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## Contents

	Page
YOUTH REPORT TO THE 23RD NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, By Larry Seigle	3
REPORT ON THIRD WORLD AND BLACK WORK FRACTION MEETING (1969 SWP Convention)	13

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Page 2

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YOUTH REPORT  
TO THE 23RD NATIONAL CONVENTION  
OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

August 31, 1969

By Larry Seigle

Comrades, the YSA held a plenum here in New York this past June. That plenum -- made up of National Committee members and organizers -- was as big as the founding convention of the YSA held in 1960. That plenum summed up our experiences -- our gains and our opportunities -- over the past period. That plenum, along with our convention held in Chicago last winter, provides some of the most convincing proof of the tremendous strides forward that have been made by the YSA in the two years since the last party convention.

Since the last party convention the YSA has made major gains -- both quantitative and qualitative. The YSA today is qualitatively stronger than it was in the fall of 1967. In that same period of time the forces with whom we have to contend on the youth level have, at the very most, made some minimal gains, but more often suffered some severe and acute crises.

The fact that the Trotskyist movement in this country has been able to take advantage of this upsurge of radicalization while our opponents have been beset with a series of political and organizational disasters is a result of the ability of the party and the YSA to understand the nature of the radicalization, and of our correct estimation of the way to build a revolutionary socialist youth group.

We have understood that the ferment taking place among America's youth is not due to a "generation gap" or to the psychological acting out of hostility towards the father, or even primarily to issues that are of interest only to the student sector of the population. On the contrary, this ferment has been a result of the fact that the students have reacted more quickly, and more vigorously, to the fundamental contradictions facing U.S. imperialism than other sectors of the population. Thus the radicalization of the youth -- black, Third World, and white -- and their combativity are a response to those forces that promise to mobilize much broader sectors of the population into active opposition to the ruling class.

Moreover, this student population is able to exert an influence far greater than their counterparts were able to do in, for example, the 1930's. When we speak of the student sector we are not talking about a tiny minority. Today there are close to seven million college

students and many millions more high schoolers.

As a result of capitalism's demand for more highly educated and technically qualified personnel, the work force is becoming better educated, not only among the administrators, but at all levels. This has led to an explosive expansion of the facilities for higher education and the size of the student body.

These developments have produced not only an increase in the size of the student sector, but have altered the complexion of the students in the direction of increasing their ability to have an impact on the society as a whole in a number of ways: (1) The concentration of students into gigantic multiversities provides the prerequisites for mass action even on one single campus. Most of the action recently has occurred on campuses with 20-30, even 40 thousand students. (2) While the student population remains predominantly middle-class in its origin, there has been a significant influx from working-class backgrounds. (3) Social stratification within the student population as a whole has been reduced, with graduation from college no longer being an automatic entry pass into the petty-bourgeoisie. College graduates have little hope of escaping the essential condition of a wage worker, and this perspective tends to link them more closely to the working class regardless of their social background. (4) Because of the essential role filled by these graduates in the capitalist economy, the ruling class cannot dismiss or ignore what is happening to their attitudes and political orientation. (5) Moreover, American college students have far stronger ties with their counterparts in the high schools, in the shops and factories, and in the imperialist army; they are not an isolated layer of the population. They share common interests with the rest of their generation -- such as opposition to the war and to restrictions on political rights, etc. These factors help to bridge the gap between various social strata of the generation.

All of these factors taken together mean that the student population is not a small, isolated, insignificant sector, but just the contrary. This is clearly shown by the tremendous impact on national politics that the campus revolts have had in the past year.

This youth radicalization takes place under the pressure of a series of

contradictions which produce both positive and negative trends within the student radicalization.

First of all, the generation of students now sweeping the campuses in mass action has grown up in a period where it has not experienced firsthand a mass mobilization of the working class in this country (although it has experienced a parallel event indirectly by following the French events of last May-June). Thus, only through serious reading and study, or through coming in contact with our movement, which is a repository of that experience, can young radicals learn the history of class struggle in this country.

Second, there exists no mass working-class political party to demonstrate in action independent working-class politics, and to provide a pole of attraction with which young radicals can ally themselves.

Third, the young radicals have matured in a period when the Marxist vanguard -- the Trotskyist movement -- is still relatively small as a result of the years of sustained economic prosperity.

Fourth, the new generation of radicals is faced with the legacy of Stalinism and the betrayals of the American CP.

As a result of these contradictory conditions under which the radicalization is taking place, there are both positive and negative aspects of the student radicalization, as well as advantages and disadvantages for us.

On the positive side, the young radicals take very seriously international events, and internationalism is part of their concept of being radical. The great bulk of them tend to reject Stalinist class collaboration and Social-Democratic reformism. This doesn't mean they are immune to illusions, but that they bypass in action those reformists. The young radicals tend to have a healthy skepticism and questioning attitude. They want to examine questions for themselves, not merely accept what they are told, either by the ruling class or by tendencies on the left. Many are groping towards a Marxist position.

Finally, on the positive side, these young people want to engage in action -- this doesn't mean they don't like to talk. But it does mean that they are not satisfied with a left social club, but are looking for action.

On the other side, of course, the contradictions I mentioned lead to certain negative features of the young radicals. They tend to have an anti-historical and anti-theoretical bent; they tend

towards pragmatism, and all of the errors that can result from such an approach. The students tend to reject or fail to recognize the working class, especially its organized sector, as an agent of radical social change.

As a result of the absence of a clear revolutionary perspective, sectors of the student movement are susceptible to ultraleft adventurism. Through inexperience, impatience, and a tendency to engage in action without clearly thinking things through many young people are drawn into ultraleft actions -- in the antiwar movement, on the campus, and in the black struggle.

However, it is extremely important to draw a distinction between the ultraleftism of inexperience or impatience which, under certain conditions, can draw large numbers of revolutionary-minded youth into action, and the conscious, organized ultraleftism of our opponent organizations who utilize this weakness for their own ends. One of the biggest mistakes we could make would be to take the same attitude towards a kid who in a gut reaction to a police attack acts without thinking and a conscious Maoist. In the absence of mass organizations with a class-struggle perspective, and feeling frustration at the limited role a student vanguard can play, the biggest danger becomes one of ultraleftism. Competing in action with and systematically polemicizing against our ultraleft opponents is key to winning over the best of the student radicals.

The ability to win over to our ranks the best elements of the radicalizing youth is the crucial test and key task at this point, not only for ourselves, but for all of the political tendencies with whom we are competing for the leadership of the coming American revolution.

And yet, the ability to build a youth organization does not come easily or automatically. In fact, the decade of the 1960's has demonstrated that to date that crucial task has proven to be not merely difficult but impossible for our opponents.

The history of the 1960's is rich with the remains of the Stalinists, including the Maoists, the Social Democrats, and the New Left in this endeavor. And their failures provide fertile ground for us. The list of failures is impressive: the Young Peoples Socialist League, Advance, the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, the May 2nd Movement, the American Socialist Organizing Committee, SDS, and many others.

It is instructive to analyze the mistakes and misconceptions that other

tendencies have fallen victim to in their efforts to construct youth organizations. Through analyzing their errors and contrasting them to the approach taken by the Trotskyist movement we can understand what the strength of the YSA is.

The CP has repeatedly and without success tried to draw young people into an organization it could use for its own purposes. There are two reasons why the CP has failed. First, its class-collaborationist perspective, tied to the Democratic Party, leaves it too far to the right to appeal to any significant layer of radicalizing youth at this time.

Second, it attempted to proceed on the premise that a mass "socialist-oriented" youth movement was possible in the present period. It saw the DuBois Clubs as a "socialist SDS," blind to the fact that the objective conditions did not and do not exist for a broad, vaguely socialist youth organization. This error was compounded by the fact that the DBC was completely controlled by the CP. It had no real independence, and because the CP tried to hide this fact, many young people viewed the DBC as a CP front group.

Two years ago, we said the DBC was in deep trouble. Today we can say -- objectively and without malice -- that the DBC has, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist.

