

young socialist the organizer

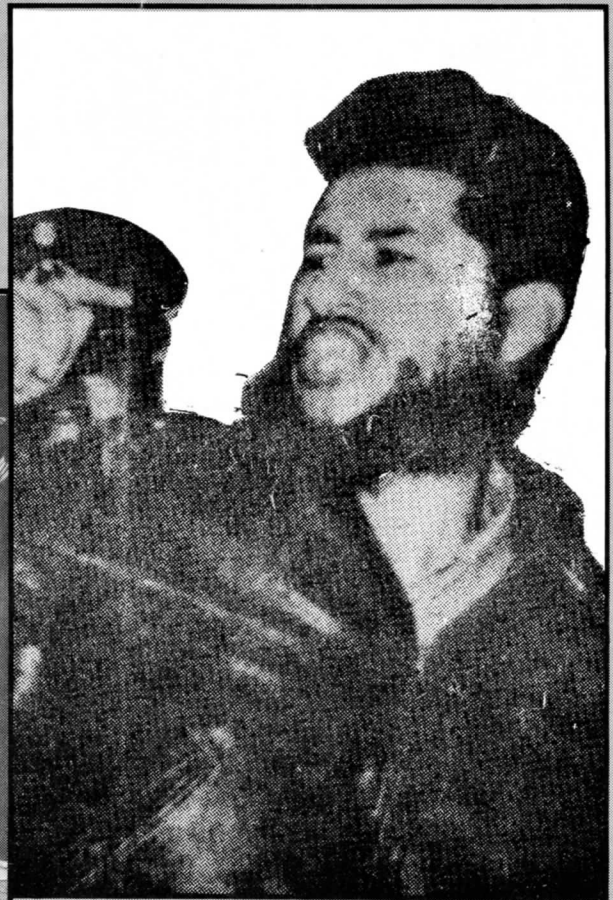
5-13-70



MALCOLM X, MAY 19



MUSTAFA HAIDAR



HUGO BLANCO, MAY 30

PALESTINE SOLIDARITY, MAY 15

10 Cents

The Column

Since the previous issue of *The Young Socialist Organizer* announcing the addition of four new locals, we have again expanded our forces even further with the addition of six new locals. They are: Utica, New York; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Knoxville, Tennessee; Norfolk, Virginia; and Orlando and Tallahassee, Florida. The significance of these latest additions (as of April 23) is the geographical penetration of our forces into the southern portion of the United States. There are now seven locals (not including Texas and west of there) and eight at-large areas in seven different southern states. Three of these locals are in Florida where the comrades report virtually an openfield for recruitment with only a few tired old CPers, some Spartacists and a few decaying SDS chapters around. The current tour being conducted by Rich Finkel, YSA's National Field Secretary, swings through the major areas of the south where we have only a few at-largers, such as Tuscaloosa and Birmingham, Alabama, or none at all, as in New Orleans, La.

It has come to our attention that the postal delivery of bundles of *The Young Socialist Organizer* is very inconsistent, with some locals receiving bundles almost a week later than others even though they are geographically very close. We are checking this situation out with the Post Office here in New York. If deliveries continue to be erratic and/or late please notify us and also check with your local Post Office.

Because of the immediate importance of some of the material contained in *The YS Organizer* such as fund drive scoreboards, and tour schedules, each organizer and National Committee member will be sent a special copy by regular mail for local use and information.

As was projected at our National Convention in December, YSAers around the country are engaging in campus election campaigns. Such campaigns are in progress or have recently been completed in eleven areas. They are: Cal State in Los Angeles; San Francisco State College; the University of Wisconsin in Madison; Utah State University in Logan; Georgia State University in Atlanta; Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts; Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio; Kent State University in Kent, Ohio; the University of Washington in Seattle; Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in Maryland; and the University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago.

YSAers who are planning to run election campaigns should send a copy of the drafted program into the National Office for approval by the National Executive Committee. Comrades carrying out campaigns should also be sure to send in reports to the National Office during and after the campaigns. Since more and more locals and at-large areas will be planning and running campus election campaigns, an exchange of experiences in *The Young Socialist Organizer* will be particularly valuable.

One of the most valuable publications that our movement has is the weekly *Intercontinental Press* (edited by Joseph Hansen; contributing editors are Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel and George Novack). In its own words, "*Intercontinental Press* specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black movements."

Besides carrying major articles by the editors, *Intercontinental Press* prints interviews with leading international revolutionary figures, reports and analyses of developing struggles and current political situations in countries all over the world, statements issued by the Fourth International, and articles dealing with developments inside the Soviet Union, China and the other

workers states. *Intercontinental Press* is indispensable to keeping up with the rapid pace of revolutionary developments and the activities of the revolutionary forces around the world.

The April 27 issue contains a reprint of the "newest case" against Trotskyism that has been issued from the Soviet Union. The article by M. Basmanov, which appeared in the Soviet CP's Central Committee organ, *Kommunist*, is replied to by George Saunders. Saunders' point by point reply totally destroys what is essentially Basmanov's recapitulation of over 30 years of Stalinist slander. This particular issue can be ordered from *Intercontinental Press* for \$.50.

It would be extremely valuable for every YSAer to follow this publication. Also locals should consider buying a subscription to *IP* for their own records and/or library.

A one-year subscription costs \$15. Write to: *Intercontinental Press*, P.O. Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, New York 10010. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

The center fold of the January *Young Socialist*, a picture spread on the 1969 YSA National Convention, is available as a poster. The price of each poster is five cents. Orders should be sent to the National Office.

LOCAL OR AT-LARGE AREA _____

NUMBER OF COPIES _____

ENCLOSED IS \$ _____

PLEASE BILL US _____

— EDITOR

Chicago Campus Campaign Begins

I. *The Objective Situation*

The University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago is a state school with 16,000 students. It was originally designed for "underprivileged" inner city residents and is a commuter campus with no dorms. It is the major political campus in Chicago. Our fraction is extremely strong with eleven comrades and a sizable periphery.

II. *Political Issues*

Two months ago the U of I Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV) changed its name to SMC. Since then the SMC has sponsored two actions, each quite successful. It sponsored Kuntler, who spoke to a crowd of 4,500 and on April 15 held a campus rally of over 4,000 and a feeder march to the city-wide action of 2,500-3,000. This was the largest action ever held on that campus—six times larger than October 15. The authority of SMC following April 15 clearly places it as *the* organization on the campus. The major example of complicity on the campus is ROTC. There has never been a major campaign against it, but on May 13 there is a "ROTC Honor's Day," a traditional ceremony where generals and others of that sort are brought in to speak. The possibilities for a campaign around this are excellent. The SMC also won a fight for the holding of a referendum on the same ballot as the Student Government election on the question, "Are you for immediate withdrawal—yes or no?" This can lay the basis for the anti-ROTC fight.

U of I was originally projected as a university for Black and Latino youth from the center city high schools. The school, however, is actually only 5% Black and has only 140 Latino students. Radicals at the U of I have discussed an open admissions fight for years, and now LASU (Latin American Student Union) is actually beginning to organize such a struggle in collaboration with the YSA. Support for this fight should be broad given the gross contradiction between the stated purpose of the school and the reality of the enrollment.

The YSA recently initiated a women's liberation organization on campus which has con-

sistently drawn 30-40 women to its meetings. They are developing an action-oriented perspective, especially around the question of the university health center and its lack of distribution of birth control information and services. Also being discussed is a struggle around a women's liberation center, including a health center, a daycare center and a women's studies department—all under the control of the students. Interest in the question of women's liberation is high on the campus.

Two weeks ago Governor Ogilvie announced a tuition hike for all state schools of a minimum of 71%! Sentiment against the hike at U of I—as throughout the state—is high among students, faculty (the hike also means a cutback in faculty pay raises) and even some of the administrators. Fred Lovgren, running for U of I Board of Trustees on the state-wide SWP slate, is chairman of the mass action subcommittee of the group organized to fight the hike. We are projecting a mass rally against the hike for May 6—the day of the elections. We expect this action to be sizable and hope to coordinate it with similar actions on campuses throughout the state, especially those where we have strength, like at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb.

All in all, on the main political campus in the city there is a whirlwind of political activity—all of which the YSA is leading. At the same time, we came out of April 15th with tremendous prestige, a sizable periphery and having virtually smashed our opponents on the campus. A number of the best independents are already supporters of the state-wide SWP slate and we have a loose Young Socialist Campaigners group with whom we discussed plans for the elections and who are excited about our projections.

III. *Facts about the Campaign*

The positions open in this election are president, vice-president and treasurer of the student government as a slate. There are to other posts run for separately—external vice-president and internal vice-president. We have to gather 300 petition signatures for the slate and 200 for either of the two VPs. Petitioning runs from April 15-22 and the elections are May 6 and 7.

