

young socialist



High Schools Explode

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Vol. 12, No. 2 (92) December 1968-January 1969

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Subscription Price: \$2.00 per year in U.S. and Canada. Write for foreign rates. Bundle rate: 20 cents per issue (15 cents for newsstands). The *Young Socialist* is published monthly, except during July and August, when bimonthly. P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 989-7570. Application to mail at 2nd Class Postage Rates is pending at New York, New York. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the *Young Socialist*.

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In this issue

OMAR AOKI is a student at Lindbloom High School in Chicago. He is the chairman of the Afro-American Student Association and a leader of the Black Students for Defense, the organization which led the recent strikes by black high school students in Chicago.

ISAAC DEUTSCHER is best known among radical students for his work on the life of Trotsky: *The Prophet Armed*, *The Prophet Unarmed*, and *The Prophet Out-*

cast. He was one of the founders of the Polish Trotskyist movement and throughout his life remained a revolutionary opponent of Stalinism. His other works include *Stalin: A Political Biography* and *Russia in Transition*. He died in September 1967.

LINDA WETTER is a member of the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance and a frequent contributor to the *Young Socialist*.

RICARDO DE LA LUZ is a member of the National Student Strike Council of Mexico and the Strike Council's Commission for the Release of Student Prisoners. For the past month he has been speaking on campuses in the United States about the Mexican events as part of a tour organized by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

Young Socialist Notes

A former president of the American Bar Association told a convention of public university presidents in Washington last month that the Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, and the Du Bois Clubs are "extremists determined to destroy." Dr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., who is president of the Virginia state board of education, went on to describe the democratic answer to these "extremists": "Like their heroes Che Guevara, Fidel Castro and Ho Chi Minh, the only language student extremists understand is force. These extremists and the faculty members who support them have forfeited any rights to remain as members of a university community. The sooner they are expelled from student bodies and dismissed from faculties, the sooner our campuses will resume their historic roles as centers of reason and intellectual pursuit."

Exactly who is going to expel whom from where is a question that will be answered in struggle.

BERKELEY: Students Indicted

Once again, free speech is on trial in Berkeley. Three student leaders, including Young Socialist Alliance spokesman Peter Camejo, face up to three years imprisonment for participation in rallies in and around October 22 and 24 campus sit-ins. Also singled out were Independent Socialist Club leader Jack Bloom and Paul Glusman, a member of Students for a Democratic Society. The demonstrations were protesting the refusal of the administration to grant credit for the student-initiated and faculty-approved course on racism which included guest lectures by Eldridge Cleaver, and the arrest of student protesters.

198 students were arrested during the two sit-ins; however all but the three well-known campus leaders were charged with misdemeanors and received sentences of 10 days, plus 80 days suspended and a \$300 fine. Camejo, Bloom and Glusman, on the other hand, are being charged with a felony—conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor, which carries a maximum sentence of three years and a \$5,000 fine. Bloom and Glusman are accused of speaking prior to the second sit-in and advocating "with the aid of loud-speaking equipment" that people move to a "building on the campus of U. C. in Berkeley (Moses Hall) and physically occupy portions of that building." Camejo is charged with directing meetings during the Moses Hall sit-ins.

Since the three did nothing which was not done by the other students who are charged only with misdemeanors, it is obvious

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Revolution in the High Schools



By Elizabeth Barnes

Following the pattern of all revolutionary struggles, the movement for black liberation is being spearheaded by youth. This was dramatically reflected in the mass rebellions that swept the country between 1965 and 1968 and now this fall in the scores of revolts and struggles breaking out in the high schools.

The actions being carried out by black high school students represent a step toward organizing the potential power seen in the ghetto rebellions. Just as the outbursts of the past several years eventually spread to even the smallest towns, the revolt in the high schools is exploding everywhere—in places like Zion, Ill. as well as in the

giant black communities of Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Boston, Philadelphia and New York.

Unquestionably the largest and most unified of the high school actions this fall took place in Chicago where a series of mass boycotts brought thousands of students out of school on three consecutive "Liberation Mondays." There were 40,000 out the first week, 35,000 the second, and 22,000 the third week. This was followed up by sit-ins in various parts of the city on Nov. 4.

This issue of the *Young Socialist* features excerpts from speeches by two leaders of the Chicago protests which describe the demands being put forward by the students. A look at the various high school protests being carried out in other cities will show that the same demands are being made throughout the country.

In almost every city, students are talking about better school facilities, a curriculum directed to the needs of black people, and most importantly, "Black Control of the Schools." They are demanding an end to education directed and dominated by white people—by white administrators, white teachers, white janitors, white cops and white boards of education.

Partly as a result of these struggles, students are becoming more and more politically sophisticated and are recognizing that white control over education is an instrument used in the oppression of black people. Chicago high school leader Omar Aoki explained this in an interview in the *Militant* (Nov. 8) when he compared the educational system for black people in this country to the so-called Bantu system in South Africa. "It is to get black people prepared to go into the factories and to do any other odd jobs they have for us," he said. "We are demanding more technical training and more military training for black students."

A student protest at Bok High School in Philadelphia exposed the fact that although the school is predominantly black, the number of black

students enrolled in the union vocational courses which lead to high paying jobs, is only three percent. These union courses lead to jobs paying anywhere from \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year whereas the courses taken by black students prepare them for jobs which pay half that much.

The one demand which has been put forward in almost every high school action is for Afro-American history courses. The fact that this demand is appearing again and again is one of the best reflections of the revolutionary change in consciousness that is going on in the high schools.

The demand for Afro-American history is such a "reasonable" one that it is hard for school administrators to put up a fight against it, and in many cases courses in Afro-American history are being instituted as a result of student struggles.

But, no sooner are these courses set-up than new struggles begin over the question of what should be taught in these courses and who should teach them — and here the demand for Afro-American history shows a profoundly revolutionary potential.

At Harrison High in Chicago the students carried on a struggle for the right to have a black teacher for Afro-American history. Sharon Matthews, an 18-year-old senior who has been leading the protest at Harrison explained their demand this way: "A white teacher can't stand up in a class of black students and effectively tell how her forefathers raped, sold and subjugated their forefathers."

The demand for Afro-American history leads directly to the demand to "tell the truth" about centuries of economic and cultural oppression perpetrated upon black people.

Along with this demand that the "truth" be taught inside the schools, many high school students are organizing black liberation classes and discussions outside of the schools. At the headquarters of the Black Students for Defense, the city-wide coordinating organization of black high school students in Chicago, discussions and classes are held where black students can learn about the role of American imperialism and capitalism in the exploitation of black people in this country, and of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Ever increasing numbers of students are absorbing the teachings of Mal-

colm X and the Black Panther Party about the international scope of the struggle. One speaker summed this up at a rally of 3,000 high school students in Chicago when he said, "In Mexico, in Latin America, in Asia, and all over the world people are fighting against domination. We intend to have black schools with black teachers for black students and black communities for black people."

One of the most significant features of the Chicago struggle was the degree of black unity and organization that was created. The black students in Chicago have a city-wide organization, the Black Students for Defense, which holds weekly meetings with two representatives from each school.

The student actions have also stimulated the development of another form of organization. This is the involvement and organization of parents in the struggle. As an institution concerning everyone in the black community, the schools are becoming community organizing centers. Up until now, this has been strongly discouraged by white administrators. In his speech in this issue, Aoki points out that Parent-Teacher Association meetings are held during the day when parents are at work and unable to attend.

But now the parents are getting organized in support of the students. When a student leader was expelled at Austin High School in Chicago, members of the Concerned Parents of Austin joined in the struggle to have him re-instated. When students' and parents' representatives met with the administration to resolve the issue the administration refused to meet with the parents as long as the students were there. The parents refused to have the students excluded from the meeting. As a result they were evicted from the school.

A typical example of the support which parents are giving came when the leader of a walk-out was suspended along with 44 others from all-girls Jones High School. The principal refused to readmit her unless her parents promised that she would attend school every day and abide by the rules. The girl's mother refused to make this promise and indicated complete sympathy with her daughter's actions.

The militant student actions have also forced several established com-

munity organizations to publicly support the struggle. Urban League director Edwin C. Berry published a memorandum which supported the students' demands and provided useful factual information to use as ammunition against the administration. He noted that while the student body in the public schools of Chicago is over 50 percent black, of 525 decision-making positions (principal, superintendent, etc.) only 35 are held by blacks.

The struggle of the black high school students has been supported by a section of the white student body. One reason for this is the fact that the general political radicalization that has reached into the white high school population carries with it the idea of support to black nationalism. A second reason for this support among a section of the white students is the fact that many of the demands put forward by the black students are demands that would benefit all the students in the school. The opposition to ROTC by the Chicago students, for example, is a demand that can appeal to the widespread antiwar sentiment among white students. The demands to fix up the buildings, eliminate overcrowding, and other measures, all have the potential of winning support among at least some of the white students.

The high school students are demonstrating that militant, united mass actions can effectively win concessions. In some places, like San Francisco, where 1500 students from Polytech High School marched on the Board of Education, most of their demands were met. In other places, particularly in small towns, it has been much more difficult to win concessions, and many students are facing expulsions and legal actions against them as a result of their struggles.

Whatever the success of any particular struggle, however, the high school actions are upsetting the day-to-day "law and order" of high school life, and are forcing high school students to examine the rotten educational system they are subjected to. By bringing masses of black youth into action, where the power of black unity can be seen concretely — these protests are harbingers of future more highly organized struggles in the black community as a whole.

In Chicago High Schools

BLACK STUDENT DEMANDS



Photo by Shannon

Omar Aoki at Young Socialist Convention in Chicago.

In cities across the country, from Boston to San Francisco, black high school students are organizing and leading the struggle for black control of the schools.

One of the most successful struggles has been carried out in Chicago, where the Black Students for Defense recently led a series of three walk-outs in which thousands of students participated. The students raised 15 demands for changing the educational system from top to bottom to reflect the needs of the black community.

We are reprinting below excerpts from talks given at the Militant Labor Forum in Chicago on November 8, 1968. The first excerpt is from the talk given by Omar Aoki, the Chairman of the Afro-American Students Association, and one of the leaders of the Black Students for Defense. The second section is from the talk given by Jim Harvey, who was one of the co-chairman of the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union, and who has been acting as adviser to the Chicago high school students.

OMAR AOKI:

My name is Omar Aoki. I am chairman of the Afro-American Students Association, and I am also a member of the Black Students for Defense which is the high school arm of the Afro-American Students Association. I would like to explain the basis for the actions that we took. As you might know, the general condition of the high schools is poor, the curriculum is poor, and our list of demands states this.

We had a list of twelve demands to start, and from there it has expanded to a list of sixteen demands.

These demands were: (1) An expansion of black history courses. The experimental courses that we got were for twenty week periods, or for a couple of days, or a lecture series, or something like this, while on the opposite side we were receiving forty weeks of U.S. history which was really a lie. It was deceiving black students as well as white. So we demanded that we have black history.