The Daily World reported some time ago that the DuBois Clubs had decided to turn towards organizing the industrial workers. What that so-called turn really represents is the admission of defeat by the DBC and the CP in their attempt to gain support among the radicalizing student youth. If they can't recruit on the campus, where the radicalization is so deep, how do they expect to be able to recruit in the unions, where the level of radicalization is still much lower? In fact, their real objective in this turn was to pull the few people they have left out of the student movement, where the atmosphere is so hostile, and as, for example, they have done in Berkeley, let them peddle their pro-Democratic Party line in the teachers' union, where the political atmosphere is so much more conducive to their politics. This turn also represents an attempt to preserve their cadre by taking them out of a losing battle.

There has been some recent talk about the CP launching a new youth group, but as of now it remains on the pad, though we will want to watch it carefully.

The opposition to the YSA from the Social Democrats has likewise weakened, and hardly constitutes a threat at all at this point. The YPSL, the official youth

group of the Socialist Party, maintains its sole activity in publishing a column on the back page of New America, the SP paper. Although periodically reorganized, it remains virtually nonexistent.

On the other hand, the left-wing Social Democrats organized in the Independent Socialist Clubs, centered at Berkeley, have undergone a flurry of activity in the wake of the SDS split. They have made some minimal gains, for example recruiting a group of SDSers from Chicago.

But the ISC -- leaving aside its political differences with us -- is built on a fundamentally different organizational basis than the YSA: it is not an action organization, and therefore it is not based on Leninist organizational principles. It is an organization designed to attract dilettantes -- and it does -- people who want to be "revolutionary" but don't want to make the personal choice of joining a serious organization.

Although smaller and weaker than we are, Progressive Labor has made some gains. The Maoists have some advantages on their side. For one thing, they hold state power in China, which represents both a source of support and a very powerful pole of attraction to radicals. Second, they are able to appeal to and take advantage of the tendencies towards ultraleftism within the student movement. However, in spite of these facts, and despite their efforts, they have been unable to build a Maoist youth organization in the U.S.

Two years ago, in the summer of 1967, after the decision to disband the May 2nd Movement, PL made a decision to enter SDS. It took this avenue rather than set out upon the road of trying to build an independent, openly Maoist youth organization. It is now faced with the results of those two years of entry work. They can be summed up clearly: while making some gains, PL, through this entry tactic, cut itself off from the chance to appeal to and win over the broad layers of radicalizing youth, leaving the way open for us; and while making some gains inside SDS, it emerges now much weakened in relative strength to us, and with serious political and organizational problems.

In short, PL tried a get-rich-quick scheme -- a short-cut to winning over the youth -- and it failed. To those who could only see the surface, until a few months ago it looked as if they were succeeding. In fact, some people were so enchanted with the dazzle of PL's apparent gains, they even suggested that the YSA follow a similar course -- at least so as to prevent PL from running away with the student movement. As I say, these com-

rades saw only the surface of things. After all, it looked as if PL had been able to win over nearly half of SDS. At the June convention it got support from more than half of the delegates. And, if you accepted SDS's contention that SDS is the student movement, that means that PL had really got a good racket going. These comrades invited the YSA to get a piece of the action. If PL can do it, we can do it even better, and stop PL in the process, they said.

We declined that invitation. PL was not winning SDSers to its party and to its perspectives. On the contrary, it tried to submerge its politics in the Worker-Student Alliance caucus. It built not a youth organization loyal to the politics of the PLP, but a faction of SDS which gained support as a result of opposition to the national office amalgam of SDS. Of course, it was possible to do this because its politics -- especially its opposition to black nationalism -- coincided with the liberalism and reformism of many SDSers.

We said, "No thanks." PL's entry and its failure to carry out independent socialist activity cut it off from the broadest layer of potential recruits it had -- and we didn't want to make that mistake. We said it was a dead-end approach. And I think the recent split in SDS confirms that. The WSA caucus was organized not around action but on the basis of opposition to the SDS national office and theoretical discussions which some people think were on a very high level. To make that point clear, ask yourself one question: What does the WSA SDS propose for students to do this fall? What action does it propose? Virtually nothing. Although WSA groups exist in a number of areas where PL has no members, they will inevitably tend to disintegrate so long as there is no national perspective for action around which they can mobilize. Moreover, PL is left with a very weak apparatus now committed to running its version of SDS as well.

The SDS split also represented definitive proof of the failure of the New Left to provide a viable answer for the radicalizing youth.

All of the negative tendencies of the student movement seem to be given their fullest expression, and carried to their most absurd heights, by the SDS-RYM section.

We have explained that the New Left made its first and fundamental error when, in reacting against Stalinism, it equated Stalinism and Marxism, and in rejecting Stalinism also rejected Marxism. It failed to analyze the roots of Stalinism and merely accepted the propaganda of both Moscow and the capitalists that

Stalinism was Marxism. This was a fatal error. And the failure to come to an understanding of Stalinism has made it possible for at least some of the elements to complete a full circle from reaction against Stalinism to embracing Stalinism in the form of Maoism.

The pragmatism of the SDS leadership is responsible for SDS being buffeted around like a balloon by every gust of wind from the class struggle. On the black struggle, on the antiwar movement, on Vietnam, on Cuba, SDS merely was able to respond to events and pressures from different directions. It was never able to provide leadership and direction.

The sectarianism and ultraleftism have been carried to their most developed, consistent, and patently absurd extremes by the SDS-RYM.

In contrast to all of these tendencies, the YSA has been able to successfully respond to the challenge of the growing radicalization, and to build out of that radicalization a bigger, stronger, more effective revolutionary youth organization that has laid out some very ambitious perspectives for the future. While the CP has been hiding the DBC in a closet, while PL has been submerged in permanent factional warfare in SDS, and while Mark Rudd and Michael Klonsky have been running around the country organizing goon squads -- while all this has been happening, the YSA has been taking some very big steps forward.

How can the qualitative difference between the success and bright prospects for the YSA and the failures and gloomy future for our opponents be explained? It's certainly not because we were stronger at the start; we weren't. Nor is it because the YSA has all the competent people, and our opponents are a bunch of fools. They often appear to have the intelligence of baby baboons, but their behavior is a reflection not of their IQ but of their lack of political understanding and their organizational misconceptions.

The YSA and the SWP have understood the importance in this period of building the YSA as an independent youth group not controlled by the SWP. An independent youth organization can attract young people who have not yet made up their minds about joining a political party, and who are not yet prepared to make the personal commitment of the nature that the party requires. This independent youth organization can intervene in and lead actions in the student movement in its own name; it can provide a valuable training ground for potential party members, and help them to acquire organizational experiences and political education necessary for membership in a Bol-

shevik party.

First of all, the independence of the YSA allows for the maximum training and development of YSAers. The YSA makes some mistakes that it would avoid if all its decisions were made by more experienced party members, but we learn from those mistakes. To make the YSA the formal youth group of the SWP would mean a total change in our functioning. The YSA would automatically support all decisions of the SWP. Our conventions and plenums would not be decision-making bodies but political rallies with no choice involved. YSA activity would train not political leaders but loyal and obedient hand-raisers for SWP policy. Moreover, only those young people who were already in 100% agreement with the SWP would join.

Second, the YSA has not made the mistake of trying to build an organization on a false, minimal basis, like the DuBois Clubs. We have not been tempted by the perspective of watering down our program so as to attract greater numbers. Neither are we under the illusion that the student radicalization has reached the point where the YSA can totally replace SDS and be as large as it was -- not yet.

Third, the YSA understands the importance of Leninist organizational principles. Our ability to attract youth depends on our ability to involve them in revolutionary action not merely theoretical discussion. In order to be effective we know that we have to fight in a unified way, and for that reason we strive for political homogeneity -- not for a monolithic organization that tolerates no differences, but for an organization based on a concrete political program around which there is fundamental agreement, and willingness to carry out decisions made by the majority. The YSA is not a casual fraternity of left-wing intellectuals, like the ISC. It is a serious, disciplined organization, although it does not pretend to be a junior party or require the same high level of commitment and consciousness as does the SWP.

It is not possible to explain the success of the YSA in the recent period, and its enthusiastic attitude towards the future, without understanding the central role that our correct orientation towards the antiwar movement has played in our ability to build the YSA. It is the war in Vietnam that has raised the youth radicalization to a qualitatively higher stage. It is the war, along with the deepening black struggle, that has produced the deep alienation and willingness to fight against the government in the masses of young people.

