and interlocks with them.

Here the campus struggle centers around a single broad demand: "For university autonomy!"

As already indicated, this can readily be formulated in particular slogans that grade into slogans transcending the struggle on the campus and connecting up with broader issues involving the workers, peasants, and plebian masses in the cities.

The situation is symmetrical to this in most of the workers states. Here the student struggle naturally follows the orientation of pointing up the contrast between the official socialist ideology and propaganda and the lack of anything resembling the socialist democracy which Lenin stood for and explained in *State and Revolution*. As shown in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union itself, the sequence of demands tends to go as follows:

1) Freedom of discussion on philosophical, cultural and scientific questions. The right to express a critical viewpoint.

2) Freedom to discuss historical questions. Let the truth come out!

3) Freedom to discuss current political issues.

4) Abolish the censorship.

5) For the right to organize and demonstrate.

6) No political persecution. Let the public, including foreign observers, be admitted to all trials.

7) Freedom of travel. No restrictions on sending representatives to visit youth organizations in other countries or in receiving their representatives on visits.

8) Eliminate self-perpetuating social inequalities and the special privileges of the bureaucracy.

9) Return to revolutionary internationalism.

10) Solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed in other lands.

Youth radicalism is not restricted to college and university levels. It has widely permeated the high schools and in some places even the upper primary grades. High-school students in numerous countries have turned out by the thousands in the mobilizations against the Vietnam war and have been among their most enthusiastic and energetic supporters. The high-school students organized in CAL (Comites d'Action Lyceen) played a major role in the actions before, during and following the May-June 1968 events in France.

At a certain point in the development of every revolutionary youth organization, its ability to organize, lead and win over decisive layers of high-school youth becomes a key test. Revolutionary-socialist youth organizations must take the lead in organizing the secondary-school youth, fighting with them for their rights and seeking to coordinate their activities with other sections of the anticapitalist struggle. Scheduled to enter the higher institutions of learning or go in large numbers into the factories, these young activists will provide an invaluable ferment of militancy and socialist consciousness in both arenas.

To put forward and fight for such slogans and goals, to advance them in a way to take full advantage of openings and opportunities, requires a Marxist leadership that is politically alert, tactically flexible and able to avoid falling into either opportunistic adaptation to the student environment or into ultraleft sectarianism.

V. The revolutionary youth organization and the party

The scope of the current student radicalization presents an unprecedented opening for expanding the influence and cadres of the parties of the Fourth International. Hundreds of thousands of young radicals no longer intimidated by the poisonous propaganda of Stalinism are ready to listen with open minds to the views of Trotskyism. Tens of thousands have already accepted large parts of the Trotskyist program. Their aversion to Stalinism and the Social Democracy makes it possible for an honest revolutionary alternative to gain ascendancy among decisive sections of the new radicals. Substantial numbers of them can be recruited fairly rapidly into the ranks of the Fourth International.

The experience of the world Trotskyist movement during the past few years has shown that its work among the youth can most effectively be carried forward through revolutionary-socialist youth organizations fraternally associated with the sections of the Fourth International but organizationally independent of them.

The Trotskyist forces in various countries vary greatly in size,

and they are in different stages of growth and development. Different tactics will have to be used to reach the goal of constructing a revolutionary-socialist youth organization—including participation in other youth formations. But all such activity should be seen as a tactical step toward the construction of such an organization.

It is important to note that the social and political analysis of the student movement today and the world situation in which it is developing shows the *objective* basis for such independent revolutionary socialist youth organization.

The independent youth organization can attract radicalizing young people who have not yet made up their minds about joining any political party of the left and who are not yet committed to the Bolshevik perspective of becoming lifetime revolutionists, but who are willing and ready to participate in a broad range of political actions together with the revolutionary party and its members. It can lead actions and take initiatives in the student movement in its own name. It can serve as a valuable training and testing ground for candidates for party cadre status, and make it easier for them to acquire the political and organizational experience and education required for serious revolutionary activity. Membership in the revolutionary-socialist youth organization enables young radicals to decide their own policies, organize their own actions, make their own mistakes and learn their own lessons.