(2) The development of a black curriculum. That is to say if we must take math, if we must take English, let's make them relevant to us, and relevant to the times. In English we never read about black people, but

they have made contributions, as many of you know.

(3) Full black administration — principals, assistant principals, and so on. If they can have suburban schools all white, we should have all black if we desire.

(4) More technical and vocational training. Since America is a technical country, since technical training determines whether you achieve your goals or not, we want more technical training. But at the majority of black Chicago schools, you only have liberal arts courses. We want more technical and vocational training to enhance our knowledge.

(5) Decreased class sizes. At some schools you have people starting at third period, and getting out at four or five o'clock. At that time it's dark, and there is not much else you can do at that time of day. And its difficult either way because of the fact that there are too few teachers, and we might not have enough class space or not enough rooms.

(6) Complete observance of the following black heroes' birthdays: Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. DuBois, Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X Shabazz. That is to say, if we can honor George Washington, and if America really isn't just a dream, let us honor some black people too.

(7) Better and more chemically pure food. Let us not have birth control medicine in our food, which is the case at Chicago Vocational High School. Let us not have insects or household pests in the food, which was the case at Calumet High School the day before yesterday.

(8) Full insurance for all athletes. This isn't a racial thing; when we say all athletes, that is what we mean. We want insurance for athletes because when they are hurt, they have to take it upon themselves to pay the doctor bills. The quarterback of the football team at Lindblom, where I go, had a broken collar bone, and we had to take up donations at the school in order to supplement the funds that his mother could raise. The school did nothing about it. Some people were amazed that we didn't have this insurance already, but that is the case.

(9) Elimination of the present PTA system and the establishment of a black Parent-Teacher-Student Association. Instead of the present PTA



Black Students from Waller High School in Chicago march to Board of Education Building in October, 1968.

system, let's have a real thing. Let's have black parents from the community and black teachers and students get together and try to deal with the many problems. At most schools you have PTA meetings at twelve or one o'clock in the afternoon. Since most black parents are working at that time, they can't very well attend; nor can the teachers, because they have classes at that time. But they refuse to open the school at night for fear of "vandalism" or something of that order.

(10) Establishment of a student policy-making body free of administration control, to make decisions, particularly in the area of discipline. That is to say, if you choose to be black and proud, there shouldn't be any actions taken against you. We propose to establish a student body that could make decisions along the line of discipline.

(11) Social activities and services in black schools be handled by black businessmen. Photographs, yearbooks, graduation rings, etc., should

all be controlled by black people. We are being exploited by white people who come in and take pictures and then laugh at you. You'll find that they don't have any black people working in their companies. We have black photographers and ring salesmen, but they can't make any money because the white people won't give them a chance; they have the contracts. Although the students never agreed to the signing of these contracts, the contracts are held as good.

(12) General repair and renewal of buildings, and more black engineers. Engineers make over four dollars an hour, or maybe far more than that. But there are few if any black engineers.

We were so successful during the first weeks of the boycott we decided to add four more demands.

(13) The complete elimination of, or the making relevant to the black community of the ROTC military program. That must begin with the removal of all white military training personnel from black schools. That

is to say, if ROTC is really training us for the Vietnamese war, and we feel that we should be trained to protect the black community, then we feel that ROTC is irrelevant and it must make some type of change, or be removed completely.

(14) Complete utilization of community people in all areas of direct contact between school and community. Truant officers and such should all be a part of the community. They can better understand the problems of the community and can better identify with the students.

(15) After a few weeks of the boycott it became necessary to demand amnesty for all persons participating in boycotts. At Jones Commercial High School about forty-five blacks, the majority of them sisters, were suspended because of the fact that they supported the boycott and left school. We demand amnesty for these students. In addition one hundred and twenty-five students at Gage Park High School, and one hundred and twenty-five students at Kennedy High School were suspended or expelled because of their participation in the series of boycotts.

(16) This demand hasn't been listed yet, but it will be listed next time we make a move.

Black Students for Defense was formed last year, around November or December, and since then it has become part of the Afro-American Students Association. It has become the high school arm of the Afro-American Students Association.

It is a coalition of high school students with two representatives from each school, usually from the Afro-American clubs at the schools. Black Students for Defense has also been putting out a paper. We do other things, in addition to the boycott. We take positions on such things as the war in Vietnam, ROTC programs, and so on. We felt it was necessary to form the Black Students for Defense because we realized that working on a local level in your own school really wasn't enough. We were always told, "Take it to the superintendent." And now that we are able to take it to the superintendent, the cry is "the schools are being decentralized, take it to your principal." It is basically a runaround, but we feel we can deal with it because we are unified.

JIM HARVEY:

Last time I spoke here, I think it was in February, we came together to honor a black hero, Malcolm X, on the third anniversary of his assassination, and it seems as though I speak to you today basically for the same purpose. Because one of the issues the students are concerned about is making the schools relevant to the point that students will be allowed to honor black heroes. I might add that if they don't honor black heroes then they really have no heroes to honor at all because the chumps we have been forced to honor are people who you can't agree with, if you are in your right mind.

George Washington was a slave-owner, a thief, and a liar. He was axe-happy. Abraham Lincoln was a backwoods hillbilly who didn't have any better sense. Christopher Columbus was a chump who got lost and when he finally found his way to where he thought he was going, he really didn't get to where he thought he was going after all. And he had the nerve to re-name and say that he discovered a whole nation of people, who had already discovered the land and been there thousands of years earlier. So I think that we need to concentrate on honoring black heroes, they are the only people we can consider honoring ourselves.

I think that most of the facts regarding the boycott have been given. What it boils down to basically is something that is prevalent in the Socialist Workers Party election campaign: black control of the black community. We have been talking about black control of black schools, and I think that's it. Black people in this country for the last four hundred and fifty years have been able to survive some of the most ruthless suppression and genocidal tactics ever heaped upon any nation. As a result they have been forced to huddle together and to pull together tighter than ever before. Since they have huddled together and pulled together as tightly as they have, that's kept them alive this long.

Now it comes down to the question of who's going to run their lives. And I think it's a clear indication

as we look about and see all the things that are going on, throughout the black communities, throughout the country, throughout the world, that black people are going to run them. Anything that black people get together to organize, they're going to run. That's what it's about. Black people send their children to black schools and black youth in the black communities are going to run them now. Black communities have literally supported all kinds of big businesses that have set up their leeching bloodsucking businesses in our communities. Our people are going to run them. That's what it all boils down to; who's going to run it. That's what it's about in Africa, that's what it's about in Asia, that's what it's about in Latin America, that's what it's about in the black communities in this country, and I hope that's what it's about in the "white left" communities too. Who's going to run it, what changes are there going to be, and who's going to benefit from them?





The French High School Student Movement

French high school students were organized into a potent political force during the May-June worker-student uprising. Comites d'Action Lyceens (CAL—high school action committees) were built in many areas to lead the struggle of the high school students.

Since school opened this fall high school students and the CAL have been in the forefront of the continuing revolutionary movement of the French students and workers.

The following article is a report from a participant in a recent congress of the CAL on current developments among the high school revolutionaries in France. It was translated by the *Young Socialist Journal d'Action Communiste*, a lively, widely read newspaper published by young French revolutionaries including former members of the banned *Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire* (the French counterpart of the Young Socialist Alliance).

The very idea of a high-school movement was scorned and strongly disputed by people thinking that your political life begins after you have taken your *bac* [the *baccalaureat* examination—a high-school graduating and college entrance exam rolled into one]—adults, professional politicians, teachers (both of the right and the "left"), and even college students. Today the high-school movement has made its breakthrough and has only too many more or less sincere friends.

While the university student movement is having a hard time getting into gear again, the CAL [Comites d'Action Lyceens—Academic High-School Action Committees]¹ are maintaining an intense, day-to-day political life in the high schools. Since the end of vacation in two important demonstrations in Paris (despite the

police ban) as well as in the struggles in the provinces, high-school students have again assumed an exemplary role.

Taking account of the new relationship of forces, the high-school movement strove to capitalize on the May mobilization in order to be able to go back into the high schools with its head high. It waged a struggle against expulsions. It strove to dispell the illusion that students were being given a say in running the schools. By refusing to go along with the Faure plan,² they defeated this reformist strategy in its first battle,

1 There are no all-inclusive public high schools of the American type in France. The lycees are like English "public" schools or American prep schools, with an aristocratic tradition, strict discipline, and an old-fashioned curriculum stressing Greek and Latin. There are various other less elite types of secondary schools but most French youth receive little in the way of a secondary education.—YS

2 The education reform authored by the Gaullist Minister of Education Edgar Faure after the May-June revolt. It offered a pretence of student participation in the administration of the highschools and universities termed "cogestion" or "codetermination."—YS

rouge
journal d'action communiste

the one which seemed the easiest and was to serve as the example for the rest.

While the UNCAL [Union Nationale des CAL—National Union of CAL]³ is dying a quiet death, the development of a truly national organization of the CAL has in large part eliminated the gap between Paris and the provinces. The CAL actions in Marseille, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Saint-Etienne have had as much impact as those in Paris.

Finally, by consolidating in a period of relative "social calm" the political life inaugurated in the high schools during the May crisis, the high-school movement has made it patently obvious that the bourgeoisie's dream is an impossibility today. "School-cocons"—schools insulated from the outside world, the world of class struggle, by the thick padding of so-called politically "neutral" cultural ideology—have perished for ever.

The CAL Congress to Organize High-School Actions

In December 1967, the first high-school action committee was formed at the Lycee Jacques Decour. In February 1968, after the Lycee Condorcet affair,⁴ there were thirty CAL, primarily in Paris. On the eve of May, seventy CAL could be counted on throughout France.

Then came the general strike, and high-school students did not lag behind the university students and workers in this mobilization . . . And now on November 1-2, 200 delegates took part in the CAL Congress in Paris, representing forty-five provincial cities and seventy academic high schools in Paris.

The term "congress" is not really adequate. This was not a self-congratulation session of bureaucrats from an ossified and dying organization. It was the bringing together of

3 The reformist high-school movement which the Jeunesses Communistes [Communist Youth—the CP high-school organization] tried to create. Today it is being encroached on by the right.

4 Romain Goupil, a high-school member of the JCR, was expelled from the Lycee Condorcet for "engaging in political activity." Five hundred high-school students from all over Paris staged a militant demonstration in front of this school on January 27, 1967, in support of Goupil and the political rights of high-school students.—YS

a still embryonic movement, a movement rich in its diversity and vital because it was born and can only live in struggle. It was a confused and often impassioned congress but one that attested to an intense political activity among the ranks.

Experiences were exchanged, there was debate on perspectives, on the role of the CAL, the nature of the academic high-school milieu, and the possibilities of linking up with working-class youth. We had come a long way since the CAL national conference in June. Then the Communist Party high school group had advocated a high-school student union which would take in all high-school students "without regard to political or religious affiliation!"