None of our opponents has been able

to understand that the war in Vietnam remains the focal point of the international class struggle. They all, virtually without exception, have adopted a sectarian and abstentionist position towards the antiwar movement, thus allowing us to become the dominant radical tendency within that movement, and leaving the road clear for the YSA to assume leadership positions in the most dynamic component of that movement, the SMC. Our understanding of the importance of the fight against the imperialist war, and our ability to throw ourselves into it and recruit out of it have been decisive for the success of the YSA.

Also, our understanding of this period as one in which the greatest gains can be made through work in the student movement was essential to our ability to use our limited resources to the best advantage. Through intensifying and extending our activities on the campus and high schools we can continue to recruit the best of the young radicals. Moreover, we realize that it is through work on campuses and in high schools that we can win over to Trotskyism young black and Third World youth. The campus is where the present vanguard is being forged in action. Any turn away from that perspective would mean a turn away from the chance to win a decisive battle in the struggle for leadership of the American revolution.

Finally, the YSA has been able to construct such a solid national cadre because of our serious attitude towards cadre building through education and experience. The best thought out theory or perspective is impotent without the dedicated, trained human material with which to put it into action. Our cadre is rare superior in ability, understanding and experience than any our opponents can muster. This is a result of our consciousness about organized educational activity. Twenty-three YSA locals ran summer schools this summer.

The YSA is not the same organization it was two years ago, when we first laid out our perspective for the 1968 election campaign and beyond. The YSA is significantly larger now. We have muscle, we have experience, we have flexibility now that we didn't have then. And we are in an excellent position to continue that process of growth.

At the launching of the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle campaign, we said that there were hundreds and thousands of young people who, as part of the worldwide youth radicalization, were totally open to our ideas, who considered themselves revolutionary socialists, and who were looking for a serious organization -- in short, who were ready to join the YSA if only we



could get to them. On the basis of that objective fact, we projected a campaign of expansion, a campaign of audacity, of constant trailblazing to new areas, of recruitment, of bold innovation and experimentation with techniques of recruitment to the YSA.

At that time we also discussed the YSA's image. Every organization has its corporate image. The image of the YSA -- both as seen by others and, to a large extent, by ourselves -- was that of a small, disciplined, determined (some used the word "fanatical") "hard" core of revolutionaries. We had no objection to being known as disciplined; we consider that a virtue and an attractive feature to most serious young people. And we had no quarrel with those who saw us as determined -- we are. What we didn't like was that part of our image that was "small." People looked on the YSA as something that was difficult to join, that somehow wasn't out to become a mass organization. This image was the result of the period we had just come through, when it was relatively difficult to recruit, when it was objectively much more difficult for people to accept socialist ideas, when it was the norm for someone to remain a contact for months before being persuaded to join, when it was a function of the level of the radicalization, and the history of the radical movement in this country, that we would be small.

But as the radicalization continued to deepen, as the antiwar movement and the black liberation struggle continued to draw in wider and wider layers of young people, that image and that way of thinking were no longer an accurate reflection of the objective reality, and had to be changed. It would have been a disastrous mistake to think the YSA could grow rapidly in 1963 or 1964. Likewise, it would have been a fatal mistake to think in 1968 or 1969 that the YSA cannot and should not grow rapidly.

So we made a turn in our thinking about ourselves. The image was changed beginning with the YSHB campaign in support of the SWP presidential campaign. It was changed with the open pre-convention discussion and our public YSA convention, with our moving out into new areas through trailblazing, speaking, our tours on Cuba, and sales of The Militant and the Young Socialist everywhere.

We did not hesitate to change. We were confident in the strength of the national cadre of the YSA. We had no fears that the projected rapid growth would in any way endanger our political line or lead to a watering down of our program or organizational strength. Not in the least.

The growth in membership shows this

clearly. Since the last party convention, the YSA has increased in size by almost 2½ times. Two other figures will also illustrate some trends in the YSA. At the time of the last party convention, 48% of the membership of the YSA was also in the SWP. In June 1969, the last date for which we have compiled statistics, this figure was 28%, and since June it has dropped even more. This is not to say that YSAers aren't being recruited to the party -- they are. But the growth of the YSA far outstrips that process. Also, in September of 1967 we had 41% of the YSA on campus. In June 1969 that figure was 50%.

So events since that time have completely confirmed that approach. The attendance at this convention is one indication of our success. And it is this approach that the YSA will continue. We view the gains of the past two years as merely a preparation for a much larger expansion campaign -- a revolutionary offensive -- beginning this fall. Our recent plenum projected a continued and intensified campaign of recruitment, of audacity, experimentation, flexibility and aggressive expansion. Our biggest enemy, the greatest threat to the YSA, is routinism, the attitude that assignments can't be changed, that opportunities must be passed up because the normal schedule can't be altered, that people can't be released for special assignments. That attitude has no place in our perspective.

Equally important has been the qualitative growth in the YSA. The development of functioning black and Third World fractions in a few key areas has been of crucial importance for our perspective of building a multinational youth organization. The nature of new recruits to the YSA has also changed somewhat. The bulk of new YSA recruits are activists -- they take their ideas seriously and want to join an organization that can engage in effective action on a national scale. Moreover, we are recruiting a growing number of leaders, people who have already had some experience on campus, or in the antiwar movement, who have a certain standing and following on campuses.

One of the best indications of the higher level of dedication and consciousness is the budget of the YSA -- which reflects not only our expanded activity but also the high level of consciousness of the YSA membership. The successful completion of our recent fund drive says a great deal about the kind of organization the YSA is. Our recent growth has been reflected very well in the financial strength of our movement.

The YSA has grown in some other ways too. YSAers have been able to play leading roles in mass movements, giving political direction to these struggles,



gaining invaluable experience, and building the influence and prestige of the YSA. One example of this is the role the YSA played at Ft. Jackson, which has already been discussed.

A second has been the role that the YSA has played in the SMC. There is no question about the role YSAers are playing across the country as leading figures and organizers of SMC actions. This is true at the national level as well. If our projections for the SMC are accurate, hundreds of thousands of kids will be mobilized into action this fall, and in many places it will be members of the YSA to whom they will look for leadership. This is a key point to understand for our fall perspective. It would be incorrect for the YSA to think it can appeal to and recruit the great bulk of the radicalizing students directly to the YSA. The majority of those who were in SDS, and of radicalizing youth in general, do not completely agree with us politically. They still reject Marxism. This is not a pessimistic appraisal, however, for there are thousands who are ready to join if we can reach them. But we do not project the YSA as the alternative to SDS for the entire student radicalization. However, the majority of radicalizing youth, including those who consider themselves SDSers, are ready to engage in militant mass action against the war in Vietnam. The SMC is the organization which can be and has been the channel for them.

Our most effective argument against PL-WSA, SDS-RYM, and all other opponents is our perspective of mass action. And the SMC is crucial to this. However, the development of SMC chapters across the country will be rapidly followed by YSA locals being formed as a result of that work.

In the past year, YSAers have been able to participate in the leadership of mass mobilizations of students in campus actions. Our comrades intervened both as day-to-day activists, leading the actions themselves, and as initiators and mobilizers of as much support on the campus and in the community as possible. At San Francisco State, our comrades were instrumental in getting a community support group off the ground and in organizing support actions at other campuses. In Boston our comrades helped publish an action bulletin aimed at explaining the issues involved in the Brandeis struggle and in mobilizing support for this struggle.

At the University of Minnesota, which has an enrollment of about 40,000 students, our comrades provided the leadership of the mass struggle against the victimization of black militants on the campus who were indicted by a grand jury with the support of the state and city government. That struggle, under our leadership, was able to mobilize broad sup-

port, including support from the student government, from fraternities and sororities, religious groups -- everything you could think of. Another especially significant struggle was the one led by our comrades at Bloomington, which began over the issue of a tuition hike.

I would also like to say a few words about an action that our comrades in Binghamton carried out, which was reported by The Militant and the Young Socialist. It was, in my opinion, one of the most imaginative and well-conceived actions that the YSA has undertaken. Our local in Binghamton ran an election campaign for student government. We ran a revolutionary socialist slate, on the YSA program, and we won. In the election we won a plurality for the post of student body president. The administration, however, didn't think that was good enough, even though it had always been good enough in the past. The administration decided that there had to be a run-off election because of "irregularities in the balloting." Our comrades took up that challenge to their victory, and proceeded to carry out a much more intensive campaign, distributing thousands of leaflets, etc.

