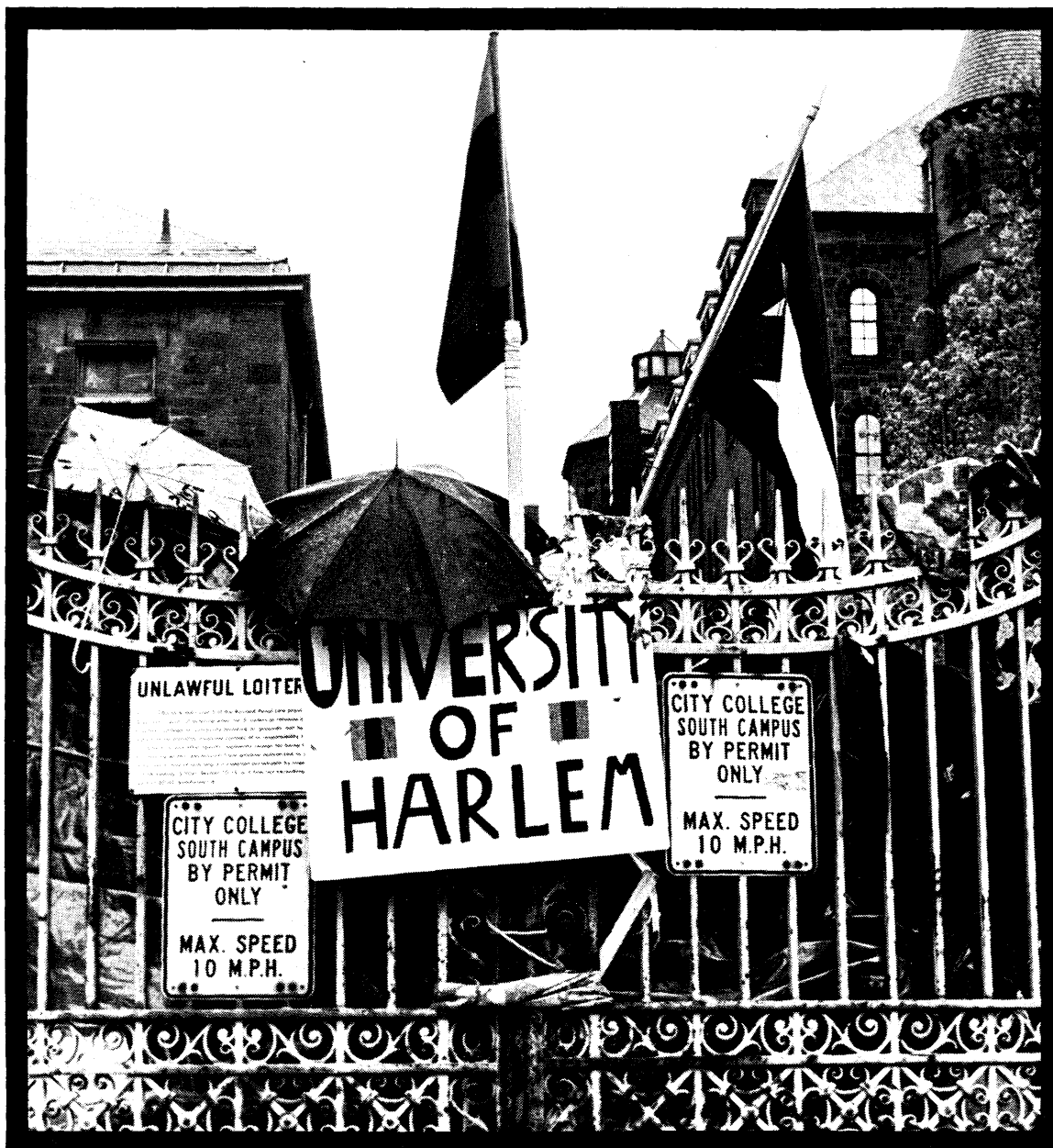


The Deepening Radicalization: Revolutionary Perspectives For the 1970s



The Deepening Radicalization: Revolutionary Perspectives For the 1970s



This draft political resolution was written for the Young Socialist National Convention to be held at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, December 27-30, 1969. It was drafted by the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Similar resolutions and discussion articles will deal with other activities in which young socialists are involved. These initial draft resolutions, along with any others submitted to the convention, will be discussed and the general political perspectives outlined in them will be voted on.

The resolutions are being circulated prior to the convention to assure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities before the convention meets.

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

Vol. 13, No. 3

December 8, 1969

Published by:

Young Socialist Alliance
P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

Young Socialist Alliance
P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

... I plan to attend the Convention. Please send me details on housing, transportation, etc.

... Please send me a set of the discussion bulletins prepared for the Convention, and bill me.

... Send me more information on the Convention.

Name

Address

City State Zip

THE DEEPENING RADICALIZATION:

REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES FOR THE 1970's

Young Socialists in the United States face the beginning of the 1970's with confidence in our ability to successfully organize the masses of the American people in the fight against the ruling class and its policies. We are confident that we are preparing the ground for the final elimination of capitalism on a world scale through the socialist revolution in the chief stronghold of world imperialism.

