

# YSA

---

## DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Vol. 11, No. 2  
December 1967.

### CONTENTS

International Youth Radicalization  
And the Student Antiwar Movement  
(NEC Draft, submitted December 22, 1967)

25 cents

**YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE**

**YSA, BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N.Y., N.Y. 10003**

# YSA

## DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Vol. 11, No. 2  
December 1967.

### CONTENTS

International Youth Radicalization  
And the Student Antiwar Movement  
(NEC Draft, submitted December 22, 1967)

25 cents

**YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE**

**YSA, BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N.Y., N.Y. 10003**

The antiwar resolution for the 1968 convention is an extension of the previous resolutions of 1966 and 1967. It takes into account changes in the immediate situation in light of the resolutions passed before.

Newer members, especially those who did not take part in the discussions of the last few years, are urged to read the previous antiwar resolutions. For a general review of the history of the antiwar movement, comrades are urged to read the antiwar report to the 1967 Socialist Workers Party convention by Lew Jones, printed in the January-February 1968 issue of the International Socialist Review.

# INTERNATIONAL YOUTH RADICALIZATION AND STUDENT ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

## I. International Youth Radicalization

For nearly three years American imperialism's aggression against Vietnam has been the center of politics for the imperialist rulers, the workers' states, and the world revolutionary movement. The continued escalation of the war by the United States government -- an escalation which risks a confrontation with the USSR -- is being met by the sustained resistance of the Vietnamese people, the growth of an international antiwar movement, and an accelerated radicalization of youth in all the advanced capitalist countries.

The emergence of this new student radicalization, the most significant radicalization in these countries since the end of World War II, is primarily a result of the imperialist war in Vietnam. The betrayal of the 1943-48 revolutionary upsurge in Europe by the Social-Democratic and Stalinist leaderships laid the basis for a new phase of economic growth and the temporary stabilization of capitalism in the imperialist countries. This paved the way for the relative quiescence of the class struggle and the political conformity of youth during much of the post World War II period. In the United States, for example, this period was marked by increased militarization, McCarthyism, a labor officialdom totally subservient to the cold war foreign policy of American imperialism, and the "silent generation" of student youth.

The axis of the world revolution shifted to the colonial countries where the struggle for land reform and national independence deepened and made significant gains. Following the overturn of capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe the struggles of the oppressed colonial nations, marked by the victory and consolidation of the Chinese and later the Cuban revolution, confronted the imperialists with a change in the relationship of forces on a world scale. These gains have helped stimulate a revolution in consciousness which affects hundreds of millions in the colonial world and guarantees their continued determination to struggle despite temporary setbacks and conjunctural defeats.

### A. New Student Radicalization

It is primarily the struggle for land reform and national independence, which continually breaks out in new areas and is often led by Communist and Socialist parties, and the attempt by the imperialists to crush this struggle that stimulates radical consciousness among students in the imperialist nations.

The student radicalization began in the late 1950's and early 1960's. In France and to some extent in other countries, it emerged in response to the Algerian revolution; in the United States and Canada it was sparked by the Cuban revolu-

tion. With the escalation of the Vietnam war and the birth of the international antiwar movement in 1965, the student radicalization has continually accelerated. In nearly every one of the imperialist nations, in sharp contrast to Eastern Europe and the USSR, there are hundreds of antiwar committees ranging from Vietnam Solidarity Committees to broad united front-type antiwar coalitions. The scope of this international antiwar movement was indicated on Oct. 21-22 when the largest international mass action in the history of the antiwar movement, led primarily by student youth, took place.

Of the tens of thousands of high school and university students who have been drawn into this movement and radicalized by it, a significant number are moving toward revolutionary socialism. The development of this revolutionary socialist consciousness in Western Europe, North America, and Japan, as in the colonial countries, is occurring both inside and outside the framework of the old Social-Democratic and Communist organizations.

