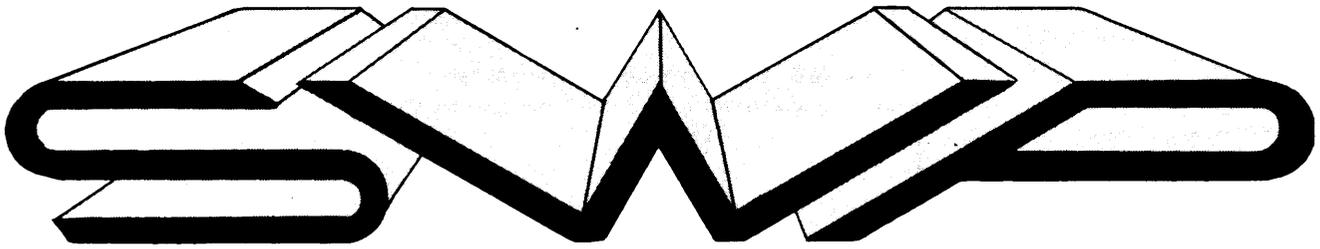


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Discussion Bulletin

Published by
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Vol. 31 No. 12
June 1973

14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014

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THE UNFOLDING NEW WORLD SITUATION

International Report by Jack Barnes
adopted by the National Committee plenum,
April 26, 1973

In the international report adopted by the 1971 SWP convention, Comrade Joe Hansen pointed out that Vietnam remained at the center of world and national politics. But at that time there was already evidence, especially with the opening of Mao's ping-pong diplomacy, that a major change in the world situation was in the wind.

Joe noted this in his report: ". . . the war in Vietnam has been the most crucial issue in world politics for the past six years. A turn is now occurring from the war itself as an issue, although this remains. Coming to the fore now are the consequences of the war. These consequences, both inside the United States and outside, are beginning to shape the course of world politics even while the war continues. Economic, social, and political consequences of the conflict have advanced and sharpened the contradictions of capitalism that were operative in any case. The quantitative accumulation has reached the point where qualitative changes have come about in various areas already." And, Joe pointed out, American capitalism had to find a new answer to these pressing problems. (*A Revolutionary Strategy for the '70s*, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1972, p. 13.)

The American rulers have taken their first steps to try to solve these problems, and in the process have brought about a new situation in the world. In the opinion of the Political Committee, the world situation now emerging is qualitatively different from the post-World-War-II "cold-war" period that prevailed until the recent turn. We are now entering a new historical period.

The purpose of today's report is to (1) initiate a discussion on this question in the National Committee so the leadership can submit it for consideration in the pre-convention discussion, and (2) provide the foundation for the Political Resolution, which will have a more conjunctural tasks-and-perspectives character.

Because a new and very different world political situation is still unfolding, whose features in their entirety are not completely discernible, a certain amount of speculation is necessary.

In our thinking, the détente between the major workers states and world imperialism is at the heart of this new period. It signifies a displacement of the fundamental post-World-War-II cold-war framework of international capitalist economic and diplomatic relationships and a major shift in the strategy of American and world capitalism with regard to the world revolution.

The 'Cold War'

The immediate postwar framework was adumbrated by the decisions announced at three gatherings:

1. In the late fall of 1944 at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, the American dollar was made the unique basis for a new world monetary system. American imperialism's unchallenged economic supremacy among the capitalist

powers enabled it to establish the dollar as the stable universal equivalent in world trade and the currency whose holdings other countries would accept as the base of their own. The dollar was considered to be "as good as gold" throughout the capitalist world. But this turned out to be true only so long as American economic supremacy was unchallenged and the dollar itself remained stable. And this didn't last as long as they hoped.

2. A little more than a year later, in Fulton, Missouri, Winston Churchill made his "Iron Curtain" speech, signalling the formal opening of the "cold war." The imperialists inaugurated the military-diplomatic policy of "containment." Their goal was to stop the extension of the world revolution, isolate the Soviet Union and, if possible, overturn the workers states. Stalin's best efforts to stifle revolutionary developments were not convincing enough to deter the imperialists from this containment and rollback military-diplomatic ambition; it lasted almost a quarter of a century.

3. Then, one year later, at the 1947 Harvard University commencement exercises, George C. Marshall laid out the plan for reconstructing Europe on a capitalist bases, under the hegemony of an American capitalism armed with the atomic bomb. The Marshall Plan was launched with the calculated risk of reviving potential capitalist competitors in order to stave off the greater danger of socialist revolution in Europe.

These three pillars of world politics rested on the unquestioned military and economic superiority of American capitalism. Only American capitalism was in a position to assume the role of world financier, world cop, and dominant economic giant.

This framework is now finished. No longer "operative," as Ron Ziegler would say. The détente signals a major turn by American imperialism, a basic attempt at reorientation of its global strategy.

The Effects of Vietnam

Vietnam was an acid test. It laid bare the limits faced by American imperialism in simultaneously acting as world cop, maintaining a preponderant world military position, keeping the international monetary system stable, retaining unchallenged world economic superiority vis-a-vis its competitors—and doing all of this in the context of a radical change in the political moods within the American population itself.

The problems engendered and exacerbated by the Vietnam war made it necessary for the American imperialists to militarily extricate themselves from Vietnam. In the course of so doing, they also had to come to grips with the even more fundamental task of reorienting their international strategy to better protect their class interests, as their capitalist competitors were closing the gap behind them. Instead of a rollback of the workers states or

military containment, this called for a détente with and economic penetration of the USSR, East Europe and China; it meant contesting with its competitor-allies for these potentially vast markets; it meant the end of Bretton Woods; it meant the end of the structure of interimperialist economic relations of the Marshall Plan and the post-Marshall-Plan era; and it meant a new stage in inter-imperialist competition, rivalry and conflict.

At home, Nixon's August 15, 1971, wage-price freeze speech signalled a new determination by the government to use its power as the executive committee of the ruling class to get greater productivity from the American workers, and lower the rate of wage increases. And thus to maintain a little longer the edge in productivity it still has over Germany and Japan.

This reorientation by American imperialism does not arise from growing strength relative to its competitors, but from a decline in its relative position. The political, military and economic situation that was faced by American imperialism was becoming more and more untenable. A retreat was called for, not the initiation of a more aggressive world counterrevolutionary thrust. The attempt at establishing a new world order is designed to cut the losses and regroup the still very considerable forces at the disposal of American capitalism. This reorientation was the only alternative open to Wall Street.

The receptivity of the petty-bourgeois bureaucratic castes in the workers states represented by Brezhnev and Mao to Nixon's moves derived not from positions of strength on their part but from positions of weakness flowing from their utopian efforts to build socialism in one country.

The contradiction between their own bureaucratic needs and the needs of the masses are particularly visible in the case of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, where the signs continue to mount of domestic dissatisfaction and restlessness. Brezhnev's stated goal? "Peaceful coexistence" (i.e., open counterrevolutionary collaboration with imperialism) in exchange for long-term credits, equipment, and enough foodstuffs to pacify their own dissatisfied masses.

Ten Elements of U. S. Strategy

Let us single out ten of the major elements of American imperialist strategy in the new world situation. Many details need to be filled in, the situation is still unfolding; but the broad outlines are clear enough.

1. *Acceptance of the workers states as here to stay for the next historical period.*

Washington's policy is to block any extension of socialist property forms but to recognize that it is not now realistic to move toward a military rollback of the existing "socialist" boundaries. Basic parity, a "balance of terror," exists on the nuclear-military level between American capitalism and the Soviet Union.

2. *Recognition of the need for and the possibility of obtaining collaboration from the Chinese and Soviet regimes in holding back the colonial revolution, especially the tendency of independence struggles to turn into socialist revolutions.*

One of the big lessons the imperialists learned in Vietnam was the importance of assistance from these counterrevolutionary quarters. The collaboration of the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies was ultimately the only source of

at least temporary salvation for imperialism in Vietnam in view of the economic and political situation faced by the American rulers internationally and at home. Moscow and Peking, following the Stalinist policy of peaceful co-existence, proved only too eager to render such assistance. And their assistance will not be limited to the colonial world.

3. *Insistence that America's capitalist competitors share more of the economic and political burden of policing the world.*

Washington will still play the role of head cop, but the other capitalist powers will be called upon to take on more duties. More importantly, no longer is U. S. imperialism going to play the role of quartermaster for junior partners, but is calling upon them to pay a larger share of the expense both directly and through trade and monetary concessions. At the same time its nuclear arsenal puts it in a qualitatively different league from its capitalist competitors and puts its détente with Moscow in the center of the new situation.