Their form of organization also has many advantages for the revolutionary party itself. It provides a reservoir for recruitment to the

special issue

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party. It helps prevent the party from acting as a youth organization and from lowering the norms of a Bolshevik organization on discipline, political maturity and level of theoretical understanding to the less demanding levels of an organization agreeable to the youth.

VI. The tasks of the Fourth International among the youth

Three interrelated tasks are indicated by this analysis of the sweep of the radicalization of the youth. These are:

1) To win the leadership of the radical youth in the spheres of both ideology and action.

2) To build strong Marxist youth organizations.

3) To draw new cadres from the youth to replenish the ranks and supply fresh energy to the leadership of the sections of the Fourth International.

The Trotskyist youth have greater possibilities of leading substantial forces in action than any other tendency in the radical movement. In several countries they have already proved capable of initiating and directing movements of considerable proportions and significance. One example is the worldwide campaign undertaken in defense of the Vietnamese revolution. Another is the role played by the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire in the historic May-June 1968 days in France. A third is the ideological influence of the Fourth Internationalists in the movement led by the National Strike Council of the Mexican students.

No tendency can hope to root itself in and gain political leadership of the radical youth that does not fully and audaciously participate in the front ranks of its ongoing struggles, whatever shortcomings they may have. At certain points the youth movement can only progress through action and the absence of action can condemn it to prolonged division and sterility. The Trotskyist youth must set the example in practice, as well as in theoretical concepts and political pronouncements.

However, there is an abundance of activism, of readiness to struggle and sacrifice among the ranks of youth. What is most lacking in the new generation is theoretical training, political clarity and a correct line of struggle. This side of the revolutionary-socialist youth movement is of decisive importance for its further development. Growing recognition of this will become registered in the widening influence of Trotskyism. The superiority of the Trotskyist movement over its opponents and rival comes from its sound Marxist foundations, its Bolshevik traditions, its programmatic comprehensiveness and correctness, its adherence to socialist internationalism. These features likewise constitute its chief attraction to radicalizing youth.

While spreading the ideas of Trotskyism among the youth with whom they participate in united combat, the Fourth Internationalists

must seek to construct a revolutionary-Marxist youth organization that will systematically educate its members and followers in the methods, doctrines and positions of the Trotskyist movement from its origins. All the results of activity among the youth can be jeopardized if the organizational requisite for this educational work is neglected.

Work among the youth is not an end in itself. It reaches fruition in the impetus given to the construction or reinforcement of the revolutionary parties that will be capable of leading the working class to victory. The sections of the Fourth International are as yet too small to lead the masses in their own name and under their own banner in a decisive struggle for power. Their work has a preparatory and predominantly propagandistic character involving limited actions.

Their task now is to win and educate decisive numbers of the radical youth in order to equip them for the greater task of winning leadership of the revolutionary elements among the working masses. To fulfill that function adequately, the youth recruits must thoroughly assimilate the organizational concepts of Bolshevism and its methods of constructing politically homogeneous and democratically centralized parties. The construction of such parties in the struggles that are erupting is the only means of overcoming the crisis of leadership which is the central contradiction of our epoch.

Government authorities the world over, whether in the advanced capitalist powers, the workers states or the colonial world, are becoming increasingly concerned over the unrest among their youth, which is becoming more and more unmanageable. Their worries are justified. This rising generation has already manifested a tremendous potential for radical activity and a powerful will to change the status quo.

Whoever succeeds in winning the allegiance of the most intelligent and devoted activists among the rebel youth holds the key to the future. For they will play a major role in making history and deciding the destiny of mankind for the rest of the twentieth century.