In most countries of Western Europe and Japan, there are mass Communist, Social-Democratic or labor parties whose existence raise the general level of political consciousness in these countries. Most of these parties have sizeable youth groups which newly radicalized socialist youth tend to join. However, as they continue to move in a revolutionary direction many of the youth inside these organizations inevitably come into conflict with the reformist leaderships. This, over time, has yielded splits and has forced a growing number of revolutionary youth to found organizations outside the Communist and Social-Democratic parties.

In West Germany, the student radicalization has been largely outside the framework of the right wing Social-Democratic Party and the illegal Communist Party. Most revolutionary-minded socialist youth are now joining the Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentbund (SDS), a large, militant and heterogenous organization composed of various tendencies. This organization is leading a campaign of opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the German government's support to the U.S. war policy. The depth and direction of this new socialist youth movement was underlined at a meeting sponsored by the West Berlin Socialist Youth commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. At the meeting, attended by nearly 4,000 persons, both Lenin and Trotsky appeared in the huge backdrop and one of the youth leaders called for full rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky.

In Canada revolutionary socialist youth have been active in helping to build the New Democratic Youth, the youth organization of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party. However, most of the current student radicalization is occurring outside of this organization and outside the small Communist youth organization. High school and university antiwar committees are the central arena of radicalizing students and the

principal source of new recruits to the growing revolutionary socialist youth organization -- the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

As in Canada, the student radicalization in the United States has, for the most part, by-passed the small Communist and Social-Democratic youth organizations.

### B. Defense of the Vietnam Revolution

In all of these countries, the central question differentiating the new generation of socialist youth from the class collaborationist policies of the Communist and Social-Democratic organizations is the failure of the latter to launch an effective campaign in defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

With the exception of the Japanese Socialist Party, the leaders of the Social-Democratic organizations such as the Labor Party government in Great Britain and the Social-Democratic parties of Belgium and West Germany, either support U.S. aggression outright or, like the Socialist Party in the United States, refuse to participate in the organized antiwar movement because the movement does not condemn both the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam and the Johnson Administration.

The pro-Moscow Communist parties and the leaders of the CP youth organizations take their cue from the Kremlin bureaucrats who in line with their long standing policy of peaceful co-existence place their narrow "national" interests above the world revolution. The USSR has not conducted an active campaign on an international scale in defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The Communist parties of Europe play a restraining role on the development of the antiwar movement rather than a leadership role, and where they have become even minimally involved, it is due to the tremendous pressure of antiwar sentiment in their countries, particularly among youth. In England, for example, the Communist Party did not participate in the broad coalition of groups that organized the massive antiwar demonstration in London on Oct. 22, and only one of their branches participated in the action. However, there were a number of Young Communist League branches that participated and brought out a large number of the demonstrators.

In France, the Communist Party is the largest single party and consistently wins close to 25 percent of the vote; and in Italy 75 percent of the workers belong to Communist Party-led trade unions. If these parties were to adopt a policy of international class solidarity and launch massive antiwar campaigns the international impact would be very profound.

It is the contradiction between what these parties could do and should do to defend Vietnam and what they are doing that

is helping to drive a wedge between many young socialists and communists and the reformist leaderships.

In 1965, for example, the French CP leadership expelled many of the leaders of their student organization for refusing to support capitalist candidates and for carrying out a campaign of militant antiwar activities. The young communists that were expelled along with many others from the student organization formed the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR: Revolutionary Communist Youth) which is now the fastest growing and largest revolutionary socialist youth organization in the world.

Another example is a recent statement issued by the Socialistisk Ungdomsforbund (Young Socialist League) a youth group of the left-socialist Norwegian People's Party. Solidarizing with the October Revolution in Russia and the subsequent economic gains achieved, the statement sharply criticizes the present peaceful coexistence line of the USSR.

The pro-Peking Communist parties, due to their sectarian and ultra-left refusal to join with "revisionists" in united front efforts to defend Vietnam and their growing attacks on the Cuban leadership, have not provided an attractive pole for radicalizing youth. The tendency in the last few years has been for these parties to become more and more isolated. Even the relatively large Japanese Communist Party which was formerly pro-Maoist has, as a result of the "cultural revolution" shifted away from this position.