4. *The détente does not involve just Washington, Moscow and Peking. Each of U.S. capitalism's competitors is jockeying for maximum individual advantage.*

The West German ruling class has concluded "normalization" pacts not only with Moscow, but also with Poland, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia, among others. In fact, "stabilizing" the German question, accepting two Germanies with clear boundaries was, along with the betrayal of the Vietnamese by Moscow and Peking, one of the pre-conditions to the evolution of the détente.

The Japanese rulers rapidly drew the necessary lessons from Nixon's "surprise" opening moves in relation to China. And the rest of the Common Market countries and Canada, as well as the smaller capitalist powers outside of Europe, do not accept U. S. imperialism acting or speaking unilaterally for them vis-a-vis the workers states or each other.

Their nuclear power and qualitatively larger economies put Washington and Moscow in a special relationship to one another in the world détente, and give the U. S. capitalists an extra edge in the competition for the Soviet markets. But the unfolding of this "special relationship" affects and is affected by fundamental shifts in policy by the rulers of all the main capitalist powers and by the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states each acting in its own individual interests.

5. *The dollar has been dethroned and the entire structure of world trade, upon which capitalist prosperity has depended, has been threatened.*

But the difficulties of arranging a new stable international monetary system are immense. The U. S. market remains the largest by far and U. S. overseas investments and loans far outweigh all others. Thus the U. S. inflation is internationalized and the crucial question behind all currency negotiations becomes — who shall pay for the inflation of the dollar?

American capitalist superiority still prevails, but now it is first among equals — equals who demand to be treated as such and who will use all the means available to them to make sure that they are. This is the result of the deepening competition.

It is in this framework that the new bargaining over trade, monetary, and military arrangements takes place. This is why the capitalist class — in much of Europe,

more and more in the U. S., and tomorrow in Japan—must force the working class to endure more intensive exploitation to make their "own" capitalism more competitive.

6. *In this connection the Soviet Union and China are no longer viewed by imperialism simply as the class enemy with an alien set of property relations, to be militarily contained and rolled back. They are now seen as potentially massive markets for the penetration of capital, increased trade, and the extraction of raw materials and energy resources. A set of markets for which all the capitalist powers must compete.*

Previously, partial détetes and minor experiments in summitry were overwhelmingly political in character. As these unfolded we contended that the economic openings inside the Soviet bloc, in terms of markets, trade, and concessions (eventually investment concessions and mixed ownership), did not loom large in the considerations of the advanced capitalism. This is no longer the case.

The potential scope of the markets, the resources potentially available, and the willingness of the bureaucracies to lower the barriers to the penetration of western capital has brought about a shift in imperialist policy toward the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China under conditions of intensified monopoly competition for markets. This makes the question of "who gets there first"—to the markets of the workers states—a central new factor in imperialist diplomacy.

7. *The fierce antagonisms engendered by the Sino-Soviet dispute have the potential to become even more explosive.*

The hostility arising from the narrow conflicting national outlook of the ruling castes in Peking and Moscow has already shown that they will resort to means verging on war to gain national advantage. The Chinese correctly sense the danger represented by the Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty" and they view the threat of the Soviet nuclear superiority in this light.

We can expect more and greater betrayals of the world revolution by both Moscow and Peking as they vie for the political and economic favor of world capitalism. That is the logic of peaceful coexistence, that is the historical logic of Stalinism.

8. *While Moscow and Peking's great betrayal has been consummated, the civil war in Vietnam is not over. The outcome is not definitively settled.*

The capitalist puppet régimes in Indochina are thoroughly corrupt and incapable of providing any stable solution to the needs of the workers and peasants; and the price of maintaining them in power remains high to the U. S. rulers.

The masses have not been crushed, and the class struggle continues to unfold—but within the new political framework of the détente, with the imperialists pressing from one side and Moscow and Peking from the other.

The great obstacle to the continuing class struggle achieving an early victory is the concerted pressure on Hanoi from Washington, Peking and Moscow. The Stalinist limits of the Vietnamese leadership and its reliance upon China and the Soviet Union as its major source of material support makes it susceptible to this pressure.

9. *Recognition of the political resistance at home to waging wars against the colonial revolution in the name of anticommunism.*

The domestic consequences of the Vietnam war among the American youth, and in the class struggle as a whole, were not anticipated by the ruling class. A repetition of such military adventures could have incalculable consequences inside the United States. Their inability to gain any popular support for such wars is a new historical limit that the American rulers must now take into account.

10. *The effect that the accords in Vietnam will have on the colonial revolution. The consequences can prove to be highly contradictory.*

A clearcut victory for the Vietnamese revolution would have enormously accelerated the revolutionary process elsewhere. Instead, the setback served to dampen outbursts in other lands. Nevertheless, the stubborn resistance of the Vietnamese people and their capacity to force a military withdrawal of U. S. imperialism after ousting the French troops, remains an inspiring example.

The U. S. retreat also encourages the semicolonial countries and smaller capitalist powers to engage in maneuvers aimed at winning greater elbow room. This has been especially visible in Latin America, which U. S. imperialism regards as its own backyard. These changes reflect the weakening of capitalism as a world system, one of the consequences of the intervention of U. S. imperialism in the Vietnamese civil war.

* * *

And we can add an eleventh point which the American rulers may not see clearly enough to incorporate adequately in their strategy. And that is while the détente may ease some of the economic pressures they and their competitors face, and result in some setbacks to the world revolution (as we have seen in Indochina), it will not guarantee maintenance of the status quo.

To the contrary, it exacerbates the already explosive contradictions not only in areas like the Arab East and the Arab-Persian Gulf—but especially in the workers states themselves. It increases the arenas of interimperialist competition and conflict.

And it plants the seeds of further upheavals in the class struggle and radicalization in the U. S. A. right in the center of this unfolding world process.

No Peace in the Class Struggle

What the détente entails, of course, is a shift in all international political relations: among the imperialist nations and blocs; between the imperialist powers and the workers states; among the workers states; between imperialism, the colonial and semicolonial countries and the workers states.

The agreements between Washington, Moscow and Peking are made on the basis of the current world relationship of forces; but the agreements themselves affect this relationship.

This alteration in the world political situation submits to a major new test the political capacities of all the various tendencies that aspire to leadership in the class struggle to make a correct analysis and to arrive at the necessary political conclusions.

One of the problems in analyzing the situation is that we do not know in minute detail the entire picture. The important decisions are made in secret negotiations be-

tween trusted representatives of top circles of the capitalist ruling class and the ruling bureaucratic castes. While many of the agreements are hidden from the workers, enough facts come to light to expose the broad outlines to us.

What both sides seek to accomplish in the détente, and a necessary ingredient of its success, is a large measure of stability, that is class peace. But as recent events have indicated, stability and class peace are very elusive goals in this period of the decay and decline of capitalism as a world system.

The important thing to remember is that while the class struggle on a world scale unfolds within this new international political framework, it continues to assert its presence. In just the brief period since the détente began, while the new relations are still being worked out, we have witnessed many confirmations of this.

We've seen the gigantic student upsurges in France with the biggest demonstrations since May-June 1968—first the Overney demonstration in the spring of 1972, and now the recent spring 1973 demonstrations which brought up to a half a million persons into the street on a single day.

The wave of workers struggles in Britain have been the greatest since 1926. This testifies to the incapacity of British capitalism to resolve its contradictions; and the situation is exacerbated because no way can be found within a capitalist framework of bringing the Irish struggle for national liberation and for a united socialist Ireland to a halt.

In Indochina, despite all the pressures brought to bear on the workers and peasants, the class struggle remains very much alive.

The evolution of American politics, with the agitation over inflation exploding in the massive meat boycott and Watergate, is not exactly what Nixon had in mind when he began "Phase III."

Recently, there has been a significant wave of strikes by Black workers in South Africa, following the earlier demonstrations by white students, opening up a new chapter in the South African class struggle.

In Argentina, the best organized working class in Latin America has compelled the capitalist class to open up a bourgeois-democratic interlude.

In Chile, in spite of its Communist Party and Socialist Party leadership, the working class has held the ultrarights at bay, has established embryonic popular organs of power, and continues the struggle to bring to fruition the seeds of revolution which they believe have been sown in their homeland.

In Québec, we saw the massive workers upsurge of May 1972.

In Spain, in the past few weeks, a new wave of struggles made headlines.

In Greece, the students just recently organized powerful demonstrations—the first mass manifestation of opposition to the colonels' regime. The list could be extended further.