IV. *Our Campaign*

Our campaign will center around the four main points enumerated under the political situation. We want to build these struggles and identify our campaign as the best builders. We want to tie our campaign directly into the statewide SWP campaign—especially easily done since two of the fraction members are candidates for the U of I Board of Trustees, challenging the industrialists and bankers who control the decisions concerning the character and purpose of the U. of I. We want to point out that we are campaigning not just for student government but also for taking the trustees' power into the hands of students, faculty, the Third World community and working people in general. Also by tying into the statewide campaign we relate the Young Socialist slate to the overall struggle for a socialist America in a concrete sense.

Our projected program for the campaign is: *Vietnam and Campus Complicity*—The fight to end the racist genocidal war in Vietnam remains the crucial task confronting us today. The Young Socialist Campaigners were among the most active builders of the massive April 15th antiwar actions. Building a massive, independent, non-exclusionary antiwar movement is an integral part of our campaign.

On this campus a campaign must be launched to eliminate all aspects of campus complicity with the war. We call for no military recruiters on campus and the abolition of ROTC. ROTC is the war in Vietnam on our campus. In addition we wholeheartedly support the Student Mobilization Committee's campaign for a binding referendum on the war. *Women's Liberation*—Our educational institutions are designed to perpetuate the oppression of women which is as essential to this capitalist system as is racism. We call for the teaching of the *truth* about the history and role of women in our society—to be concretized in a women's studies department. The right of women to control their bodies and to receive adequate medical care are basic demands of women's liberation. We demand the UICC health service provide birth control on demand,

continued from the preceding page

abortion referral, a gynecologist and a day care center to serve the entire university community. **Open Admissions**—Circle was supposedly set up to serve the inner city—to serve those who couldn't afford to go elsewhere. Yet less than five percent of the student population is Black and less than 150 are Latin, out of a student population of 16,000! We call for the open admission of all Black and Brown high school students who wish to continue their education at Circle. **Tuition**—The recent proposed tuition hike by Governor Ogilvie must be fought by all Circle students. The state and federal governments send troops into Vietnam, the Post Office and onto college campuses and then propose that working people and students pay for the war and suppression of movements for social change by increased taxes and tuition hikes. We call for coordinated mass actions on every university in Illinois that say to Ogilvie and his cohorts, "Enough, No Tuition Hike!"

We are also planning to issue a campaign position paper on concrete questions of educational reform using the question of grading etc. to counterpose a socialist conception of education to the liberal concept of small reforms to make the university more palatable while continuing to turn out robot-technicians for capitalist industry. We are planning to reissue the "Questions and Answers on a Socialist Campaign," which was used in the Binghamton campaign. Lastly, we are planning to put out a biographical leaflet demonstrating that our candidates grow out of, and are leaders of, the ongoing struggles on the campus.

V. Our Candidates

(1) Carol Burke for President—Carol is a leading comrade in women's liberation work and is respected in the group on the campus. She is also an activist in the SMC and combined the two by playing a leading role in Women United Against the War.

(2) Gilberto DeLeon for Vice-President—He is chairman of the subcommittee in LASU which is initiating the open admissions fight. He is also treasurer of the SMC. He agrees with our program and as a Latino student and leader in LASU is a valuable addition to the slate which will tie the campaign to the open admissions fight. Also, he has around him a milieu of Latino students from LASU who can be brought into the campaign and closer to the YSA.

(3) Mark Ugolini for Treasurer—Mark is chairman of the SMC and spoke at both the Kunstler rally of 4,500 and the April 15th rally

of 4,000. Because of this antiwar work he is well known on the campus. Perhaps the attitude is best summed up when, on April 16, he was sitting at the YSA table in the union and a girl came up to the table and said "Gee, aren't you the one that led the march yesterday? That was the greatest thing ever at Circle."

(4) Linn Friewald for External Vice President—Linn is active in the women's liberation group.

(5) Internal Vice-President—Because of the tremendous amount of work the fraction has in the coming period, along with the size of the fraction, we are not projecting running for this post. The key thing in the campaign is the slate of three, and our campaign is attractive enough without running for this post in a token way.

VI. Opponent Slates

As far as we know, there are two other slates—a left-liberal slate and an ultraleft hippie slate.

1) The Left Liberals—Responsive Action Party or RAP—They are student newspaper types (we are anticipating trouble with coverage because of this and are preparing an "equal time fight") whose perspective is to take care of all the problems by little committees of faculty and "student leaders." They haven't been active in any of the struggles and will be running as the "responsible" candidates. Their slate contains no women or Third Worlders. Their platform doesn't mention either the war or open admissions. They are our major opponents and we will center our fire on them, challenging them to debate on anything. They are highly susceptible to exposure, tied into the present "administration" and have no real answers to the unrest on the campus.

(2) The ultraleft-hippies-Mad Dog slate—They are a slate organized by a RYMer. They are not projecting a serious campaign and we agree. They may not seriously attempt to get on the ballot. Their program is the 12-point program of the PRG and a 10-point program, most of which is not bad: ROTC off campus, no tuition increase, open admissions, free sex care (birth control info, VD treatment and abortions), etc., but the real character of their campaign is indicated by point #10: Suggested school officials:

Chancellor: Eldridge Cleaver

Dean of Students: Abbie Hoffman, alias FREE

Dean of Men: Venus

Dean of Women: Casanova

Another indication is just their name, the Mad Dogs. None of their candidates has been active in any of the struggles on campus, and they have no Third World students on their slate.

Our approach is that if we mount a serious challenge to the liberal slate, the ultraleftists will be pushed aside. We will attempt to expose them as unserious and totally lacking in an approach to win any demands—ask why they aren't active in the SMC, etc. Also we will challenge them, especially the RYMer, on where they stand on socialism and the statewide SWP campaign. Lastly, we will expose them as sectarian, because by our slate being as attractive as it is and as dynamic as we project, they will look pale in comparison and, given the similarity of some of their program to ours, why aren't they supporting us instead of running against us?

VII. Opponent Tendencies

In general they are demoralized because of our successes through the whole last period and our clear hegemony on the campus. They are:

(1) IS—There is one member of International Socialists on the campus. He can't decide what to do, has no periphery and is tending toward the Mad Dog slate on the basis that it opposes us.

(2) RYM—Again there is only one RYM member on the campus with a small periphery. In the past she has limited her activity to selling the Black Panther paper. She is running on the Mad Dog ticket.

(3) PL-SDS—They put a number of people on the campus at the beginning of the year because they recognized the central importance of the campus to the city. However, they have been unable to make a dent and have basically no periphery. As far as we know they are abstaining "on principle" from the electoral arena.

VIII. Conclusion

The political situation, the strength of our slate and the opportunities the opponent slates give us to take them on and expose them all add up to what should be an exciting action campaign. We want to publicize and build all the struggles that are in progress. We want to consolidate the activists we have brought around us through our work and reach out and draw new forces to us. We hope to consolidate a good campaign youth supporter group for the statewide SWP campaign, strengthen our overall position on the campus and massively propagandize the socialist alternative. Also, we want to train the comrades in the fraction in how to run a campaign, thereby strengthening the fraction both qualitatively and quantitatively.

JOHN STUDER
Chicago YSA

Fund Drive Still Lags

As the fund drive moves into its eleventh week we continue to lag quite far behind: we have reached 41% of the national quota and are \$7250 behind schedule.

There are, however, several encouraging indications that we will be able to successfully complete the fund drive and go over the top by June 1. First, two more locals have raised their quotas: New York from \$3000 to \$3200 and DeKalb from \$140 to \$200. Second, the volume of payments received by the National Office has increased markedly in the last week. Third, a number of locals which had not previously made any payments have sent in up to 50% of their quotas.

The total national quota now stands at \$27,925. Two locals, Hoboken and Chapel Hill, have returned to the status of at-large areas. At the same time, we have also recruited a number of new locals, as noted in "The Column." Payments by the 14 locals which have been recruited since the fund drive began will be credited in the "general" category. A breakdown of the general category showing which new locals and at-large areas have made payments will be a regular feature of future fund drive reports.

The functioning of the YSA as a national organization is dependent on the money collected during fund drives. These are the funds that enable us to staff the National Office, send our National Field Secretary on YSA-building tours, publish pamphlets, put out buttons and posters and so on. If the YSA is to take advantage of the many opportunities for building the YSA that lay before us in 1970, and that we envision continuing in the future, it is absolutely essential for us to complete this fund drive successfully.

There are now five weeks remaining. Every local in the country which is currently behind should examine its financial situation and take the steps necessary to bring it on schedule by the next scoreboard.

FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD (as of April 25)

LOCAL	QUOTA	PAID	%	MILWAUKEE	100	0	0
PHOENIX	150	150	100	NEWARK	250	0	0
WORCESTER	125	97.50	78	OXFORD	100	0	0
CHICAGO	2100	1540	73	PATERSON	100	0	0
ANN ARBOR	100	62.45	62	SAN DIEGO	100	0	0
PHILADELPHIA	1600	875	55	SAN JOAQUIN	100	0	0
PORTLAND	100	55	55	ST. LOUIS	100	0	0
DETROIT	1900	950	50	YPSILANTI	100	0	0
COLUMBUS	100	50	50	NATIONAL OFFICE	2000	1400	70
HOUSTON	100	50	50	GENERAL	600	162.34	27
KENT	100	50	50	TOTAL	\$27,925	\$11,374.59	41
BOSTON	1700	836	49	SHOULD BE	\$27,925	\$18,616.67	67
BERKELEY	1500	700	47				
ATLANTA	550	257	47	GENERAL SCOREBOARD			
TWIN CITIES	1500	676	45	ANCHORAGE, ALASKA			\$62.40
NEW YORK	3200	1400	44	NEW CONCORD, OHIO			15.00
CLEVELAND	1900	605	32	NORTHAMPTON, MASS.			15.00
PROVIDENCE	250	75	30	CARLISLE, PA.			11.50
KANSAS CITY	100	30	30	MARIETTA, OHIO			10.00
LOS ANGELES	1800	516	29	OAKLAND CITY, IND.			9.50
HAYWARD	150	40	27	HEMPSTEAD, N.Y.			5.00
SAN FRANCISCO	1600	409.50	26	CINCINNATI, OHIO			5.00
ANTIOCH	100	25	25	ERIE, PA.			5.00
WASHINGTON DC	650	131	20	CHAMPAIGN, ILL.			5.00
AUSTIN	500	75	15	LOGAN, UTAH			5.00
DEKALB	200	25	12	IOWA CITY, IOWA			5.00
SEATTLE	500	54.20	11	LACROSSE, WISC.			2.00
MADISON	800	70.60	9	GRAND PRAIRIE, TEXAS			2.00
RED HOOK	100	7	7	COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.			1.90
ALBANY	100	0	0	FLINT, MICH.			1.54
ATHENS	100	0	0	CHESAPEAKE, VA.			1.50
BINGHAMTON	100	0	0	TOTAL			\$162.34
BLOOMINGTON	100	0	0				
BOULDER	200	0	0				
EASTERN WASHINGTON				ANDY ROSE			
(Cheney and Pullman)	100	0	0	Fund Drive Director			
GAINESVILLE	100	0	0	YSA National Office			
MANSFIELD	100	0	0				

The History of the YSA Ten Years of Struggle (Part 2)

(Because of the length of this talk and the restriction of space, the concluding part of this talk will be presented in the next issue. This is the second part, then, of a three part series commemorating the first ten years of the YSA. This talk was presented in Boston on March 22 by Peter Camejo, a founding member and long-time leader of the YSA. He is presently the SWP senatorial candidate in Massachusetts.)

We entered 1962 internally divided but, generally, everyone we recruited tended to be pro-Cuban and understood the analysis that said Cuba had had a socialist revolution. The minority tended to be isolated to New York and the Bay Area. A little later on the leaders of the minority itself split while they were still in the organization. At first we didn't know what political differences there were and I don't know myself whether or not they split first and then discovered political differences or whether they had political differences and then split. Jim Robertson and Shane Mage carried the majority of the minority split, and Tim Wohlforth and Freddy Mazelis were in the minority of the minority.

I also want to tell you about a few other things that happened in 1962. In '62 the first mass peace march on Washington since the 50's took place. It was in protest of the extensive atomic bomb testing. This march was led by the student peace union, which was led politically by the Young Peoples Socialist League. If you were on such a peace march today you

should be heard. We also said that it should be, just like we advocate today, an organization against war and bomb testing which everyone who has a position on that issue can work through and that all points of view should be represented. Well, we lost and the Third Camp position became the official position of the Student Peace Union. It said that the Soviet Union, China and the United States were equally to blame for the problems of the world and so forth. Even though we got 20% of the vote at the convention they wouldn't give us any representation on the national leadership. The people who did all this are today the leaders of the International Socialists.

I'll give you another example of what things were like politically at this time. We had a picket line in New York against a Young Americans for Freedom rally, a real big right-wing rally. We said that anyone who wants to picket and who agrees with the reasons for picketing this right-wing racist rally, could join a committee—we called it the Youth Organizing Committee Against the Ultraright Rally, or something like that. We started putting out leaflets when all of a sudden another leaflet appears. This other leaflet was co-sponsored by ADA, SDS, which was just born, and the Young Democrats. It was supported by the Communist Party youth, Advance. Their leaflet said, "The following regulations will be strictly enforced on the line at the rally: The only posters allowed on the line will be those provided by the sponsoring organizations and the only literature permitted on

gether and leave. Fred tells them, "Yeah, I came here with four people, let me see if I can find them." So meanwhile, the line keeps going around while Fred is holding off the cops negotiating with them. This goes on and on.

Finally, the other line starts off a block away. They had asked the cops to block our line, which they did. As a result no one else could get on our line. That was the political situation in 1962. You can understand what we were working against.

Let me tell you where SDS comes from because it emerges around this time. All these groups had some kind of evil birth but SDS had one of the worst. There was a thing called the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) which was made up of social democratic trade union bureaucrats. They once had a youth group but it had disappeared. LID did have a budget, however. They had a whole section of their budget set aside for their youth group, but there were maybe only three people left in it. So some ex-CPers—the Gatesites, led by Steve Max and others—discovered this and decided to join SDS and get this money. What SDS did was have student actions for liberal things and form blocs with the Young Democrats. So SDS begins as a very small group of super right-wing liberals. I remember a demonstration that they had in New York in support of some Democratic Party politician. This is the type of thing they did and this is how they were viewed by most people who were in any way socialist. Even YPSL was considered to the left of SDS at this time.

The official programmatic position was outlined by Tom Hayden as SDS began to grow. There was an attraction for a type of organization that was very loose, open and liberal. So Tom Hayden, whom you know today as one of America's greatest ultraleftists, wrote their original programmatic position paper called the Port Huron Statement. The basic analysis of that statement was that in order to make social change you had to penetrate the establishment. The goal was to try to realign the Democratic and Republican Parties, to get all the good guys into the Democratic Party and all the bad guys into the Republican Party. Then, you see, there would be a good party and a bad party—wouldn't that be great? The document pointed out that there's racism in the United States, that the U.S. seems to be pro-war and said that this should be changed. The essence of the matter was that you had to try to influence a section of the ruling class.

In 1962 the Cuban blockade also took place. Suddenly the President went on the air and said that we might all be killed in the next ten minutes. The way Kennedy was talking you would think that the Cubans were just about ready to invade the United States at 20 different points. The Cuban militia was going to swim to Miami. The Cubans had missiles, Kennedy said. They were offensive missiles pointed at the United States. The United States had missiles pointed at Cuba but they were defensive missiles. Then Kennedy announced the blockade and sent the ships out. The Soviet ships were already heading towards Cuba but they stopped in the middle of the ocean. There was a possibility of a direct confrontation that could have led to a world war. Kennedy was willing to risk the entire human race because he wanted to show off the might of the United States against this tiny little country which the U.S. had just got through invading the year before. Cuba was doing everything it could to defend itself while it was openly being spoken about by Republicans and Democrats, people in the government, and by Cuban counter-revolutionaries, that the United States was preparing to invade Cuba again. It was under those conditions that Cuba was trying to defend itself.

YPSL went and put out a leaflet blaming both Cuba and the United States. Most people didn't do anything. We tried as best we could to mobilize all the forces we could get to defend Cuba.

At the time, as it happened, I was on a national tour speaking in defense of Cuba. I remember the scare very well. I was at some campus in Connecticut where I was supposed to speak. All of a sudden I hear Kennedy's voice coming



simply wouldn't believe it. Those people who were in YPSL are the same people, by the way, who today are in the SMC telling us that we're not radical enough—the International Socialists.

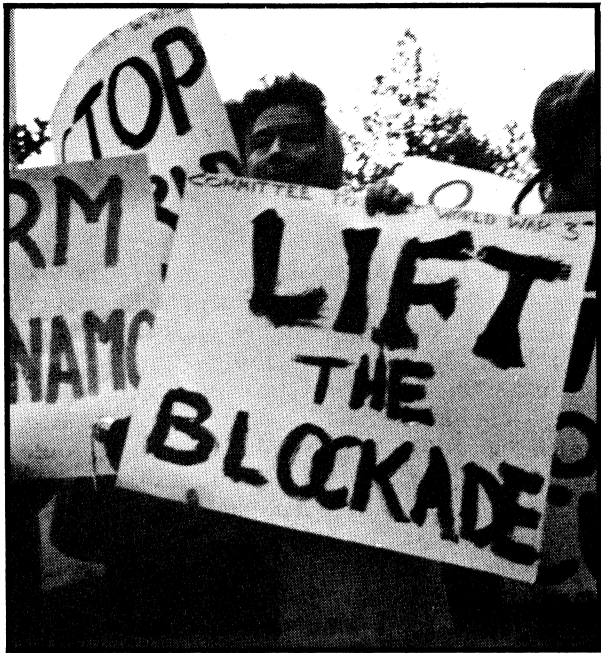
You should have seen what their march was like when they controlled it. No tendency was allowed to sell papers! We couldn't sell the *Young Socialist*. On top of that, everyone had to march without making a sound—silent. You would just march to some war monument and stand there looking at it, then everyone would turn and walk away. Meanwhile, Kennedy was offering coffee for everyone in the White House.