The run-off election brought out the highest number of votes in the school's history. The enrollment is about 4,000, and we won the run-off with about 1,400 votes to 800. Two comrades now have the post of president and secretary of the student government. The comrades did an excellent job in that campaign of relating campus issues to issues of concern to society as a whole. Incidentally, Binghamton is not the only campus where the YSA has comrades who are student body officers. At Hayward and at the University of Missouri in Kansas City comrades hold office. The bigger locals should emulate what these new, smaller locals have done.

We can draw a few lessons from the Binghamton experience. While those 1,400 students at Binghamton aren't all ready to join the YSA -- although quite a few probably are -- they were ready to accept our leadership in a fight with the administration. Our campaign against the war and in support of the black struggle makes sense to large numbers of students and they are willing to support us for that reason.

Comrades, there are a number of other accomplishments of the YSA that I have had to skip over for lack of time; perhaps some comrades will take the floor on these points under the discussion. Such things as the international work that the YSA has done, which has been greatly expanded since the last party convention. The YSA now has, for the first time, a representative traveling abroad. We are

publishing in English regular reports on the youth work of the Fourth International. There is also the very important work in defense of Cuba and in support of the Arab revolution, including the pamphlet and poster, and several articles in the YS. Moreover, we have made some big improvements in the YS, both in style, content, and circulation since the last convention.

What are the plans and perspectives of the YSA in the coming period? At our June plenum we projected a more vigorous, audacious and aggressive approach on the campus. At the same time we decided to step up to a higher level our activities in the SMC. The YSA will be planning, initiating, and leading mass actions on campuses across the country this year. We have proved in action that we are capable of implementing such an approach, and that there is no need to limit ourselves to supporting actions initiated by others, which are carried out often on the wrong axis strategically and tactically.

Combining this approach with the building of mass action against the war through the SMC, we intend to use these opportunities to recruit and build the YSA.

The high school students have not yet put forward their demands in as explosive a fashion as their brothers and sisters in college have. But there should be no illusions about the fact that major struggles lie just beneath the surface. The authoritarian administrations of the high schools force students to fight for the most elementary democratic rights of political expression. In the high schools black students attend, they are confronted directly with a daily dose of white, bourgeois values, norms and ideas. This climate has led to struggles which are at first aimed at white teachers and administrators, despised by black students, who block black studies.

Our general strategic considerations are based on the strategy of the Red University as opposed to both the pure and simple student power advocates who think that the student struggle should limit itself to narrowly-defined university issues, and to the ultraleftists on the other end of the spectrum who urge students to turn their efforts away from the students altogether and "serve the people" by distributing leaflets at plant gates and in the communities calling for immediate armed insurrection. PL epitomizes this approach. In fact, the logical conclusion to be drawn from its position on campus issues is that the task of students is to physically destroy the universities to prevent themselves from becoming bourgeoisified -- a strange echo of the Chinese "cultural revolution."

The YSA took a step forward with the publication of the YSA program for campus action in the September YS. We plan to reprint this as a handout brochure for mass distribution on the campuses.

The strategy of the Red University seeks to speak to the following question: The YSA is predominantly a campus-based organization. Yet we believe that the students alone are incapable of making a revolution. Only the mass mobilization of the working class can accomplish that. Therefore, what course should students who agree with us follow to aid and facilitate revolutionary action by the working class?

The strategy of the Red University which is discussed in some detail in the World Congress youth resolution, means to develop action around a program that transcends the campus in its goal, but at the same time includes it, that relates the student demands to the broader class-struggle demands, and helps students in the transition from student-power consciousness to socialist consciousness.

Of course the strategy of the Red University cannot be separated from the task of building the YSA. Joining the YSA is part of the answer to the questions the students are asking. The reddest of the red universities and the blackest of the black universities will be those with large YSA locals. An issue of the newsletter published by the Hayward, Calif. YSA expresses this concept, and one or two others, quite simply and well. Under the heading of Militant and YS sales, it says, "Keep up the good work, comrades, and try to sell more, especially the Young Socialist magazine. Get out our ideas, because we are out to build the YSA. Remember the concept of the Red University, which means to use the colleges to further our ideas and cause."

Our tactical considerations in these campus actions flow from our understanding of the necessity of mass action. We want the YSA to be known as the organization that believes in fighting effectively. Fighting to win victories, not spouting off at the mouth.

YSAers are pretty proud of what we have accomplished in the past period. But at our recent plenum we engaged in a little self-criticism. We felt that we had not been aggressive enough in some of the campus revolts in putting forward the YSA perspective and leadership as an alternative to the ultraleftism of SDS. While we made many gains, we let some opportunities pass by unnecessarily. There is a certain analogy that can be drawn from the YSA's early intervention in the antiwar movement.

One of the main things that can be said about our early intervention in the antiwar movement is simply that we didn't gear in quite soon enough. We suffered from a certain psychological state called "left oppositionism." That is, we were not confident that we could take the leadership of that movement. We were quite small. We were inexperienced in certain regards, especially in terms of getting involved in the mass movement. We had become used to the YSA being a left opposition. In order for us to overcome this problem we had to rethink and reorient boldly our perspective in action. Today YSAers don't think twice about our ability to provide leadership in the antiwar movement. Today we play a decisive, leading role in that movement, and continually have taken the initiative in deepening its impact. The same attitude of confidence and audacity should govern our interventions in the campus revolt.

Of course, as has been discussed in both the antiwar report and the black struggle report, the key to the success of this perspective for campus revolts is not falling into the trap of seeing contradictions between the organized antiwar movement and these campus actions. The idea, for example, that we can get a good turnout for November 15 if there's no big campus action is dead wrong. Likewise, we are going to have to see the development of action led by black and Third World students as opportunities for us to intervene and recruit to the YSA.

Now what do we expect in the fall? What does the SDS split mean for us? At the SWP plenum last February, when SDS was really going to town with pages and pages of newspaper coverage and commentary on its adventures, when it was supposedly engaged in long-lasting, high level theoretical discussions, we were not impressed. In the youth report to the plenum, Comrade Bolduc said, "The main thing to watch about SDS is the struggle taking place within the organization. Eventually the political struggle will reach such a peak that a split could take place." In May, the Young Socialist appeared with a polemic against SDS. Remember the crumbling stone letters on the cover? Some people may have thought that was a bit premature, that SDS was really a viable organization. Subsequent events speak for themselves. Of course, we must never lose sight of the fact that the objective basis for an organization like SDS continues to exist, and will find some organizational expression.

But the big balloon has burst. Before the split, SDS was this great big organization, with chapters all over the country, and the allegiance, at least informally, of tens and even hundreds of thousands of students. In contrast, the YSA looked pretty small. Suddenly that

has changed. SDS has splintered. None of the factions of SDS has anywhere near the membership or national organization that we have.

In fact, I know of only a handful of places where RYM is actually functioning. Maybe comrades in the discussion can report on activities that we are unaware of, but the most active chapters seem to be at San Francisco State and in Atlanta. There have been a few leaflets published and a couple of stunts pulled in Detroit. But very little else is going on. Now we would normally expect a certain slack of activity during the summer, but many of the areas report that it is not so much that the RYM groups are dormant as that they are actually in the process of disintegration. They have called for a mid-west action conference to discuss the October 11 action which is meeting now in Cleveland, and we should get a pretty good picture of what remains of them at that conference. At least they understand the importance of having a national action to keep their people together.

And, of course, Mark Rudd is traveling all over the country trying to win support and build up loyalty to SDS. He is having about as much success as General Hershey could get making a tour of college campuses to whip up support for the Selective Service System. The more he travels the worse things are.

SDS-WSA seems to have more functioning groups or loyal followers at this point than does RYM. But as I indicated before, it has absolutely no future. A few SDS chapters have declared their independence from both factions, such as the Madison SDS, and the one in Arkansas. These seem to be mostly those groups where the ISC has been active. The great bulk of those who considered themselves SDSers have, of course, done nothing. They never had real ties with the national office, and they have no clear political perspective that can lead them to action.