Insurgent students in a number of countries have already shown how their initiative in confronting the established powers can serve to stimulate struggle in other sectors of society. The young workers will be in the forefront of the movements to break the grip of the bureaucratic machines in the unions and will set an example for the older generation in their militancy and interest in revolutionary politics.

The Fourth International cannot afford to default in what is its central task today—winning and assimilating the best of the rebel youth. A good start has already been made in a number of countries. It is now imperative to build on these achievements. This requires better coordination of the activities of the youth groups of the different sections and closer collaboration on such projects as antiwar and defense campaigns and the development of new openings for the movement internationally.

The aim is to enable the Fourth International to become the recognized voice, organizer and leader of the youth, who are called upon to advance the world revolution.

review article

Milton Alvin

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The year 1969 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of a Communist party in the United States.

At its birth the new communist movement gave promise of becoming the center of radical and revolutionary activity in this country. It attracted the best of the then existing radical elements from the Socialist Party left wing, the Industrial Workers of the World and others. These came together to form the Communist Party. Over the next nine or ten years the party did indeed win virtually all the revolutionaries to its banner. At the same time its rivals, primarily the Socialist Party and the IWW, stagnated and became weaker.

Whatever shortcomings there were in this first period, which ended in 1928, were due primarily to the lack of experience of its leaders. None of its errors were decisive; they could be and were corrected without injury to the movement.

But in 1928 there was a change, not induced so much from American political factors, but from developments in the Soviet Union.

During the time of Lenin's last illness there were definite signs of a new bureaucracy forming in the Soviet CP and the state apparatus. This formation, representing the elements that were worn out by seven years of the first world war and the civil war which followed it, discouraged by the failure of the revolution in Western Europe and the consequent isolation of the new workers state, found in Stalin its foremost spokesman and leader.

Both Lenin and Trotsky saw the danger resulting from the Stalin clique that had already spread all over the party and planned a struggle against it. But death prevented Lenin from carrying out his

part and it fell to Trotsky's lot to lead the subsequent fight against the degeneration of the party and state.

The Stalin faction elaborated a theory that socialism could be built in Russia alone in contrast to Marxist internationalism. This fitted in neatly with the needs and aims of the new bureaucracy, which more and more carried out policies tailored to enhance its own economic privileges. The theory of socialism in one country led logically to the conversion of all the Communist parties in other countries into border guards and diplomatic pressure groups for the Stalin bureaucracy.

The Communist International, to which the American CP belonged, fell under the control of the Stalin faction in the USSR and was converted into a tool of its policies. The Trotskyist leaders of the Left Opposition were expelled from the Soviet Communist Party in 1927 and from the American party in 1928, followed by the right-wing Lovestonites about a year later. The CPs then entered their so-called Third Period of ultraleftist adventures and phrase-mongering. This period lasted for approximately five to six years. Typical was the ultraleft sectarianism of the German CP, which viewed the Social Democrats and not the Nazis as the main enemy. In the United States the Communist Party labeled Norman Thomas a "social fascist" and Roosevelt a fascist.

These policies led to victory in Hitler's Germany while here in the U.S. the CP managed to isolate itself from many radicals affected by the great depression beginning in 1929. The CP policy with regard to the unions, at that time largely in the AFL, cut them off completely from any influence among the organized workers. The Communist Party refused to join the existing unions and organized its own "revolutionary" unions, which few workers joined and which, of course, had little or no influence on events.

It was during the last stages of this Third Period insanity that George Charney joined the Communist Party. Not a proletarian, he was influenced by conditions around him and had an idealist turn of mind. He has now favored us with his political autobiography, stretching out over the next twenty-five years.*

One reads his story with a certain wonderment mixed with incredulity. How could a seemingly intelligent man, with a formal college education, become so mesmerized as to accept and support the twists and turns of party policy over such a long period of time before realizing that something serious and fundamental was wrong with the Communist Party?