The official leaflet that was handed out for that march came out against Communist expansionism, asking both sides, the oppressed and the oppressors, to be peaceful. Well, naturally, we wouldn't accept that—the YSA, we're such disrupters you know, we believe in free speech, free assembly and the right to put out our ideas. About 20 or 30 of us went down to Washington for the march with our *Young Socialists* in paper bags. Suddenly, when they didn't expect it, we pulled them out and started selling them. Their monitors would get all upset but the Communist Party youth were the worst. They would yell, "What are you doing? You're destroying the demonstration by selling your paper!"

Then YPSL went to the SPU convention and they had the Student Peace Union adopt their entire program, the Third Camp position. The YSA's position in the SPU was that all groups opposed to war and bomb testing should be allowed in, that the SPU shouldn't impose any one point of view and that every point of view

the line will be that provided by the sponsoring organizations." Anyone who felt that he could not comply with the above was asked not to participate. In other words, you couldn't bring your own posters, you couldn't leaflet or even say anything—you just had to march under their orders. Can you imagine somebody trying to do that today on some demonstration? As you can imagine, we didn't follow that.

We went down there and had a picket line that included people carrying any poster that they wanted. The co-sponsors of the other picket line arranged privately with the cops to make sure that only their picket line would be in front of the building and that the cops would remove us if we appeared. But we tricked them. Since it's many years later, I can tell you how we did it. We got there early—the cops are so stupid they didn't know which group was which—and we started picketing. I'll never forget Fred Halstead. You should read about how they attacked him, it's all in the YS. They said, "... and who was that man who was out there as a picket captain? Fred Halstead, well known Socialist Workers Party leader." Fred went out there and the cops asked which group this was picketing and Fred said, "This is the peaceful group." Then along come the Young Democrats, SDS and the CPers who are screaming about us having taken their block. So they go to the police and ask them to get us off their block. The police came over to Fred and said, "I'm sorry, but you're the wrong group, you're not supposed to have this area and you'll have to leave." So Fred says, "Oh, that's too bad." The cops then told Fred to get his people to-



over the loudspeaker. Immediately after Kennedy was finished I hear this voice over the same loudspeaker saying, "And now you can go to hear the Cuban side in room 304." That was Dick McBride, who now works in the print shop in New York. He had grabbed the microphone before the guy could turn it off. We got a big crowd which wasn't very hostile at all.

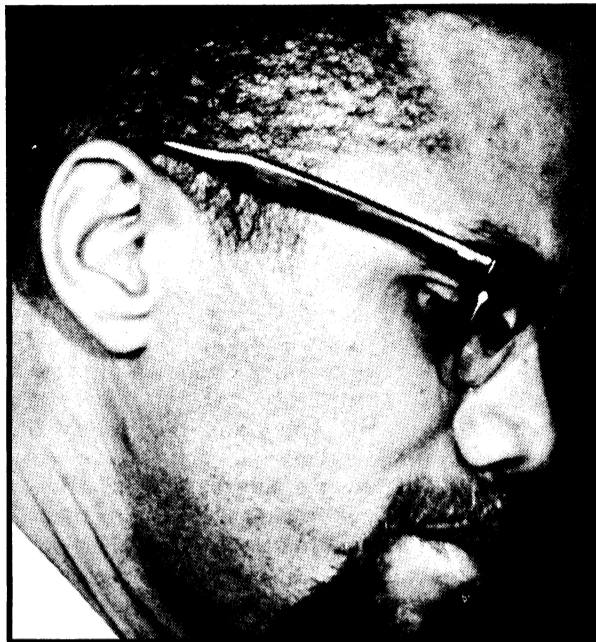
In Bloomington, Indiana, some of the YSAers there did something which was a little too risky under the objective situation. They went out and formed a picket line in defense of Cuba. The 15-man picket line was attacked by a mob of 3,000. By the way, you should understand that in this period you just didn't go out and demonstrate—the right was stronger than we were and you could get hurt. I remember a demonstration in 1960 of eight YSAers against atomic bomb testing and in support of the Japanese demonstrations against Eisenhower's visit. They were mobbed by about 400 people. We once had a YSA picket line in Harvard Square that was attacked by the Harvard football team. The Harvard football team actually organized and came down to our lines. It was a different period than we're living in now.

Something else came out of that mob attack on our Bloomington comrades. Everyone became aware of this Marxist group that existed in Bloomington, Indiana. One of the people who became aware of that was the local district attorney who wanted to make a big name for himself. He waited until the YSA had a speaker on campus, Leroy MacRae, a Black YSAer on national tour explaining YSA politics. The district attorney charged three Bloomington YSAers with one of the 1950 conspiracy laws, which existed all over this country, making it illegal to be a communist or hold any sort of communist position. In fact, the Indiana law literally said that the goal of this law was to exterminate people who believed in Marxism. The district attorney picked Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan, and said that because they organized this meeting and allowed this revolutionary to speak, they were plotting to overthrow the state of Indiana. Of course, we assured them that the goal wasn't the state of Indiana. The YSAers faced three years in prison.

On top of that, the district attorney got the local landlord of one of the three YSAers to figure out a way to slip a microphone into his apartment. The defendants had a meeting with their lawyer which the D.A. taped. They were then charged with a second charge of conspiracy for the things that they said at this meeting with their lawyer. We began a gigantic national defense around them. We put out brochures, spoke all over the country and gathered support from anyone we could on the basis of civil liberties. We put such gigantic political pressure on the prosecution that when the case came before the court, the district attorney's first words were, "I've lost this case in public opinion already because of what these communists have done."

In this period too, were the first developments of the new Black nationalism which was exemplified by Malcolm X. As early as October, 1963, you'll find an official resolution by the YSA supporting the development of Black nationalism. We began reporting Malcolm X's ideas and supporting them. In those days, both the Socialist Party and the Communist Party attacked Malcolm. The Communist Party went so far as to call him a neo-fascist. Even very few Black groups would support Malcolm—he was alone. There was terrific sympathy for him, but groups like SNCC, for example, would not say

a word about Malcolm. In that period we also campaigned a lot in defense of SNCC. At this same time there was a mass civil rights demonstration in Detroit where over 200,000 Black people came out into the streets because of a united front action.



In late 1963, the minority in the YSA began to really harden up. They had decided that the YSA didn't hold any future for them since they could never win the majority. So what they decided to do was to work within the YSA as an opponent group. They began organizing themselves independently, trying to recruit people outside of the YSA to their point of view, rather than recruiting to the YSA's point of view.

At the same time the Progressive Labor Movement was organizing a trip to Cuba. Since the YSA supported Cuba, we applied for the trip. The people in the minority fingered the YSAers who applied for the trip so that the PLers could exclude them. In return for this the minority got a backroom deal to get only minority representatives to go on the trip.

The minority also had a document which explained what they were going to do, that is, how they were going to work against the YSA and the SWP but stay within them. We found out about this document so we expelled them. They went on to form a group called the Spartacist League and a group called the Workers League. The Spartacist League was much larger than the Workers League but gradually they have disintegrated to the point of near extinction. I haven't seen them for about a year now. There might still be some remnants of it. The Workers League, as you all know, puts out the *Bulletin* every week explaining what's wrong with the YSA. They've devoted themselves to it. You'll never see more coverage of the YSA in any paper on the whole left. According to them we sell out on things we're not even around—it's incredible.

After the Cuban crisis, YPSL, which had become the largest youth organization on the left, began to decline. Advance, the CP youth group, also declined. The YSA had grown a little. The

Communist Party decided to build another youth group. They called it the DuBois Club. They formed it out on the west coast on the same general line as Advance—we're going to be broad, we're going to be huge and so forth. We went to the founding convention and said, "O.K., the first motion we want to present is that this broad group, which says that it is for socialism, will not support capitalist politicians." They said, "Oh no, wait a second." They voted on that, we lost, so we walked out. That helped clarify the situation. Then we entered the elections of 1964.

Everybody but everybody on the left was for LBJ. In fact, you were considered a little bit loony if you couldn't understand the very simple fact that you had to vote for him because Goldwater was running against him. If the ruling class wanted to get Mussolini elected they would just run Hitler against him. SDS had a button which said, "Part of the Way With LBJ," which all their members would wear. They went out knocking on doors to help get LBJ elected. The DuBois Club didn't like the button because they were *all* the way with LBJ. They were out knocking on doors. SNCC was also out campaigning for LBJ. The Socialist Party actively campaigned for LBJ. Norman Thomas would go on television all over the country saying how great LBJ was, especially since Humphrey was his vice-presidential candidate. The people in YPSL were really hard put because there was a sizable faction that had never supported an open Democrat, to my knowledge. They were under terrific pressure as to which way they would go, many of them stuck to their guns. These people voted that they wouldn't support LBJ. Do you know what happened then? The Socialist Party expelled them for not supporting LBJ! The people who were expelled formed the American Socialist Organizing Committee, then they called themselves the Independent Socialist Club and now they call themselves the International Socialists.