The Young Socialist Alliance is the organization of the most conscious and most serious revolutionary youth in this country. We will continue to provide leadership for the mass struggles against the capitalist government. The outcome of these struggles will be the revolutionary transformation of America.

Our optimism is based on the continuing increase in the breadth and depth of the radicalization that has taken hold among American youth. While this radicalization began earlier, and is still more extensive, among Third World and white student youth, it is by no means limited to the campuses. It has had a deep impact on the youth of the Black and Third World communities; it has affected the youth who are forced into the imperialist armed forces, and it has had an effect on young workers.

This radicalization is not a phenomenon confined to the United States, but is part of a process occurring on a world scale. The fact that the youth radicalization in this country is an integral part of a global development is evidence enough to convince all but the most determined believers in the immortality of capitalism that this development is not a transitory phenomenon but one linked to the world crisis of imperialism itself. It also means that the revolutionary forces in this country have a great deal of strength as part of an international movement.

The term "New Left" is wrought with ambiguities. In the mass media, the term is most often synonymous with the new generation of radicals that emerged on the scene in the sixties. But on the left itself, the "New Left" has had a special meaning. Young Socialists see the "New Left" as merely one ideological current

within the whole radicalization, and in the last few years it has been steadily losing influence. The "New Left" is composed of those who consciously rejected Marxism, for one reason or another, and who tried to replace it with various alternative theories of how a revolution could be made. Their failure to elaborate a theory that could predict and explain the tremendous social upheavals of the 1960's, or provide adequate answers to the many questions being asked by young radicals, has led to the rejection of the New Left ideology by growing numbers of young radicals, and an increased willingness to accept the ideas and theories of Marxism.

The new generation of revolutionary-minded youth which has emerged out of the 1960's has been faced with the same basic questions with which previous generations of radicals have grappled. Among these are the key questions of whether capitalism can be reformed or must be overthrown, what social classes have the potential to make a revolution, and what type of organization is needed to bring about a successful socialist revolution. These are open questions in the minds of most radicals today because the radicalization has brought thousands of people onto the political stage at a time when no single, dominant tendency or party exists which would automatically draw them into its orbit.

While on the surface it looked to many people as if the young radicals were functioning as some sort of homogeneous group (oftentimes labeled by the bourgeois press as "the SDS"), in reality differentiations and varied political positions existed among the youth from the beginning of the radicalization.

The YSA has, since its founding convention in 1960, been an important sector of the movement. While we remain, as the revolutionary Marxist wing of the movement, a minority of the total radicalization, the past few years have seen a qualitative growth of the YSA and its influence. Major historical events such as France's May-June events, the development of the GI antiwar movement, and the mammoth success of November 15, 1969 have helped to convince a broader layer of radicalizing young people of the correctness of the YSA's Marxist perspective. And the action cam-

paings carried out by the YSA across the country have won many young revolutionaries over to the YSA as the organization capable of carrying these ideas out in action.

what examples?

The YSA represents the merger of a sector of the new generation of radicals with the theory, history, experience and traditions of revolutionary Marxism, as developed by Lenin and Trotsky. The most significant process of the past few years has been the strengthening of this revolutionary socialist wing of the youth radicalization -- the growth of the YSA. Our perspective for the 1970's is that this wing of the radicalization will become the dominant one, and that the YSA will become a mass organization.

The purpose of this resolution is to chart a course of action for 1970 that will take the YSA as far as possible in this direction.

The Fight Against the Imperialist War in Vietnam

The war in Vietnam remains at the center of the worldwide conflict between capitalist reaction and socialist revolution. This has been true for the past half decade, and the Nixon administration has made it clear that it intends to press ahead with the war, in spite of mass opposition, and against the warnings of the imperialist "doves."

see you

As revolutionary internationalists, we see the defense of the Vietnamese revolution, through the building of a mass antiwar movement in the U.S., to be of prime importance to the course of world revolution. If the antiwar movement, combined with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, is successful in forcing the U.S. to abandon its attempt at counterrevolution in Vietnam, it will mean American imperialism's first defeat in a major war in its entire history. This defeat can only weaken the position of the ruling class and strengthen the anticapitalist forces in this country as well as around the world.

At the same time, the antiwar movement itself has been a major source of radicalization, primarily among youth, in this country. Nothing points up more clearly the myth of American "democracy" than the continued refusal of Washington to abide by the overwhelming desire of the American people to stop the war. Antiwar activists tend to move from an initial position of moral outrage, and of viewing the war as a "mistake," to the conclusion that something is fundamentally wrong with American society, as the war is pursued in spite of such events as October 15th and November 15th, 1969. The decision to join a mass demonstration against the war is often the first step

in a process which leads to a consciously anti-imperialist and anticapitalist position.

Within this context, the antiwar movement provides an opportunity for revolutionary socialists to speak to, educate, and win over to the YSA large numbers of antiwar militants. As the most determined and best organized antiwar activists, and as the political leaders of the left wing of the antiwar movement, the YSA has won respect from broad layers of student activists, and we are looked to by them as spokesmen for the militants within the movement.