Many of them are looking for a national organization. Many of them will be recruited to the YSA in the next few months. And even those that aren't yet ready to join will be much more willing to work with us and much more interested in what we have to say. And they will be much more interested in organizing around the antiwar movement and the Student Mobilization Committee.

In other words, the conclusion of this report is that there is a clear field for the YSA. We want to take advantage of that opportunity by reaching out in every possible way to recruit hundreds of people to the YSA this fall. The main action centers around November 15 and the student strike on November 14. YSAers

will be helping and supporting SWP election campaigns in New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Atlanta, and other areas. In addition to that, YSA locals will be carrying out their own YSA campaigns on the campuses, in elections which occur not every two years, but practically twice a year, or at least once a year. An opportunity to repeat in many areas the Birmingham experience.

Fundamental to this concept of expansion is the understanding in the locals of the importance of working throughout the entire region. The locals are not simply responsible for themselves and their own cities, but they are responsible for an entire area. They are outposts in the tasks of expanding the YSA. This work is not peripheral work, not merely to be done when everything else is completed, but has to be seen as central to the task of building and expanding the YSA. The list of locals recruited since the last party convention, the great majority of those were locals that we recruited in areas where there weren't party branches. That means that the comrades in the last two years had to get out of the cities where there were YSA locals and reach out to those new areas. Many of those new locals in new areas constitute, as the experience in Austin and Atlanta proves, the potential of building party branches in a number of new areas. The YSA has set the example on a national scale by purchasing a new microbus and bringing in Comrade Robin Maisel to take charge of the field work on a national scale. This microbus is known as the Maiselmobile -- watch for him in your area, he'll be there.

In addition to the breaking of new ground, it is important and key for the YSA locals and party branches to realize that they have a responsibility to those new locals, to aid them organizationally and politically, to help them get organized and get off the ground.

In addition, we want to organize regional educational and recruitment conferences. The most logical time for this is around Thanksgiving, after the November action. To bring together people from an entire area, both for the purposes of educational activity and also to organizationally tie them in to the YSA and set up new locals.

We see all of this activity as leading up to the next YSA convention, which will be held at the end of the year. It will be the same type, the same concept of a public convention that we held last year, but this time we anticipate it being on a much larger scale.

In short, the opportunities for the YSA are unprecedented. Radicalization and the receptivity to socialist ideas continue to deepen. Our opponents continue to weaken. Our cadre, our YSA apparatus, has never been stronger on a national scale than it is right now. The YSA, moreover, is absolutely unified internally in perspectives and extremely enthusiastic about our prospects. The YSA is prepared for and looking forward to the next qualitative leap forward for the Trotskyist movement in this country towards our goal of building a mass revolutionary socialist youth group in this country.

REPORT ON THIRD WORLD AND BLACK WORK FRACTION MEETING

1969 SWP Convention

[Introductory Note: This is an abridged transcript of the joint YSA-SWP Third World and black work fraction meeting that was held during the 23rd national SWP convention. This was a working fraction meeting open to Third World comrades, comrades assigned to Third World or black work fractions, and youth and party organizers, not a panel or discussion. The principal purpose was to project activities for the fall period.

The transcript includes four major reports -- a general presentation by Tony Thomas from the YSA National Office, a Bay Area report from Tony Camejo, a Detroit report by Norman Oliver, and a New York fraction report by Derrick Morrison. Comments in the discussion by Peter Camejo and Dick Garza have also been included. -- Tony Thomas, September 11, 1969]

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Opening Remarks by Tony Thomas:

This meeting is to go over some of the perspectives that we have for the fall, tying together some of the work that the fractions are doing around the country. Most of the fractions are doing the same types of things, and have the same types of activities projected, and we want to tie them together and place them into context.

The general period in which we are working is a period of propaganda for a mass black political party. By propaganda we don't just mean handing out leaflets or publications. It also means actions and campaigns that build the movement, and the political sentiment, toward building such a party.

The task ahead is the enlargement and development of our Third World fractions in the YSA and SWP. The important question is the kind of activity that flows from these perspectives, that are realistic and practical in terms of our size and opportunities.

I am going to present five such activities. One of the main possibilities is in united front actions, that is, actions that can involve people in activities of the types that will lead towards the formation of a mass black political party. The one area that has the greatest opportunities for us in the coming period is building Third World united front activities for the November 14 student strikes and for the November 15 demonstration. Most of the fractions around the country have already projected this type of activity, and we will attempt to give national coordination. New York comrades

especially will be playing a big role in this; they will be putting out leaflets and other material out of the work that they will be doing. That will be available for use by the fractions around the country, and will be distributed on that kind of level. They will give a report on this more specifically in their area report.

On a local level, there are great possibilities for involving Third World community groups, Third World students, and individuals in this type of antiwar work, through the SMC or Third World antiwar coalitions. Locals can organize maximum participation through special Third World leaflets, meetings, trailblazes. It shouldn't be seen that we, in and of ourselves, are going to build a mass coalition, or found some new Third World antiwar organization in this immediate coming period, although that might happen. We don't want to overstate something until we have a feeling of what's going on. An important reason for this kind of activity is that it can bring people around us, not just on the basis of propaganda, but on the basis of activities, and action.

A second important field of work is election campaigns, which are very important. This is one of the areas in which we can bring out our ideas on building a mass black party, on the black struggle as a whole, and on our general revolutionary socialist politics. These have been very important for Third World recruitment already. This kind of activity can be used to bring around the YSA and party people who are met in the Third World antiwar action struggles, high school work, etc. These campaigns should also be used to build, to propagandize, to publicize actions on the campus, and the community, and the antiwar movement, that we want to support and participate in.

Third, of course, is the Third World classes oriented towards external periphery, outside people: classes given by Third World comrades, not only on the Third World struggle, but on our general revolutionary perspectives. An extension of this work is the possibility of holding Third World educational conferences in a few areas, educational conferences really being just an extension of having a class.

Fourth, and an important thing, is getting out our publications, The Militant, the Young Socialist, and various pamphlets. It's not only a question of getting them out, but making sure there's adequate coverage on the Third World struggle sent in from the local areas.

Fifth, another activity in which we

can get out our ideas or politics is by participating in papers or magazines that are put out by different Third World groups, student groups, community groups. An important example of that, on which the comrades from the Bay Area will report, is the work that they've done in El Pocho Che, which is a publication of The Merritt College Chicano Studies Department.

All five of these activities should not be discussed here as something we counterpose to intervening in and participating in the general struggles of Third World students and in colleges, high schools, and the community. Instead, they provide us with a specific orientation that we can take to these struggles both to build these struggles, and to build the YSA and SWP.

Tony Camejo: Let me give a history of our Third World work in the Bay Area. First of all, we never really had a Third World fraction until this spring, when we got organized. And the possibility of actually doing Third World work, particularly on the Berkeley side of the Bay, of doing work with Chicanos, came as a result of our participation in the Third World Liberation Front strike at the University of California, and our local election campaign. The campaign got a very wide endorsement, including the Northern California vice president of MAPA (the Mexican-American Political Association) which normally supports Democratic Party candidates. We got tremendously wide support from the Chicano community, as well as other Third World strike leaders at Berkeley, for the campaign. We began to develop the first real contact with activists in the movement and were able to consider getting them into our classes, around our politics.

The general result of our participation in the strike was that every other political tendency -- the ISC, PL, and the RSU people -- showed themselves totally incapable of relating to the struggle for self-determination. They came out at one time or another attacking the very concept of self-determination, or else, like ISC, coming out saying Third World people should determine their own struggles as long as they do it the way we want, which was essentially the position of RSU. We were the only people that took a principled stand on the question of self-determination. We won the respect of the entire leadership of the Third World Liberation Front. We also had one Third World comrade working within the Third World Liberation Front, very actively.

Now the fraction that we set up is really very new. We started a little before the summer, and we discontinued it for a little while, because of other

things happening, and we finally got back together about last month. We have in the Bay Area ten Third World comrades. These are four blacks, three Chicanos, one Latino; one Japanese-American, and one Chinese-American. That includes San Francisco, Hayward (which is a YSA local), and Berkeley. We've broken it up into two basic areas -- San Francisco one fraction, and Hayward and Berkeley another fraction, because most of our Chicano work for the next period we foresee as being on the Berkeley-Hayward side of the Bay -- but the concept is that from time to time we will have Bay Area-wide fraction meetings, in terms of coordinating interventions that we have to work jointly in.