The *Guardian's* position during the election was also incorrect. They said, "Well, LBJ's not bad, but well, we don't know, it's hard to say . . . I can see your point," etc.—they just couldn't decide. They would say things like, "The fact that LBJ might lose the election would make us consider that in fact maybe we shouldn't abstain." And then Aronson, the editor at that time, would say that it was purely a tactical question, vote any way you want. The point is that they didn't have the guts to say, "Don't vote for LBJ, he's part of the ruling class." They wanted to cover their left flank.

The SWP and YSA position was very clear—don't vote for Lyndon Baines Johnson because he is part of the ruling class, period. You should have seen the trouble we had getting a hearing. People thought we were crazy for running against LBJ. But in spite of that some people began to agree and we recruited some people out of that election campaign. In any case, we established very clearly who it was in the United States that opposed the capitalist parties. That was the same year, by the way, that this gradual radicalization that had been taking place among the students, especially around the civil rights activity, broke out in Berkeley around the famous Free Speech Movement. That was also the year



that Malcolm X left the Muslims and began developing in an independent direction. The year 1965 was also the turning point for the YSA.

When the escalation started developing in Vietnam and the consensus around LBJ began to break down, the radicalization that had been going on in the early 60's, movements which included Woolworth picketing, the civil rights work, the student activities and the Free Speech Movements, now began to deepen at a much higher tempo.

We had grown somewhat by the time of the fifth convention of the YSA in 1965. There were 205 people at that convention—we were probably not much larger than that at that time. We had a fund drive of \$6,700 and a drive for 1,800 subscriptions. That was considered real big.

At the same time, the Progressive Labor Party enters the scene and holds its founding convention. They already had a record for three or four years of being Maoists. They had sided with China in the big Sino-Soviet split. I don't want to spend much time on them—we have a whole pamphlet on them which everyone should read. I'll just mention a few of their positions. They were for the Cuban revolution until China didn't like Cuba, then Cuba became a capitalist country. They were for the National Liberation Front in Vietnam until rifts began to develop with China. Now the NLF is a sellout. They were for Black nationalism when they thought they could get something out of it, then they decided that they were against it.

They change their line continually. They do this the way Catholics go and confess. It's called self-criticism. "I was petty-bourgeois. I was wrong. I was influenced by Black nationalism." When they change their line again they will say that they were influenced by something else and confess. This way, you see, you can always change your line and people will say, "Oh, you've learned from your mistakes."

They are opposed to the women's liberation movement. They don't believe that the family as an institution is a leftover from the reactionary past. They believe that there can be reactionary and revolutionary families—and they call themselves Marxists.

At their founding convention in 1965 they said that the SWP was wrong because we criticized the Soviet Union too much. In a couple of years, because the Chinese line had changed, they decided that the Soviet Union was *imperialist!* Stop and think about that. In 1965 the Soviet Union was a socialist country. Then in a matter of a short period of time, *Progressive Labor*, their magazine, comes out and says that Russia is capitalist. Now, can you imagine the mentality of a person who would do that? One-sixth of the world went from being socialist to being capitalist and nobody noticed it except them in their magazine. The capitalists didn't notice it. The Russians didn't notice it. Mao didn't even notice it. PL noticed it before Mao did! How come Mao, great Marxist-Leninist number one, he who knows everything, hadn't noticed that one-sixth of the world had gone from socialism to capitalism? That's a slight oversight, isn't it?

Countries go from socialism to capitalism and back to socialism depending on whatever tactical need PL has—they're not serious political people. They make Cuba go back to capitalism while Albania, of course, is a beautiful example of socialism. Czechoslovakia is fascist and Russia is imperialist. So in 1968 we had an imperialist nation invade a fascist one. Then they explain that these countries are revisionist. In other words, these are revisionist capitalist countries. They are not good capitalist countries.

To be a revisionist means that you have to be within the workers' movement because you are revising Marx within the movement. You can't be on the other side of the fence and be revisionist. So what does it mean to be revisionist capitalist? It's rhetoric, just a play with words and totally meaningless.

I want to talk about the antiwar movement and how we related to it. When the antiwar movement began every group had to respond to it. Let me tell you how they responded. Basically, organizationally, they responded to it in a very sectarian way. The DuBois Club said, "We're against the war, everybody should join us." PL had a front youth group at that time called the May 2 Movement. They said, "The May 2 Movement is against the war in Vietnam, so why doesn't

everybody just join us?" SDS said the same thing. The Independent Socialist Club didn't like the antiwar movement either to start with. In fact, their main thing back in 1965 was to hand out leaflets attacking the National Liberation Front.

Let me tell you something about PL in this period. They were passing around this petition—their response to the war in Vietnam—which read, "We, the undersigned, are young Americans of draft age. We understand our obligation to defend our country and to serve in the armed forces, but we object to being asked to support the war in Vietnam." These are the people who are telling us that the antiwar movement can't have a liberal speaker on the platform in a united front. We should ask them when they are going to do a little self-criticism on this one. You know what they say now when you ask them about this? It never happened, what are you talking about? I was at the SDS convention last June and asked some PLers about the petition that they circulated. They said, "That's a Trotskyist lie."

The YSA's position right from the start was totally different from all the other groups. It simply said this: There is a sentiment immediately visible against the war that could become very massive, even though at first it will be limited mainly to radical groups and some other layers. We said that since these people have no other basic political agreements, what we need to do is form an organization that can unite all of these people around the issue on which they do agree, and that is to oppose the war. Our basic tactic has been to keep the movement independent of the power structure, non-exclusionary within the movement, and that the movement stand for and fight for immediate withdrawal as the principled basis upon which all these forces could be united. That's what we said from the start and we can stand and say the exact same thing today. What other organization can go back to their antiwar position in 1965 and repeat their line?

Take the CP for example. The CP's line was "negotiate." They were opposed to the demand of immediate withdrawal. The Socialist Party had the same position.

In 1965 SDS called a demonstration against the war in Vietnam and called it on a correct basis, that is, non-exclusionary and mass action oriented. It was a successful demonstration of over 20,000. Right after that, however, SDS, at their National Council meeting, decided that the war in Vietnam was not the major question and that they should go back to local community organizing. At their next convention they discussed the war and what should be done to stop it. Since they really didn't have any politics, since they didn't have any concept of how to get from where you are to somewhere else, that is, how to build a mass movement, they argued extensively over how the war could be stopped.

There's one way you can stop the war: when you're about to shoot a gun, you don't shoot. If one side doesn't shoot then the other side wins and the war's over. Another way is to refuse to go. So this very mechanistic formula that they came up with was that you should urge soldiers, each individual, not to go. Well, they didn't adopt this position because they couldn't get agreement on anything. There were about ten different views with no one view receiving enough support to become their official position. SDS had no position on how to end the war, so they did nothing, and that was their line from then on in—with lots of rhetoric.

Instead of building the antiwar movement they would start big projects like anti-draft week and then nothing would happen. Then they had "ten days that shook the empire," and nothing happened. And it went on and on like that.

It was in this period that we had the appearance of ultraleftism. Let me speak on that for a minute.

A lot of people think that ultraleftists are those people who talk really radical and who are further to the left than we are, you see, they're against *imperialism* and for the National Liberation Front. The appearance of the ultraleftists can be understood in the same way that one can understand how a person gets ill, what his disease is, and where he picked it up and so forth.

Where does ultraleftism come from? It appeared along with the antiwar movement. Why? Because the war in Vietnam was the most obvious example of capitalism, what it is and what it

does, and they realized that they were almost helpless—they would have a mass demonstration and it wouldn't end the war. LBJ didn't care what they thought. So, as liberals who had always believed in the last analysis that the ruling class was rational, what they do is try to find some individual in the ruling class who they could support. But all of a sudden they see the entire spectrum of the ruling class supporting this most horrible war and a deep frustration sets in. Never having had the thought that they could win over the mass of the American people—because out of their liberalism they were prejudiced against the mass of the American people, especially working people—they began to say that what had to be done is "escalate the militancy."

It's like if you wanted to convince your father of something when you were a little kid. The first thing you do is go and ask him. If he says no, you break a window to get his attention. It's basically the same type of concept.



If just holding a demonstration doesn't convince the ruling class, then they simply go out and try to be more militant, trying to get the ruling class to say, "Oh, gee, this war is creating dissension among our youth, we're losing our children." And you know, the greatest youth cultists of all, the ultraleftists, are always emphasizing that America is losing its children, its young. They don't see the struggle as a class question. You'll never hear any of these ultraleftists, like Tom Hayden, Jerry Rubin, or Rennie Davis, talk about the struggle as a class question. Their politics are still basically the same as those of the liberals.