The dominant form of antiwar organization in the U.S. -- the united-front type coalition -- brings forces and individuals with different political views into united action. This organizational form provides the YSA with the opportunity (and the obligation) to do three things simultaneously. First, we are the most serious, consistent, and enthusiastic builders of the antiwar movement, and especially of the Student Mobilization Committee. Our initiative has been, and will continue to be, decisive in building the mass actions of the antiwar movement.

Second, we seek to recruit to our ideas and our organization those antiwar activists who are ready to accept Marxist ideas. Sales of The Militant and the Young Socialist, working with and talking to potential members about our ideas, and bringing antiwar activists to YSA classes and activities must all be seen as key tasks of our antiwar work.

And third, we argue and fight for a militant and uncompromising course for the antiwar movement. We oppose attempts to divert the movement into supporting capitalist politicians and giving up the independent mass action perspective; we fight for a clear line of immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam; we fight against attempts to exclude any political forces from the antiwar movement; and we fight those who would turn the antiwar movement away from a perspective of mobilizing mass support toward relying on physical confrontations with the cops and ultraleft adventures to "radicalize" people.

The key to the growth of the YSA in the past few years has been our understanding of, and our tactical ability to carry out, these multiple tasks within the antiwar movement.

The development of nationalist consciousness among the oppressed Afro-American and other Third World minori-

ties in the U.S. has continued and intensified. While the spontaneous mass uprisings -- Watts, Newark, Detroit and other cities -- have not been repeated in the more recent past, evidence of nationalist consciousness has been expressed in other ways: on college campuses, in the high schools, in some unions, in the armed forces. Such consciousness is especially evident among Third World youth.

As the radicalization in the U.S. continues to deepen and extend its influence, it has become clear to growing numbers of young radicals -- Third World and white -- that the solution to the problem of national oppression cannot be found within the framework of capitalism. More and more young radicals are coming to agree with the YSA's understanding that because capitalism itself is the root cause of oppression of national minorities, the overthrow of capitalism is a prerequisite for the end of that oppression.

The upsurge of nationalist sentiment is not merely a temporary phenomenon, a "phase" of the movement. On the contrary, it is the form and expression of the radicalization of the oppressed Third World nationalities, and as such will be a basic and central component of the third American revolution.

The solution to the national oppression within the boundaries of the U.S. will be a central task of the revolution; at the same time, the determination, combativity, and human resources of the national minorities in the U.S. will thrust them into the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle. One of the key tasks of the YSA in the coming period will be the recruitment of Black and other Third World fighters to our program and organization. Any group that claims to be revolutionary and yet fails to win to its ranks members from the oppressed national minorities will be unable to play more than a peripheral role in the coming revolutionary struggles.

The YSA -- as a multinational revolutionary socialist youth organization -- is unique in this country. The multinational character of the YSA is determined by the fact that our enemy -- the capitalist class -- maintains centralized power over all sectors of American society. To struggle effectively against it, and to ultimately abolish it, revolutionaries must be organized in such a manner as to be able to lead and coordinate the various sectors of anticapitalist struggle in the U.S. To build a revolutionary movement only among whites, or only among Third World peoples, begins the struggle by handing the enemy a decisive advantage and dooming oneself to certain defeat. This is one of the most valuable lessons that can be learned from

the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the writings of Lenin and Trotsky.

The construction of this multinational youth organization is in no way contradictory to building all-Black united-front action coalitions around specific demands, or to building a Black political party. Just the opposite is the case. The education and training of a cadre of young Black Marxists in the YSA will be decisive in the process of building a Black party and mobilizing the Black masses into action just as the role of YSAers as antiwar activists has been decisive for the antiwar movement. At the same time, the experience of the struggle for Black control of the Black communities and the fight for a Black party will deepen the level of understanding of Black youth and help convince them of the validity of socialist ideas, and the need for a multinational revolutionary socialist organization.

The contradiction between the relatively high level of political consciousness among Blacks and the absence of any viable, permanent, organizational expression of the desires and needs of the Black masses, continues to be the central political problem confronting the Afro-American people. The formation of an independent Black political party represents the solution to this problem. To break the control exerted by the white capitalist oppressors through the bourgeois parties, especially through the use of Democratic party lackeys such as Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher, remains the key next step for the Black liberation struggle. Such a party, while it probably would not begin on a large scale, would have the perspective of winning the support and allegiance of the masses of Black people through initiating, aiding, and providing leadership for a whole range of struggles around transitional demands such as Black control of the Black communities and the fight for the Black University.

Such a Black party would provide a powerful lesson to other forces -- other national minorities, youth, women, workers -- of the gains to be won from breaking with capitalist politics and engaging in independent political action. Such a party would lead to a radical shake-up in American politics, and would lead to the disintegration of the Democratic party coalition, which has derived its power for over thirty years from a political coalition between the labor bureaucracy, sections of the ruling class, and the Black population. It will mark a significant step forward in the development of anticapitalist organizations in all sectors of society.