### C. Cuba and International Class Solidarity

Our generation of socialist youth does not only have the negative experience of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic policies to propel it away from these parties and toward revolutionary socialist formations. There is also the positive example of Cuba which is the first workers' state since the early years of the Russian Revolution to promote a policy of genuine proletarian internationalism.

The Cuban government considers the defense of north Vietnam, a brother workers' state, and the support of the liberation struggle in south Vietnam, to be inextricably related to the defense of Cuba. The Cuban revolutionaries urge the formation of an international united front of workers states and Communist parties to provide assistance to Vietnam, and call for the deepening and extension of the revolutionary struggle in all countries, or, in the words of Che Guevara, "to make two, three . . . many Vietnams."

Che Guevara repeats in different words the classical Leninist concept of turning the imperialist war into civil war. This position long ago abandoned by the Stalinists, recognizes that it is not collaboration with but relentless struggle against the capitalist enemy at home which is the only revolutionary struggle against war..

The Cuban position on the Vietnamese revolution -- which is unquestionably the acid test for all socialists today -- is educating and inspiring thousands of revolutionary youth the world over in the principles of internationalism and is serving as a counter pole to both Moscow and Peking.

The conflict in Latin America between the class collaborationist policies of the pro-Moscow Communist parties and the armed struggle line of the Cuban Communist Party has served to widen the cleavage even more between revolutionary-minded socialist youth and the Stalinist parties. Che Guevara, whose picture is carried in antiwar marches from Washington, D.C. to West Berlin, has become the common hero of radical students in the imperialist countries, revolutionaries of the colonial nations, and young black nationalists in the United States.

In many European countries the left communist youth view themselves as part of the Cuban wing of the Communist movement as opposed to the Moscow or Peking wings.

In France this has opened up new opportunities for the JCR to enter into united front-type activities on Vietnam, Cuba, and Hugo Blanco defense work. Early in December of this year, the National Vietnam Committee, which is a broad coalition of organizations opposed to the war and includes the JCR, sponsored a week of activities called, "Che Guevara Week for Vietnam." A meeting climaxing the week heard Stokely Carmichael, Ernest Mandel, and Melba Hernandez, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

The Moscow line no longer holds the monolithic position it once did in the world Communist movement and consequently the opportunity for criticism and discussion in the Communist movement as a whole and within a number of Communist parties, has increased.

In Italy, for example, a deep division exists inside the Communist Party over whether the CP should become more "social-democratic" or whether it should maintain its allegiance to Moscow. This fissure provides the objective basis for a permissive attitude toward different tendencies inside the Italian Communist movement including, to some degree, revolutionary Marxist views. Most radicalizing students join the Communist student organization which has a left current that is gaining strength. Many of the youth in this left wing identify with La Sinistra, a pro-Cuban, left communist publication.

#### D. International Regroupment of Revolutionary Socialist Youth

The emergence of the international antiwar movement, the opposition to and differentiation from the Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaderships and the attraction of the Cuban leadership has laid the basis for the most significant regroupment and growth of the revolutionary socialist youth movement on an inter-



national scale since the degeneration of the Third International. These developments in the youth movement pave the way for the growth of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution whose program and cadres express in its most complete form the revolutionary direction of the new generation of young socialists.

The drawing together of the various revolutionary socialist youth organizations from different countries found its first expression at the international antiwar action in Liege, Belgium, in 1966 called by the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes (JGS). The demonstration of over 4,000 drew sizeable delegations from Belgium, West Germany, England, France, Netherlands, Denmark and representation from Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Canada, the United States and several other countries.

As a result of this action a Conference of Vanguard Youth Organizations of Western Europe was held in Brussels in March, 1967. The first conference of its kind on a European scale, its goal was to coordinate and organize support for the Vietnamese revolution and the struggle against NATO. The Conference of the Vanguard Youth and the Berlin SDS have called another European-wide demonstration against the Vietnam war, this time in West Berlin in February, 1968.