During the Democratic Party convention demonstrations called by these ultraleftists, they would say, "We're going to riot in the streets," and then they would show people practicing karate. While they were doing all this, Tom Hayden and the other leaders were negotiating secretly with the Democratic Party to support McCarthy. They were negotiating and came to an agreement that if McCarthy had a chance to be elected, they would call off the demonstrations. Then at the final rally which they had set up so that McCarthy could come and speak, they turned the mike over to him saying, "Our rally is over." All those kids who had just demonstrated in all these super-ultraleft actions gave McCarthy gigantic applause. It is clear that these demonstrations were called to try, in an ultra-left way and using ultraleft tactics, to influence what happened inside the Democratic Party. Underneath it all, they are just as liberal as the day before because they have no feeling, no politics, no program, no understanding of how to change this society. You'll see these ultraleftists flip back and forth between ultraleft and liberal politics. The Panthers went through this evolution and now they are supporting Democratic Party candidates like Ron Dellums in California. In spite of all the rhetoric of the ultraleftists, there is no political content in what they say because they simply do not understand the society and how to change it. All the ultra-left rhetoric is nothing but a reflection of another way to try and get around building a mass movement in this country to change society.

From 1970 Cal State Campaign

A Socialist Approach to Ecology Action

BOB CHESTER

(These are introductory remarks for use in the ecology teach-ins. Any one of the points raised can be supplemented by more facts and arguments.)

INTRODUCTION

Ecology has become a major issue even though the problem has been with us for a long time. Environmental problems existed in the early factories and factory towns from the beginning of capitalism. Poor air, poor lighting, noise, fumes, dangerous equipment were rife. Squalid surroundings with poor ventilation, sanitation, heat or conveniences were standard in workers' homes and living areas.

The environment issue has recently been brought to the fore by incidents like the nerve gas releases in Utah and Okinawa, the defoliation and napalm used in Vietnam, and the oil spills in Santa Barbara and the Gulf of Mexico.

The awareness by national and state administrations of the environment crisis indicates the scope of the problem.

HOW REAL IS THE DANGER?

Air pollution is affecting the health of the general population. In the Los Angeles area it damages millions of dollars in crops, makes it impossible to grow others, and has wiped out stands of pines and other vegetation in wide areas. Breathing the air in New York City is equivalent to smoking 38 cigarettes a day. Cumulative emissions of carbon dioxide are blanketing the earth and, by upsetting the greenhouse effect that keep the earth's temperature stable, threaten to change the world climate with drastic effects.

Insecticides and other poisons have both immediate and long-term effects. We ingest them in our food, which contains residues of spraying, etc. They are leached out of the soil into streams, lakes and finally into the ocean, wiping out fish and plant life. These insecticides are already contaminating the oceans and upsetting the organic food chain, periling the basic balance of the oceans. If they limit the power of the ocean to produce oxygen, the ecological balance of the world could be upset with untold consequences, possibly threatening the existence of life on this planet.

There are still no hard facts about the long term effect of DDT and other chemical poisons on human and other life.

Noise is a relatively new form of pollution; tests have proved that continual noise has many side effects on the nervous system as well as on the incidence of deafness. High noise levels produce irritability, aggression, and nervous collapse.

Society is becoming buried in its own wastes. 1) Garbage disposal has become a major problem in every city. Americans produce about 5 pounds of solid waste per day. Every large city is running out of dumping grounds, and incineration produces still more pollution. 2) Sewage disposal methods are grossly inadequate. Rivers, bays and lakes have become open sewers; one city's sewage becomes another city's drinking water. 3) Reclamation systems are inadequate or "too expensive." The result is an incalculable waste of basic materials that could be recycled.

Natural resources are being depleted at a rapid rate: 1) The U.S. is burning more coal than it is mining. 2) It is using more natural gas than it can supply. 3) At the present rate, the known oil reserves will be exhausted in 20 years. 4) There is a danger of depletion of vital metals that cannot be replaced. 5) Fresh water is becoming more and more in short supply.

There is a power supply crisis looming in every industrial country. U.S. cities are operating on short supplies of coal; in some cases only a few weeks. Water power is not adequate for the needs of an industrial country, and the development of safe atomic power is lagging.

These are the problems of the advanced industrial nations; the colonial nations are prisoners of the advanced ones and suffer from low standards of living while their natural resources are being stripped.

COST OF POLLUTION

The cost of pollution is incalculable. Not only is there the loss of irreplaceable resources, but there is also the cost of maintaining livable air; potable water, disposal of wastes; the cost of maintaining lives irreparably injured by pollution, illness, reduced productive power; and general retardation of our natural powers. It includes the costly damage to crops and other food sources, to wild life. It should also include waste of labor through unnecessary travel, useless work (like advertising, duplication of the same item by competing firms), built-in obsolescence, status symbols and unnecessary gadgets.

THE ANARCHY OF CAPITALISM

This anarchy is the real source of the present situation. Capitalism cannot plan, except within a factory or pri-



vately owned complex. It depends on the "market," that is, competition between producers. Monopoly capitalism uses the precedents of "free enterprise" to operate as an unrestrained vulture on the rest of the economy, using the state and national governments to further its own interests. Oil is one good example.

The capitalist system's main object is profit, not human welfare.

Capitalism was able to be the mechanism that broke out of rural feudalism. It was able to exploit virgin territory and resources without any thought of the future, ravaging whole areas of the globe. It built industrial empires at a rapid rate, over the bodies of millions of workers and farmers, all for the sake of profit.

Now its practices are striking back at the whole of society. Industry is the major polluter, yet it demands society pay for the cost of eliminating pollution: it will not cut into its profits unless forced to do so. All of the moves toward self-regulation are a sham—Standard Oil and its new gas additive, for example. The capitalist state will not undertake a real attack on the problem. The problem is too vast and the solution would require too much money. It will not move against the real polluters.

Nixon allocates \$4 billion in Federal funds to fight water pollution in ten years—enough money to operate the Vietnam war for less than two months. All national and state agencies talk big and act miserly.

To really tackle the basic problems of pollution and environmental control means an overall reorganization of the industrial, and therefore the social, system. It would require a planned society: socialism.

WHAT COULD SOCIALIST REORGANIZATION DO?

First, it would set the basis for reorganization by making human needs primary.

It would establish a plan, national as well as international, for an integrated economy, determining which area is most suitable for a given productive process, integrating all production into a unified concept, and considering supply and distribution as part of the plan.

It would include conservation as part of the plan, along with the use of wastes and the recycling of valuable components. It would eliminate duplication and unnecessary competition. It would convert the anarchy of capitalism into a rational productive system.

Most important, it would consider human needs at every stage of the process.

THE EXAMPLE OF THE CITY

The example of the city is a demonstration of the difference between capitalism and socialism.

Cities just grew, as a result of ancient needs. They were usually set up at a good port, or a river junction or highway crossroad, and served basically as commercial centers for the exchange of products. Trading centers grew into financial centers with complex services and cultural facilities. Crafts were grouped around it to service the needs of the traders.

With the rise of capitalism the financial center expanded and industry developed. Craft shops grew into factories, and cities grew to furnish a labor pool. Industrial concentrations grew up where the labor supply was adequate. Cities became complexes—financial, industrial, commercial, cultural. They had central business areas, markets, "nice neighborhoods," and workers' quarters, including the ghettos. They encompassed all the evils of poverty—crime, prostitution, the creation and concentration of lumpen elements.

With the end of World War II there was a mass move to the suburbs by the middle class. Growth of the freeways to handle the traffic was always belated.

Thus arose the modern city: impossibly crowded, decaying at its center, with huge masses of towers in the

financial sections, with decrepit slum areas and skid rows, with rings of suburbia, with huge flows of traffic twice a day to and from, with wasted space, pollution, nervous wrecks, auto wrecks—all waste.

Under socialism, decentralization of the cities would be part of the planning, to break up the complex urban wastes. Socialist planning would: 1) eliminate the financial market place, which is not needed in a planned economy; 2) eliminate the multiplicity of banks and buildings; 3) move the industries to the countryside into pleasant structures, where they would become part of a national planned network, with transportation and environmental problems considered; 4) plan living areas together with the industry, separated by greenbelts; 5) provide easy public transportation, educational, health and cultural facilities as part of the complex; 6) simplify and beautify living as part of improving physical and mental capacities.

Thus concentrated, polluted cities would be converted into efficient, decentralized, industrial-living networks with maximum convenience to the population and maximum use of the environment. Only socialism can do this.

POPULATION CONTROL

This is the false issue of the ecology movement. A complete answer is given in *Too Many Babies?*, by Joseph Hansen, and supplemented by Dianne Feeley's article in *The Militant*, April 24, 1970. Here we will only present some of the major arguments and answers.

Population growth has risen as a result of increased technology, which provided the means to feed, cloth, and house more people. Since 1850 the population has grown 8 times while the rate of production has increased 35 times. This enables an increase in the standard of living for an increased population.

Pollution is not the result of increased population directly—it is the result of unplanned, wasteful misuse of natural resources and equipment. For example, the U.S. has about 6% of the world's population and produces over 40% of the world's pollution. Less people does not necessarily mean less pollution. It depends on how society operates. Suppose population growth were cut to zero in the U.S. Would pollution be significantly lessened?