The movement for women's liberation, which has emerged rapidly and dynamically in the past year, constitutes an extremely important addition to the other social struggles going on today, and represents an historic opportunity for the revolutionary socialist youth movement.

The recent development of this movement should drive home two key points about the unfolding revolutionary dynamic. First, the radicalization now occurring continues to broaden its impact, constantly reaching into new layers of society and drawing them into motion against the status quo and against the ruling class and its government. Second, the speed and force with which the women's movement is developing is an indication of the fact that the future course of the radicalization and the coming revolution is going to involve the rapid -- and sometimes unexpected -- political development of various sectors of society and follow a course different from that of previous radicalizations in this country.

Marxists have historically been involved in the fight against the oppression of women. Major programmatic statements from the Communist Manifesto to the Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International have contained sections dealing with the fight for women's liberation.

The oppression of women as a sex is inextricably tied to class society and its institution of the family. Private ownership of the means of production and the right of property inheritance provide the foundation for the oppressed status of women in class society. In addition, under capitalism women are used as a "reserve army of labor" to be hired when needed and returned to the home when the economy slows down. They also are the prime target of the Madison Avenue hustlers.

Women, like Afro-Americans, were excluded from enjoying the democratic rights won by white adult males in America's bourgeois-democratic revolution. Since then, women have forced the ruling class to extend to them certain rights by extended and deep-going struggle. However, women still remain in a fundamental sense politically, socially, and economically oppressed -- and the maintenance of this oppression remains a key factor in capitalism's ability to sustain itself. The real victory of women against oppression is, therefore, inextricably tied to the destruction of capitalism through socialist revolution. Only with the victory of the socialist revolution and the construction of a socialist society can the unfinished business from

the preceding revolutions be taken care of. This fact means that in struggling against their oppression, women are moving toward anticapitalist and pro-socialist positions, and, moreover, that the women's liberation movement itself has a profoundly anticapitalist thrust.

The YSA is in an excellent position to participate wholeheartedly in, and provide leadership for, this very promising new movement. We have two invaluable assets to bring to the movement. First, we have the theoretical background and political understanding of the Marxist movement on this and other questions. Secondly, we have a large and skilled cadre of women comrades across the country which enables us to initiate and participate in women's liberation groups as a major political force.

It would be an error for the YSA at this point to be over-anxious to elaborate a complete set of demands, tactics, or organizational forms for this movement. We have not yet had enough experience and the movement itself is too new to be sure which tactical course to follow. It is clear, however, that prerequisite to the development of an effective course of action for the women's liberation movement is the assimilation and understanding of some of the important lessons from the other political struggles that have taken place, especially the antiwar movement. Among these key lessons are the policy of non-exclusion, the validity of mass action, and the necessity to remain independent of the capitalist parties and politicians. Women YSAers will be instrumental in helping to educate the women's liberation movement on these questions.

The openness of the women involved in the movement, and the anticapitalist thrust of the movement as a whole, offer excellent opportunities to the YSA to win the best of these women to revolutionary socialism and to the YSA.

The Strategy of the Red University

Independent student struggles on individual campuses have not occurred as frequently in the fall of 1969 as they did in the last school year. In part, this has been the result of a reaction against the wild ultraleft tactics pursued by many SDS chapters in the frenzied period prior to the climactic split at their June 1969 convention. One of the most damaging aspects of SDS ultraleftism was precisely this effect of confusing many radical-minded students into equating militant tactics with wild adventures.

However, the largest nationally co-

ordinated protest activity on local campuses ever to occur in this country did take place this fall -- on October 15. More high school and college students were involved in that action than had ever participated previously in any political action.

As the process of radicalization takes hold and deepens in wider layers of young people, around the war, the Black and Third World struggles, women's liberation, and other issues, students will quite correctly attempt to gain control over the colleges and high schools and utilize these institutions on the side of the oppressed. The YSA is in favor of turning the campus into an organizing center for the antiwar, Black power, and revolutionary socialist movements. This is the concept of the "Red University" or "Black University."

The strategy of the "Red University" points toward developing actions around a program that transcends the campus in its goal, but at the same time includes it, that relates the student demands to the broader class-struggle demands, and helps students in the transition from student-power consciousness to socialist consciousness.

The "Red University" strategy is thus counterposed to pure and simple student power politics on the one hand, and, on the other, to ultraleft politics, which see no gains whatsoever to emerge from struggles over campus issues.

The "Red University" provides a strategy as an alternative to ultraleftists who argue against mobilizing students, as students, in struggles on campus. These ultraleftists do not grasp the fact that every major campus struggle has had at its core broad social questions such as the war in Vietnam, self-determination, or democratic rights. To abandon these struggles and satisfy oneself with issuing proclamations for a "worker-student alliance" or variants on that theme is the worst kind of sectarian abstentionism. ?