The class struggle has not been halted, reversed or annulled by Nixon, Brezhnev and Mao; it continues but within an altered set of conditions.

The problem is not the combativity or the revolutionary potential of the working class and its allies. The problem remains the crisis of proletarian leadership.

On The Economic Front

Let us now examine some of the elements of the new situation in somewhat greater detail.

First, let us consider the economic situation in the capitalist world and the growing interimperialist rivalry.

The international recession that began in 1969 eroded the relative strength of the American economy. A much deeper downturn, with a far worse outcome for the American ruling class, was averted only because the German and American recessions did not coincide. The balance-of-payments crisis grew worse and worse and international confidence in the dollar was crumbling.

On August 15, 1971, Nixon launched his international economic counterattack, which included a frontal attack on the American workers. To use the British phrase, Nixon laid the groundwork for what will eventually be transformed into an "incomes policy" at home. But he did so in a tentative, "phased" way, calculated to preserve the cooperation of the labor bureaucracy and avoid a massive eruption of the class struggle in industry.

While there was some resistance, the American workers did not respond in an explosive way. Because of this, Nixon was able to accomplish his initial goal: even with the devaluation he was able to slow the rate of U. S. inflation in relation to his competitors and slow down the rate of wage increases. Despite the worsening inflationary situation in the U. S., there have been much higher rates of inflation in Europe in the last three years, and the same will be true again this year.

* * *

Nixon's economic counterattack also included a new economic offensive toward the Soviet bloc. In this sphere, for a number of years, the European capitalists (and Japan to a growing extent) have developed lucrative trade relations. The so-called Eastern market has been their preserve, primarily because of the embargo or partial embargo maintained by U.S. imperialism. Nixon had to penetrate the preserve and the machinery was set in motion with the détente. Trade concessions and growing economic relations were no longer to be the prize solely of the Germans, the Italians, the French, the British, the Belgians, the Dutch, etc. The American capitalists now enter the arena as a competitor—and aim as rapidly as possible to become the major beneficiary—in that field. And they have both the economic resources—and the necessary nuclear arsenal in the closet—to strike the kind of bargain they envisage with Moscow.

During the 1969-72 world capitalist recession, the first since the post-World-War-II boom began, there was simultaneously a decline in the rate of employment and continued inflation—what the bourgeois economists call "stagflation." And the capitalists got off easy this time as the recession did not peak and trough simultaneously in Germany and the U.S.A., an event which would have made the decline incalculably worse for every single advanced capitalist country. Stagflation and the possible imminence of deeper world recession has inevitably left its mark upon the consciousness of the workers.

Recently the *New York Times* reported the results of an expensive research project carried out by the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. The researchers discovered that "consumer attitudes changed

radically during the last few months, growing more and more pessimistic as food prices kept rising . . . a substantially larger proportion of families think they are now worse off than before and furthermore, expect to be still worse off in the future. . . . Forty-four percent of those surveyed thought the rate of inflation would accelerate in the year ahead. . . . A record low eighteen percent believe there will be good times for the next five years, while half expect a recession." (April 24, 1973.)

They didn't have to spend thousands of dollars to find that out. It is obvious that there is a change in attitude of the American workers on a broad scale. Workers are no longer confident of good times ahead; they no longer feel secure about continuing employment and wage raises adequate to maintaining their living standard. There is an important change taking place in the general consciousness of the class about what the social system, the boss, the job have to offer them in the future. And the paltry results for the workers of Nixon's first few "phases" toward an incomes policy has reinforced this change.

* * *

What is the logic of a so-called incomes policy?

First, if partially successful, it will lead to a big profits boom for the capitalists. Why? Because they are holding down wages and not prices. That is exactly what is happening now in this country. It still seems like a recession, to the unemployed workers, still numbering 5 percent of the workforce. And to all of us who are eating less meat but paying more, it certainly seems something less than a boom. But to the ruling class, it is one of the great profit booms in post-World-War-II history.

No capitalist regime, not even a fascist regime, in this epoch has ever been capable of stabilizing and holding down prices—even if it wanted to. The entire purpose of an "incomes policy" is to keep a lid on wages, to halt or at least to slow the rate of increase of wages. The purpose is to reduce labor's share of what it produces as productivity rises and thus to increase the rate of profit for the capitalists.

There is a second aspect to the logic inherent in an "incomes policy." Wage controls cannot be sustained without chipping away at the rights of the working class, both its rights within the unions and eventually its democratic rights as a whole. A class that is free to organize, to strike, that has the right to decide the provisions of every contract, is not going to put up with wage controls in the face of mounting inflation that reduces its standard of living. So the ruling class is impelled to first attack these rights and then—if it's going to maintain an "incomes policy" for any length of time—the political rights of the workers.

What are the prospects ahead for the world capitalist economy?

While there will be ups and downs and very possibly an extended period of economic competition and diplomatic maneuvering, and perhaps even periods of relative economic prosperity for the capitalists—which is certainly one of the goals of the détente—there is no possible return to the pre-1967 period.

There is no return to the period before massive payments deficits and the fall of the mighty dollar, before

the new competitive squeeze caught up with American capitalism, before the social and economic results of the Vietnam war, before the May-June 1968 events in France.

We rule out the possibility of a new inter-imperialist war in the period ahead. American nuclear hegemony vis-à-vis its competitors is decisive. Besides, the capitalist ruling circles are convinced that the final victor, as in World War I and II, would be the socialist revolution. Thus, given the current political, economic and military situation, the capitalist rulers will try to avoid dropping the H-bomb on each other.

While excluding that possibility, we will certainly see a continued deepening of the rivalry, competition, and infighting among the capitalist powers—not because they want to, but because they have to. In the course of this conflict they are going to demolish some of the current mythology about their harmonious relations, the mythology that formerly surrounded institutions like NATO, the International Monetary Fund, and the Common Market. In reality the Common Market is not much more than a customs union, and not an irreversible one at that. The key is the fact that not a single one of the ruling classes is willing to surrender its national sovereignty, its ultimate reliance on state power to preserve its economic, monetary, and military interests.

We shall witness a continuation of Japan's rise among the world imperialist powers. Tanaka, to be sure, politely met with Nixon, smiled, pledged eternal friendship, bought military hardware and commercial airplanes as he promised—but simultaneously he was preparing a trip to China to reestablish diplomatic relations. The continued economic penetration of Brazil, the competitive penetration of the Chinese and Soviet markets, and the reestablishment of the East Asian coprosperity sphere have never ceased being goals of the Japanese ruling class.

And the goal of Willie Brandt's policy of developing openings to East Germany and Moscow is not a bid for another Nobel Prize unless it's one this time for economic "aggression"—that is competing successfully with Nixon for the "Eastern market."

In Italy, in France and in Britain, the resistance of the workers to the various brands of incomes policies have hindered "their" bourgeoisie's capacity to more rapidly improve their competitive stance vis-à-vis U.S. capital. And this makes Rome, Paris, and London less receptive to the attempt by the American rulers to extract from them the trade, monetary and military cost concessions as their contributions to solving Washington's problems.

We see the smaller imperialist powers frantically attempting to maneuver within this new framework. This is reflected in the rise of bourgeois nationalism in Canada and Australia. The local capitalists want to see what "independent" moves are possible in view of the weakening of Wall Street's power and standing.

We will see more of this as some of the semicolonial countries and smaller capitalist powers attempt to gain room for maneuver aimed at gaining a large share of the pie. They will not hesitate to shift their ties and change the relations that governed their actions in the past period. Policies like those used by the regimes in Peru, Chile, and Argentina will appear elsewhere and the petroleum exporting countries won't be the only ones seeking to impose a better bargain.

What we are witnessing is a further confirmation of the death agony of world capitalism. The new developments highlight the incapacity of American capitalism, the most powerful the world has ever known, to police, control, and dominate the world according to the pattern envisioned at the end of World War II. The much heralded American century has turned out to be somewhat shorter than 100 years.

Kissinger's "Year of Europe"

This new world situation is recognized by the decisive sectors of the ruling class. Several days ago, on April 23, Henry Kissinger delivered a major speech calling for a new Atlantic Charter to mark "The Year of Europe."

This policy statement, reflecting the consensus of the ruling class of the United States, outlined the new relations which it sought to impose upon the world. Every one of the fundamental points which we have been discussing and analyzing can be noted in the speech, including the demise of the Bretton-Woods agreement, the limits of military power and the costs of empire, and the new competitive situation among the capitalist states.

Within this framework, Kissinger was telling the European, Japanese, Canadian, and other capitalists what the American rulers are bidding for.