The underdeveloped countries, especially China and India, are pointed to. This is totally false and is part of the white-racist, American chauvinist world-view. Imperialism has driven the underdeveloped countries into a dependent status. They have a low standard of living, little social insurance, high unemployment. For poor families, a large family is its best social insurance and the best safeguard for old age. If economic security were established, the birthrate would automatically go down.

China has been able to solve a major part of its food problem under a planned economy, even with poor planning and bureaucratic mismanagement. India continues to have famines under its capitalist-feudalist system. It is the backward economic system that produces poverty, begging, etc., not overpopulation. Bombay and Calcutta are smaller in numbers than New York or London. The Bohios of Latin America are not the result of overpopulation, but of backwardness.

Increased population, if properly organized, has major advantages. Properly organized, human labor can advance humanity at a far faster rate than that of the population.

All the arguments for population control operate on the present conditions; they see no prospect of revolutionary change and do not understand the need for it. All they do is make projections of the present trends. Once society is reorganized on a rational socialist basis, it can then decide on what size population is best for general welfare, as part of the general planning.

continued on the following page

Tapes for Revolution: Joseph Hansen

What is the theory of permanent revolution?

"Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution . . . remains the fig leaf hiding the ideological nakedness of his followers." (M. Basmanov, leading Kremlin "Trotskyologist." See *Intercontinental Press*, April 27, 1970.)

First definitively formulated by Trotsky in 1905-06 during his pre-trial imprisonment in the Peter-Paul fortress after the defeat of the 1905 revolution, the theory of permanent revolution has always been considered the distinctive hallmark of the Trotskyist movement. The Stalinists' "ideological" attacks on Trotskyism always center here, though one rarely sees today any detailed theoretical refutations. (The reason for this is quite simple: in order to present any attack on the permanent revolution, anything more than simply branding it counter-revolutionary, it is necessary to completely distort and falsify the theory: "underestimation of the role of the peasantry," "skipping over stages," etc. Trotsky's writings are too easily available and too widely read for this to be practical any more outside of the Soviet Union.)

Initially an assessment of the role the proletariat would have to play in the bourgeois revolution in Russia—a country still under the feudal absolutist yoke, in which capitalism was developed only to a primitive level, and was largely controlled by foreign interests—the theory of permanent revolution was quickly seen to be applicable to other colonial or semi-colonial countries which had not undergone the bourgeois revolution. As Joseph Hansen points out, over the last half century we have seen many examples verifying the permanent revolution (China, Cuba, Vietnam) while a socialist revolution has yet to take place along the classical "main sequence" line, i.e., in an advanced capitalist country which completed its bourgeois revolution a long time ago.

More recently, it has been found that the permanent revolution has points of applicability even in the most advanced capitalist nations, like the United States, because certain tasks of the bourgeois revolution, particularly in regard to the achievement of self-determination by oppressed nationalities, have not yet been carried through.

The fact is that as dying capitalism lurches into the 1970s, the basic contradictions that force the proletariat to carry out, in the socialist revolution, the tasks traditionally assigned to the bourgeoisie in its revolution, become more acute. We find that even the most elementary democratic demands tend to come into conflict with the capitalist status quo.

And so the theory of the permanent revolution, supposedly "organizationally and theoretically defeated" by Stalin decades ago, continually arises as the key to understanding the development of contemporary events. We who today witness the titanic clash of forces between world revolution and world imperialism, indeed live, as George Novack and Isaac Deutscher aptly expressed it in titling an anthology of Trotsky's writings, in "The Age of Permanent Revolution."

Quite a fig leaf.

* * *

The two lectures by Joseph Hansen, delivered in New York in June, 1961, do much more than simply state what the theory of permanent revolution is. They provide a living example of the Marxist method, of what any genuinely Marxist "theory" must be: a distillation of concrete historical experience, combined with an analysis of the current situation and how it has developed out of the past, to provide a guide for understanding and predicting what is going to happen and how revolutionaries can most effectively participate in the development of the future out of the present.

The first lecture explains what the theory is and where it came from. It details the ideas of Plekhanov, Lenin, Trotsky and Parvus on the development of the Russian revolution, showing how Trotsky's view on the leadership of the revolution and the tasks of the postrevolutionary regime—which was more precise than Lenin's and ruled certain possibilities that Lenin left open—was borne out in the experience of 1917.

The second lecture deals with the Cuban revolution in the context of determining whether the events in Cuba

deny, confirm or modify the theory of permanent revolution. The mechanical or formalist approach to this would be to take the theory as an abstract schema and simply try to plug Cuba into it, trimming a little here and stretching a little there to make it fit.

Joseph Hansen starts with the history of Cuba from its discovery by the Spanish to develop a detailed analysis of the objective conditions for revolution, particularly in the 20th century. He describes the revolutionary upsurges of the 20s and 30s and the role played by Cuban Stalinists and Trotskyists, and then explores the social composition and program of the revolutionary leadership of the July 26 movement. He shows how the Cuban experience confirms the theory of permanent revolution, but also how this experience differed from that in Russia and how elements of the permanent revolution are apparently contradicted. These contradictions—over the role of the petty-bourgeoisie and the need for a revolutionary party—are related to the difference in the development of world capitalism between 1917 and 1959 and to other differences in the objective situations.

Finally, it is worth noting that this analysis was presented during the first part of the prolonged discussion over Cuba that finally led to the splitting of the Wohlforthites and Robertsonites from the Trotskyist movement.

Total time is about two hours. The tape costs \$3.50 and may be ordered from the SWP National Tape Service, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Remember to specify 2-track or 4-track.

For a class, or two classes, based on this tape, essential reading would include: *Results and Prospects* and *The Permanent Revolution*, by Trotsky; and *The Nature of the Cuban Revolution*, (SWP "Education for Socialists" pamphlet.) Suggested further reading would include: "The Theory of Permanent Revolution," by Livio Maitan (in *Fifty Years of World Revolution*, edited by Ernest Mandel); and *History of the Russian Revolution*, by Trotsky.

ANDY ROSE
YSA National Office

Report from the Road

My trip through Kentucky and Tennessee has really shown the almost unlimited opportunities open to us in building the YSA. During the past three weeks I have visited the University of Kentucky, the University of Louisville, Eastern Kentucky State University, Berea College, Eastern Tennessee State University and the University of Tennessee. Radicals on even the most conservative campuses of eastern Kentucky and Tennessee are interested in revolutionary socialist ideas. Our experiences in building the antiwar movement, in developing a collective leadership and in launching mass struggles speak to problems that radicals are grappling with on every campus. Reaching these radicals must continue to be one of our highest priorities.

The repressive nature of many of these large southern state universities is gradually being broken down. At the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, 22 students

were arrested in January under a Tennessee conspiracy law for a demonstration held against the undemocratic selection of a new university president. However, the "Knoxville 22" were then able to launch a massive public defense campaign. They organized a statewide march against repression on April 12 for which over 1500 people travelled to Nashville from every part of the state.

Our two comrades at the University of Tennessee were able to arrange YSA literature tables on campus and after our first meeting four students joined the YSA. At almost all the other schools we were able to set up literature tables, sell subscriptions to *The Militant* and present the radical community with a revolutionary movement engaged in struggle on every front. By continuing regional work in this area we can realistically expect to build YSA locals all over the south in the near future.

Regional travellers are now on the road full-time from

most of our major centers. Small locals should also be placing comrades in charge of planning trips to other campuses and cities on a regular basis. We must make every effort possible to intensify our regional work to build the YSA and urge participation in our summer schools.

By simply taking two folding tables along in a car we can usually set up literature tables outside of student unions or at rallies. Other radical groups, or the student government, may sponsor meetings for discussions on organizing a YSA local.

Plans should be made now to ensure continuing regional work during the summer.

RICH FINKEL
YSA National Field Secretary

continued from the preceding page

"Agreed that socialism is the only long term answer, but the crisis is now."

WHAT DO WE DO NOW?

These are some of the proposals that we can make. They will, of course, have to be refined and developed in the process of participation in the actions—by drawing from our experiences.

—No confidence in the capitalist state to solve the problems of the environment. Any basic approach comes right up against the state and capitalism.

—Support the propaganda efforts to broaden the awareness of the dangers. Right now the response is in academic and middle class layers. More efforts must be made to reach the working class, the minorities, etc. They should see the broader implications as well as their immediate needs; the crisis affects everyone.

—Workers' problems should be supported by all ecological groups. In the factory, noise, air, and safety conditions are part of the general picture of industrial pollution. Ecological groups should support union action to correct them.

—Where the factory is also a major external pollutant, broad campaigns must include the workers in the plant. Their livelihood must be guaranteed.

—Demand that the company pay for whatever is needed to correct malpractices. After all, it has been profiting from them.

—Where the company is delinquent, or refuses to deal with the problem, take the plant over and operate it under workers' control, drawing on technical aid and

scientific advice to correct the evils at government expense.