Now one of the things that the fraction decided was to put out a Third World newsletter. I brought a copy with me. It is entitled "Third World Liberation Notes." And the concept of this newsletter is not so much to duplicate the work of The Militant, not to substitute for The Militant and have reprints of articles, but to be used essentially as a mailing list and to bring around us the best Third World activists in the area. For instance, in it we announce classes, new publications of interest to Third World peoples; we have quotes from the Transitional Program for Black Liberation; we have an announcement that there will be a class available dealing with the Third World struggle, starting at both San Francisco and Berkeley. And the general concept of the newsletter being a mailing list -- we can also include leaflets of other events we're carrying on, to inform Third World people that we are actively engaged in the Third World struggle and act as sort of an information center about what's going on around the Bay Area.

One of the ideas we had was to reprint some of the Militant articles dealing with the Panther conference, and to mail them out to activists. Also, key to this is using the mailing list to draw people into classes, and through these classes recruit them into the YSA. And we will be having two classes starting up -- we haven't worked out the exact format, whether it will be two separate classes, from time to time meeting jointly, or what. This will be worked out in the fraction meeting when we get back.

Now central to our work has been a very important breakthrough, and it has tremendous potential, not only in our area, but ramifications for the whole country. That is the situation at Merritt College, where the students fought for the creation of a Chicano Studies Department -- Chicano and Latin Studies Department. As I mentioned before, there are many Latin Americans in the Bay Area who are not Mexican-Americans. The students

fought for this program, and they fought for having Froben Lozada, who's an SWPer, be director of the department. Ben had run in our election campaign, and was well known among Chicano activists, not only in the Bay Area but just about throughout the whole country.

The department was set up after a tremendous amount of red-baiting where we mobilized not only the Chicano community, but also even got support from the Black Panthers -- a contradiction. At the board meeting where Ben won the case, there were several Panthers hugging a "Trotskyite-fascist-counterrevolutionary," and congratulating him on winning. It's a contradiction they'll have to resolve themselves. But the department has opened up tremendous possibilities for us, because there we have a real possibility of showing what can be done with the university, the concept of a Red University, the concept of using the university to promote revolutionary ideas and revolutionary action in the community. There's a tremendous amount of potential in there.

Now, out of the grouping that really mobilized for the department came a magazine called El Pocho Che. I'll explain -- Pocho is a kind of a language, like talking half in Spanish, half in English. At some of the Chicano meetings you'll hear people talking half in Spanish, half in English. So the concept is of Che as one of us.

The people who formed this magazine include activists from San Francisco, Merritt College, and one of the leaders of the Third World Liberation Front strike at Berkeley. The first issue had a feature article by Ben which we reprinted there, and will be reprinted in The Militant, with an analysis of why Third World people should be involved in the antiwar movement -- cutting across all the arguments that are raised against mass demonstrations by Third World people. We will essentially be trying to develop the department at Merritt as not only a political, but also a cultural center of the Chicano movement, so the entire Chicano movement initially in California, and hopefully the entire Southwest, will look to that department as a center for ideas and innovations in the movement.

The other concept that we discussed, in terms of involving Third World people, was to mobilize a Third World contingent for the November 15 march -- to really begin to tie together not just the Chicanos but also blacks and Asians into some type of organization which would function in collaboration with Student Mobilization, but not necessarily a part of it, to mobilize Third World people for that march.

We had a very good experience before we came out here. That was with the anti-Nixon demonstration towards the end of August. We thought we were going to have some trouble with PL, that PL was going to try to come down to the demonstration with the general ultraleftism that exists in Berkeley; it's extreme there. We thought there would be a lot of problems, in terms of running the demonstration, being able to carry it off without some sort of adventurous idiotic type of confrontation with the police which would set a very bad tone for the whole fall offensive. So we began contacting as many Chicanos and Third World people as we could get ahold of, to help us organize a defense guard for the speakers platform, and also to help monitor the demonstration.

Well, it was on last minute notice that we were able to organize this, but we got a very good response, and it was really impressive to see the speakers platform, at a rally of the Student Mobilization Committee, with a predominance of Third World people up there as defense guards.

It was very good involving these people, because many were ultraleftists themselves. And through this activity, explaining why it was incorrect to carry out ultraleft action, and what the purpose of the demonstration was, we were able to do a little bit of education against ultraleftism.

We've done other things, like an intervention the San Francisco comrades initiated and really carried the brunt of -- in the "youthquake." Mission Rebels is a kind of an organization that is funded by the government, and they sponsor these "youthquakes" every year, and anybody can buy and set up a booth at this thing. It's in the Mission District, which is primarily Latino and black. We set up a booth there, red flags flying, Che Guevara banners, all types of literature, and we had a tremendous success, really a tremendous response. We even made some of the underground press publish the fact; they listed all the booths, saying "and of course the YSA was there." We sold \$35 worth of Che buttons alone in three days, and a total of \$120 worth of literature. We got 25 people on our mailing list, most of them Third World contacts. So this proved to us that we could really take the initiative in some of these things, and get our ideas out and make contact with Third World people. They're very interested in what we have to say.

Norman Oliver: As you know, Detroit is one of our major breakthroughs of experience in the field of black work. This developed over a rather long, exten-



sive period. In 1968 when I joined, right after the student strike in April, there were four members in the fraction. During the summer we lost all of them except for myself. Then in the fall, when Paul Boutelle came through on tour, we were able to recruit some more people and establish a sort of viable fraction.

Then in spring, with the coming SMC convention and the projection of the April 5th action, we began to bring a periphery of people around the antiwar work that we were doing. What we projected was a high school strike, on April 3, the day before vacation in the high schools, and also the day before the anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. We were able to organize a successful strike, which closed down about four high schools in the inner city, and brought out thousands of black high schoolers on strike, also other high schoolers in the suburbs.

One of the very important things about this action was that we were able to involve these black high schoolers in antiwar work, through the established SMC. That is, we didn't have to set up any Third World committee, or anything like that; we simply had the established antiwar organization involve black leaderships in high schools, presidents of ABS's or persons from the Black Panther Party, and things like this, in the organization for this high school strike.

We also called a conference to organize for this strike and passed out thousands and thousands of leaflets around high schools, which brought a tremendous attendance at this conference. Some opponents of ours -- from the League of Revolutionary Black Workers' youth group, the Black Student Voice -- came to the conference and called a caucus. They tried to motivate their rationale for not building this antiwar action by saying that it was basically a YSA thing, and therefore we can't do this, and that the high schools are BSV turf, and all this other stuff. We were able to intervene in that caucus, in which we were outnumbered, and were able to win over all the independents in it to the point where at the end of the caucus meeting the only people who were still present were us and our opponents, arguing at each other. All the independents had gone back to the conference, gotten strike leaflets, signed their names, took literature, and other things of that nature.

Immediately after that, the thing we failed to do was to recruit these people. We concentrated on mobilizing people -- getting them out on this action, shutting down high schools -- but we weren't consciously going out trying to recruit this periphery that we had brought around.

Also at that time we were developing problems within the fraction itself. The fraction was becoming something of a local within a local; the fraction voted not to have the organizer sit in on the meetings. We ordered our own Militant bundle. That gives you kind of an idea what the fraction was like. When Tony Thomas came through, the local executive committee and the fraction had a reorientation on the nature of the black fraction, explaining the nature of a fraction, the nature of our organization. Also the black fraction had an educational on the whole character of a multinational revolutionary socialist organization.

We had educationals around the nature of the vanguard party, educationals on the permanent revolution and its relationship to the black struggle, also an educational on the Chinese Revolution, Maoism in general, since it's so rampant in the black liberation struggle. And this was a very good thing. It helped consolidate and solidify the comrades within the fraction, and prepare us for external work that we would be doing during the summer. So that when the summer came, and we had launched an election campaign (Paul Lodico for Common Council) we were prepared, since we had had these educationals within the fraction.