To really understand Kissinger's speech, it is necessary to translate his diplomatic language into class language. That's not really so difficult.

Kissinger began by describing the previous era as finished: "... the era that was shaped by decisions of a generation ago is ending."

Here is his version of that preceding period: "In the forties and fifties the task was economic reconstruction and security against the danger of attack." In other words, the containment of the class struggle and the military preparations to roll back the workers states.

"The West responded with courage and imagination." In other words, Europe had no choice but to accept American domination; in exchange, capitalist property relations in Europe were saved by the Marshall Plan, following the Stalinist "peaceful coexistence" betrayal in 1945-47.

But, Kissinger affirms, there is a problem now. "In Europe a new generation . . . takes stability for granted." But, he continues, "it is less committed to the unity that made peace possible and to the effort required to maintain it. In the United States decades of global burdens have fostered and the frustrations of the war in Southeast Asia have accentuated a reluctance to sustain global involvements on the basis of preponderant American responsibility."

To cope with this problem he called for "a new era of creativity in the West." And he concludes with an appeal: "We ask our friends in Europe, Canada and ultimately Japan to join us in this effort. This is what we mean by the Year of Europe."

Translated to convey the new reality, it means that given the present relationship of forces and the new economic problems, Washington's junior partners now must help foot the bill for policing the world for capitalism. For the specter of world revolution still haunts world capitalism and the Yankee bomb is this ultimate defense. And it can't be had at wholesale prices. Or without trade and monetary concessions as part of the package.

When Kissinger reaches what the bourgeois commentators called "the most diplomatic and most philosophical part" of the speech, he touches a problem of some dimension. "The political, military and economic issues in American relations," he declares, "are linked by reality, not by our choice nor for the tactical purpose of trading one off against the other. The solutions will not be worthy of the opportunity if left to technicians. They must be addressed at the highest level."

Later he returns to amplify this theme: "If [these questions] are left solely to the experts, the inevitable competitiveness of economic interests will dominate the debate. The influence of pressure groups and special interests will become pervasive. There will be no overriding sense of direction. There will be no framework for the generous solutions or mutual concessions essential to preserve a vital Atlantic partnership."

James Reston, a revolting journalistic sycophant when a policy pronouncement is handed down by the ruling class, called it "in the best sense of the expression, a 'Presidential speech,'" and summarized Kissinger's point this way: "But before these practical questions are handed over to the technicians [the cold technicians, as opposed to the "Dr. Strangelove" who delivered this address], and they begin squabbling about dollars, interest rates, tariffs, and all the other things that divide nations, maybe somebody ought to think about the political and philosophic questions that America, Europe and Japan have in common. That is what Mr. Kissinger presented to the world from the president last night." (*New York Times*, April 24, 1973.)

X We think there is some slight imprecision here in the terminology. Their problem does not lie with the technicians and the experts. These are the code words for the reality as explained by Marx: the law of value, the anarchic competition of capitals for profits, and the uneven and combined development of world capitalism. It is not the technicians and the experts who create these problems. The technicians and experts simply mirror this reality as they squabble over the means to maximize profits for their respective ruling classes.

What Kissinger was really saying is: We're going to fight you on this. We're in no condition for generous solutions and we intend the "concessions" to be as one-sided as possible. The American "technicians and experts" will insist on getting trade and monetary concessions not justified in face of the declining productivity differential of American capital. They will seek to get these concessions on the basis of the size of the U.S. economy, the power of its military arsenal, and the lack of a clear alternative to the dollar as the world unit of account. That's how the "political, military and economic issues" are linked.

Kissinger goes on: "The task is all the more difficult because the lessening of tensions has given new impetus to arguments that it is safe to begin reducing forces unilaterally. And unbridled economic competition can sap the impulse for common defense. All governments of the western alliance face a major challenge in educating their peoples to the realities of security in the 1970s." Translation: You better be prepared to put even more of a squeeze on your workers to foot more of the cost of our would counterrevolutionary efforts which we intend to

continue! And in the face of the unfolding détente it may not be so easy politically. You may also find in your working class a "reluctance to sustain global burdens."

To make sure no one misunderstands, Kissinger adds: "There is an increasing uneasiness — all the more insidious for rarely being made explicit — that superpower diplomacy might sacrifice the interests of traditional allies and other friends." Never, never, he assures them. But since that is just what has happened over the last two years, he should have added, "Well, hardly ever!" Underneath the appeal for understanding and collaboration is the threat of economic warfare and a new rise of protectionism in the most basic sense.

"The relaxation of tensions to which we are committed makes allied cohesion indispensable, yet more difficult." That is the other side of the détente. How willing are Nixon's competitors to pay more for policing the world when they are not sure how much they need it — especially as it will involve resources that they can use to raise productivity and compete more efficiently? And especially if there is to be no "rollback" and Brezhnev and Mao are to collaborate in restraining, containing, disciplining and — if necessary — suppressing any revolt that threatens to upset the status quo.

The Year of Atlantic disunity may be a more accurate title than the Year of Europe.

The bourgeois commentators are correct when they say Kissinger's speech is an authoritative presentation of the guidelines set down by U.S. capitalism governing the new relationship of forces between the North American, European and Japanese capitalists.

At the very same time as Kissinger was giving this speech in which he talked about the need for the imperialists to collaborate on the "energy crisis," another speech was being given in Tokyo which provides an example of exactly what kind of collaboration is in store.

This speech was given by a man named Jamieson, who is the chairman of Exxon, which is the new inclusive name for Standard Oil of New Jersey and its subsidiaries, the largest oil corporation in the world. Jamieson criticized the Japanese, without naming them, for trying to "save money and assure themselves of adequate supplies by making direct arrangements for supplies [of oil] from producing countries." He said, "there is no evidence that such supplies will be any less costly than oil obtained through the international companies."

I'm sure the applause was very polite — and somewhat restrained. But the *New York Times* reporter added that among the polite applauders were representatives of the ministry of a Mr. Nakasone, who released a little information about himself and his plans the following morning to the press, which reported: "Mr. Nakasone, whose ministry oversees the oil industry [in Japan], is scheduled to leave shortly on a 10-day visit to four major Middle Eastern oil producers — Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, and Abu Dhabi. It is reported that he will offer those nations economic aid in return for an *independent* oil supply," (*New York Times*, April 25, 1973.)

So, beneath all the diplomatic language and talk about the desire for maintaining a smoothly functioning capitalist alliance are the harsh realities: deepening economic competition between the capitalist powers; the prospect of exacerbation of this competition as a result of the

openings afforded by the Sino-Soviet dispute and the détente; and the determination of the American rulers, that even though they must treat other capitalist powers more as equals than before, to continue to remain on top.

Moscow and Peking as Rivals

How do the workers states fit into the overall world situation?

In recent months, Peking and Moscow have seemed to be vying with each other to see which could put on the most craven display before the ruling classes of the major imperialist powers. This month the award probably goes to the Chinese bureaucracy, which managed to rush in and recognize Franco's Spain only one week after East Germany and before the Soviet Union, and to praise the Greek colonels for remaining independent of the "Soviet sphere of influence." But we can be sure that Brezhnev will exert every effort to regain the award when he visits Nixon.

* Moscow and Peking's great betrayal of the Vietnamese in 1972 and the further unfolding of the détente confirm to the hilt what Trotsky warned of the consequences that would flow from the Stalinist theory of building "socialism in one country"; consequences which ineluctably lead to the betrayal of the world revolution.

In both the Soviet Union and China state power and nationalized property are dominated by a crystallized parasitic caste whose fundamental concern is the maintenance and expansion of their own material privileges in the sphere of consumption. Their attitude toward the world revolution is one of total hostility. To them it is, at best, small change in diplomatic dealings aimed at maintaining their own positions. At worst it's a direct threat to their own precarious rule.

There is no reason to believe that they will not go further in their betrayals or in cementing blocs and consummating deals with the bourgeois powers in their quest for advantage in their internecine struggle.

The Sino-Soviet dispute is only the sharpest reflection of the fundamentally competitive relations among the Stalinized bureaucracies whose privileges are based not only on property relations that are socialist in principle, but on their division into separate states.

If, as we believe, foreign policy constitutes an extension of domestic policy, it is excluded that these bureaucratic castes can adopt a policy of proletarian internationalism and of collective and collaborative development of the productive resources of the workers states. Their limited national horizons and bureaucratic rivalries and material interests preclude it.