But it is futile to ask the question. As a matter of fact Charney was hardly alone. Thousands did exactly the same things for the same reasons. In their minds they had planted a rationale: first came the alleged interests of the Soviet Union, which they confused with the Stalin faction; second, the interests of the world revolution, which they

* A Long Journey by George Charney. Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1968. 340 pp. \$7.50.

confused with the various Communist parties; third, their own party, which they confused with its leadership.

So long as they held to this "logical" structure, they could accept all the changes directed from Moscow, sometimes with misgivings, but in the end rationalized into support of whatever came from that fountain-head.

They never learned how the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country led to socialism in no country, how this theory, imposed upon all the Communist parties, signalled the beginning of the degeneration of the Communist movement and the rise of an economically privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Some months before Charney became a member and had begun his climb to the top circles of the party, Hitler conquered power in Germany. This turned out to be another turning point in history and in the Communist International.

But the CP did not discuss how this had come to pass, did not probe this catastrophe to the bottom in order to learn from the experience how to fight fascism, how to defeat it elsewhere. Instead, the leaders of the party swept the defeat under the rug, in effect, by foisting upon the organization the American version of the Peoples Front. This followed the general line laid down in Moscow that demanded that all Communist parties ally themselves with "progressive" bourgeois elements in order to fight fascism.

The Peoples Front line of the 1930s finds its modern counterpart in the peaceful coexistence policy of today. Both are based not on working class independent politics but on a form of class collaboration. Some of the more horrible results of this policy, which compels the Communist parties to support the less reactionary capitalists instead of a socialist program, can be seen in the slaughter of half a million Communists in Indonesia a few years ago, the betrayal of a revolutionary upsurge in France in the spring of 1968 and countless other examples.

Charney erroneously refers to this policy many times as the United Front and thereby seeks sanction for it from Lenin. But the latter never entered into any alliances with political representatives of the capitalist class. In fact, Lenin struggled with might and main against leaders in his own party during the revolutionary year 1917, Stalin among them, who wanted to give support to the provisional government led by the capitalists that succeeded the Czar.

The real history of the Communist movement was concealed from the CP members. Only rare individuals here and there dug it up and saw the light. Charney was not among them.

The turn to the Peoples Front was welcomed by Charney and, he reports, by most of the party. They were all converted into respectable looking people, with neckties and jackets for the men and high-heeled shoes for the women. The leather jackets of the Third Period were taken off never to be worn again. The party, and Charney with it,

felt comfortable in its new stance. It sought and made alliances with liberals and soon ended up in the Roosevelt New Deal camp.

A certain justification for this policy existed in the minds of CP members in those days primarily because the party grew in membership and influence. The separate unions organized during the Third Period were junked and the field of operations became the new CIO movement. The CP was able to take advantage of the growth of the CIO and won important influence and even control in several of the new unions. Where it could, it imposed bureaucratic rule upon union organizations which was not any better than the old line unions. Where it did not have enough power to do this, it led the witch-hunt against its rivals, particularly during the war period.

These abominations seem to have escaped the notice of our author. But here too he is not unique. The whole party, riding high on the wave of the New Deal, had no time to stop and think where its course was leading it, how its decisions were arrived at and, most important, what had happened to its original goal. The process of mesmerization had already gone too far; the membership had accepted Browder's winged slogan, "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism." This, for them, bridged the two worlds.

But did it? Right in the middle of its heyday of growth Stalin turned from collective security, that is, an alliance with the "democratic" imperialist countries, to a pact with Hitler. Although this hit the party like a sheet of icy water, it was soon rationalized and accepted. The Communist Party raised the slogan, "The Yanks are not Coming." Browder was clapped into jail for a passport violation.

For almost two years the CP was isolated from its Rooseveltian allies. Then Hitler turned on the Soviet Union and the slogan was quickly altered to, "The Yanks are not Coming too Late." Just two words were added and the CP was off on the most frenzied chauvinistic peoples frontism in its history.