Not only has the coordination and solidarity among socialist youth in Europe developed, but through the antiwar struggle and organization for common actions close ties have been forged between the YSA and the socialist youth of Canada and Europe.

## II. Antiwar Movement in the United States

Against the international background of the regroupment and growth of the revolutionary socialist youth movement, the student radicalization and the growth of the YSA in the United States can be seen as a constituent part of a world process. Primarily stimulated by the Vietnam war, radicalizing American students usually find their first expression of organized radical activity in the student antiwar movement.

The antiwar movement in the United States has played a key role in the development of the international antiwar movement, and as a movement that is organizing inside the imperialist country responsible for the war, it is the inspirer and pacesetter for movements in other countries.

The principal objective of the American antiwar movement is to become a mass movement that will mobilize the majority of American people to oppose the war and force the government to bring the troops home. It is ultimately through the participation of the most significant social force in the United States -- the working class, black and white, civilian and soldier -- that the antiwar movement will be a significant .

factor in helping to bring an end to the war.

#### A. Relationship to Labor Movement and Black Struggle

The antiwar movement should not be viewed as an isolated entity, separate and apart from developments in the labor movement and the black struggle. Although the struggles of the black community and the labor movement are not explicitly directed against the war, the fact that they are occurring and deepening in the midst of the war has an objective effect of aiding the overall fight against the war and contributing to the crisis of the imperialist rulers.

It is already evident that as the war continues to deepen and the rulers attempt to unload the burden of the war on the working class through inflationary prices, tax boosts, and wage controls, the workers will resist. The struggles of the airline mechanics, of the transport and sanitation workers in New York City, and of the teachers and other public employees have all been examples of this. At the recent AFL-CIO convention, the same convention that overwhelmingly endorsed Johnson's war policy, over one half million dollars was pledged to assist the 26 unions and 60,000 strikers that have been on strike for six months against the copper industry. There are many new contracts to be negotiated next year and all indications point to a determined fight on the part of the workers to maintain their standard of living.

The struggle of Afro-Americans, which is far deeper and more radical than that of the labor movement, is intensifying. The black revolts by high school students in Philadelphia and other cities, and the development of black nationalist consciousness among thousands of black youth, particularly last summer's ghetto uprisings are all examples of this.

The demonstrations and periodic mass actions of the antiwar movement have played the very important role of making it difficult for the misleaders of the labor movement to call a moratorium on struggle on the grounds of the "war effort." Continued political and social struggles in any sector of the mass movement undercut the idea that workers cannot strike or carry on mass struggles during a war. If no one else is sacrificing, why should they. Not only has the antiwar movement helped to legitimize the wartime struggles of labor and Afro-Americans but its impact is also felt by the penetration of antiwar sentiment into these sectors of the population.

The November Trade Union Leadership Assembly for Peace in Vietnam, held in Chicago, was a symptom of the growing sentiment against the war within the union movement especially from young rank and file members. The conference, attended by over 500 union officials from 50 different international unions, including a large representation from the United Auto Workers (UAW), was dominated by two themes -- the internal fight be-

tween the UAW and the Meany-Lovestone leadership of the AFL-CIO, and opposition to the war. It was evident from the remarks of a number of officials both from the floor and in the corridors that the antiwar movement is providing elbow room and a stimulus for the bureaucrats to speak out against the war. The participants agreed to publish and circulate the speeches within their unions and to organize similar conferences on a local level. The fact that union officials held a conference to discuss Vietnam will help legitimize discussion of antiwar views among rank-and-file members.

The sentiment against the war is strong in the black community, but for the most part still remains unorganized. The high point of Afro-American participation in antiwar activity was the April 15<sup>th</sup> mobilization when a number of black organizations including SNCC, CORE, and SCLC participated in the action. However, since April 15<sup>th</sup>, with the exception of a couple of cities, there has been no sustained antiwar campaign in the black community.

The ability of the organized antiwar movement to reach out and effect new layers of the population and broaden the organized antiwar expression in this country, and even to insure its own continued existence, depends on its capacity to organize periodic mass actions in the streets demanding the end of the Vietnam war.