This congress brought together not only militants but revolutionary militants, and this explains the richness of the discussion. The value of this discussion was even greater because this congress took place one month after the beginning of classes and at a time of a high pitch of political activity. The CAL are off to a thundering start in Paris as well as Marseille, Toulouse, and Saint-Etienne, struggling against the expulsion of political activists and answering those who pretended to forget that there had ever been a certain month of May.

The CAL did not wait for the congress to act. The congress was a pause necessary for the continuance of the struggle. It enabled those who took part in it to return to their schools and their cities with some very promising prospects . . .

The discussion of political orientation (an outline of which was contained in the introductory report and accepted as a guideline on the first day) showed the need for political clarification. The objective was to work out a document that would be more than a short-term action program but still a document which would be the common denominator for the 200 CAL existing throughout France, defining the framework and limits of their activity.

The School Youth

The analysis of the nature and role of the school youth in this document gave the first answer to those who explain away their inability to establish themselves in the student milieu by calling it petty bourgeois:

"There has been much speculation about the "petty-bourgeois" nature of the academic high-school and university student milieu which seems to be in contradiction to the radicalization of its struggles. It must be understood, however, that while the academic high-schools draw their stu-



Photo by Hermes

French Students march with red flags, May, 1968.

dents essentially from the bourgeoisie (which we of course condemn), high-school students are not secure from worries about job opportunities, orienting themselves, the weeding-out process in college, or political and cultural repression. It must be understood that for precisely this reason the May-June revolt had other bases than a mere generational conflict—that it corresponded to a well-founded worry on the part of these youth about the conditions under which they will find a place in the work force, their opportunities for continuing their studies, and the conditions of life in the academic institutions. Obviously we cannot define an "intellectual class" homogeneous in interests which like the working class would be a living contradiction to the bourgeoisie. But it is true that with the advances in technology, with the ever more exacting demands of capitalism, a large part of the academic high-school students and college students will be exposed to capitalist exploitation directly. If we add to this a certain predisposition on the part of these youth to greater ideological awareness, it is easy to understand why the high-school students joined the struggle, police repression providing the catalyst for a powerful revolt."

The Role of the CAL

"Creating an independent 'striking force' means that we consider the CAL as the expression of a part of the high-school students and not of high-school students as such. (At no time were *all* the university students, *all* the workers, and *all* the high-school students engaged in the struggle. A large number remained indifferent or silent.)

The CAL are continuing the struggle while it is in the defensive phase (counterattacking against the repression), defending the gains of the high-school movement and not the privileges of the strata from which they come. We do not believe in any university and high-school student "union" uniting the petty bourgeoisie for the defense of its immediate interests. We believe rather in the possibility of radical political action in all social groupings, and specifically among the high-school students.

"The CAL must unite militants conscious of the struggle which must be waged against the present educational system and thereby against capitalist society independent of all political parties. Since the academic high-school students as a whole are not ready to challenge capitalist society

in its entirety, the CAL *in themselves* cannot be representative of all academic high-school students. But through the struggles in which they engage, they must seek to represent the will of the largest possible number of high-school students. The CAL are not apolitical student associations limiting themselves solely to the authorized forms of action, but make up a movement firmly determined to wage radical struggles in keeping with the demands and campaigns it supports. Moreover no limited reform, no simple adjustment in the machinery (e.g. Edgar Faure's reform), no putting a democratic front on the bourgeois university, not even the acceptance of some of our basic demands will in any way alter our firm resolution to organize those high-school students who have recognized the contradictions in the discriminatory and reactionary educational system—to organize them to challenge this system."

Action

"Common axes for intervention were set at the congress. They do not eliminate the independence of the individual CAL but make it possible for their struggles to be combined into a nationally coordinated counterattack



Audience at meeting sponsored by Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire listen to Ernest Mandel in Paris.

against the government's policy. The principal axes are:

- Struggle against the repression (in the high schools, the universities, and the factories).

- Struggle against Gaullist 'participation' (a demagogic corporative scheme meaning that every group is supposed to participate in the decision-making process of the institutions which control their lives) by showing that 'participation' and repression are two sides of the same policy.

- Exposure of the Edgar Faure law, which while it grants some substantial reforms, in no way changes the class character of education. (With regard to the new institutions set up — new bodies which are supposed to offer students the means for participating in the administration of their schools — the CAL have taken the following attitude: We have participated in the elections to these bodies and we have run as CAL on a *political and action program* in order to demonstrate the ineffectuality of these institutions. Parallel to this, we have conducted a series of actions independent of all electoral politics designed to implement the slogans stated above. We did not regard participation in the administrative councils as an end in itself but as a means to turn them upside down and to get our program known.

(We succeeded in part in our aim of turning these institutions upside down. According to the testimony of the headmasters' union and the parents themselves, we succeeded in giving these elections a political character, which they sought to avert at all cost.

(However, some dangers in this participation came to light as a result of our experiences:

(— The danger of cooption of the militants elected, despite their consciousness.

(— The danger of getting trapped in electoral politics by failing to exercise the counterweight to this participation, that is, mobilizing the high-school students on the basis of the platform the CAL put forward in order to get elected and showing them it will not be achieved through the administrative councils but by direct action.)

- Support for anti-imperialist struggles (especially for the coming demonstrations of support for the

Vietnamese revolution)."

Now I must return to one of the main subjects of debate at the congress. Some thought that high-school students acquire political consciousness through action, in action, and for action. Action is a necessary condition for this but it is not sufficient.

It is important that parallel with conducting actions, the CAL be capable of defending them politically in order to raise the level of discussion. This does not mean putting propaganda and explanation first but carrying on a campaign of propaganda and explanation parallel to actions. Involvement in a struggle, no matter how limited, makes high-school students more receptive to political explanation.

This raises the problem of the political education of CAL militants, another central theme of the congress. *In no case can the CAL be transformed into Marxist study circles where political education is divorced from action.* On the other hand, debate on the immediate political situation, on the reason for the outline law [a general law whose specifics are to be filled in by decrees], and on the problems of the moment is necessary in the CAL in order to arm the members politically. These discussions must be carried outside the CAL by pamphlets and local papers and must go hand in hand with action.

A Prime Task — Linking Up With the Technical High Schools

The CAL cannot be reduced to mere dispensaries of Marxist-Leninist propaganda any more than to just activist nuclei. The role of the CAL is to arouse the initiative of high-school students inside the high schools in revolutionary activities which could constitute poles of attraction for the worker and student youth.

The job of the high-school students is not to become preachers of revolutionary truth but to make the high schools real cultural and political centers replacing the Gaullists' phony youth centers, which are offspring of the consumer society.

By organizing the showing of revolutionary films and political and cultural discussions to which the neighborhood youth are invited by stenciled posters (which every high school must be able to make), the high schools will become the neighborhood political centers.

Within the high schools, exposing the class content of education will be a permanent task — that is, the organization of counter-courses, rejection of particularly reactionary textbooks (in literature and history for example), rejection of honorific titles, etc.

Furthermore, a breakthrough in the technical high schools has now become possible and necessary. The technical high-school students who took part in the May events just like the classical high-school students *got nothing*. Up until now the technical high-school comrades have worked with the CAL among the ranks of students. We do not have to go back over this reality. What we must do is strive to establish an independent organization in these schools.

We fight against the division between classical high schools and the CET [Colleges d'enseignement Techniques — Technical High Schools], which is the outcome of social segregation. But at the same time we realize that the conditions of struggle in this pre-working-class milieu, which is sensitive above all to problems of unemployment and training, are not the same as the conditions which the academic high-school movement faces. We understand that two organizations with the same political basis (CAL and CAET [Comites de'Action d'Enseignement Technique — Technical High-School Action Committees]) but with different axes of intervention can complement each other within a movement of school youth.

Such progress and such a breakthrough in the direction of the worker youth remain the precondition for the development of an academic high-school movement — and more broadly of a movement of all the high-school students — which would concretize an alliance uniting a UNEF (Union Nationale des Etudiants Français — National Union of French [university] students) freed from bureaucracy, a UNEF having put into practice the principles of its new Charter of Grenoble, with the CAL and the CAET. (It must be stressed that the CAET have had a very difficult time surviving the summer vacation and that only a few isolated nuclei remain.) And since the CAL remain, despite their weakness, an "exemplary" struggle organization, they can be the leaven in the development of such a movement.

Isaac Deutscher

on the "New Left"

In the spring of 1967 the late Isaac Deutscher spent six weeks at Harpur College, University of New York at Binghamton, as Distinguished Visiting Professor of Political Science. The Marxist historian was keenly interested in the development of the student movement in the United States and spent many hours in discussions with student radicals.

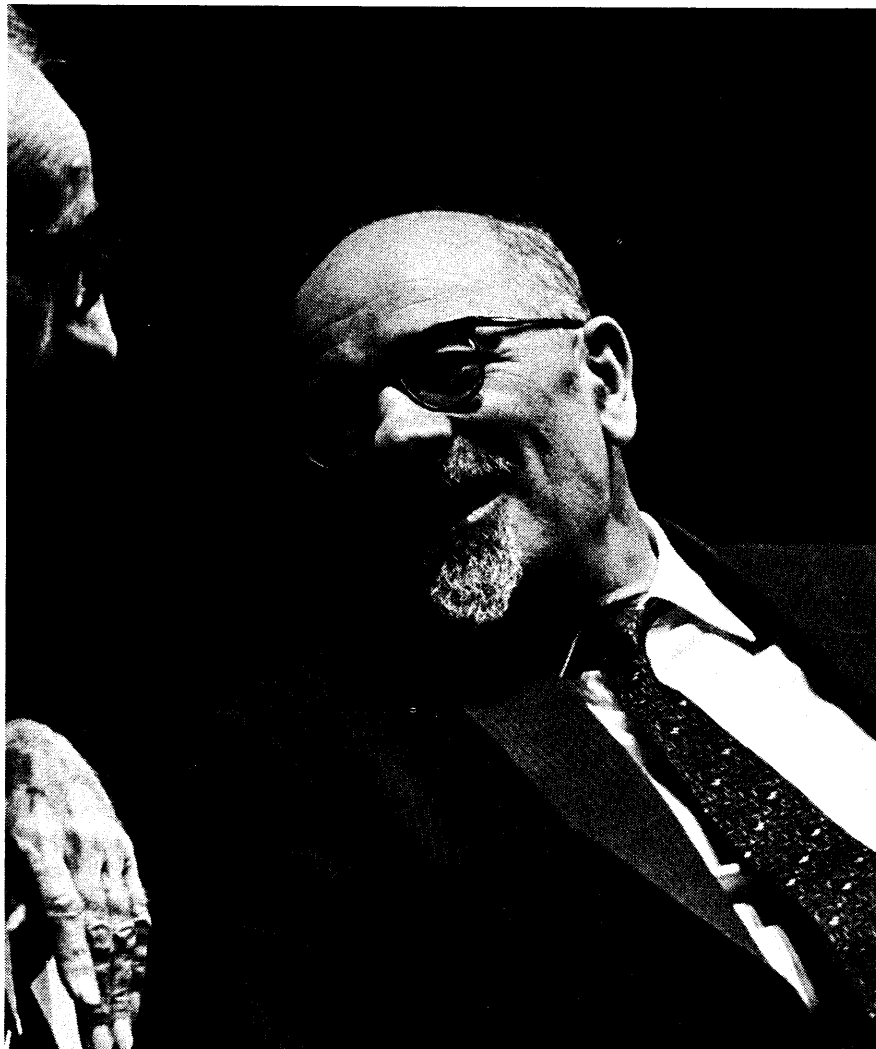
Fortunately some of these sessions were tape-recorded. Following is part of one such discussion which was transcribed and published in the first number of a student magazine, *The New Left Forum*, which Deutscher helped to launch.