The only way this can come about is through political revolutions that overthrow the totalitarian bureaucracies and establish workers democracy, which alone can bring about genuine internationalism in foreign policy, including complementary economic planning among the workers states, and a concerted effort to extend the world revolution. Those who think this necessity has been eliminated by Soviet economic growth are even more mistaken than Bukharin and Stalin were in 1928. The Soviet Union today is more dependent on the world market and world resources, not less. ?

The Soviet Union has massed divisions of troops and

nuclear arms on its border with China. The propaganda emanating from Moscow is loaded with blatantly racist, "yellow-peril" appeals. In Eastern Europe, with the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia came the formal announcement of the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty that proclaims Moscow's right and duty to suppress not only any popular uprising but any fundamental policy alterations in the deformed workers states that threatens the stability of the rule of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Chinese bureaucracy, in turn, has made clear the counterrevolutionary nature of its foreign policy. Since the détente we have seen its pro-NATO statements, its encouragement of the NATO nations not to withdraw a single division from the western boundaries of the Soviet Union, its expression of anxiety lest Greece fall into the Soviet sphere of influence, since the colonels, as Peking sees it, are a lesser evil. This is but an extension of the game of power politics which found its crassest expression earlier in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Sudan.

As the ramifications of the broad détente continue to unfold we will see more and more evidence of what Trotsky meant when he explained that the Comintern and all its parties have passed over to fundamentally upholding the bourgeois order on a world scale. And we will see deepgoing effects as the Communist parties whose basic policy is determined by their subordination to the bureaucracies in Moscow or Peking try to rationalize and apply the new twists and turns made necessary by the new "peaceful coexistence" détente.

* We note also, that the détente underscores our analysis of the Stalinist character of the Chinese regime and of the Chinese Communist Party. At the end of 1968, when so few commentators and "experts" believed it, Joe Hansen wrote in *Intercontinental Press* that the Chinese were offering a peaceful coexistence deal to the Nixon administration. Actually, they were proposing anew a deal that had been offered before—immediately after World War II, and right at the time of the conquest of power.

Joe Hansen said that this time the deal might well be accepted, and that if so, it would mean the betrayal of the Vietnamese and lead to a very different world situation. If the deal should materialize, he added, it would surprise "more than a few observers of the Chinese scene." Comrades will remember that in the July 26, 1971, issue of *Intercontinental Press* Joe Hansen was able to reprint this article without changing a word. As he said in a short editorial note, "Although it was written before Nixon was sworn into office as president, the article makes timely reading in connection with the current turn in diplomatic relations between Peking and Washington."

The immediate reason for the détente was Nixon's need for assistance in salvaging the Vietnam situation for imperialism. And there was only one place he could turn for help.

Nixon was in trouble! There was no possibility of convincing the American people to acquiesce in a further deepening of the war. The détente coincided with the magnificent spring offensive—possibly the military high point of the national liberation struggle. That's when Nixon felt compelled to turn to Moscow and Peking for help. There is no question that history would have been changed by the mass antiwar reaction here if Moscow and Peking had stood up to Nixon's new bombing and mining offensive.

Within the context of the détente and the deepening of the Sino-Soviet dispute there will be more room for maneuver for the Eastern European rulers, and this will be more necessary for their own protection as the détente raises the expectations of the workers and intellectuals in all the workers states. But this will all take place in the framework of the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty. That's an explosive scenario.

Mao's ideologists have now begun redefining all of the Eastern European countries as no longer fascist but once again socialist countries so it can initiate relations with them without "ideological" embarrassment. Rumania, for example, has once again become a socialist country, in Peking parlance.

The papers published a fascinating feature by David Rockefeller, who visited Moscow and the countries of Eastern Europe for the Chase-Manhattan Bank at the opening of the détente. He told how, as he hit each new capital, his hosts had already heard about the tempting offers of concessions, trade, financial needs, etc., that had been listed by the government officials in the previous country. Each new capital seemed to be eager to slightly outbid the previous one. He thought this augured well for his bank (and class) as the détente unfolds.

The immediate goal of the capitalist rulers is not to reverse the conquests of October through economic penetration, although steps along this road are not opposed to their longer-run thinking. From the historical perspective, it is exactly that question that is posed. However, the immediate capitalist goal is to penetrate the Soviet, East European, and Chinese markets in a major new way in order to help solve the deepening economic problems that the capitalist powers face in this period of imperialism's decline.

The longer-run significance of this détente and the accompanying economic penetration of the workers states by Western capital will be subject of growing debate in the workers movement.

We will see a renewal of the debate over the class character of the workers states. What criteria are used to determine their character as workers states? What changes are necessary to alter our characterization? What is wrong with Moscow and Peking's analysis of each other? Can there be a cold social counterrevolution in the workers states? All these questions will be reraised and we will have to answer them.

The Colonial Revolution

In general, the intensification of interimperialist competition for control of world markets exacerbates the need to control the sources and drive down the prices of agricultural and industrial raw materials. This will add to the fuel that has kept the fires of colonial revolution permanently burning since World War II.

One has only to look at the struggles in each of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, the ferment in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the new Black proletarian upsurge in South Africa—not to speak of the Palestinian liberation struggle, the revolution in Bangladesh and the war in Vietnam itself—to be reminded that the "powder kegs" of imperialism that Trotsky pointed to in 1928 are still exploding and will continue to do so.

It is also likely that there will be room for maneuver by the indigenous ruling classes in the colonial world

under these new circumstances, especially in some of the larger and more advanced semicolonial countries, like Brazil and Argentina. It will mean more competition by Euro-Japanese capital with American capital—a development welcomed by the Argentine bourgeoisie and the Cámpora regime, for instance.

There have also been cases in which rival imperialist powers have seized on colonial struggles to advance their own interests on the battlefield, most notably the Congolese events in the first part of the 1960s and the Nigeria-Biafra war. Coupled with this is the process of developing imperialist "client states"—like for instance Brazil and Iran—that are expected to take on the role of military surrogates for U.S. capitalism in protecting imperialist interests on the regional level.

Furthermore, Washington seeks to utilize the détente with Moscow to preserve the "status quo" in the Arab East and around the Arab-Persian Gulf in favor of Israel and Iran and against the Arab revolution. Protection of U.S. oil "rights" there takes on increasing importance under the pressure of intensified world competition.

But none of these measures resolves the native bourgeoisie's fundamental incapacity to meet the most pressing needs of the masses or to strike an independent stance in the international political, economic, and military arena. The new world political situation changes nothing regarding the incapacity of the comprador and national bourgeoisie to solve the historic problems that only the working class can now solve.

In all probability, we shall see the continuing rise of classical patterns of class struggle in the colonial world. This means further confrontations between the massive and growing urban proletariat of the major colonial and semicolonial countries and their ruling classes and the bourgeois state. Developments along this line in the past three years do not constitute an anomaly, but are the pattern for the future.

Of course, there can be no single, universal model that will everywhere be emulated. It would be fatal to make the same mistake that OLAS made in seeing guerrilla war as the only possible model for these countries. But we believe it is clear that the general tendency is toward more classical methods of struggle, methods traditionally employed by the urban proletariat.

In Chile and Argentina we now see the unfolding of an offensive by the workers and their allies likely to provide them with a period of relatively favorable conditions to carry on the class struggle—a class struggle more and more directed toward a fundamental break with the bourgeoisie. As a byproduct of this revolutionary class struggle, they can win significant concessions from their ruling classes, including greater democratic rights on the political arena.

We shall see more bourgeois regimes, like the one in Peru, seeking to take advantage of some of the weaknesses of world capitalism to solve their problems—the way Cárdenas tried to solve them in Mexico and the way Nasser tried to solve them in Egypt. There will be growing competition to pluck the ripe plum of Brazil, where the Japanese capitalists have already made one of their greatest coups.

The students will continue to play a very important role in the colonial world—witness as examples the recent stu-

dent actions in the Arab East and in South Africa.

None of the problems of the colonial world can be solved by petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships, by guerrilla warfare, or by some new gimmick that has not been thought of before. To the degree that Trotskyist parties are not constructed in these countries all evidence confirms that the Stalinists and Social Democrats will be able to reassert themselves. There can be no automatic bypassing of these bureaucratic misleaders in the labor movement. The experience of Chile, Argentina, Peru, among others, drives this point home anew.

Interrelation of The Three Sectors

Within this new world situation, we also can anticipate more complex relations among the three sectors of the world revolution. There is likely to be much more interpenetration of ideas, models, conflicts, examples.

It is evident that the national question will be a major and permanent factor in the class struggle in every sector, not only in the colonial world, but in the advanced capitalist countries and in the degenerated and deformed workers states where national oppression is an acute issue.