The major political conflicts within the antiwar movement have flowed and will continue to flow from the attempt by one or another current of the movement to divert the antiwar movement away from this perspective.

### B. Electoral Politics and Class Collaborationism in the Antiwar Movement

The principal dispute, that continually arises in one form or another, is rooted in the attempt by the Communist Party and many liberals to use the movement as a pressure group, and consequently as a servant, for "progressive" capitalist politicians. This was at the heart of the conflict between the positions of negotiations and withdrawal, and is often at the bottom of disputes concerning whether mass actions in the streets should be held.

The announcement of Eugene McCarthy's candidacy in the Democratic party primaries gives the reformists a concrete vehicle for attempting to channel the antiwar movement into the Democratic Party. McCarthy's candidacy, by his own admission, is designed to redirect energies that are used in marches and demonstrations and use them "constructively" to organize support for him in the Democratic Party primaries.

The Communist Party, whose perspective of a "third peace ticket" suffered a major blow at the National Conference for

New Politics Convention in Chicago, actively supports the "Dump Johnson" movement. It gives them a focus of activity within the Democratic Party while at the same time, they hope that after the Democratic Party convention many of the disappointed "dissenting Democrats" will become the basis of a "third ticket" movement.

Within the antiwar movement we must take advantage of every opportunity to confront and debate supporters of McCarthy and educate antiwar activists about the character of the Democratic Party, the impossibility of using the parties of the ruling class as the vehicle for struggle against the policies of the ruling class, and the need for electoral action independent of capitalist politics. While the majority of those involved in the antiwar movement agree that it must be independent of the ruling class in order to struggle successfully against the war policies of the rulers, their understanding of this necessity does not extend to a full comprehension of the class nature of the two major political parties. They do not draw the parallel between independent action in the streets and independent electoral action. Explaining this is the main educational task we will have to carry out.

We can point to the Halstead-Boutelle campaign as a concrete example of the kind of electoral action that antiwar activists should support. Supporters of Halstead and Boutelle must carry the campaign into the antiwar movement, distributing literature, obtaining endorsements, and signing people up on mailing lists. Our ability to make the SWP presidential campaign known and convince antiwar activists to support it, will be the most effective counter we can make to the McCarthy campaign. Although we want to win as many individual antiwar activists as possible to the Halstead-Boutelle campaign, at the present stage of political development we are opposed to the antiwar movement, as a movement, engaging in any kind of electoral activity. The basis of the antiwar coalition is unity in mass actions in the streets against the war, and any attempts to divert the movement into electoral politics will split it. In addition, if the movement were to campaign for McCarthy or any other capitalist "peace" alternative, it would cease to be independent of the ruling class and its ability to mobilize the American people to bring the troops home from Vietnam would be shattered.

### C. The Student Antiwar Movement

The October 21st demonstration in Washington, D.C., occurring in the midst of militant demonstrations on campuses all over the country, indicated the significant growth and increased militancy of the student wing of the antiwar movement.

From the very beginning of the movement students have been in the forefront. They are the dynamo of the movement, providing its principal organizers and activists and bringing

the greatest numbers to the massive mobilizations. Their militancy and activism has pricked the conscience of other sections of the population, set an example for them, and helped spur them into action.

The most significant organized expression of the student antiwar movement on a national scale is the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The SMC, founded in Chicago in December, 1966, has its roots in the entire history and evolution of the antiwar movement. The fight for a non-exclusionist policy for the SDS march on Washington in April 1965, the struggle for the position of immediate withdrawal of American troops, the campaign by the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter for the formation of a national organization of campus committees, the campaign to convince the movement to view GIs as a legitimate and fruitful arena of antiwar activity, and the struggle to keep the antiwar movement oriented toward periodic mass demonstrations and out of capitalist politics, were the battles that helped to forge the character and program of the SMC.