The party that had learned nothing, that had accepted the Moscow Trials without criticism or even question, that had swallowed the official Stalinist explanations for the defeats of the workers in many countries since 1917, was conditioned to support Roosevelt in the second world war.

Roosevelt opened the jail gates long enough for Browder to get out so he could organize CP support for the war. This sometimes verged upon hysteria, but in any event, was more than welcomed by the CP ranks. Charney tells how John Gates, a prominent CP leader, enlisted in the Army, saluting the flag as he came in. Charney reports how good it felt to be back in what he often refers to as "the mainstream," how, "We, too, felt the flush of patriotism. . . ."

The war period saw the CP advocating the most reactionary policies. Some of these were support of speed-up and piece work, the wage and job freeze decreed by Roosevelt, the no-strike pledge hurriedly adopted by the union bureaucrats without asking the ranks. Harry Bridges,

head of the West Coast longshoremens, who often championed policies identical to those of the CP, said that strikers were scabs while strike-breakers who crossed picket lines were good union men. Thus everything was turned upside down.

It never occurred to these people that the wartime alliance of Roosevelt and Churchill with Stalin was not designed to defend democracy and the much advertised Four Freedoms, but to defeat the imperialist ambitions of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese. Browder thought the alliance could be made a perpetual thing and he offered to shake hands with J. P. Morgan to show his good faith.

But the reality was that the American imperialists allied themselves with Stalin strictly in accord with their own self-interests. It came as a surprise, if not a shock, to the CP when the American colossus, victorious over its imperialist rivals, sought to bestride the earth, tearing up its alliance with Stalin, discarding the Four Freedoms rhetoric and everything else that was no longer useful.

None of the wartime record of the CP, of its thinking, came through to the membership. They spent the years finking in the unions and among the black people and hollering for a second front. Charney scarcely noticed this, enamored as he was with being in the "mainstream." His colleagues did no better.

The war had hardly ended when the new period of cold war ushered in, with the U. S. holding a monopoly on the atom bomb.

During the war, as a gesture of friendship to his capitalist allies, Stalin had liquidated the Third International without even consulting its members. He did not expect them to reason why and, in fact, they didn't. Browder took that as a signal to liquidate the Communist Party, which he did, replacing it with the Communist Political Association. With the coming break-up of the wartime alliance and the advent of the cold war, Moscow decided to dump Browder, who was a likely scapegoat, and the signal was given by Duclos, the French CP leader.

Everyone understood the source of the Duclos letter, which criticized CP policy, and Browder and some of his associates were expelled. This caused something of a flurry in the ranks but not more than that.

Charney describes the new leaders, with whom he sided, as considerably to the left of Browder, but this is a misunderstanding on his part. The new regime did not turn the party to the left, towards revolutionary politics. On the contrary, it followed the same class-collaborationist line as its predecessors. This apparently fooled Charney and the ranks of the party since the new policies were carried out within the framework of the cold war and the McCarthyite witch-hunt. Room for maneuvering with political representatives of the American capitalists was now somewhat restricted. Roosevelt was dead and so was his New Deal. The latter had expired in the 1930s but the CP had not noticed.

The congenital peoples frontism of the CP remained very much alive

An alliance was made with Henry Wallace and others who opposed the cold war and the threat of war against the Soviet Union. Wallace represented a wing of American capitalism that preferred trying to avoid a new world war at that time. By no stretch of the imagination could the Wallace people be called socialists or even militant liberals. Wallace later showed his true colors when he supported Truman's invasion of Korea and the intervention in the civil war there.

The Progressive Party was formed in 1948 to run Wallace for president with the active backing of the CP. This turned out to be a dud, Wallace receiving only about a million votes.

The CP and its allies, not including Wallace who withdrew after his defeat, kept the Progressive Party alive and ran a presidential ticket in 1952 but this was an even greater failure. A discussion of these questions only brought out another wrong answer: They should have stayed in the Democratic Party. Independent working class political action, such as advocating a labor party, was vigorously opposed by the CP, especially whenever this idea won considerable support in the new CIO unions. Peoples frontism was preferred over independent politics. Charney throws no light on this aspect of CP policy.