Those who put forward the slogan of "student power" fall into the error of believing that the struggles between students and the administrations can take place apart from the struggles against the government and against capitalism. The strategy of the "Red University" explains the role of the university in capitalist society, and that it is necessary to change the system itself if the university is to be changed fundamentally. A "liberated" university cannot exist under capitalism. The YSA must explain that those students and teachers who are genuinely interested in making the schools and universities conform to


the needs of the students and of society as a whole must understand the need for socialism and the socialist organization of society.

A vital part of the "Red University" strategy is the fight against university and high school complicity with the capitalist class and the policies of the capitalist government. The use of university facilities for war-related research, the presence of ROTC on campus, cooperation with Selective Service and other federal agencies -- all of these are examples of potential targets of mass action by students. The Student Mobilization Committee, as the largest student political organization on many campuses, should take the lead in this area. The ability of the SMC to complement the building of periodic mass street actions with providing leadership and initiative for mass struggles on the campus itself will be decisive for the student movement.

The "Red University" concept, in its variation of the "Black" and "Brown University," has achieved widespread support among students in the U.S. Part of the process of the struggle for Black and Third World liberation is the fight for institutions of higher learning devoted to the study of Black and Third World history, and under the control of the oppressed national minorities. Some of the most sustained and hardest-fought campus struggles have occurred over this issue, with the students succeeding in gaining active support from the Black and Third World communities in their struggle.

The needs and interests of radicalizing students are in conflict with the university as a capitalist institution on every level: from the question of campus complicity to the question of the bourgeois ideology which emanates from these academic centers. More and more we can expect students to challenge the validity of the role of the colleges and high schools as centers for the elaboration and dissemination of reactionary ideology in all spheres of intellectual life.

The extension of the radicalization of the college youth to their brothers and sisters in the high schools is a process of fundamental concern to revolutionary socialists. The radicalization of high school youth is, in the main, the radicalization of the sons and daughters of the working class. The high schools today constitute one of the most potentially explosive institutions in this society. There the oppressive character of the administrations, the ties between the schools and the state, and the real functions of the "education" imparted, are all much more easily and completely exposed than on the college



level. Moreover, the lessons of struggle learned by high school youth will accompany them when they leave school and enter the armed forces, the universities, or begin life as workers.

The ability of YSAers to provide leadership to high school struggles, and to recruit high school students to the YSA will be vital both to the deepening of the radicalization in this layer of students, the transmission of the lessons learned in other areas of struggle into the high schools, and to the strengthening of the YSA as the organization involved in all areas of anticapitalist struggle.

Other Political Tendencies

It is necessary for the YSA to make a clear and unambiguous evaluation of the groups and political tendencies with whom we are competing for political leadership over radicalizing youth. None of the opponent groups offers a strategy that can lead the antiwar, Black and other Third World, student, or women's movements in the direction of effective mass action independent of capitalism and capitalist politics. Still less can they offer a perspective for the American revolution.

As we have seen all too many times, without a principled revolutionary socialist vanguard organization with the ability to intervene effectively in mass movements, revolutionary situations pass by without leading to successful socialist revolution. The goal of the YSA is to provide, along with the revolutionary party, the Socialist Workers Party - which we support and help to build - revolutionary leadership and program that will enable the current radicalization to culminate in the successful overthrow of capitalism in the U.S. and an end once and for all to the vicious and barbaric rule of the bourgeoisie on a world scale.

To characterize a group or political tendency as "opponent" does not necessarily mean that we characterize them as counter-revolutionary, nor does it mean that we refuse to engage in united actions with them. Just the opposite is the case. The best way to point out the weakness and political errors of our opponents is often to draw them into united actions, discuss and debate with them our differences, and try to win over the best of their ranks to Trotskyism.

The tendency which continues to be the main opponent of the YSA on a national scale, in spite of its acute and continuing political and organizational difficulties, is the pro-Moscow tendency - the Communist Party and the DuBois Club. The DuBois Club has been unable to reorganize itself on a national scale, and has only

a few functioning groups across the country; the CP itself is generally rejected by radicalizing youth as a result of its unabashed support for capitalist politicians and its staunch defense of Soviet policies and Stalin's political theories. Nonetheless, it would be an error to underestimate the strength of this tendency. It still possesses large material resources (enabling it to publish a daily newspaper, for example) and it retains a large and loyal periphery. This tendency has grown somewhat as have all radical tendencies in the recent period, although it has lost considerable ground relative to the YSA.

The response of the youth influenced by the CP to all political questions is conditioned by their general perspective of class-collaborationist politics. Their ambivalent stance with regard to the antiwar movement is one example. They are forced at times to support mass actions against the war, such as November 15th, in order to prove the existence of a base for capitalist "peace" candidates. While the existence of the antiwar movement does serve to pressure the Democratic Party into putting up more "peace" candidates, the fact that large sectors of the antiwar movement maintain a stance independent of the bourgeois politicians is a threat to the CP's perspective. The independent, anti-capitalist thrust of the mass actions goes far beyond the limits the CP would like to impose upon it. This contradiction, in large part, accounts for the fact that the CP alternately enters and pulls back from the antiwar coalition. The 1970 elections, with its inevitable array of bourgeois "peace" candidates, will provide the focus for CP attempts to divert the antiwar movement into class-collaborationist politics in 1970.