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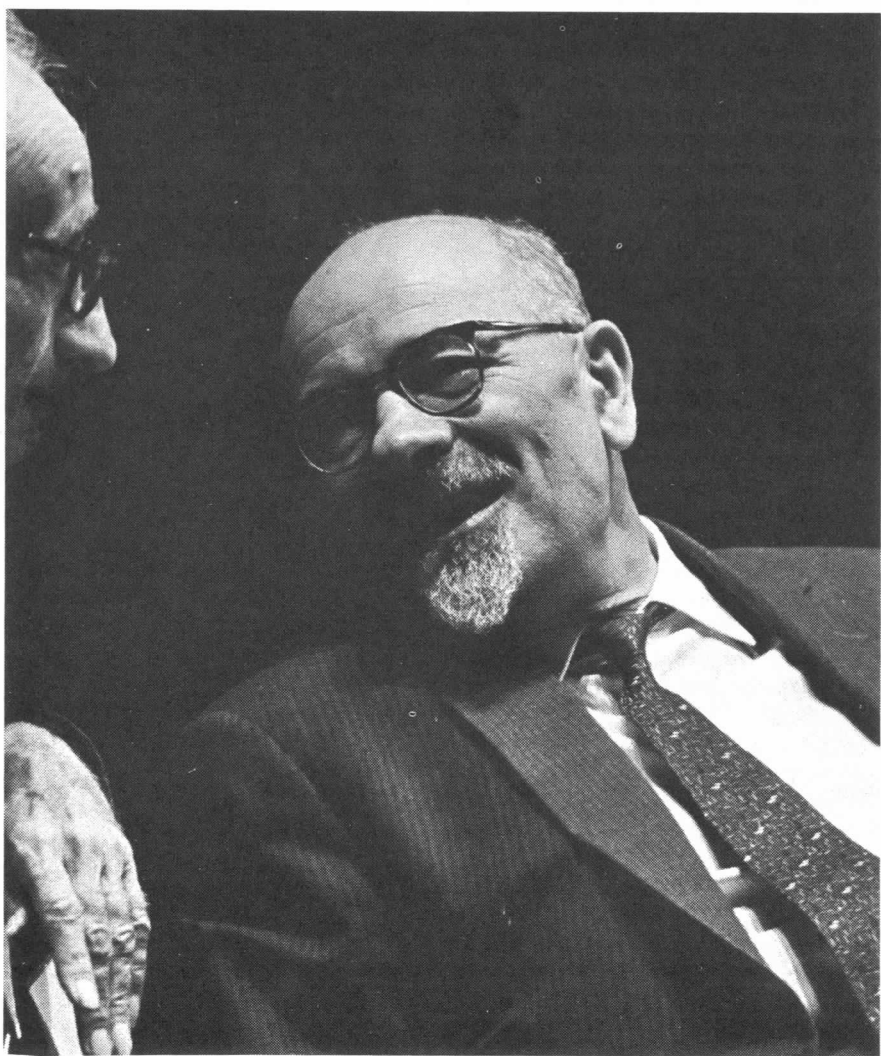
The first point which Deutscher tried to make clear was in what respect the so-called New Left considered itself different from other radical groupings of the past and what is the content of its claim that it adheres to a pragmatic, nonideological orientation:

Isaac Deutscher: The term "ideology" has different meanings in different languages and in different contexts. Even in English the terminological confusion reflects the mental confusion. A few years ago some writers proclaimed "the end of ideology." What did they mean? When one looked closely at their proclamation one realized that what they wanted to announce was "the end of Communism and Marxism," but as this would sound trivial, trite, and reactionary they used a more respectable formula: the end of ideology. The great aspirations and ideas about the way to change society were old-fashioned and should be discarded, they maintained.

When they proclaimed the end of ideology, they actually proclaimed the end of their ideology, their own quietism and reconciliation with society such as it was. Among those "prophets" were various ex-leftists, ex-com-



Isaac Deutscher



Isaac Deutscher



Isaac Deutscher at April 15, 1967 antiwar demonstration in New York City.

munists, ex-socialists and ex-Trotskyists.

We also have to consider the other sense of the term "ideology": one might say that Marx also tried to get away from ideology; but his was quite a different conception: it was the false consciousness, the false ideas, the fetishes which various classes of society make for themselves in order to veil, unconsciously, their own situation, in order to idealize their own position in society. In this Marxist, sense the watchwords "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite" of the French Revolution were an expression of ideology. The reality of the revolution was the crystallization of a bourgeois order of society. The ideological veil which covered that reality was: Liberty, Equality, Brotherhood.

When your ex-left-wingers proclaim the end of ideology, they say in fact: "I am going back to respectable society. I am no longer storming the fortress of the existing order." Some of you, on the so-called New Left, want to leave behind "all" ideology in favor of pragmatism. This means in fact that you are endeavouring to get away from great ideas about society and its transformation, and embrace pragmatism.

But pragmatism is also an idea. I suggest that you are deluding yourself if you think that by exchanging ide-

ology for pragmatism you are "getting away from ideology." No, you are only exchanging one ideology for another. Pragmatism says: "Practical success, practical benefit—that is my supreme test of the rightness or wrongness of what *I think*." But this is an ideological appraisal—and hence an ideology like any other.

By the way, have you anything to get away from? Have you had an ideology until now which you now want to jettison? If you really are exchanging ideology for pragmatism, why do you call yourselves New Left; what then is "new" in your program? Pragmatism is almost as old as American philosophical thinking.

It is obvious even to the most casual observer that you call yourselves New Left not because you have a new philosophy, but because you want to be distinguished from the previous generation of Marxists, or Leninists, or Trotskyists; you think, quite rightly, that your elders have done badly and you want to make a new start.

This sounds very tidy: new people made a new beginning and call themselves New Left. But in what sense are you the "new people?" You are young? Young people can be very old if they start with very old ideas and surely this is a more important consideration than the age group to which you belong. I suggest that you have, first of all, to define what is the new idea you stand for. In what way are you opposed to your elders, and to which of their ideas are you opposed. If you just announce "this-is-the-end-of-ideology," you start from their own bankruptcy, and bankruptcy cannot be a starting point.

It is also obvious that what unites you, the New Left, is really an emotional alienation from, and opposition to, this self-satisfied, complacent, well-fed and yet stupid bourgeois society.

Whiteman: This dissatisfaction is part of a common denominator; so is pragmatism. But the main element is, I think, humanism.

I.D.: Humanism has been for generations seen as the common denominator of all political movements, ideologies, religions, and parties, and this fact alone shows that it cannot be a *common* denominator. If you ask President Johnson whether he is a humanist, he will surely answer: "Yes, I am." Even Hitler would have

considered himself a humanist: he treated only *some* segments of humanity as subhuman. How do you interpret humanism?

Whiteman: Humanism holds the individual human being as being infinitely precious.

I.D.: This definition is too vague, and much too broad to have any meaning at all. "The individual human being is infinitely precious . . ." This is not a very new idea: it dates back to old Christianity or to old Judaism, if you like, but surely it cannot be the idea of the New Left. Why don't you call yourselves old Christians or old Jews?

Whiteman: The name was granted us.

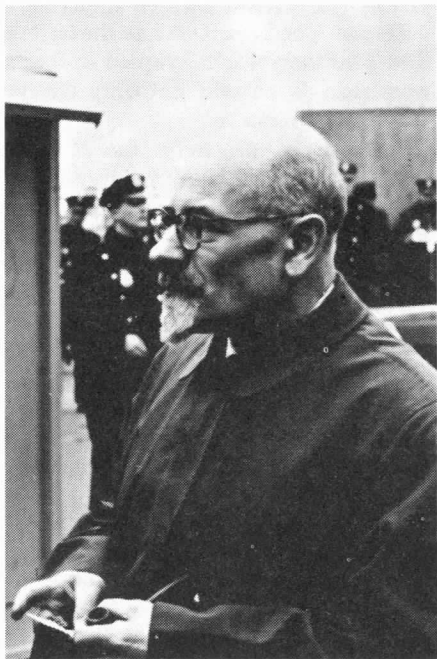
I.D.: Excuse me, a political appellation is not a name given at a baptism which, as a baby, you have to accept, and which, incidentally, as an adult you are free to change. "New Left" indicates a political attitude.

Wurtzel: By the term New Left we mean that group in our generation which corresponds to the radical group of the thirties.

I.D.: Here you are establishing a link and a break with the "old" left. You are its equivalent and yet you are different. In what sense is the New Left a counterpart of the radical groups of the thirties? They represented an opposition to the existing social order and an aspiration to overthrow or change that order. Do you want to change your society and by what kind of society do you want to replace it? Do you see in social control and social ownership a principle vital for your and other societies? In a word, are you socialists?

I am aware that the New Left comprises those who consider themselves socialists and those who might be described as nonsocialist radicals. It is politically very important, especially at this time in the United States, that they all should cooperate for certain limited objectives: in their opposition to the war in Vietnam, in their struggle for civil rights. But nevertheless this difference between socialists and nonsocialists cannot be viewed only as a slight dissent.

It is a major division because behind it are two different ideals of the organization of society. It is quite plain that a socialist will see the question of war and peace in a different context than the nonsocialist. The lat-



Isaac Deutscher at April 15, 1967 antiwar demonstration in New York City.

ter will assume that the racial problems can be solved within the existing economic and social order. The socialist, on the other hand, will say: "We should try even within this social structure to improve as much as we can the lot of the Negro. But ultimately only a different type of society will bring about the disappearance of race discrimination."

The radical will say: "Perhaps another president will adopt a more sensible foreign policy and we shall not be plunged periodically into repulsive, unjust wars at one or another end of the globe." The socialist will say: "As long as you have this social system, no matter what president you choose, you will still have imperialist wars waged by your country." The difference in approach and conclusions of the socialist and the nonsocialist is quite fundamental: it reflects a divergent perspective and aspiration. You are shying away from these questions and this only weakens you: you will have to thrash them out sooner or later.