The Communist Party suffered heavily from the witch-hunt of the 1950s of which they were the principal victims. Many of their leaders were convicted on trumped-up charges and jailed and many members were fired from jobs. The presence of spies and stoolpigeons in their ranks, revealed at the trials, inspired a witch-hunt within the party that led to large-scale purges of anyone suspected. This had the effect of further reducing the party's numerical strength which had already been lowered because of its reactionary policies during the war. By the time of the mid-1950s, when the witch-hunt had abated, the party was vastly reduced in numbers and influence. The unions where they had built an imposing strength in the 1930s were either expelled from the CIO or, in some cases, union leaders who had been identified with CP policies, simply turned their backs upon them and joined the witch-hunters.

The greatly weakened party now received the hardest blow of all, the Khrushchev revelations of some of Stalin's crimes at the Twen-

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tieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. This descended on the American CP like a bolt from the blue.

As a result a turmoil of discussion and debate tore the party to pieces. The party lost its most precious asset, one without which it is impossible to build an organization: its moral authority. Members left in droves, convinced that they had been lied to for years, that they had been misled, that they had given their efforts to a cause in which they could no longer believe.

Charney was one of those who eventually left the party, along with many others, most of whom moved to the right, towards social democracy and liberalism. But these results, which were almost universal, should not surprise anyone. These people had been taken into a movement, most of them with the best of intentions, had been misled, duped into believing anything their leaders told them, had never been instructed in independent thinking and judgment, in principled politics, in Marxism.

Charney's journey was indeed a long one; it might better have been titled a long nightmare because that is what it really was, despite his rather soft judgment on his twenty-five year experience. Unfortunately, many like Charney of his generation of Communist Party members, never learned from Lenin that when there are differences of opinion in the party, everyone's views must be carefully studied and those who do not do so are idiots who can be dismissed out of hand. This is harsh but true. Stalinism conquered the world Communist movement, among other reasons, because the members of the party did not bestir themselves to learn what Trotsky and others had to say. Thus many thousands of potential revolutionaries, like Charney, were lost to the movement which now will be built by others out of the new, young generation.

The present organization that goes by the name of the Communist Party has no reason to celebrate this anniversary occasion. It retains only the name; the great ideas that inspired its formation a half century ago are long gone. The party is at its lowest ebb since its birth. It has been reduced in numbers from approximately one hundred thousand at its high point to a small fraction of that amount. It has no influence in any major unions, minority organizations or among the rising radical youth.

However, there is reason to mark the anniversary from a positive side. The heritage of the workers' revolution has not been lost; it has been taken up by others, by the Socialist Workers Party in this country. Beginning in 1928, when they were summarily expelled from the CP for espousing the ideas of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, the American Trotskyists have been engaged in building the revolutionary party. To them belongs the militant tradition of the first years of American Communism and to them belongs the duty to mark the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of a Communist movement on American soil.

BOOKS RECEIVED

AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE

- The American Negro Revolution: From Non-violence to Black Power, 1963-1967.* Indiana University Press. 345 pp. \$6.95.
- Beyond the Burning: Life and Death of the Ghetto* by Sterling Tucker. Association Press. 160 pp. \$2.50.
- Black Abolitionists* by Benjamin Quarles. Oxford. 249 pp. \$6.75.
- The Black Power Revolt* by Floyd B. Barbour, editor. Porter Sargent. 287 pp. \$2.95.
- Black Rage* by William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs. Bantam. \$.95 paper.
- Black Scare: The Racist Response to Emancipation and Reconstruction* by Forrest G. Wood. University of California Press. 219 pp. \$6.00.
- The Coming of the Black Man* by Benjamin Scott. Beacon Press. 82 pp. \$3.95.
- Die Nigger Die: A Political Autobiography* by H. Rap Brown. Dial Press. 145 pp. \$4.95.
- E. Franklin Frazier on Race Relations* edited and with an introduction by G. Franklin Edwards. University of Chicago Press. 331 pp. \$13.50.
- The Making of Black America* edited by August Meier and Elliott Rudwick. Atheneum. 2 vols. 377 and 501 pp. \$3.95 each.
- Many Shades of Black* edited by Stanton L. Wormley and Lewis H. Fenderon. William Morrow. 388 pp. \$7.95.
- Rebellion or Revolution* by Harold Cruse. William Morrow. 272 pp. \$6.95.
- Scottsboro* by Dan T. Carter. Louisiana State University Press. 431 pp. \$10.00.
- White Power Black Freedom* by Arnold Schuchter. Beacon Press. 650 pp. \$11.50.