We projected the building of an Afro-American support group for this campaign -- Afro-Americans for Lodico. And what we projected was basically that it wasn't going to be any really big thing, we'd draw four or five people around us, do some campaign work, and try to recruit these people. Well, that's not the way it worked out. The way it worked out was that we had meetings sometimes of 11, 12 independents. Since the campaign -- because of the problems we'd been having in Detroit -- wasn't really off the ground, there wasn't any campaign work to do, so the discussion in Afro-Americans for Lodico, instead of centering around the campaign, became centered around perspectives for the black struggle and implementation of the Transitional Program for Black Liberation.

It was through Afro-Americans for Lodico that we began sales of the Transitional Program for Black Liberation. We sold about 350 on the Wayne State campus alone, I think, at that time. The factories were closed down for change-over. So the problem that we had in Afro-Americans for Lodico was that it wasn't really a campaign support group, but it was a discussion group around the Transitional Program for Black Liberation. So after we recognized that, we began not talking about the campaign so much but discussing the perspectives for the black struggle. We had discussions around the relationship between capitalism and

racism, why you need a socialist revolution, how socialism is beneficial to Afro-America, how you go about making a socialist revolution -- and that's still going on. Afro-Americans for Lodico when we go back, I think, is going to have its last meeting, where we're going to try to lay out this perspective of just continuing this discussion around the Transitional Program, and the getting out of the Transitional Program. The factory gates are now open, and we can go out there and sell it to the workers at the plant gates, where we've had tremendous response in the selling of Militants. And we expect to sell hundreds of Transitional Programs at the plants.

What we're projecting for the fall is, first of all, as I said, the continuation of this discussion around perspectives for the black struggle, and trying to establish a class on that basis, a recruitment class basically. It will discuss the whole relationship, as I outlined before, of capitalism, racism, why you have to destroy capitalism in order to end the national oppression of the black people, and also how to go about destroying that system that oppresses you. So we're going to establish this recruitment class. We will try to direct Afro-Americans for Lodico into that. We also want to use the mailing list of over 100 people that we've got to continue the publication of our newsletter, which we use to bring people down to the classes and other activities that the YSA is carrying out. At the same time that we want to establish this recruitment class and draw in people we have around us, we also want to continue the sales of the Transitional Program on campuses, and at plant gates.

In the fall our most important work will be antiwar work, as it is with all the other fractions. What we are outlining, our perspective, is that we want to try to do what we did last spring, only make it bigger. That is, have another high school strike, as it was projected by SMC, on November 14. On September 20 there's going to be a conference called, where we will try to involve black students in the organization for the strike and actually get moving on this idea. And at the same time, we're also, as soon as we get back, establishing a Third World committee -- we haven't actually come up with any names or anything -- for the defense of the Vietnamese revolution. It will be based on the college campuses primarily -- that is, on the Wayne State campus and on the community colleges around the area, which have a large number of black students. Depending on how well the high school SMC is able to involve the high school black students in the organization for the high school strike this fall, we will determine whether or not this Third World committee

will orient itself towards high schools. That is, if we're able to involve black students in the organization of the strike through the HSSMC the way we did last spring, then it won't be necessary for a Third World committee to do so. Then we will just use this Third World committee on the campuses in Detroit. However, if the high school SMC isn't able to do this, then what we're projecting is that the Third World committee will orient itself more towards the high school students, since it is there where most of the action is going to take place this fall.

Those are the three basic things that we're going to be doing this fall, and it's been this whole education, and solidification and consolidation of the comrades in the fraction that has prepared us for this kind of external work we're going to be doing, and which we're really looking forward to. One of the main reasons behind this kind of work is recruitment to the YSA, and building of a black Marxist cadre. We want to get out and explain the need for a multinational organization, to be able to motivate that, so that we can see increased recruitment to the YSA of black and Third World people.

In Detroit we have 13 black comrades -- one is Jamaican and another is Pakistani, and all the rest are black comrades. Most of them came through the high schools, but have graduated since. Now we only have two black comrades in the high schools, and we should have about four black comrades on the Wayne State campus this fall.

Derrick Morrison: This is a report on New York. Development of the fraction has been essentially around the Paul Boutelle for Mayor campaign. That is the vehicle through which we've attracted and recruited the members we have in the Third World fraction. It sort of all began last March, when we started off with about five black and Puerto Rican YSAers. We began to move around the campaign and also began to move in an educational direction. That is, having specific classes for the education of the members of the fraction that were related to their political development and also, at the same time, have a series of external educationals to which we would invite contacts. As the spring developed, we eventually dropped the external educational classes because there was just too much activity, and primarily concentrated our energy on the internal educational classes which were mainly around the theory of the permanent revolution in terms of studying the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was that type of educational activity, coupled with the motion that developed around the City College of New York and

other campuses in the spring, that gave us an arena for work, in terms of the campaign, and in terms of overall propaganda. From a membership of five in March we grew to about 25 by the beginning of the summer -- this includes both YSA and party comrades, as we'd become a joint party-YSA fraction.

Then there began a leveling off process where we lost a couple of people. A couple of other people went to the West Coast and may be involved there. For the summer we projected a concentration on educational activities, given the fact that the New York YSA and SWP had a summer school planned which was very concentrated, in terms of three or four classes a week. We decided also that we would have a series on The Last Year of Malcolm X, which could involve both Third World members and people who we could bring around. But we went through a discussion about that educational series, and came to the conclusion that that was not what we wanted. That is, we wanted more. So, we set up an educational series on Mandel's pamphlet, Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, and because we have a layer of older, more experienced comrades in the party, we were able to find a teacher which was Comrade Dick Garza. This class ran through the summer and will run through the major part of September. The class is taught in a popular way so that contacts and friends can understand what's being run down in terms of the system.

And there's been activity around the election campaign, in the sense that we've had sporadic street rallies and some literature tables. We picked up a lot of high school supporters through holding campaign rallies outside of the high schools in the spring. However, many of them did not come around during the summer. With these high school and campus supporters, whose numbers reach a couple of hundred, we hope to set up meetings in most of the black and Puerto Rican high schools in the city during the fall. That's part of our two-pronged activity for the fall. That is, we plan to move on the campaign in a big way, because there'll be a certain amount of landslide support in the black and Puerto Rican community for Lindsay, given the fact that Procaccino and Marchi are looked upon as the greater evils, and Lindsay's looked upon as a lesser evil. Already black Democrats and Puerto Rican Democrats have come out in support of the "good Mr. Lindsay." So we hope to use Boutelle's campaign in the sense of propagandizing for an independent black political party, pointing out that this campaign is the only expression of the move for that type of political party in this election campaign. And we probably will be able to generate motion around the campaign.

We also plan, along with the campaign activity, a perspective around Vietnam. This came out of the Cleveland conference, and through discussions that we've had afterwards. What we plan to do, given the base that we have on the high schools and the campuses, is to set up a Third World committee of solidarity with Vietnam. This will be based uptown to funnel some of that campaign support into the Third World committee, because we think that a lot of the high schools last spring engaged in all types of frustrative actions -- people lobbing Molotov cocktails, setting teachers on fire, and other type stuff -- but not really laying out any strategy for gaining support of the students in moving against the oppressive public educational system. Given this lack of strategy, we think we can enlist a number of high schoolers into building the Third World committee. What we plan to do is to use the vets in the fraction to attract other black and Puerto Rican vets and set up meetings in the high schools and on the campuses where they will just speak about their experiences, whether in Vietnam, or just in the army. That will be one of the ways in which we'll build it. Also, we'll probably have some type of fund raising activity -- parties, and what have you. Through this vehicle we hope to build for November 14 and 15.

We also have had a development that occurred in the early part of the summer, where the Newark YSA local, which works out of northern New Jersey, recruited a couple of black militants who are high school teachers. They were very militant about struggling against the war, and that's what they were attracted to the YSA on. They started a "Concerned Black Citizens" type organization for building black participation in August 9th, and they brought down about ten people. Since most of the people that they have are political, we hope to recruit some of them to the YSA in Newark and, at the same time, move on establishing some formation that will organize black participation in November 15.

The New York fraction has about 20 people at present, with about 13 active people. Because the fraction is so large, we have a steering committee, which is composed of three people. Recently three of these comrades were elected onto the YSA local exec, and one onto the SWP exec.