Professor Leiman: We should perhaps keep in mind that there is an extremely high level of class consciousness in America, not unfortunately among the working class but among the bourgeoisie. Let us assume for the moment that the New Left's aim is to change the present order in the socialist direction—and in this consists its link with the mainstream of radical thought of the thirties—there still remains a fundamental dif-



C. Wright Mills, author of "The Power Elite" and many other works, was theoretical mentor of much of today's "new left."

ference in the way of thought between the two movements. The radicals of the 1930's believed that the working class, aided of course by the intellectuals, perhaps even led by them, will be the decisive element of the change.

As I understand it, the New Left, which received most of its early impetus from C. Wright Mills, abandoned this notion. And they abandoned it on the "pragmatic" ground that the working class did not seem radically oriented. The whole militancy of the trade unions was directed towards securing higher wages and better conditions: it was a bread-and-butter struggle, not a class struggle.

From this the New Left concluded—and here I am speaking about the position some ten years ago—that since reliance cannot be placed on the working class as the main agent of the change, we have to rely on other groups. On which ones? On the intellectuals? Perhaps on the Negroes?

I. D.: I knew Wright Mills very well and my last discussions with him shortly before his death did center precisely on this issue: which force in society is to give effect to socialism? He did not believe the working class would bring about a socialist society. But Mills' concept of the elite as the main agent of change begged the question.

An elite of what? Of whom? An elite does not exist in a vacuum. It is part of the society, it is part of a class. But Wright Mills had moved very closely to a Marxist position in many respects. And one should not go back, so to speak, to an early Wright Mills instead of benefiting from his intellectual experience and development.

One should start at least from where he ended, not from where he began. The concept of the elite as the main agent of socialism appeals to you because you think it frees you from the need to analyse the economic and class structure of society. It envelops the whole big mountain in a fog, with the peak—the elite—sticking out clearly for you to see.

You maintain that your New Left corresponds in some respects to the left groups of the thirties, but you want to improve on their performance—and there is certainly room for improvement—but this does not mean that you have to reject their analysis of society which is valid now

just as it was valid in their time.

Davis: The New Left has the feeling that Marxism was corrupted and this revulsion is caused not only by the Russian experience.

I. D.: It is precisely the Marxist method that will help you in analysing your revulsion against Marxism as it had been "applied" hitherto. Stalinism was not "contained" in Russia; it had its unfortunate impact on the labor movement in your country and it distorted the beginnings of the growth of Marxism here as elsewhere. Your earlier American Marxists were not perhaps as creative and inspiring as those that Russia, Poland, or Germany produced. But if you read their old writings you will still find a great deal of ideas which illuminate the present-day American scene.

America has its own tradition of socialist thought: nothing in history begins *ex nihilo* and the world does not begin with the New Left. A century ago there were also young people in revolt and you have no lack of revolutionary tradition to link up with. But every reaction against tradition is also linking up with it.

Your predecessors of a half century ago had to contend with a society in full dynamic capitalist expansion, while you are witnessing a degenerate capitalism which can only expand as imperialism. You are also aware of another paradox of your society: the more it expands economically, the more in a sense it seems to shrink culturally. And you are just as impatient and disgusted with the poverty amidst plenty as you are with the complacency and self-satisfaction of the gadget-minded acquisitive bourgeoisie.

But do not delude yourselves that your aim—"participatory democracy"—or as you yourselves put it: "that each individual should have a say in the decision-making process"—is anything more than a vague and meaningless slogan. It implies that you want to participate in the management of society as it is; but the society as it is excludes you from participation by definition. For this a new form of society is needed.

And when you proclaim the end of ideology you also implicitly accept the dominant ideology of the very society which excludes you from participation, the very society against which you are in revolt.

Young Socialists in Your Area:

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SAN FRANCISCO: YSA, 2338 Market St., San Fran-
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295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass.,
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TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION

The Young Socialist 1968 Convention

Che's slogan, "The Duty of Every Revolutionary is to Make the Revolution," set the tone for the historic 1968 Young Socialist Convention. More than 800 young socialists from across the U.S. met at the University of Illinois in Chicago to set plans for carrying out that task.

Below, Young Socialist Alliance National Organizational Secretary Larry Seigle presents the political report to the delegates who represented YSAers in more than 60 cities in 30 states.

Young Socialist organizations from throughout the world sent solidarity messages, and representatives of the Mexican Student Strike Committee and Trotskyist organizations in France, Germany and Canada participated in the International Panel. Pictured to the left are Yves Salesses (speaking), former leader of the banned French Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth—key leaders of the French student revolutionaries) and Lothar Boepple, Secretary of the German section of the Fourth International.

Derrick Morrison, YSA National Field Secretary, pictured at the right, presented the black struggle report emphasizing the explosion among black high school students and gearing the YSA for continued activity in and in support of the Afro-American self-determination struggle.



Photo by Shannon



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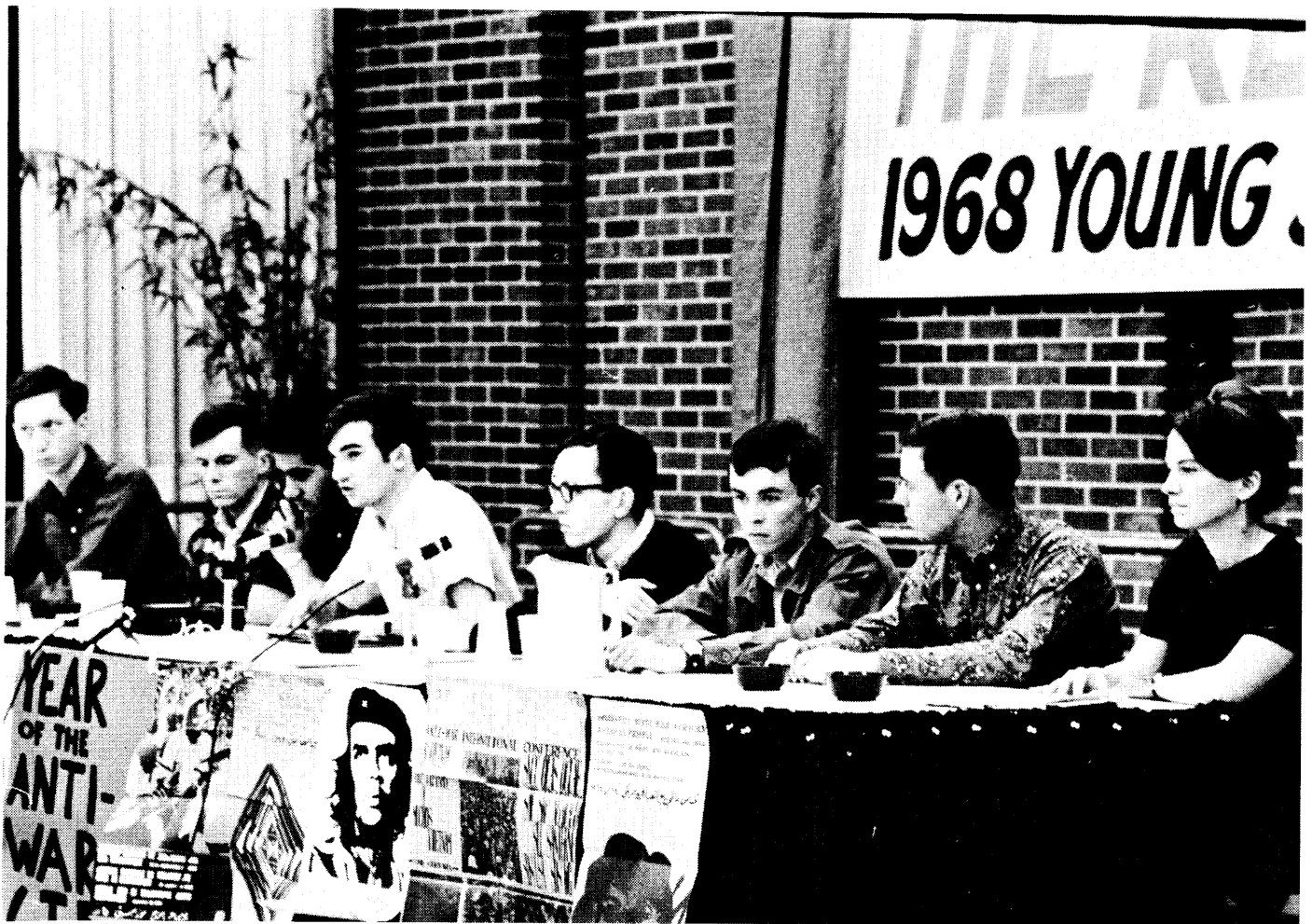


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The panel of active duty antiwar and socialist GIs (above) underscored the convention's recognition of the "Year of the Antiwar GI" and its decision to mobilize the YSA to help organize massive GI and civilian antiwar actions in the spring. In the lower center is Carl Finamore, one of two student leaders at the University of Illinois Circle Campus who face prosecution because of demonstrations in support of the boycott of California table grapes.

Russell Block, organizer of the Bloomington, Ind. local of the YSA, addresses the convention in the photo at the lower left.



Photo by Shannon

Cindy Jacquith, delegate from the Manhattan local of the YSA and a student at Columbia U., is shown at the left speaking on the experiences of the massive Columbia student strike last spring.

Just below Ginny Osteen (left), organizer of the East Lansing, Mich., YSA local talks with Evelyn Kirsch, Detroit YSA organizer.

The convention closed in the international revolutionary socialist manner—with the singing of the "Internationale," shown at bottom.



Photo by Shannon



Photo by Ring



Photo by Wulp



Photo by Shannon

YSA National Chairman Charles Bolduc is shown at the upper right giving the organizational report, which detailed the rapid growth of the YSA (membership doubled in seven months) projected an expansion campaign to increase this rate of growth and consolidate gains.

On the right is Herman Fagg, delegate from the Ann Arbor YSA local.



Photo by Shannon



Photo by Shannon



Photo by Wulp

Los Angeles YSAer Angie Vinther (left) chaired the talk by revolutionary writer and lecturer George Novack on "Can the American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution—a Marxist Answer to New Left Critics." The packed auditorium's standing ovation following Novack's talk indicated enthusiastic agreement with his definitive "yes."

In a strong tribute to Vincent R. Dunne (right) the convention reaffirmed the YSA's roots in and political solidarity and fraternal ties with the Socialist Workers Party as being the key to its political understanding and rapidly growing organizational strength. Dunne has spent most of his nearly eighty years as a central leader of the revolutionary socialist movement, first in the IWW, then the Communist Party, later as a leader of the labor upsurge in Minneapolis in the 1930's, and as a founder and central builder of the SWP. Below, Steve Chase of Boston, speaks in the discussion on the Political Report.



Photo by Shannon

Book Review...