AMERICAN HISTORY

- Agony of American Left* by Christopher Lasch. Knopf. 212 pp. \$4.95.
- Chicago Eyewitness* by Mark Lane. Grosset and Dunlap. 152 pp. \$4.95 cloth; \$1.95 paper.
- Documents of Upheaval: Selections From William Lloyd Garrison's The Liberator, 1831-1865* edited by Truman Nelson, Hill and Wang. 294 pp. \$2.45 paper.

Intervention and Revolution: America's Confrontation with Insurgent Movements Around the World by Richard J. Barnet. The World Publishing Co. 303 pp. \$6.95.

Long Journey by George Charney. Quadrangle Books. 340 pp. \$7.50.

National Party Platforms 1840-1968 compiled by Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson. University of Illinois Press. 68 pp. \$2.50 paper.

Okinawa: A Tiger by the Tail by M. D. Morris. Hawthorn. 238 pp. \$6.95.

Poverty: America's Enduring Paradox by Sidney Lens. Crowell. 341 pp. \$8.95.

Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement 1941-1960 by Lawrence S. Wittner. Columbia University Press. \$10.00.

Reconstruction: The Ending of the Civil War by Avery Craven. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 330 pp. \$6.95.

The Weight of the Evidence: The Warren Report and Its Critics by Jay David. Meredith Press. 304 pp. \$6.95.

Women and the Law: The Unfinished Revolution by Leo Kanowitz. New Mexico. 312 pp. \$8.95.

ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE

Arab-Israeli Dilemma by Fred J. Khouri. Syracuse University Press. 435 pp. \$10.00.

Israel and the Arabs by Maxine Rodinson. Pantheon. 239 pp. \$5.95.

ASIA AND AFRICA

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- Chinese Communist Politics in Action* edited with an introduction by A. Doak Barnett. University of Washington Press, Seattle. 620 pp. \$12.40 paper.
- Communism and China: Ideology in Flux* by Benjamin I. Schwartz. Harvard University Press. 254 pp. \$5.95.
- India Independent* by Charles Bettelheim. Monthly Review Press. 410 pp. \$11.50.
- Origins of Trotskyism in Ceylon* by George Jan Lerski. Hoover Institution Publications. 288 pp. \$7.50 cloth, \$2.85 paper.
- Two Innocents in Red China* by Jacques Herbert and Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Oxford. \$5.50.
- U.S. Policy and the Security of Asia* by Fred Greene. McGraw Hill. 429 pp. \$3.95 paper.

BIOGRAPHY

- An American Dissenter: The Life of Algie Martin Simons 1870-1950* by Kent and Gretchen Kreuter. 236 pp. \$7.50.
- The Harney Papers* edited by Frank Gees Black and Renee Metivier Black. Royal Vangorcum Ltd. The Netherlands. 388 pp.