The CP's grudging and belated "support" for some aspects of Black nationalism also stems from its perspective of support to capitalist candidates. It fears the development of an independent Black political force outside of and in opposition to the Democratic Party. For this reason it is the most enthusiastic supporter of Black Democratic Party politicians such as Carl Stokes and Richard Hatcher. It always subordinates support for any demand of Black and other Third World struggles to its position of support to the Democratic Party.

Recently the CP and the DuBois Club have been publicizing the founding conference of a "New Marxist-Leninist Youth Organization." This conference, originally scheduled for December, 1969, has been postponed several times.

This "new" organization is supposed

to reflect the CP's current turn towards "industrial concentration" (sending its members into heavy industry) by being a "working-class" organization. The statement of principles published in the name of the "Temporary Organizing Committee for a New Marxist-Leninist Youth Organization" contains no mention of either the war in Vietnam or the student movement, although it does detail many programmatic points. This "turn" towards the workers represents nothing more than a retreat by the CP and its youth from the living struggles of today, and an attempt to remove themselves from a movement in which the overwhelming majority of the activists have totally rejected the CP's reformist line.

The Disintegration of SDS

The past year has seen the shattering of the conglomeration of tendencies within SDS, and the resulting emergence of three main factions: the Weatherman group; RYM II; and PL's WSA-SDS.

This split was the result of two main factors: (1) the inability of the pragmatists of the "New Left" school to provide a consistent, meaningful program for SDS, and, in particular, their failure to counter the Maoist-Stalinist ideology introduced into SDS by Progressive Labor; and (2) the impossibility of maintaining a multi-tendency political organization, encompassing antagonistic political tendencies, under the pressure of major political upheavals which continually force political differences to the surface.

SDS, less than a year ago, could claim to be a huge organization, with chapters everywhere, and the allegiance, at least informally, of tens and even hundreds of thousands of students. Suddenly, after the June 1969 convention, when the split was consummated, all of that changed. SDS has splintered; none of the factions has anywhere near the membership or national organization that we have. However, the decline of SDS in the past year does not alter the fact that there continues to be an objective basis for a mass radical, non-socialist group in the U.S. which would correspond to the level of development of the political consciousness of the masses of student radicals.

The Weatherman faction seemed to emerge in the period immediately following the convention as the "real" SDS. It controlled the Chicago office, the New Left Notes, and most widely known "stars", like Mark Rudd, stayed with it. It soon became clear, however, that the Weathermen's sole program was to carry to its logical conclusion all of the ultraleftist rhetoric of SDS, and to attempt to put it into action. Before June, political arguments within SDS were settled not

by political debate, but by chanting and hurling epithets. The Weathermen simply took this one step further and attempted to reintroduce into the radical movement the use of brute physical force against anyone who disagreed with them. Similarly, Weatherman's tactics of physical confrontation in Chicago on October 11 were an unfortunate but very natural evolution from such slogans as "Bring the War Home."

The October 11th action in Chicago, the massing of a few hundred "hard core" adherents (contrasted to one million antiwar activists on November 15th) was the clearest example of the futility of these tactics, and of the failure inevitably resulting from Weatherman's sectarian refusal to participate in antiwar coalitions.

Since October 11th, the Weatherman faction has been on the decline, has been overwhelmingly rejected by serious young radicals, and has been faced with serious criminal charges and potentially long jail sentences. It is unlikely at this point that the Weathermen can recover from this debacle.

RYM II

As the Weatherman faction has continued its degeneration, many young radicals began to look to RYM II in the hope that it could develop a program to which they could relate. RYM II does have functioning groups in a number of areas, and brought about 250 people to a national conference.

The leadership of RYM II (Klonsky, Ignatin, Treiger) has for several months been talking about the need to participate in the antiwar movement. However, it chose to give "critical support" to the Weatherman Chicago action, rather than organize support for October 15th or November 15th. After the gigantic success of the October Moratorium, however, this talk of participating in the antiwar movement was not seriously followed up. RYM II chose not to work in the New Mobe, or SMC, but instead continued its sectarian course. In Washington, RYM II's main concern was with a demonstration around the Saigon embassy, demanding support to the P.R.G., and for ultraleft physical confrontation with the cops at the Justice Department building.

One faction of RYM II, led by Mike Klonsky and Lynn Wells, has resurrected the "Black Belt" theory originated by Stalin and adopted by the American Communist Party in its ultraleftist period following 1928. The CP decided, in a ludicrous caricature of self-determination, that the Black people in the U.S. should have a separate republic.

lic in the southern "Black Belt." This position was taken in total disregard for the desires of the Afro-Americans themselves. Of course, it is even more unlikely today, forty years later, that if Black people should decide they do want a separate state, they would opt for a predominantly rural undeveloped section of the country. Black Americans may decide they want to form a separate state, and revolutionists will defend and support whatever decision they make, but they have not yet decided.

RYM II says nothing about the struggle for Black control of the Black community, or the need for an independent Black party.