The SMC is a militant antiwar organization of high school and university students with a political program of mobilizing American students for direct action around the three demands -- Bring the GIs Home Now, End the Draft, and End Campus Complicity. The wave of campus antiwar activity this fall demonstrated that the axis of student antiwar activity is around the political program of the SMC. This not only underlines the correctness of the program of the SMC, but points to the tremendous opportunities that are open to it.

#### D. GIs

The student antiwar movement has not only accepted the slogan "Bring the GIs Home Now" but is beginning to search for concrete ways of more effectively communicating to soldiers that the antiwar movement supports their desires to come home.

The increasingly numerous reports in the newspapers, radio and television about antiwar sentiments among GIs, coupled with the campaigns around the cases of the Fort Hood Three, Pfc. Howard Petrick, Pvt. Andrew Stapp, Capt. Levy, and others have helped convince many student militants that the armed forces are not a homogeneous mass of reaction impenetrable to the ideas of the world we live in.

By putting the antiwar movement on the side of the GIs and attempting to create a favorable image of the movement in the eyes of GIs, antiwar militants are helping to bridge the gap between the student antiwar movement and the section of the American youth that is most directly affected by the war. The military brass and the Johnson administration recognize that the unpopularity of the war at home inevitably affects the views of GIs who represent a cross section of the population. The worried attitude of the Navy brass was indicated recently when

they issued a public statement warning sailors against contact with antiwar activists or organizations.

One of the most positive developments at the October 21 mobilization in Washington was the attempt by the demonstrators to approach the federal troops by calling upon them to "Join US." We should point to this example as the kind of activity that helps to create a positive image of the antiwar movement in the eyes of GIs rather than the alienating image created by draft card burning, and ineffective acts of individual martyrdom and pacifism.

As citizens all soldiers have the right to receive, read, and discuss material and information about the war, and conversely civilians have the right to distribute and discuss facts about the war with GIs. There are now two antiwar newspapers -- the Bond and Veterans Stars and Stripes -- that are circulated primarily among soldiers.

The student antiwar movement, as part of its day to day, week to week activities, should consider getting facts about the war into the hands of GIs to be one of its most important activities. This should be tied to getting information to soldiers about the defense efforts for antiwar GIs. Through the defense case of Pfc. Howard Petrick the antiwar movement is learning how defense of the constitutional rights of antiwar GIs stimulates many soldiers to raise questions about the war.

Although big strides have been taken in getting antiwar activists to appreciate the need of viewing GIs as legitimate and receptive recipients of the truth about the war, there is still some confusion about how to approach the question. Many antiwar activists, for example, promote the ultra-left tactic of advocating desertion from the army. Desertion, like attempts by students to close down draft centers, is an action where a few activists substitute themselves for the mass. By doing so, they isolate themselves from potential support among the masses, condemn themselves to impotence and risk victimization. Antiwar soldiers, like students must find ways and means to make their actions visible and convince other people, without unnecessary victimization.

### E. The Draft

The increased size of the student antiwar movement has laid the basis for massive antidraft actions which help build the antiwar movement. The YSA and SMC are participating and playing leadership roles in these actions. This represents a shift from a year ago in the objective situation.

Opposition to the draft has long been a point of debate in the antiwar movement. We fought against the attempt by the Communist Party and liberals to divert the movement into antidraft activities for the sole purpose of using the movement as a

pressure group for liberal capitalist politicians. In addition we opposed the approach of many pacifists and SDSers to orient the movement toward individual acts of defiance against the draft as a substitute for organizing mass demonstrations against the war. We maintained that a large scale antidraft movement could only be built on the basis of widespread opposition to the war itself. The antidraft actions in the past few months, focused on recruiting stations, have been very large and where they have been carried out realistically in terms of the present relationship of forces, have not been a substitute for or in contradiction to mass antiwar actions. As the organized antiwar movement becomes larger and antiwar sentiment deepens within the population as a whole we can expect that the opposition to the draft will also deepen and express itself in mass antidraft actions.