ECONOMICS

- The Age of Imperialism: The Economics of U. S. Foreign Policy* by Harry Magdoff. Monthly Review Press. 208 pp. \$6.00.
- Economic Development of Communist Yugoslavia* by Joseph T. Bombelles. Hoover Institution Publications. 219 pp. \$5.90 cloth \$1.80 paper.
- Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries* by Michael Tanzer. Beacon Press. 312 pp. \$8.95.
- Welfare Economics and the Economics of Socialism* by Maurice Dobb. Cambridge University Press. 275 pp. \$9.50.
- Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development 1917 to 1930* by Antony C. Sutton. Hoover Institution Publications. 381 pp. \$10.00.

EDUCATION

- The Children of the Dream: Communal Child Rearing and American Education* by Bruno Bettelheim. Macmillan. 363 pp. \$6.95.

LATIN AMERICA

- Castro, The Kremlin and Communism in Latin America* by Bruce Jackson. Johns Hopkins Press. 176 pp. \$2.45.
- Economic Cooperation in Latin America, Africa and Asia* by Miguel S. Wionczek. M. I. T. Press. 566 pp. \$15.00.
- Latin American Radicalism: A Documentary Report on Left and Nationalist Movements* edited by Josue de Castro, John Gerassi and Irving Louis Horowitz. Random. 646 pp. \$10.00.

Pentagonism: A Substitute for Imperialism by Juan Bosch. Grove.
141 pp. \$5.00.

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An Essay on Liberation by Herbert Marcuse. Beacon Press. 91 pp.
\$5.95.

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On Genocide by Jean-Paul Sartre. Beacon Press. 85 pp. \$4.95.

Peasants in the Modern World edited by Philip K. Bock. New Mexico
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The Politics of War by Gabriel Kolko. Random. 626 pp. \$12.95.

Sidney Hook and the Contemporary World edited and with a preface
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Allied Intervention in Russia 1917-1920 by John Bradley. Basic
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Basic Laws on the Structure of the Soviet State translated and edited
by Harold J. Berman and John B. Quigley, Jr. Harvard University
Press. 325 pp. \$4.00 paper.

Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labor by Frederick I.
Kaplan. Philosophical Library. 521 pp. \$10.00.

Encounters with Lenin by Nikolay Valentinov. Oxford. 273 pp. \$7.00.

A Picture History of Russia edited by John Stuart Martin. Crown.
439 pp. \$10.00.

The Rift by David C. Levine. Harris-Wolfe and Co. 217 pp. \$6.95.

The Socialist Republic of Rumania by Stephen Fischer. The Johns
Hopkins Press. 113 pp. \$2.45 paper.

Stalin and His Generals: Soviet Military Memoirs of World War II
edited by Seweryn Bialer. Pegasus. 644 pp. \$10.00.

VIETNAM

The Long Charade: Political Subversion in the Vietnam War by
Richard Critchfield. Harcourt, Brace and World. 401 pp. \$6.95.

WESTERN EUROPE

Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism by Cammett.
Stanford University Press. \$2.95.

The Civil War in Spain: History in the Making 1936-1939 edited
by Robert Payne. 336 pp. \$.95 paper.

*Crisis and Decline: The French Socialist Party in the Popular Front
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*The New Jacobins: The French Communist Party and the Popular
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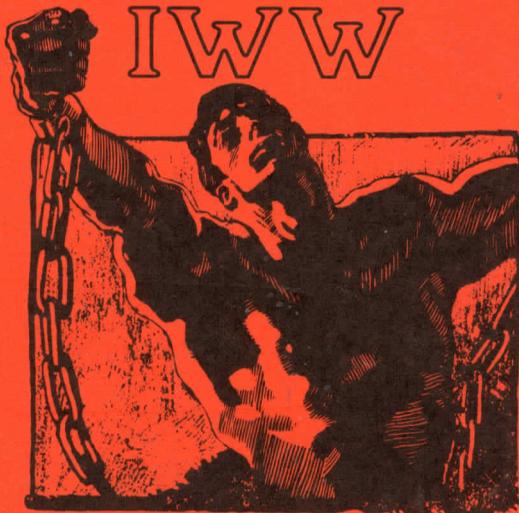
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WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY

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