The RYM II national convention held in Atlanta in November revealed deep divisions within the organization. These divisions centered on such fundamental questions as whether RYM II should become a "mass, anti-imperialist youth group," or whether it should become a centralized organization oriented towards the construction of a party. The conference failed to adopt any clear program for action or political perspective.

However, none of the leaders of any faction expressed disagreement with the glorification of Stalin as a great revolutionary. This disgraceful attempt to introduce into the youth movement the reactionary ideology, program, and organizational norms of Stalinism, while at the same time failing to deal politically with the Trotskyist movement and program, can only condemn RYM II to permanent isolation from the growing revolutionary movement in this country.

RYM II finds itself saddled with the same problem SDS had: its reliance on pragmatism, its lack of a theory and political principles which condemns it to hopping about from one position to another, responding to political pressures from different sources, and therefore being totally incapable of providing leadership or direction for any sector of the movement.

Progressive Labor and the Worker-Student Alliance

The Maoists have been unable to build a viable youth organization in the United States. Since Progressive Labor dissolved the May 2nd Movement and entered SDS in 1966, it has functioned in the youth arena almost exclusively through the Worker-Student Alliance caucus which it controls. It was able to gain a fair measure of support for this caucus within SDS, mostly as a result of the bureaucratic methods and political incompetence of the National Office Amalgam which ran the national setup of SDS.

What became very clear after the split, however, is that PL was not recruiting many young people to Maoism and to its program for SDS. After the split, the basic reason behind the existence of the WSA caucus was gone, and its support began to evaporate. As a result, PL has emerged from more than two years of entry work with only modest gains, and without a functioning youth organization of its own.

PL has tried to have WSA maintain the facade of being the "real" SDS but this has been done at the cost of trying to maintain an alternate apparatus in Boston, publishing its own edition of NLN, etc. It is unlikely that this facade can be maintained much longer.

PL maintains a position of opposing any manifestation of Black nationalism in theory and in practice; it condemns the leadership of the Cuban Revolution; and it denounces the Vietnamese for "selling out" the revolution by going to Paris. At the same time, it glorifies Stalin, accepting his political theories and organizational methods. All of these positions are at odds with the experiences and inclinations of most young radicals. Thus, although PL has a big attractive power as a result of its identification with China and the Chinese revolution, it has been able to recruit relatively few young people to its organization.

PL uses its criticisms of the NLF as an excuse for abstention from the antiwar movement. This fall it has called several small local antiwar demonstrations in its own name, but it refuses to participate in the antiwar coalition. The WSA-SDS has not been able to project a single national action or program of activity since the split, and without such a program of action, it is impossible for WSA-SDS to hold together, let alone grow.

The Progressive Labor Party possesses no monopoly on Maoism in the U.S. Because the Maoists have no international organization, and are not attempting to build one, it is quite possible that other Maoist groups will emerge and contend with PL on a national scale for Peking's franchise in the U.S.

Socialist Electoral Action in 1970

The 1970 election campaigns represent the best opportunity facing the YSA in 1970 to explain our ideas to large numbers of people, to build the YSA into a larger and more effective organization, and to take some major steps forward in the direction of becoming the dominant radical youth organization in this country.

The 1968 elections, and our support for the Socialist Workers Party candidates

and our participation in the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle provided the political and organizational framework for a giant stride forward in recruitment to the YSA. The 1970 campaigns occur at a time when the political ferment is intensifying, the radicalization is deepening and extending into new sectors of society, and many political issues and disputes are attentively followed by growing masses of people. At the same time, the YSA is in a stronger position and our opponents on the left are weaker than was the case in our last big campaign.

While the next national election campaign opportunity will have to wait until the 1972 elections, the 1970 state-wide campaigns offer a chance to duplicate the approach taken in 1968 in major states across the country. Properly implemented, the YSA's role in support of the SWP candidates can lead to gains in every major state of the kind made in 1968 on a national level.

Our participation in election campaigns is aimed at taking maximum advantage of the democratic rights that do exist in this country, and at the same time fighting to extend those rights and preserve them against the constant attempts by the ruling class to restrict our rights to engage in political activity. Participation in election campaigns is a tactic followed by revolutionaries in periods when the masses of people maintain illusions about the electoral process. While we know that the ruling class will not permit any fundamental change in society to occur through elections, the overwhelming majority of the American people think otherwise. To refuse to participate in elections - to boycott - because we see through them, would merely grant the class-collaborationists and the bourgeois reformists an exclusive audience with the American people. That is not our method. We fight for and take advantage of every opportunity to make ourselves heard and our positions known. Major election campaigns like those of 1970 are just such an opportunity.

As the elections approach, debates over perspectives for the antiwar movement, the Black and Third World struggles, the women's liberation movement, the student movement, and other social struggles will tend to center around the major contests for senator, governor, and other offices.

As the radicalization continues, the efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie and its class-collaborationist allies to restrict these movements within the confines of capitalist politics will intensify. The liberal "friends" of the Black masses will appeal for support against the "law and order" candidates. The imperial-

ist doves will proliferate, attempting to ride the surge of antiwar sentiment to victory and to restore the faith of the young antiwar activists in the bourgeois system.