—Workers' living conditions are an environmental problem. Encourage working class action for better housing, quality education, etc. Support their demands.

—Build the independence of the ecological movement. Fight the actions to tie them into capitalist politicians who see this only as an election issue.

In California:

—For a statewide conference of all interested organizations to lay out a campaign to end the poisoning of crops, preserve the natural wild life areas and end encroachment on forest and seashore.

—For a vigorous campaign against industrial polluters by working up a program of independent action to force them to correct malpractices.

Nationally:

—Organize an independent national council, composed of regional and national environment organizations, labor, scientists and engineers, medical and other qualified experts to lay out a national plan of attack on major environmental problems.

POLITICAL ACTION

Individual action is no solution. Returning paper bags to the supermarket, or returning clothes hangers to the cleaners is like sweeping back the tide with a matchstick.

All solutions proposed so far end up in some form of ineffective political action: letters to Congressmen, appeals to administration agencies, picking lesser evils at elections.

Mass action is effective. The ecology movement must learn from the antiwar movement. The two are related in thrust and goals.

All actions are summed up in political action, which focuses on the general problem and its causes, and proposes a solution. In this case the attack is directed at the profit system. To solve the problem the movement must be independent of that system and its political representatives.

Reform will not work—what is required is revolution.

Up to now we have said that the alternatives are socialism or barbarism. We must now revise that statement. The alternatives are socialism or extinction.

young socialist the organizer

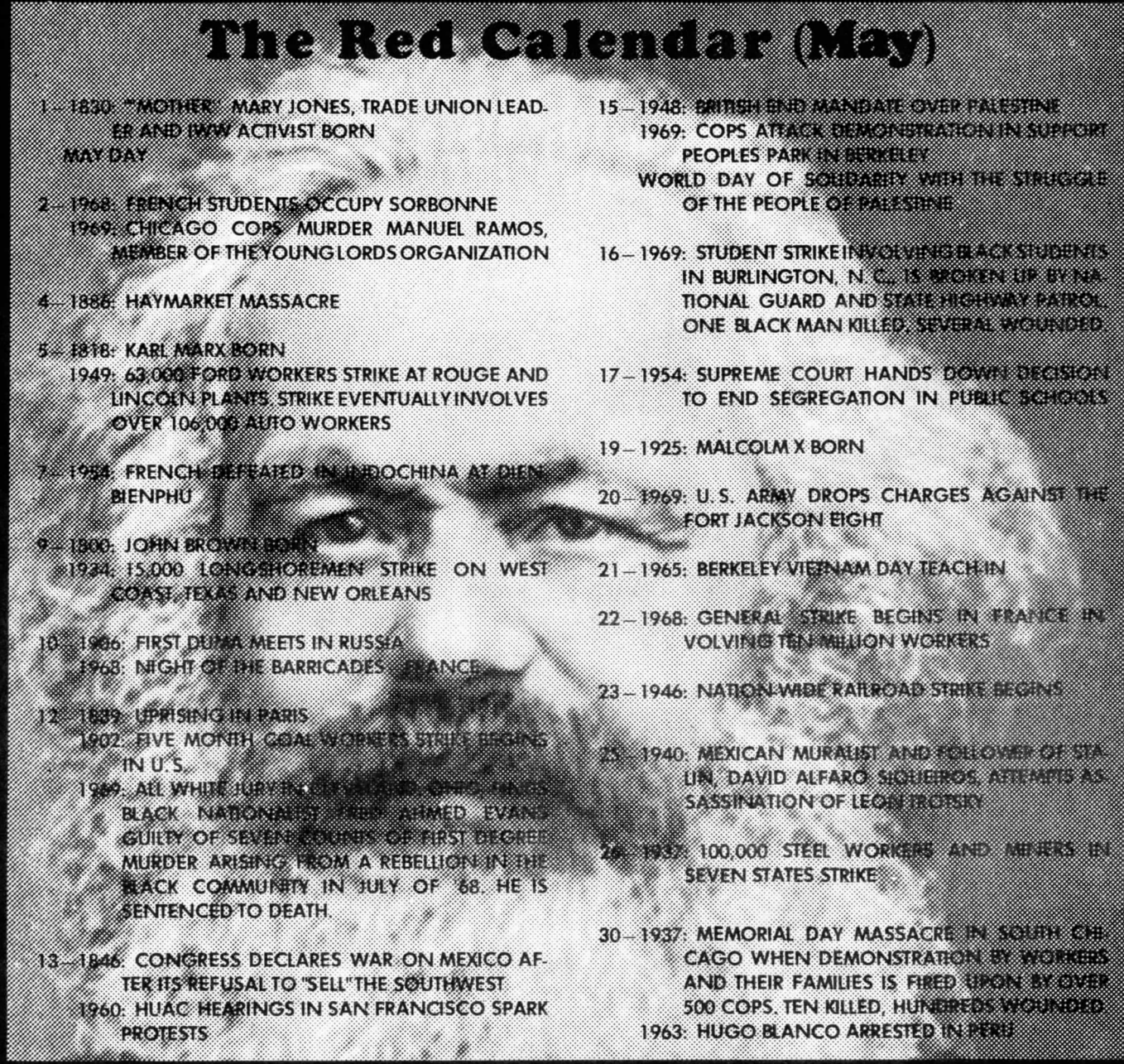
A BI-WEEKLY ACTION PUBLICATION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, A MULTINATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION.

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Address all correspondence to YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. The Young Socialist Organizer, formerly the Young Socialist, is published bi-weekly. Second class postage is paid at New York, New York. Vol. 13, No. 5 Subscription rates to all non-YSA members: \$2.50 per year. MAY 13, 1970

The Red Calendar (May)

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- 1—1830: "MOTHER" MARY JONES, TRADE UNION LEADER AND WWV ACTIVIST BORN
MAY DAY
 - 2—1968: FRENCH STUDENTS OCCUPY SORBONNE
1969: CHICAGO COPS MURDER MANUEL RAMOS, MEMBER OF THE YOUNG LORDS ORGANIZATION
 - 4—1886: HAYMARKET MASSACRE
 - 5—1818: KARL MARX BORN
1949: 63,000 FORD WORKERS STRIKE AT ROUGE AND LINCOLN PLANTS. STRIKE EVENTUALLY INVOLVES OVER 106,000 AUTO WORKERS
 - 7—1954: FRENCH DEFEATED IN INDOCHINA AT DIEN BIEN PHU
 - 9—1800: JOHN BROWN BORN
1934: 15,000 LONGSHOREMEN STRIKE ON WEST COAST, TEXAS AND NEW ORLEANS
 - 10—1906: FIRST DUMA MEETS IN RUSSIA
1968: NIGHT OF THE BARRICADES—FRANCE
 - 12—1839: UPRISING IN PARIS
1902: FIVE MONTH COAL WORKERS STRIKE BEGINS IN U.S.
1969: AEL WHITE JURY IN CLEVELAND, OHIO, FINDS BLACK NATIONALIST TREN AMUND EVANS GUILTY OF SEVEN COUNTS OF FIRST DEGREE MURDER ARISING FROM A REBELLION IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN JULY OF '68. HE IS SENTENCED TO DEATH.
 - 13—1846: CONGRESS DECLARES WAR ON MEXICO AFTER ITS REFUSAL TO "SELL" THE SOUTHWEST
1960: HUAC HEARINGS IN SAN FRANCISCO SPARK PROTESTS
 - 15—1948: BRITISH END MANDATE OVER PALESTINE
1969: COPS ATTACK DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT PEOPLES PARK IN BERKELEY
WORLD DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE
 - 16—1969: STUDENT STRIKE INVOLVING BLACK STUDENTS IN BURLINGTON, N. C., IS BROKEN UP BY NATIONAL GUARD AND STATE HIGHWAY PATROL. ONE BLACK MAN KILLED, SEVERAL WOUNDED
 - 17—1954: SUPREME COURT HANDS DOWN DECISION TO END SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
 - 19—1925: MALCOLM X BORN
 - 20—1969: U.S. ARMY DROPS CHARGES AGAINST THE FORT JACKSON EIGHT
 - 21—1965: BERKELEY VIETNAM DAY TEACH-IN
 - 22—1968: GENERAL STRIKE BEGINS IN FRANCE INVOLVING TEN MILLION WORKERS
 - 23—1946: NATION-WIDE RAILROAD STRIKE BEGINS
 - 25—1940: MEXICAN MURALIST AND FOLLOWER OF STALIN, DAVID ALFARO SIQUEIROS, ATTEMPTS ASSASSINATION OF LEON TROTSKY
 - 26—1937: 100,000 STEEL WORKERS AND MINERS IN SEVEN STATES STRIKE
 - 30—1937: MEMORIAL DAY MASSACRE IN SOUTH CHICAGO WHEN DEMONSTRATION BY WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES IS FIRED UPON BY OVER 500 COPS. TEN KILLED, HUNDREDS WOUNDED
1963: HUGO BLANCO ARRESTED IN PERU