The influence of the youth radicalization and the resurgence of the student movement in the advanced capitalist countries may be asserted more rapidly than ever before in the Soviet bloc in the years ahead. Movements like the struggle for women's liberation can affect the consciousness of the masses of the world more quickly than before.

The new rise of workers struggles in Western Europe can have the kind of effect in Poland, for example, that was not before possible—and vice-versa. But as the détente unfolds there will be increasing interpenetration and a new richness of relations between the radicalization that is continuing in the advanced capitalist countries and the reawakening of the workers, students, intellectuals and their allies in the Soviet bloc.

Two Projected Documents

Out of this discussion we hope, in cooperation with other Leninist-Trotskyists around the world, to produce two documents to submit to the world Trotskyist movement.

The first would be a political resolution summarizing the new world political situation and the dynamics of the three sectors of world revolution under these new conditions.

The second would be a supplement to the 1963 principles of reunification. These reunification principles were drafted by the Political Committee of the SWP, submitted to both the International Committee and the International Secretariat, adopted by the overwhelming majority of both groups on the eve of reunification, and thus became the principled basis for reunifying the Fourth International. The supplement would bring up-to-date the 1963 statement.

While we have to take account of developments since then, we do not have to alter a single point in what was said in 1963. That statement has met the test of time and events better than any other resolution written by the reunified world movement. It remains a solid, principled groundwork for world Trotskyism. But important new phenomena have occurred, and embryonic developments which were only noted in that document have ma-

tured. These have to be taken into consideration in bringing that document up-to-date.

In that project, special note must be taken of the following nine points:

1. *The rise of the youth radicalization, its international impact, and its historic importance.*

There is evidence that another wave of student and youth upsurge has begun. We've seen new student upsurges in South Africa, Morocco, and Egypt. We've seen the first confrontations by the students with the colonels' regime in Greece. The Spanish students helped to spark the big new wave of workers demonstrations. There was the massive student upsurge in Belgium. And in France, in the last month, there has been the biggest upsurge since May-June 1968; in many ways, the student protests there were more advanced than the student component of the May-June 1968 general strikes.

This phenomenon of the youth radicalization and our analysis of it must be brought up-to-date and include the fundamental line of the Red University resolution adopted unanimously in 1969 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

2. *The national question.*

We have always ascribed great importance to the national question in the colonial world. But we must also take note of its growing importance in the advanced capitalist countries and the workers states.

This question will not disappear or assume a subordinate or peripheral character. On the contrary. The Irish question, for instance, may well be one of the keys to the crisis of British capitalism. The Québec question will certainly play more than a modest role in the Canadian revolution. The Ukrainian question, as Trotsky predicted, will never allow the overloads in Moscow to rule in peace.

3. *New features of the political revolution.*

This will include the rise, scope, and limits of the courageous intellectual opposition in the Soviet Union; the lessons of the Czechoslovak and Polish events; the lessons of the Cultural Revolution and the evolution of Chinese Stalinism; the problems of workers self-management. Under this point, of course, we must note the further evolution of the Sino-Soviet dispute with its threat of military conflict.

4. *The decline of the relative stability and growth of world capitalism that marked the 1950s and the early 1960s.*

We must take note of the new stage that has been reached in the evolution of imperialism and the new problems world capitalism faces that are leading to new outbreaks of class conflict. We must outline the fundamental turn in world politics rooted in this "new" economic epoch, which so clearly spotlights the "old" contradictions outlined by Lenin.

5. *The evolution of the colonial revolution.*

Here we will have to note not only its continuing capacity to rebound from defeats (the strength, courage, and resilience of the colonial masses have been proved over and over in the last decade); we will also have to point out the limits of the petty-bourgeois leaderships that have held sway in the colonial world up until now.

6. *The rise of the women's liberation movement and its effect on all facets of the class struggle and in all sectors of the world revolution.*

The international phenomenon of the growing radicalization and politicalization of women struggling for their economic, social, and sexual liberation is a new indication of the depth of the crisis of world imperialism. Striking at the patriarchal family system, one of the pillars of class rule, this struggle is an integral part of the social revolution. The significance of the rise of women's liberation, its importance for the revolutionary movement must be dealt with.

7. *The fundamental conclusions that must be drawn from the Vietnam experience, one of the turning points of world history.*

The strength of the national liberation struggle and the fundamental obstacle the program of national socialism is to its victorious culmination. The limits of American imperialism, at home and abroad, and the role of Soviet, Chinese, and Vietnamese Stalinism must be incorporated.

8. *The changes that have occurred inside American capitalism.*

The new problems that the American capitalists face at home; the main features of the evolving radicalization, its potential for deepening, its contradictions, and its significance in world politics today and for the coming world socialist revolution must be indicated.

The document must take note of the fundamental difficulty that the American ruling class faces given the current military, economic, diplomatic, and domestic political relations that have developed; the American ruling class, for all its power, does not have the capacity to grant the changes in the quality of life to the American workers necessary to contain and decisively roll back the radicalization that has begun unfolding.

9. *The fundamentally new stage of the class struggle in capitalist Europe.*

There is a new stage in the crisis of leadership of the European proletariat, and the European workers face a situation today different from that of either 1963 or 1968.

These are the major developments that must be considered in a concentrated programmatic way. They show how dramatically the class struggle has evolved since 1963.

The continuing crisis of Proletarian Leadership

We will also have to draw up a balance sheet of the continuing crisis of world leadership of the proletariat: the Maoist Stalinist leadership, the Moscow Stalinist leadership, the guerrillist leadership of OLAS, the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships of the Algerian or Nasserist types, and of course, the balance sheet on the progress and problems of the world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

Nixon contends we are heading into a period of peaceful coexistence in the world; to the degree that there are problems, he thinks, they are going to come from the little fellows and (with Brezhnev and Mao's collaborative acquiescence) he will be able to whip them into line pretty easily.

The whole perspective includes extended class peace at home. Nixon may see a few potential trouble spots ahead, but he is sure that with the help of "reasonable" gentlemen like Peter Brennan and I. W. Abel, the ruling class will gain needed time to restore its rightful place in the world. With reasonableness and collaboration on both sides at

home and abroad, he mistakenly assumes stability will be readily attained.

This coming period will entail negative features; we should have no illusions about that. The détente will bring out the worst in the bureaucrats of all stripes, whether they be the regimes of the Soviet Union and China, the heads of the big Communist and Social-Democratic parties in Asia, Europe and Latin America, or the bureaucratic misleaders of American labor.

The American labor bureaucrats have their class-collaborationist and narrowly nationalist answer to the problems American labor faces. Their answer is protectionism, business unionism, reliance on political "friends" in public office, cannibal unionism, increased lobbying, union officials in government offices, and long-term no-strike agreements. All the incapacities and criminal inclinations of these rotten layers will be exposed.

But Nixon fails to take into account certain pitfalls. The very steps the capitalists must take to reshape the world in order to try to get themselves out of the historical contradictions in which they find themselves will demolish the national and international class peace they seek to establish.

The most elusive culprit remains the built-in contradictions of the capitalist system. That is one "subversive" they can never put in jail.

There will be no lack of revolutionary upheavals. What is posed for us is the same question that has been central for our epoch: the question of leadership.

Our problem still remains the same as stated by Trotsky in the first sentence in the Transitional Program. "The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat."

A new generation is now coming to understand more concretely what that statement implies. The absence of a world Leninist leadership weighs heavily as the class struggle heats up, as new sectors of the class struggle come into play, as upsurges occur in one country after another, as the masses continue to show their revolutionary capacities and combativity.

The acuteness of the crisis of leadership is perhaps more clear today than ever before. This subjective factor comprises the greatest objective obstacle to the victory of the world revolution.

The various alternatives to Leninism, to Trotskyism, have long demonstrated their bankruptcy. The pro-Moscow Stalinists, the Social Democrats, the labor bureaucrats, have all continued their course of betrayal.

But what of the various new alternatives that have arisen since World War II? The Yugoslav Stalinists at first purported to offer an internationalist alternative to Stalin and the Cominform—they ended up trying futilely to realign the neutrals. Peking proved bankrupt time and again—first at Bandung with the "neutral" capitalist nations, then with the Indonesian catastrophe, then in trying to rally the anti-Moscow, pro-Maoist Stalinists where it could find them. Now Peking vies with Moscow for the favor of American imperialism.