Peter Camejo: I want to go back to Tony's original report. I think that when we begin dealing with this question of how we're going to recruit, how we're going to build a Bolshevik section within the oppressed minorities within this country, we've got to start from where we are. That is, we're very small, there's a big gap between the hate level

against the oppression in this system among black people and Chicanos and Puerto Ricans and any conscious political understanding. And I think all of us have run against this.

A lot of people are willing to go out and burn a store down and face guns to express their feelings against the oppression, but in terms of general conscious understanding about how this society runs, and so forth, it's very low. Part of the problem we're dealing with is seen, for example, when you read the Black Panther Party press and deal with its politics which are at a quite primitive level. What we have to do is to think out how we're going to get from where we are to the building of a cadre that's become more sizable and will continue to grow in the black areas, in the Chicano and Puerto Rican communities, etc.

The question is, what's our strategy for the next period toward that end? Well, look. Antiwar work offers us fantastic advantages. There's no other tendency except us that favors the idea of getting black and Third World people involved in the mass antiwar movement. It's difficult, but look at all the advantages we've got going for us. One, the entire party is moving on this as a campaign. You're relating to motion that's basically healthy, that's correct. A mass march on Washington and San Francisco. Secondly, the type of blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos that will come around that type of activity are precisely some of the best, and easiest to recruit, because they're the ones who are political enough to see that it's important to relate to what's happening in the world instead of being provincial in their thinking. They are already people who have been won over to an area of work where they're going to see the maximum of our entire movement's strength. So we're concentrating this fall on getting independents, nonwhites, to work with us.

In SMC it is necessary to be completely flexible organizationally. In one place you might want to set up a Chicano antiwar group, in another you might want to set up an all-black SMC chapter, in another you might just have a subcommittee of an SMC chapter and in another place you might have something else. Go along with whatever the pressure is on organizational forms, to get people working, to build Third World contingents. And then talk to them about politics, and especially -- I think every one's comments are absolutely correct -- don't recruit nonwhites on the basis of talking to them about nonwhites -- that is, blacks about blacks, Puerto Ricans about Puerto Ricans, Chicanos about Chicanos, because that's not what we have to offer. What we have to offer is how to solve the

whole problem, and only when you understand the whole can you then relate it to specific problems and see that we're right. So you've got to talk about Trotsky, Marx and Lenin. And you've got to explain how without Trotsky, Marx and Lenin you can't end the national oppression. That's just how it happens to be.

Whether Marx happened to be white, Lenin white, that's just tough macaroni, you know -- they couldn't help it. But you've got to deal with the question like that, you don't bend to that stuff. And there's a lot of arguments you can use that are really good -- for instance, every single struggle in the Third World that's meant anything was led by Marxists who accept the ideas of Marx. That's just a simple fact -- at least they call themselves Marxists.

Also our election campaigns. There again, the number of young people who are radicalizing, Third World people, is fantastic. You can go straight to the high schools and leaflet for an election campaign, and get five or six kids. You don't have to go to the kids who are already politicized. Some of them you may never win. Don't be afraid to go straight to militants just becoming political.

Once we have a Third World fraction, then it's much easier, because a basic motivation moving all nonwhites in this country is nationalist consciousness. That's the most important thing to relate to and we have to be sensitive to it. There's a problem that can develop here. I want to raise it before everyone that's here; really, go back and think about it. We can't succeed in doing what we really want to do until the Bolshevik wing, in all the oppressed minorities, is totally assimilated and integrated into the multinational revolutionary party. We have not achieved that. Let's not kid ourselves. The day when the political report at our convention can be given by a nonwhite and nobody thinks anything of it because he's a real leader of the entire revolution, at that point when there are Third Worlders on every single party executive committee and on every single YSA executive committee, that's a natural party presenting real leaders of the entire socialist revolution in the United States. Then we will have begun to really solve this problem, you see. That's our goal.

Now, in order to do that our YSA fractions have to be YSA fractions, like any other fractions. NOT separate organizations -- we're not going to make a federated YSA, or a federated party. We're multinational. By the way, that term isn't even perfect. We have no nations within our party, the world party of socialist revolution. We don't recognize

nations -- who the hell draws those lines? We have to deal with the reality -- those lines are there; we have to deal with the reality. We have to relate to the mass sentiment that's created by those lines. But as revolutionary socialists, we don't have to worry about that.

So that means that these Third World fractions must be Trotskyist fractions. If you let them become, for example, like an all-black organization that's sort of pro-Trotskyist, if you start inviting to your fraction meeting loose contacts who don't yet understand much about revolutionary politics, then you can't act effectively within Third World organizations. Try to use your all-black classes for that type of thing, because in that class you can discuss the question of antiwar work, or even have a small business section of it if you want.

So when we leave this convention -- on the basis of our election campaign work and on the basis of our antiwar work -- let's see if we can just double our size, or not even double it, just go to 50% higher, because nobody else is building a revolutionary cadre in this country of nonwhites. It's either because they're too stupid to build a political cadre of any sort, or they're paternalistic like the Rudd SDS types, or they're reactionaries on the question like PL, or they're just incredibly opportunist -- by the way, the main people who are competing with us among nonwhites in their own opportunist way are the CP.

If you understand the concept of leadership and vacuum of leadership, if you stop and think what it would have meant for Malcolm X to be alive and for us to have as many comrades as we have sitting in this room, you can see that what would have happened to Malcolm X's organization would have been completely different. But he had to stand almost completely alone because there was such a fantastic political gap between him and his main aide. His main aide was still dealing with mysticism while Malcolm was becoming a Marxist. Malcolm was isolated, he was all alone. We are his number one inheritors, in terms of carrying out his traditions, and if we look carefully, we are the only ones really fully carrying out his traditions.

We have to concentrate our efforts so that we bring to bear our national weight. For example, New York will put out literature that you can use in San Francisco or Detroit. In places where comrades are all white or almost so, go out and leaflet. We should do things like walk around with sponsor cards for November 15. Try to get nonwhites for SMC meetings and nonwhite meetings to sponsor the November 15 action. Then we'll see

after November 15 what stage we're at. In New York we might call an all-nonwhite educational conference then -- we're considering that. Kids around Boutelle's campaign and the antiwar work.

This last point about the Third World fraction -- we're still going through an early stage defining what it is. For instance, we haven't even dealt politically with questions like how do we relate the Puerto Rican, Latino, Chicano struggles with black struggles. In the last analysis we're going to need all-black fractions, all-Chicano ones, etc. There may also be a federated concept, even within our fraction. We're at a very early stage with these things, and there are many complex factors yet to be thought out.

Dick Garza: Comrades, at this meeting tonight, it's not going to be possible to discuss everything that we'd like to discuss, because, really, we're just getting acquainted with each other. Some of the Puerto Rican comrades, some of the Chicano comrades, have questions and problems very different, very separate. Peter made a very interesting point you all have to think about. This is just a beginning. I also look forward to the time where we're going to find the sheer necessity of having Chicano comrades and Puerto Rican comrades meeting separately from black comrades, because we're going to be involved in different areas of work. At a convention we may have to meet separately, and then meet in a Third World meeting, and then meet in the convention. That's the multinational party that we're talking about.

But from here to that stage is a very difficult one. I think, by what we see here tonight, the first steps have been taken. One step that will have to be taken is informing the comrades throughout the country about what the thinking is of the comrades that have been given responsibility of directing the work. But there's another responsibility of the comrades doing the work outside of New York. Nobody in New York has a UNIVAC that they can press and come out with an answer to a particular problem in Texas or somewhere in Minnesota or anything like that. The thing that will help develop the entire Third World fraction is that everyone is leaning on each other at this stage. The blacks, the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans, we're all leaning on each other, because, by and large, we recognize how small we are. And really, if we're separated from each other, how weak we would be.

I want to just come back to this point. We need information from comrades involved in this work. After we get this information in New York City, then something will have to be done, and I would

suggest to the comrades who are going to report on this panel meeting tonight, that they suggest the development of some means of giving the information out to all the branches, where we even have one

comrade in the Third World fraction -- information about developments taking place, thinking taking place, literature available, information that they should have.