Ruling Class -Ruling Ideas

By Linda Wetter

The Closed Corporation— American Universities in Crisis by James Ridgeway. Random House, New York, 1968. \$5.95.

The student rebellion is sweeping the country from campus to campus. Tens of thousands of students are demonstrating, striking and boycotting university administrations and their policies.

On the evening of Nov. 13 three thousand students at San Francisco State College drove back the cops with rocks when they tried to break up a massive student strike. At the University of Connecticut 150 students held a university official hostage for over a day. On hundreds of campuses students are demanding an end to campus administration policies that uphold racism, aid American foreign policy, and result in a sterile and conformist education. Greater participation in university decision making by students is being demanded.

A key criticism by students of university administrations is their sub-



*"This university will not tolerate violence.
Reason must prevail!"*

servience to the capitalist state and to big business interests. The decisions for determining the character of education in our society are made by the same people who have a stake in crushing the colonial revolution and making super profits at the expense of the majority of Americans.

This phenomenon is thoroughly documented in the *Closed Corporation—American Universities in Crisis*, a recently published book by James Ridgeway. He describes in great detail how the universities in capitalist society are used to do basic research for aiding America's reactionary foreign policy.

He indicates that the Department of Defense, Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration provide more than two-thirds of all research funds for universities. This money often accounts for a very large percentage of the total budgets for some universities—80 percent for MIT, 50 percent for Columbia and Princeton. "In theory," he writes, "the government gets the best independent scientific advice in this manner, but in fact, what happens is that the major universities become first captive and then active advocates for the military and para-military agencies of government in order to get more money for research."

The Radiation Laboratory of the University of California designs and builds prototypes of Hydrogen Bombs. A project designed to teach young Vietnamese to think like Americans is operated by the state college system of California. Cornell improves the bombs dropped in Vietnam and Princeton breaks codes for the CIA. "The University of Michigan's Willow Run Laboratory also works on photo-reconnaissance measures for the military, and along with CAL, is involved in counterinsurgency in Thailand . . . About 160 undergraduate and graduate students have secret clearances for their work at the labs. Willow Run, like Cornell, maintains its own fleet of airplanes."

Psychological warfare is studied for the Army by George Washington and American Universities in Washington, D. C. One of the more sordid studies conducted by CRESS (Center for Research in Social Systems) of American University was titled "Witchcraft, Sorcery, Magic and other Psycholog-

ical Phenomena and Their Implications on Military and Paramilitary Operations in the Congo."

The universities and professors have found it both convenient and very profitable to start "spin-offs," or companies which are started and run by professors, who usually continue to teach or act as a consultant for the university. Many of these companies are involved in "social problem solving." It is often through these companies that the government uses the university system for research in internal politics—especially in relation to the black community and their struggle for self-determination.

J. Sterling Livingston of Harvard Business School runs several such companies. One of them, the Human Resources Development Company, was hired by the U. S. Department of Labor to make comic books directed at trying to convince black Americans that there are opportunities available for them. "They are peopled with characters who look like rather dark models in Jantzen swimsuits ads. One of them, a sharp-looking fellow, is getting out of a new car to shoot the breeze with his old pals at the neighborhood billiard parlor . . . As he approaches he says 'Power is Green Baby!' and then goes on to drive home the point that you can get green power by going to your nearest employment office and getting some skill training . . . 'The Man Needs Help! You'd be surprised how UNprejudiced he gets when you got something his business needs. Green is a powerful color, too, baby. Make your own power and make it GREEN.'"

One of the officials at Sterling Institute said that, "One of the things we're trying to teach these people, or get them to teach themselves, is that they can reach white standards, not marginally successful black standards."

Another "spin-off" is Simulmatics Corporation, organized in 1959 by a public relations man and three professors, one from MIT, Columbia and Yale. They had devised a mathematical model of the political behavior of the American electorate, persuaded some wealthy liberals to finance the project, and directed John Kennedy to make the right moves to beat Nixon. Their primary concern is "Estimating possible human behavior by the use of computer technology"

and this led them to make models of the Venezuelan economy for AID.

Abt Associates, Incorporated specializes in counterinsurgency games. One of their inventions was Urb-Coin, a game that simulated urban counterinsurgency and they found that the youth from the Boston slums were only too willing to play the game—where the insurgent and government forces try to destroy each other and at the same time win over as much of the community as possible!

Ridgeway demonstrates how the universities are directly controlled by big business and cites the number of university officials who sit on boards of directors of large business corporations. Jess Davis, president of Stevens Institute of Technology, for example, sits on the boards of Carrier Corporation, Philip Morris, National Biscuit Company, Bethlehem Steel, Prudential Insurance, First National Bank of Jersey City and Public Service Electric and Gas Company.

Franklin D. Murphey who was chancellor of the University of California's Los Angeles campus in 1968 sat on the boards of Ford Motor Company, Halmark Cards, Inc., McCall Corporation and the Times-Mirror Company, which publishes the *Los Angeles Times*. Murphey says "The students today are talking about relevancy, they want more relevance in it. And the way to get relevance in it is to have people who by personal experience know what's going on in the real world." Most of the university directors hold stock in the various companies—in addition to collecting salaries of anywhere from \$2,000 to \$10,000 plus expenses.

American universities have been very active in lobbying Congress against any legislation that would lower the price of medical drugs. Why? Because many universities hold patents on medicine! Furthermore their medical schools test out all sorts of new drugs on unsuspecting students for various drug companies in return for research funds, scholarships and the like.

Ridgeway says, "One result is to get a young doctor involved with the company so he will remember them in prescribing drugs later on. But more important, the purpose is to get rough, sloppy and inexpensive tests done so that the pills can be slipped past the drug requirements of the Food

and Drug Administration." In one case the Food and Drug Administration discovered that some persons cited in statistics for one drug by the director of the Harvard Law School Health Service were dead!

Just to put the entire control apparatus in perspective here's an example of university-business relations. "In carrying forward its real estate program, Columbia enjoys a cordial relationship with Percy Uris, chairman of the board of Uris Buildings Corporation, a large realty company. He is also a Columbia trustee and chairman of the Finance Committee that oversees the university's investments, which include 33,422 shares of Uris Buildings common stock. Uris Buildings Corporation leases from Columbia a valuable piece of land at the foot of Wall Street. Uris got a \$22.5 million construction loan for the Wall Street building from Irving Trust Company, where William E. Peterson is the president. In 1966 when the lease was negotiated, Peterson was a Columbia trustee and in 1967 he was made head of the trustees. The new Uris Building is leased by the First National City Bank, where Allen H. Temple, another Columbia trustee, is former vice-chairman."

In his concluding chapter Ridgeway makes several suggestions which, he thinks, if implemented would solve the crisis of our universities and make them a place where "great teachers and students are brought together." Ridgeway points out that universities and colleges should be responsible to the public, they should be free for everyone, members of the board of trustees should be prohibited from transacting any business deals and these trustees should be elected by the students, alumni, faculty and other members of the community. Meetings of all the governing boards should be public and the government should require a public quarterly financial report, etc. The following paragraph actually sums up Ridgeway's theory, which is a little surprising in the face of all the facts that he has presented.

"Prying open the universities by changing around their organizational framework does not necessarily mean that their politics will also change. It is often dimly understood by the administrators of these places that the radicals who demand more of a say for the students are not representative of the great mass of undergraduates, many of whom are conservative. Nonetheless, at the very least a change

in structure opens the possibility of influencing the shape of the policies through a democratic process, and the students will be a little better off for knowing a bit more about the operations of the institutions."

Ridgeway has done an excellent job of documenting the subservient relationship between universities and big business and the imperialist state. For this reason I think that his book is well worth reading.

However, his conclusions are inadequate and actually fly in the face of his own facts.

He recognizes that the American university should be controlled and representative of the public interest. However, he assumes that this can come about within the framework of capitalist society.

If the American university is a factory whose function is to produce technicians, scientists, businessmen, teachers and generals to serve the reactionary capitalist system, it is utopian to believe that truly free universities can be established short of overturning the capitalist system. The capitalist rulers are not going to give up their claw hold on American education any more than they will give up their profits.

50 YEARS OF WORLD REVOLUTION 1917-1967

Edited, with an Introduction and Article, by
Ernest Mandel

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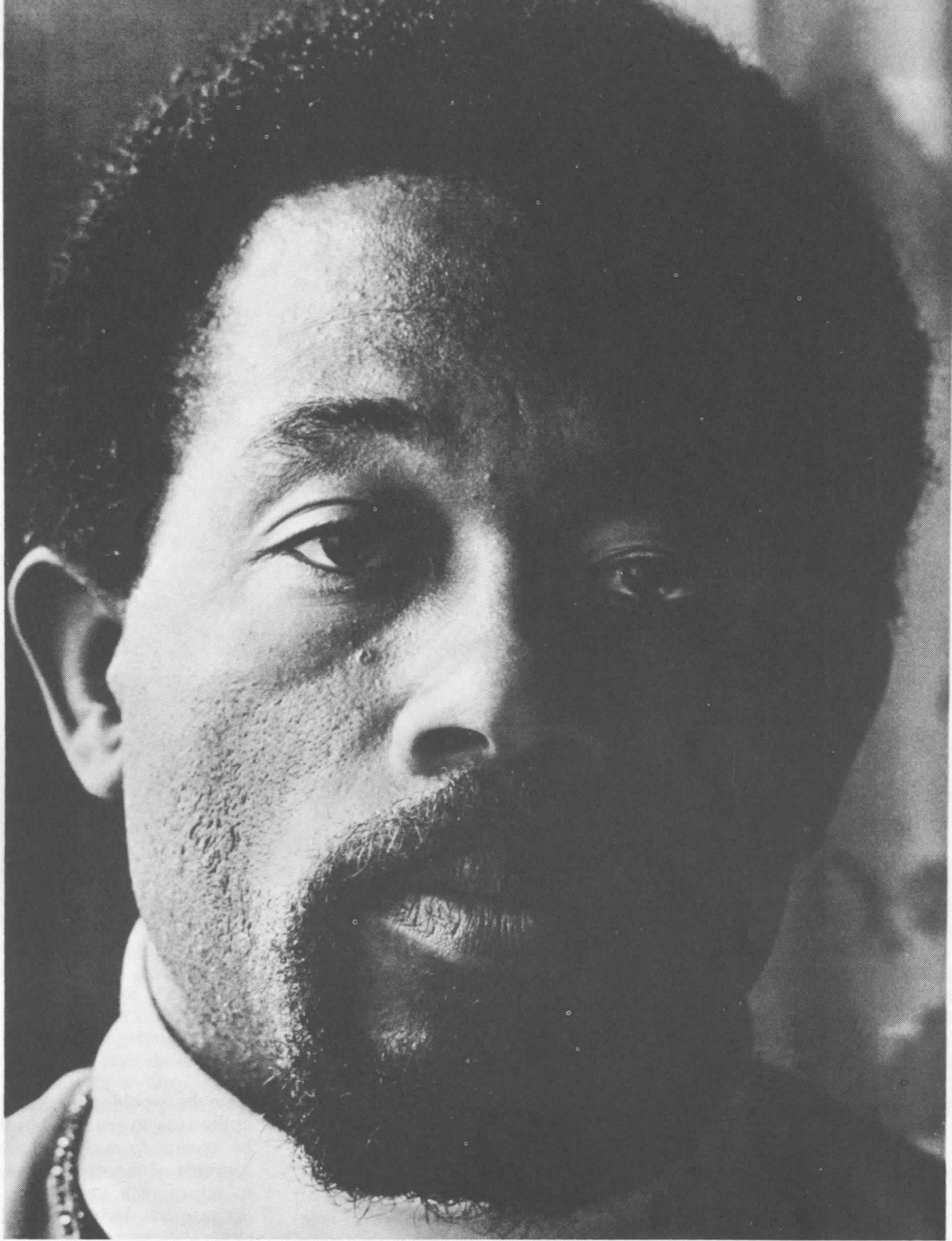
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By Larry Seigle