The Castroists, to their everlasting credit, bypassed the Stalinists and established the first workers state in our hemisphere. But they too have been unequal to the responsibilities of international leadership, although they did try to extend the revolution by consistently urging and aiding emulations of their guerrillist line. They set

up OLAS, carrying their line to the world leadership level as best they could. They tested their guerrillist line in practice; it was found wanting. Instead of developing into an answer to the revolution, not only on a world scale but even in Latin America, Castroism became one of the obstacles in the fight for the construction of a revolutionary leadership.

The Nasserists and other petty-bourgeois nationalists—and the new lefts in various countries who never got off the ground—all have been found wanting.

How Trotskyists Can Go Wrong

But also found wanting in this period since World War II are various tendencies that began as Trotskyists, that began as Fourth Internationalists, that attempted to offer alternatives but rejected our method—the Leninist strategy of party building and the method of the Transitional Program—of finding points of leverage in new historical developments. Two of the clearest examples are Healy and Pablo.

Healy and Pablo were both capable and talented revolutionists. Both began as Trotskyists, with origins in a common tradition, as part of a common world movement. Yet the roads they took have led into dead ends. Why?

We have to examine the reasons very carefully; and our answer will be political, because it is not primarily a matter of ill will or personal deficiencies. We have to describe where and how Trotskyists can go wrong; it is the only way to avoid repeating the errors.

The answer lies not in the specific and limited experiences in their countries, although there is no question that this plays a role. Healy was shaped by British politics and was marked by the weaknesses of British radicalism, particularly its provincial outlook. Pablo was politically shaped first in Greece, then in France, and was marked by the one-sidedness of many European Marxists. But these are not fundamental factors. They affect all revolutionists.

If this were paramount, we would have to explain Leninism as a projection of backward Russia, and Trotskyism as a projection of extensive travelling all over the world as an exile, Marxism would represent a Germano-British outlook, with Engels contributing something as a factory owner in the Midlands.

No, different experiences are not the primary thing, although one must be conscious of them; one must not explain away false ideas but rebut them.

More than anything else, the dead ends that Healy and Pablo came to stemmed from misreading the lessons of the world revolution since World War II; from failing to measure up to the complicated theoretical, political, and organizational challenges that were put to our movement in that quarter of a century.

They were unable to plumb to the bottom the conclusions necessary to understand the gigantic historical detour that occurred as a result of the strengthening of world Stalinism at the end of the war. They were unable to understand the contradictory character of this phenomenon; they failed to see how petty-bourgeois parties, including Stalinist parties, for the first time in history, could stand at the head of revolutions that led to the establishment of workers states, but at the same time could not become, in a historical sense, a substitute for the Leninist party on a world scale.

They failed to see the totality of the obstacle that Stalinism represents to the world revolution and the complex and unanticipated theoretical and political problems posed by these postwar developments. They were unable to apply the Leninist strategy of party building and the method of the Transitional Program in the face of these new contradictory phenomena.

One error to avoid is that of the simplistic school that says: they led a revolution so they can't be Stalinists. An example of this error, one of the most tragic, was that of Arne Swabeck in the SWP.

We had a whole collection of others on a world scale who followed Pablo. Some of the original Pabloites carried this line to its logical conclusion by joining the Stalinist parties, not as a deep-entry tactic, but as neo-Stalinists: George Clarke's colleagues, Michelle Mestre and John Lawrence, for example. The redefined Stalinism; but Stalinism had not redefined itself. It had not become an "adequate instrument."

There is also the danger of falling into the opposite error, that of the school that says: they were petty-bourgeois or Stalinists, therefore the revolution did not occur.

Healy provides the classic example of this error. He could not recognize the stages in the evolution of the government and state that the Cuban revolution established. Nor could he recognize its class character. He also failed to pass one of the central tests posed to revolutionists: recognizing a revolutionary development when one occurs and identifying with it. Understanding the class character of the Cuban state was a precondition to correct analysis of its development.

This error has a lot in common with Stalinophobia, which fails to identify with and orient to the revolutionary masses in motion for fear of contamination from the Stalinists who may, under certain circumstances, stand at the head of these masses.

In the postwar years, we have seen some tendencies bypass Stalinism and register important achievements. The great example was the revolutionary team around Castro and Guevara. They bypassed the Stalinists and led the peasants and workers to the establishment of a workers state.

But even bypassing and negating Stalinism at one stage of the revolution, up to and including the establishment of a workers state, does not solve the historical question of proletarian leadership. It merely poses the next question: the theory, organization, and leadership necessary to extend and deepen that revolution, which is ultimately the only way to defend it.

It is important to recognize that the Chinese experience, the Yugoslav and Vietnamese experiences, and the Cuban experience occurred as detours—not new historical norms for the world revolution. To fail to understand this point ultimately means to adapt to non-Leninist currents—as Pablo adapted to Stalinism, as whole sections of the American and European left adapted to Maoism and Castroism. And the logic of adaptation is to lose our most precious assets: clarity on principles, the transitional approach, and the strategy of constructing a Leninist party. No one can build the Leninist party but convinced Leninists, and no other instrument is adequate to the job we have set for ourselves.

It is wrong to see Leninism, as Pablo did, as a broad

general category covering the organization of revolution in our epoch, including of course the theory of the organization of the revolutionary combat party, but including it only as one variant among others. It is wrong to say that wherever the proletariat has won a victory, or even a partial victory, in the absence of a Leninist party this implies redefining Leninism.

It is wrong to conceive of Leninism as a general framework that can encompass the various radicalized left-wing forces and the various "far-left" ideologies that can arise in this epoch. This approach rejects what is unique about the Leninist vanguard—the principled clarity and programmatic norms needed to construct the kind of party that places the proletariat itself in the leadership of the world revolution.

The logic of this error leads to dispersing the Leninist organization into some other "vanguard." It leads to a search for substitutes for the Leninist party. This false concept always comes down to one simple idea: other forces are bigger, they are heading or have headed revolutionary upsurges, they may not be as pure as we are, but they are an adequate tool. That was Pablo's fundamental mistake. It meant a fundamental break with our traditions and theory of party building, a fundamental break with Leninism.

There is no vanguard that is adequate other than the Leninist vanguard. There is no way to construct a Leninist party other than through participation in the class struggle as conscious Leninists. From this point of view, the Stalinists of whatever variety, the guerrillists, and the petty-bourgeois nationalists constitute obstacles on the path to the world revolution; they are obstacles to advancing the new working-class upsurges in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and North America. They offer only a dead end.

We have always disagreed with Isaac Deutscher's choice of titles for his trilogy—describing Trotsky as a prophet. It shows the limits of Deutscher, but doesn't tell us the truth about Trotsky.

Trotsky was not a prophet. Trotsky was a revolutionary scientist. He was not a prophet who had a vision around which he constructed a schema to guide his action. That is a form of idealism, a form of impressionism, that leads to adaptationism and it is alien to Trotskyism.

No, Trotsky wasn't a prophet. He was a scientist who dissected the living class struggle on the basis of the principles around which a Leninist party must be built to lead the class struggle forward.

We reject all the false answers, from Stalinism and the Social Democracy to every other non-Leninist variant that has arisen in the postwar period.

We must continue to build Leninist parties on the basis of the method outlined in the Transitional Program adopted by the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, which was a continuation and extension of a century of Marxist analysis and practice. We reaffirmed that programmatic view in 1963 and continue to reaffirm it today.

Our view, from the very beginning, has been that the duty of the Fourth International is to be clear on this question above all else.

We fight to maintain the established Leninist norms of party building.

We view the construction of Leninist parties not as a

preferable method, but as the necessary method to lead the workers to victory and to guarantee that victory. That is the road we are determined to follow.

YOUTH REPORT TO SWP NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

by Andy Rose, April 28, 1973

[The following report was presented to the SWP National Committee plenum, April 28, 1973, by Andy Rose for the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. This report is printed for the information of party members.]

The new situation in American politics described in the political report poses a challenge for the YSA. Since 1965 our activity has centered around building and helping to lead the antiwar movement. That is where we recruited the majority of our members and where they were trained in action. The big national conferences and demonstrations provided a focal point around which much of our activity tended to revolve.

Now the war is supposedly settled, but the effects of the war are still felt in the skyrocketing inflation and other economic problems. The challenge before the YSA is to reorient our work to the new openings and opportunities, and direct our membership into new campaigns.

We began to grapple with this problem at the YSA convention. We emphasized the need to be alert to whatever openings for action that might arise, and to continue, as the central focus of our work, the socialist propaganda offensive launched with the 1972 Jenness and Pulley campaign. Events since the YSA convention have given us a clearer picture of some of the things that the YSA can do in this period.