In the face of this upsurge of class-collaborationism within the framework of capitalist politics, the campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party will provide an independent anticapitalist course in the campaigns. Moreover, they will be the only campaigns to do so. The campaigns will focus on the main challenges confronting the YSA and all radical youth.

In the face of a plethora of bourgeois "peace" candidates, the SWP candidates will be calling for continued mass actions in the streets, adherence to the demand of immediate and total withdrawal as the only demand consistent with the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination, and maintenance of a non-exclusive antiwar movement. The YSA can utilize these campaigns to win support for the antiwar movement from those forces not yet involved, and to win over antiwar activists to a revolutionary perspective. The fact that many of the SWP candidates will be leading antiwar activists will help to win support from antiwar youth and help solidify the position of the YSA and the SWP as the leaders of the left wing of the antiwar movement. While we are opposed to antiwar organizations as such becoming involved in electoral politics. We want to win over as many antiwar activists as possible to support for the 1970 SWP campaigns.

We will use the 1970 campaigns to fight for unconditional support to the Black and Third World struggles for control of their own communities. We will campaign to expose and discredit those phony "allies" of the national minorities who urge the continued subordination of their struggle to the Democratic Party, as well as the right-wing "law and order" candidates in both parties. The SWP campaigns will explain the central need for an independent Black political party to rally the Black masses into effective action around transitional demands. The fact that we will be running independent candidates, and the principled, aggressive and dynamic way in which the campaigns will be conducted will serve as examples to sectors in the Black and Third World communities who are thinking about the question of independent political action.

The 1970 elections offer us the chance to speak to literally millions of people about what socialism is, about the necessity for labor and the Black and Third World communities to break from capitalist politics, about the movement of students, women and other sectors of society. These campaigns will not be simply "making the

record" in a ritualistic manner, but dynamic and enthusiastic campaigns following the example of the Linda Jenness campaign in Atlanta. We will speak to all of the vital issues of concern today, such as the destruction of the ecology, the pollution of the air and water, and the permanent despoliation of the country being allowed to proceed unchecked by the capitalist government; the increasingly acute crisis in medical care as a result of a system which denies adequate medical care to all but the wealthy; the decay of social services and the degeneration of public utilities, especially in the cities, all brought on by the death agony of capitalism.

An important part of these 1970 campaigns will be the fight to democratize the ballot by bringing legal challenges to the arbitrary, restrictive, and discriminatory election laws in various states which make it difficult or impossible for forces independent of the capitalist parties to win ballot status. We will attack unreasonable and unconstitutional signature requirements, filing fees, "distribution" laws, and age and residence requirements both for candidates and for voters.

These campaigns will provide the opportunity to build new locals of the YSA in literally dozens of new areas. The state-wide character of the campaigns gives us the opportunity to conduct regional work extensively between now and November 1970. Established YSA locals can reach out and make contact with radicalizing youth in cities and towns where YSA locals have not yet been formed, and draw them into the YSA.

The formation of state-wide groups of Young Socialists for _____ (names of candidates) will allow young people who aren't yet ready to join the YSA but who support the SWP candidates, to actively participate in the campaigns. Many of these Young Socialist campaign groups and supporters will, in the course of the campaign, be recruited to the YSA.

Engaging in campus elections will allow the YSA to raise forcibly and directly the concept of the "Red University" and "Black University", and to organize mass struggles around the types of demands outlined in the "YSA Program for Campus Revolt." Our general approach to these campaigns should be the same as our approach to general elections; however, as we have demonstrated in Binghamton and a few other areas, it is possible for us to win these elections and take office.

The YSA supports and works in close political collaboration with the revolutionary vanguard party in the United States, the Socialist Workers Party. Together with the SWP, the YSA belongs to a world movement, not in the abstract, but concretely, with strong fraternal ties to our co-thinkers in the Fourth International. These links to the American and world parties of the socialist revolution make the YSA uniquely qualified to assume the leadership of the present generation of radicalizing youth in this country. It is the young militants of this generation now joining the YSA who, together with the vanguard party, will provide the leadership for the American working class in the most decisive event in human history - the third American revolution.

On many campuses across the country, it will be possible for the YSA to engage in campaigns for student government posts. It is true that on most campuses, radical students do not consider campus elections to be a serious area of activity, but this is primarily because student radicals have not taken advantage of the opportunities that exist, and have abandoned these elections to the liberal and conservative elements. Participation in campus elections has the advantage of providing the YSA with the opportunity to gain a wide audience for its ideas without major expenditures of time or money to get on the ballot, and on a more frequent basis than state and national elections offer.

COME TO MINNEAPOLIS



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

FOR INFORMATION, HOUSING, REGISTRATION WRITE: YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE,
P.O. BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. TEL. (212) 989-7570.

COME TO MINNEAPOLIS



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

FOR INFORMATION, HOUSING, REGISTRATION WRITE: YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE,
P.O. BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. TEL. (212) 989-7570.