The antiwar movement among GIs has developed from its initial stage of antiwar actions on the part of individual soldiers to a full-fledged movement involving literally thousands of servicemen in active opposition to the war in Vietnam. October, 1968, was the month in which the GI peace movement came of age. In San Francisco, on October 12, 500 active-duty GIs organized and led an antiwar march and rally attended by 15,000 civilians. On October 26 and 27, in response to the call of the Student Mobilization Committee, active-duty soldiers joined in antiwar actions in cities throughout the country. In spite of local restrictions on GIs' right to participate in demonstrations, hundreds of soldiers, sailors and marines demonstrated that day against the war, in Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Austin, Seattle, Los Angeles, and many other cities. Demonstrations involving GIs also took place on November 2nd in some cities.

Along with the upsurge in antiwar activity, the number of cases of soldiers being persecuted for their political position has risen dramatically. In response to the need for "outside" legal help and publicity, the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee was formed to aid GIs whose constitutional rights of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or freedom of assembly and association, are being denied by military authorities.

In its first case the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee won a decisive victory when an army court-martial at Ft. Dix, New Jersey, found Sp/4 Allen Myers not guilty on a charge of disobeying an order. Myers had distributed leaflets put out by the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee.

Other current cases, some of which are being handled directly by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, are described below. In all cases, protest letters and telegrams can be sent to the Commanding Officer at the base involved. Copies of all letters and telegrams should also be sent to the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee at Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, New York 10011. Financial contributions, which are desperately needed for legal expenses and publicity, can be sent to the same address.

Servicemen Harassed

Protect Civil Liberties for GIs



Some of the Fort Hood 43 discuss their cases with attorney Michael Kennedy of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

FT. HOOD, TEXAS

Forty-three black soldiers at Fort Hood, Texas were arrested on August 24 after an all-night spontaneous demonstration against their possible assignment to Chicago for "riot" duty. One hundred and twenty-five black soldiers from the 1st and 2nd Armored Divisions met in a parking lot on the Fort to discuss the impending call-up and evidence of racism at Fort Hood.

At midnight, Major General John K. Boles, Jr., Commanding Officer of the 1st Armored Division, met with the men. Boles gave them permission to remain at the parking lot until they heard from him. He informed

them he would consult with higher authorities to see whether they could be exempt from duty in Chicago as a matter of conscience, and promised to return with an answer. Some of the men left during the night. Major General Boles never returned.

At 5:45 a.m. MPs arrived and ordered the remaining sixty GIs to disperse. Minutes later they arrested those who had not left. The soldiers were charged with willful disobedience of an order of a superior officer, namely to disperse their demonstration and return to their units.

The prisoners were held incommunicado, beaten, and subjected to hours of questioning.

Charges against two were dropped, and twenty-two GIs had special courts-

martial, for which the maximum sentence is six months in the stockade, a bad conduct discharge, the forfeiture of pay and loss of civilian benefits. Ten of the twenty-two were acquitted and the other twelve were given between three and six months in the stockade.

The remaining nineteen GIs are being given general courts-martial, which can impose much heavier penalties. Two of them, Sp/4 Ernest L. Bess and Sgt. Robert D. Rucker, both Vietnam veterans, have been acquitted. Four others, Pvt. Ernest L. Frederick, Pfc. Guy Smith, Sp/4 Tollie L. Royal and Sp/4 Albert Henry, Jr., were all given relatively light sentences. The light sentences were won because of the wide support for these GIs, both at Fort Hood and across the country, and because of the skillful legal defense of their counsel, Michael Kennedy of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The thirteen additional GIs are yet to be tried.

OAK-KNOLL NAVAL HOSPITAL

Lt. J.G. Schnall, a nurse at the Oak-Knoll Naval Hospital, helped to organize the massive GIs for Peace demonstration in San Francisco on October 12th. She told the 15,000 people massed for the rally that the Vietnam war "means getting to know them, learning to love these guys, then losing them in a dirty, filthy war. For these reasons I plead: End the war now. Bring our boys home. Bring our boys home alive."

The brass started court-martial proceedings against Lt. Schnall almost immediately, while they moved to punish or harass other organizers of the demonstration. They prosecuted the Navy nurse for wearing her uniform in the GIs for Peace demonstration and for taking part in the dropping of leaflets on military installations in the Bay Area, "which leaflets urged members of armed forces of the United States to attend and participate in a public demonstration intended to impair the morale, discipline and loyalty of said armed forces, such conduct being unbecoming an officer."

FT. BRAGG, N. CAROLINA

Pfc. Walter Kos, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance faces a court-martial at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, on a frame-up charge now two and a half months old. His "crime" was handing another soldier a copy of *Vietnam GI*. Witnesses say that a sergeant told the soldier to ask Kos for the antiwar newspaper—an attempt to trap him in violation of a direct order that he "refrain from distributing or causing to be distributed any publication not authorized by the Department of the Army."

The illegal features of Army action against Kos do not stop at the clearly unconstitutional nature of the direct order or even the evidence of entrapment. Kos has been held under various detailed restrictions for long periods; charges have been changed, withdrawn, and reimposed in an arbitrary fashion; and the Army has generally exhibited a very cavalier attitude toward normal judicial processes and constitutionally-guaranteed rights.

A campaign launched by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee on Kos' behalf was taken up especially vigorously in Detroit (Walter Kos was an active member of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam before he was drafted last year.) His supporters there have organized defense meetings, helped to raise money for legal action and circulated petitions which back the GI's constitutional rights.

FT. BENNING, GEORGIA

For almost two months Pfc. Edwin Glover was subjected to extreme harassment and punishment at Fort Benning, Georgia, because of his antiwar views and activities. The recent lifting of his restrictions and pending charges was a hard won victory—the fruit of a nation wide defense effort by antiwar activists and supporters of civil liberties.

With the exception of a single day, Glover was under tight restrictions from September 21 until November

12. During this period he was twice attacked at the instigation of the brass, his mail was held up or "lost," he was assigned a variety of strenuous extra work details, he was threatened with no fewer than three court-martials on petty, contrived charges, and every attempt was made to isolate him from friends and allies on and off base.

Two interventions by Glover's civilian counsel, Rowland Watts—a telegram to the Pentagon on October 24 and a series of telephone calls on November 7—resulted in the temporary lifting of restrictions and dropping of charges. But in each case the brass retaliated with vindictive extra assignments and new restraining orders.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee mobilized its supporters around the country to meet this serious assault on GI rights. Fort Benning authorities displayed increasing nervousness, as they took note of the national publicity given to the case, the number of visitors who came to see Glover (including several sympathetic reporters), and the barrage of protest telegrams and letters.

Finally, on November 12 the orders came down to the company commander to lift restrictions on Glover, drop all charges, and cease punitive action and extra assignments. While there is no guarantee against further harassment, this seems to be a true victory and not just another temporary retreat. It is particularly important and welcome since the military's attack on Glover was so prolonged and determined.

Two of Glover's friends and fellow antiwar activists have not yet shared his victory. Pfc. Larry Darby is still in the stockade at Fort Benning, having been found guilty at an irregular and totally illegal military trial of cursing at a sergeant. He has spent much of his unusually severe sentence in solitary confinement and has been threatened with removal to Fort Leavenworth prison. The other GI, Don Pyle, was busted to the rank of E-1 and fined part of a month's pay at a hastily-convened court martial. His crime: disobeying an order which the Army admits was never given!

Darby and Pyle must receive the same support which was so dramatically given to Ed Glover. Telegrams protesting the actions against them should be sent to the Commanding Officer, Fort Benning, Georgia.

The Struggle Continues

Behind Mexico's Student Strike

By Ricardo de la Luz

On the eve of the Olympics, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) sent a representative to Mexico to find out first-hand from the students about their struggle and concrete ways in which North Americans can lend their active support and solidarity. He met with members of the students' National Strike Council and made arrangements with them to tour their representatives throughout the U.S. to tell the truth about the Mexican student movement and the government's repression of it.

The U.S. embassy set up a number of regulations designed to prevent the Mexican students from entering the country and reaching the American people with their message. In spite of these measures, two delegates, including Ricardo de la Luz were finally allowed in and are now touring the East and West Coasts under USLA sponsorship.

Ricardo de la Luz has just returned

from a week's tour of Canada and is presently traveling around the East Coast. He has spoken on a number of different campuses, among which are Vassar College, Queens College, Rutgers University and the University of Pennsylvania, under the auspices of various organizations, including Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance, the student government at Queens College and the International Affairs Club in Philadelphia.

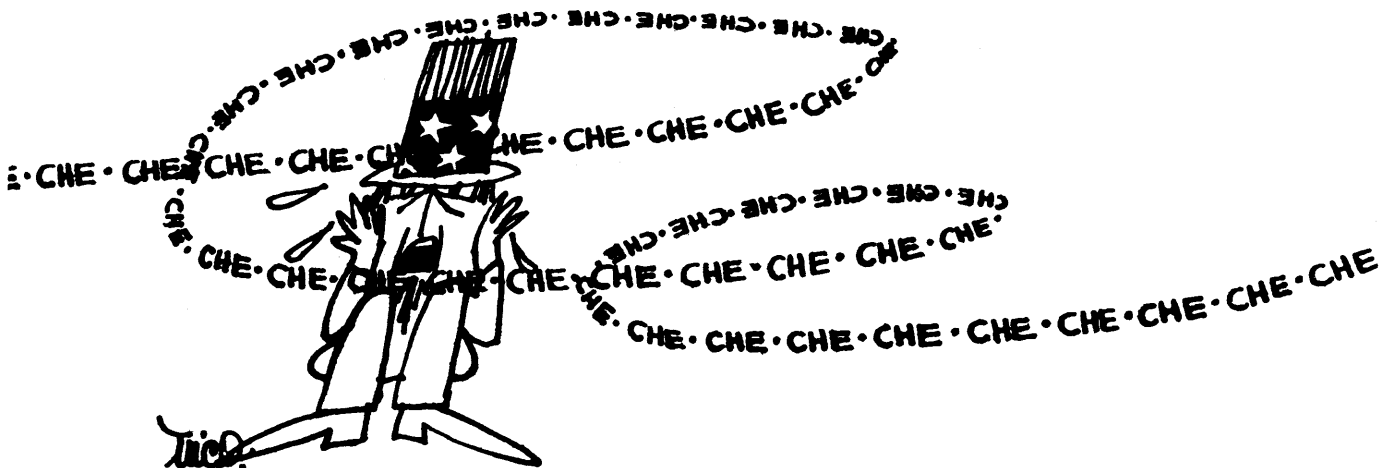
Ricardo is a member of the National Strike Council and a representative of the Student Commission for the Release of Student Prisoners in Mexico. An active participant in the student struggles, he was assigned to the task of bringing the students' story of those struggles and their demands to the American people. The following article is based on an interview with Ricardo, obtained by Cindy Jacquith, a member of the YSA at Columbia University.