There has been some confusion in the antiwar movement on the slogans of "Hell No, We Won't Go," and "Hell No, Nobody Goes." Both slogans express the outrage and militant feeling of antiwar activists as does the slogan "Hey, Hey, LBJ, How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?" But the political content of the slogan "Hell No, We Won't Go" expresses a refusal to be drafted. At this time, refusal to be drafted or to go to Vietnam is not a mass phenomenon, but the act of an individual, or small handful of individuals, which is ineffective in helping to mobilize the masses of Americans opposed to the war.

The slogan "Hell No, Nobody Goes" is an ultraleft proclamation with no relation to reality. It is simply false that "Nobody Goes." The slogan has been projected as a proclamation by the antiwar movement that it will close draft centers, making it physically impossible for inductees to enter. But this goal of students closing draft centers is unrealizable and self-defeating. Even though it was possible to close down a draft center for a few hours in Oakland, that action was not even a first step toward "stopping the war machine" and did not project a line of action that will help mobilize the masses of Americans against the war. While some students don't realize it now, they will soon learn that the capitalist state will win every time in a physical confrontation with the student antiwar movement. The actions aimed at closing down induction centers are another example of the vanguard of the antiwar movement attempting to substitute itself for the mass and can only serve to sow confusion, disorient antiwar militants, and play into the hands of the imperialist ruling class.

A new and potentially powerful slogan raised in some areas during Stop the Draft Week is "Release All Draftees." This slogan demands of rather than proclaims to the government. It places the government on the defensive by assuming that it is the government and not the demonstrators that are doing something illegal. The slogan ties together the demands for ending the draft and bringing the troops home now. It is rooted in

the political position that there should not be a draftee army in the U.S. today and that the soldiers in Vietnam should be brought home (released). It is a positive way to communicate to draftees at induction centers.

#### F. Campus Complicity

The growth of the campus-based antiwar movement has been accompanied by militant demonstrations on campuses against university complicity with the war effort. The main targets have been military research projects and recruiters from the CIA, the armed forces and Dow Chemical Company.

These struggles not only help to draw hundreds of students into the antiwar movement, but have also won several victories. For example, the struggles against Operation Spice Rack at the University of Pennsylvania, initiated by YSAers, ended with its removal.

YSAers should be active in these struggles and help to play a leadership role as they did at the University of Pennsylvania and at Wayne State University in Detroit where YSAers initiated a campus War Crimes Tribunal.

The struggle against university complicity with the war is part and parcel of the struggle by students for more control over the decision making process on the campus. American universities and colleges are designed to train technicians to help service the capitalist system. Demands of students for greater rights and partial or complete control of the university strike at the essential purpose of the university as a capitalist institution.

As capitalist institutions, universities furnish recruiters from Dow Chemical and the CIA with all the facilities and privileges they demand. Thousands of students are fed up with these representatives of the ruling class coming onto their campuses in order to hire help for the war effort, and have been mobilizing against them.

University administrations and some liberals have been accusing antiwar militants of denying CIA, Dow Chemical, and military recruiters their right of free speech. Free speech, however, it is not the question. The students have been challenging Dow Chemical and the CIA to send representatives to debate students publicly on the campus. This is in line with the idea that the campus should be a place for unlimited debate of ideas. However, what thousands of students are objecting to is the fact that the recruiters do not come onto the campus to openly exchange ideas but to buy student labor for carrying out the genocidal war in Vietnam.

Although the SMC's line accurately reflects the demands and activities of the student movement, the SMC, organizationally, does not yet represent the entire movement. The SMC is a united front-type coalition embracing the YSA, DuBois Clubs, CP youth, and a few other groups. It is a national center for



high school and campus antiwar committees, and the defacto national coordinator of antiwar activity for many SDS chapters and individual activists.

SDS, as a national organization, and the local Resistance chapters that have recently emerged are not yet part of the SMC. However, due to the increased growth of the student antiwar movement, the growing influence of the SMC, and the tendency of many SDS chapters to look to the SMC for leadership, some national leaders of SDS are re-evaluating their position on the antiwar movement and are thinking of becoming involved in the organized antiwar movement. This break by part of the SDS leadership with their policy of sectarian-abstentionism and all its implicit adventurism opens the door for united activities between SDS and the SMC and the possibility of broadening the student antiwar coalition.

An all-out effort must be made to mobilize as many antiwar activists as possible for the SMC conference in Chicago, January 27, 28, 29. This conference must affirm the present political line of the SMC and take steps to reach out and broaden the coalition.

#### G. Ultra-leftism in the Antiwar Movement

A major challenge to the line of the SMC at the conference will come from groups of ultra-leftists in and around SDS and ultra-left organizations such as Youth Against War and Facism. They are projecting a strategy of disruptive acts by the vanguard calculated to clog up or close down as much of the war making apparatus as possible. Based on a lack of confidence in the ability of the antiwar movement to win over the majority of people, and on the assumption that legal methods of struggle are exhausted, this strategy can only serve to isolate the organized antiwar movement from the masses of American people who are opposed to the war, and lead to unnecessary victimization of the antiwar demonstrators. The result of this strategy has led to the projection of goals that have been impossible to achieve such as closing down draft centers and employing tactics such as pulling fire alarms and turning over garbage cans which in the eyes of the majority of the American people, are at best childish pranks.

A distinction must be made, however, between the ultra-leftist organizations and grouplets and the thousands of militant youth, most of them new to the antiwar movement, who are frustrated by the seeming impotence of the movement and confuse the ultra-leftist tactics with militancy.

We must educate this layer politically on the need to organize students and regularly mobilize them for action, carry out actions and propaganda that do not contradict the development and growth of the mass antiwar movement, and be alert to openings for the presentation of antiwar ideas in the labor movement, the black community and among GIs.

Our demands and actions must be formulated in ways which emphasize the fact that the antiwar movement is defending the fact that the antiwar movement is defending the traditions and constitutional rights of Americans, and that the government is attacking these traditions. We must further explain that the antiwar movement must put the government on the defensive in the eyes of the American people. Antiwar activists must see the need to fight for the civil liberties of antiwar organizations, and of the movement as a whole.

It should also be borne in mind that today's ultra-leftism can easily become tomorrow's opportunism when many of the militants who, today, are expressing their frustration and lack of confidence in the masses in an ultra-leftist manner turn to McCarthy on the basis that he is "better than nothing."

In order to counter this frustration and draw a sharp political line between our perspective for the antiwar movement and that of the ultra-leftists, we must put political strategy and tactics in their proper order. Tactics are very important and must be given serious consideration, but they must be considered in light of what political strategy they serve. The ultra-leftists, substituting tactics for politics, attempt to keep all debates and conflicts on the axis of tactics.

Although the student wing is the most militant component of the antiwar movement, it must be careful not to isolate itself from the movement as a whole, or give the more moderate sections of the movement any excuse for a split. Its overall strategy and tactics must be carried out with the idea of helping to build the movement as a whole, and reaching out to new layers of the population.

With this in mind, the SMC should be the best builder and organizer of the next major national action against the war. It is very important that another focal point for antiwar activity be set so that a vacuum will not be left for the McCarthy forces to set the axis of activity for the antiwar movement. In addition, by mobilizing all components of the antiwar movement, including the adult movement, into a massive action it will help to offset the present weight of the ultra-leftists in the student movement.

As part of the international student antiwar movement the SMC should strengthen its ties with antiwar movements in other countries, coordinate the next major action with them, and help to maximize the overall effect of the international antiwar movement.

The YSA is part of the international socialist wing of the antiwar movement. In this role, along with our European,

Canadian and Japanese comrades we have played the key role in leading and developing the international antiwar movement.

As part of the socialist wing in the antiwar movement YSAers have not only played the role of builders and leaders in the movement, but have raised revolutionary socialist ideas about the imperialist character of the war, about the need for a break from capitalist politics, and about the need for a socialist America. The development of the young socialist movement in support of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle will increase manyfold the opportunities for us to carry our socialist views into the antiwar movement and help us to win many more antiwar militants to the YSA.

December 22, 1967