The five month long struggle in Mexico began with a fight of unknown origin between two schools, a prep school and a technical high school. Students in the latter school, associated with the National Polytechnical Institute (IPN) were brutally attacked by the police and the anti-riotsquads, who went so far as to enter school grounds to beat up students and teachers alike.

This made the students so angry that they called a protest demonstration on July 26, despite the opposition of the National Federation of Technical Students (FNET) leadership. The FNET represented 80,000 students, but was heavily government-controlled.

On July 26 a segment of the IPN demonstration decided to march to the national square in Mexico City, where the presidential palace and the cathedral are located. They were joined by students in a pro-Cuba rally held the same day. The central demand of this march was essentially the liberation of all political prisoners, especially union leader Demetrio Vallejo, who was imprisoned for leading a railroad strike in 1959. Two blocks before they reached the square the whole group was stopped by the police and beaten up.

In the next week this repression





Mexican Students march to Presidential Palace.

led to a series of rallies and demonstrations which were also attacked by the police. Buses were burned, many people were beaten up, and five students were killed.

Several important things took place in these initial days. The first is that the IPN students overrode the right-wing FNET leadership and led the march to the square. The second is that for the first time students defended themselves against the police. Thirdly, an alliance developed between the IPN and University students, who formerly had not had anything in common, since the University is middle class and the IPN students are the sons of workers and civil servants.

On July 29, 3,000 police surrounded 1,000 protesting students in Preparatory School No. 3. The cops could not get in and were repeatedly repulsed by the students. On July 30 the army arrived with tanks, bazookas, and machine guns and shot down the door, killing ten students. This

brought a wave of protest from the University students who went on strike. Even the least radical students went on strike.

The Rector of the University wanted to channel the struggle into the narrower confines of an academic issue, the violation of university autonomy. He wanted to do this because from the very beginning the movement had a clear political character, the demand for democratic rights. Our main issue was the freeing of political prisoners and the denial of our right to free speech and free assembly. Also the July 26 protest was against U. S. imperialism in Vietnam and the role of the Mexican government in backing the U. S. In a demonstration on July 31 the University officials asked us not to use any political demands on our placards and banners, but we didn't pay any attention to that.

We formed the National Strike Committee (CNH), with three delegates from each of the 70 schools

on strike. A "struggle committee" in each school chose the delegates, who could be changed at the will of the body. This was a very democratic form of organization. In the first week we drafted a program of six demands: 1) the freeing of all political prisoners; 2) the abolition of the unconstitutional Article 145, an anti-sedition law which the government uses arbitrarily to imprison anyone who opposes its policies; 3) the dissolution of the anti-riot squads; 4) the paying of indemnities to wounded or dead students and their families; 5) a full investigation and punishment of those responsible for the police and army attacks; and 6) the firing of the chief of police, the subchief of police, and the commander of the anti-riot squads.

Around these demands we succeeded in getting a great number of the schools of higher and intermediate learning and campuses all over the country to support the strike. The demonstrations grew larger each time, involving many nonstudents. On August 13 we led a march of 200,000 people and two weeks later, on August 27, another march drew 500,000 people.

We also sent out student information brigades to speak and leaflet at the markets, movie houses, and other places of public assembly. This was done to counter the press campaign against our movement—to demonstrate that we were not, as the newspapers claimed, plotting to overthrow the government, but merely demanding our democratic rights.

The radicalization of the students was first emotional and then became political. In two weeks all the students in Mexico City went on strike for political demands. At first they saw the granting of the six points as possible; now they see that it is impossible. Many now see that the six demands are not an end in itself but merely a step toward bigger goals.

Continued from p. 2

that they are being singled out by the "authorities." The common opinion among Berkeley campus and legal circles is that the local District Attorney J. Frank Coakley has been out to "get" the three defendants, all of whom have been active in leading demonstrations against earlier attempts to curtail freedom of speech and assembly in Berkeley.

Students and others concerned with defending civil liberties in Berkeley have formed a defense committee to raise funds for all necessary legal expenditures, to publicize the facts relating to the case, and to protest the victimization of the three defendants. Support is needed. For further information contact: Berkeley Defense Committee, 2519-A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

U of ILLINOIS: Revolutionary Duo

Young Socialist Alliance activist Carl Finamore and Mexican-American student leader Genaro Lara have been charged by the administration of the University of Illinois (Circle Campus) with violation of various state statutes as a result of their leading roles in campus demonstrations in support of the California farmworkers grape strike. Action against the two stem from a campus demonstration on October 15 against University purchase of California grapes which are the subject of a nationwide boycott. They face six charges ranging from "aggravated assault on a police officer" to "leading a violent and illegal demonstration."

Finamore and Lara are both well-known activists on campus. The school paper reported in an editorial on Nov. 12 that, "it is an open secret that several UICC police officers and administrators have promised to 'get' Finamore sooner or later."

Militant students have organized a strong defense effort behind both students. The Committee to Defend Finamore and Lara has already held actions on the campus and plans to continue so long as either is threatened with further victimization.

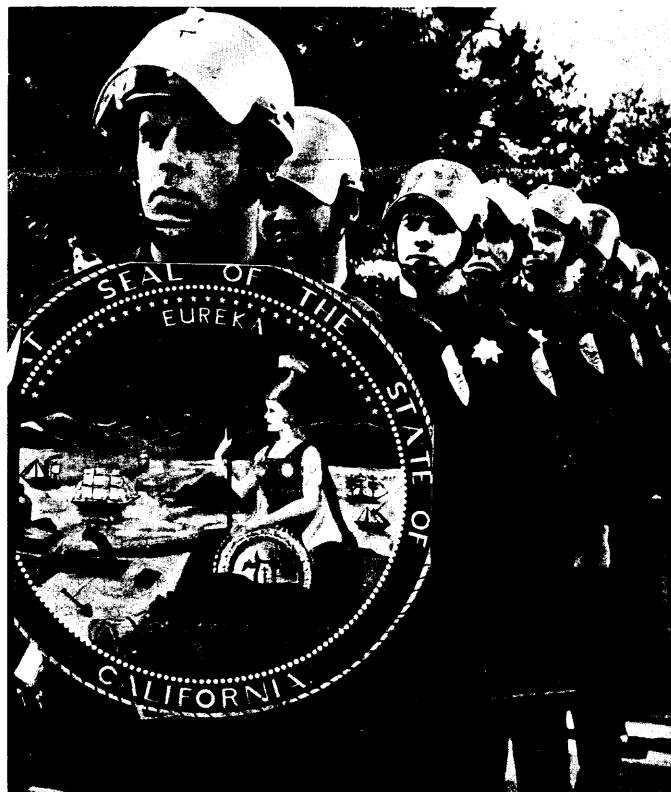
Already Dr. Arnold Hartoch, chairman of the sub-committee on student discipline, has retreated from the point of threatening Finamore that he would "wipe up the floor with you" to resigning from his post in the face of Finamore's promise to have him arrested for threatening bodily assault.

OSHKOSH: Black Students Demand Black Studies

Virtually all of the black students at Wisconsin State University at Oshkosh were arrested on November 21. Joined by militant white supporters, about 100 black students turned to direct action in an effort to get the school administration to respond with more than promises to demands that were first presented on October 20. The administration finally responded—with massive arrests and suspensions, and by closing down the school.

Student demands include the hiring of black instructors, the addition of African history and other Afro-American courses, and the opening of a black cultural center to both blacks and whites. The administration had indicated to the students that the demands would be met, but continually refused to act.

Actions in defense of the black students and their demands have been initiated by the Oshkosh Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, and Peace Forum, as well as by groups throughout the state and including the Milwaukee Commandos, NAACP of Milwaukee, Madison Black People's Alliance, and Madison YSA.



The State of California's seal of approval was given to police invasion of San Francisco State College, while on the other side the striking students continued to gain support from the community for their struggle.

QUEBEC: French Speaking Students Strike

During October more than 50,000 high school, junior college and university students participated in a two-week strike and occupation of schools across Quebec. The protests began in reaction to inadequate facilities in the technical sections of the junior colleges and the restricted opportunities for university entrance, reflecting the general oppression of the French-speaking nation in Canada. The struggle grew quickly into a generalized political attack on the entire range of educational and social policies of the capitalist government, advancing concepts like "worker-student solidarity" against the government.

Following the French example Quebec students have formed action committees to coordinate their struggle, some of which are still functioning. The student struggle won support from the 200,000 member Confederation of National Trade Unions, the Quebec New Democratic (Labor) Party, the separatist parties, and the giant Montreal teachers' union. Students across Canada held support actions.

One of the leading activists in the Quebec student struggle, Michel Mill, carried the struggle into the electoral arena by running against Quebec Education Minister Jean-Guy Cardinal in the Bagot by-election of December 4. Mill was the candidate of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, French-Canadian counterparts of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. He described a central thrust of the campaign in an interview in the Canadian newspaper *Workers*

Vanguard: "By running a candidate who is both a student and a socialist, we have concretized the concept of student-worker solidarity, a key demand of the student revolt last month. The needs and desires of the student movement as a whole and those of the working population are complementary and essentially they come to the same conclusion—the necessity of the socialist liberation of Quebec."

BRITISH COLUMBIA: Mounties Invade Campus

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canada's cops, arrested 114 students at Simon Frazier University in Vancouver on November 23. The students are being charged with "willful obstruction of the use of private property" which carries a maximum sentence of five years. The charges stem from a student occupation of the school around demands of students at three Vancouver schools for an end to arbitrary and bureaucratic admission and transfer procedures and for more money for educational needs.

The occupation of the campus began on November 20 following summary administration rejection of all of the student demands. The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes members who were among the arrested report that the entire campus, including the conservative student council, has responded to the invasion and arrests with a massive defense campaign. Many trade unions, the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party), the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association, and other community organizations are also supporting the students.

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