The growing concern with economic issues is in no way divorced from or walled off from the American students. These are important issues for the student movement. Through our Red University strategy the YSA can take the lead in tying in the student movement with these social questions.

Inflation is an important problem for all young people. Inflation is eroding their families' standard of living and their own wages if they are employed. Young workers tend to be at the bottom of the wage scale. The jobless rate for youth is about triple that of the work force as a whole. Black youth face the highest rate of unemployment, which soars to over 30 percent.

Nevertheless, the meat boycott largely bypassed the student movement. While it is true that most college students don't have the responsibility of providing for a family, they do have a big stake in this fight. They have to make whatever income they get, from part-time jobs, parents, or scholarships, cover the rising cost of living.

College costs are increasing much faster than the consumer cost-of-living index shows. A recent study showed that the average cost of attending a public four-year college has increased 5.8 percent yearly for residents and 6.8 percent for commuter students since 1970. The squeeze is so tight that applications for the major state universities have actually declined sharply for the first time in ten years.

While tuition costs are rising, federal and state aid to higher education is being cut back. Those most severely affected are the Black students, who are often more dependent on financial aid. Many face the prospect of being thrown out of school as the cutbacks proceed.

The study on applications found that "some of the worst hit this spring are southern, largely Black, public institutions." There was a 40 percent drop in applications at South Carolina State College and a 50 percent drop at Southern University in Louisiana.

Modern capitalism's need for a more educated work force, the expansion of higher education, and the entrance of large numbers of working-class youth into college mean that students are now more affected by the ups and downs of capitalist economy. Capitalism finds it necessary to rationalize higher education. One aspect of this is to push students and their families to bear more of the cost of education. Another aspect is the trend to tailor higher education more closely to the needs of big business. That means cutting down on humanities or liberal arts in favor of more streamlined and functional programs like vocational education.

These attacks are not going unchallenged by the student movement. A number of struggles have broken out around these economic issues. The largest of these—also the biggest campus struggle in the past school year—was at Southern University. Thousands of Black students were mobilized over a period of several weeks in mass demonstrations and a nearly 100 percent effective strike.

The struggle began around questions of inadequate facilities and funding and broadened into a fight for Black student control. The struggle was only held back through the use of extraordinary measures—the killing of two students, closing down of the campus, and opening it up again only under tight police guard.

Students in the City University system in New York are threatened with cutbacks and a proposal to impose tuition for the first time in the university's history. These measures would drastically affect the ability of Black and Puerto Rican youth to attend college. These measures represent a direct attack on the open admissions policy won by mass struggles by Black and Puerto Rican students and community in 1969. Up to 1,000 students have demonstrated recently against the cutbacks and tuition proposal.

In Detroit the Student Action Coalition organized hundreds of Black high school students to protest a Board of Education threat to close down schools two months early. The YSA helped to organize this action.

In Chicago the YSA helped initiate a coalition against cutbacks and tuition hikes at the University of Illinois and has had some success in drawing in the student government and a Black student group. The student government has made all its facilities available for the coalition to use in reaching out to other campuses.

Other actions around similar issues have involved up to several hundred students at Brandeis, Antioch, C.W. Post on Long Island, Metro Community College in Denver, Paterson College in New Jersey, and other campuses.

Three things stand out about these actions. First, most of the actions so far have been modest. They are actions of a vanguard, not a mass response to the attacks. The Minneapolis YSAers report that they find deep sentiment

against the cutbacks and tuition hikes, but few students are yet willing to act. However, since there are no long-term solutions to these problems, there is potential for such actions to increase.

Second, the key role of Black students should be noted. Blacks have been in the forefront of campus struggles and of broader social actions against Nixon's budget policies. Examples are the February 20 demonstration which drew 10,000 in Washington, D.C., and the April 4 action called by SCLC and PUSH. The issues facing Black students are interlinked with the most fundamental questions of social and economic progress for the Black community.

Third, the solutions to these problems lie in students developing an approach that goes beyond the campus both in identifying the enemy and in looking for allies. The first question thrown at Black students protesting cutbacks or tuition hikes is where will the money come from. They face the attempts of the ruling class to pit different sections of the oppressed against each other. The administration will try to pit the Black studies department against the women's studies department for the limited funds available. In New York the idea of "equalization" between the State and City Universities or between the public and the private schools is used to justify ending free tuition at the City University. The question is often posed as to why working people, already over-taxed, should have to pay even more to subsidize the education of students.

To answer these questions students need a program and a strategy that can link their needs to the struggles of their potential allies, the working people trying to defend their standard of living, thus not allowing the ruling class to counterpose the interests of workers and students.

The May 5 actions will provide one opportunity to make this linkup. The YSA is taking the lead in urging students to support the anti-inflation protest. We think all groups engaged in struggle against Nixon's economic policies should join in the May 5 protest.

In the Bay Area, the YSA and other groups have been organizing students to build the April 28 action. At the University of California campus in Berkeley the YSA helped build a support committee on campus. This committee involved people from three AFSCME locals on campus, two AFT locals, two childcare centers, women's liberation groups, the Student Mobilization Committee and student government.

Students distributed some 30-40,000 leaflets on and off campus to build the action. A rally was held at U. Cal. with a speaker from the United Labor Action Committee. Support committees were also organized at San Francisco State College and San Francisco City College. The student governments at these two schools supported the action, and the demonstration received extensive publicity in the campus press. There was a building meeting at San Francisco State College of nearly 200 students.

The YSA can also advance the struggle through our own socialist propaganda. On-campus sales, campaigns, forums, and stepped-up press sales off campus are important. We can use these developments to put forward basic socialist ideas. Our ideas will be more concrete and realistic sounding for many students. We are beginning to bring to the fore those aspects of our program for the student movement that give solutions to these problems.

An example is the editorial in the May *Young Socialist*. In our student work we want to review our transitional program for the youth radicalization, and learn how to sharpen up such demands and how to apply them to specific situations.

What distinguishes the YSA's transitional approach to the student movement is not only the correct recognition of the important independent role student actions can play, but also the necessity for students to support the demands of the working class as a whole. The YSA recognizes the need for the student movement to ally in action with the working class.

We don't know how far the momentum of the meat boycott and the May 5 action will go, but by throwing our forces into the anti-inflation fight and the campus struggles against cutbacks and tuition hikes we can help advance these important struggles and educate a layer of student activists and recruit to our movement.

We have noted before that in comparison to the campuses upsurges of 1968-69 and especially May 1970, there has been a relative decline in the level of activity in the student movement.

There are three major factors involved in this downturn. First is the withdrawal of most U.S. troops from Vietnam. Second is the ebb in the Black struggle. Third is the skepticism of many students about their ability to take effective action, in the wake of the debacle of ultra-leftism and the prolonged quiescence of the organized working class.

At this time there is no significant change in our assessment of the level of activity among students. The withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam has for the time being defused the issue that was the main impetus to student activism for the last eight years.

At the same time, we should not downplay the actions that are going on. Local actions are taking place around a variety of issues, and these are opportunities for the YSA to be involved both on campus and in the high schools.

At Wayne State in Detroit, Black students have been the backbone of the anti-STRESS campaign. Anti-STRESS groups have been established at other campuses in the area and at four high schools. High school students are the main activists building for the April 28 anti-STRESS action. These high school students actually came to the anti-STRESS coalition and asked how to organize in their high schools against STRESS.

In Atlanta earlier this year, several hundred Black high school students went on strike against the racist treatment they receive.

A significant number of Black students have begun to take action in solidarity with the African liberation struggles. The African Liberation Support Committee has called for local demonstrations to be organized on May 26, and the YSA has been able to play a role in building the actions in many cities. In building these actions we have stressed the importance of focusing on the demands to end U.S. complicity with the South African and Rhodesian regimes and Portuguese colonialism.

In the Chicano struggle a couple of high school strikes have taken place in California with solid backing from the Chicano community. The extent of student support for the farmworkers is also noteworthy. In several places the YSA has been involved in the lettuce boycott activities

demanding that colleges honor the boycott and organizing students for picket lines at supermarkets.

The New York YSA was able to take important initiatives in organizing campus support for the pro-community control school board in District One. Last fall we helped organize a successful campus speaking tour for Luis Fuentes. This spring the YSA, together with several Puerto Rican student groups, helped initiate a student meeting to organize student support for the pro-community control slate in the District One school board election. The meeting was well attended by Puerto Rican students. At New York University we are running on a joint student government slate with LUCHA, one of the most active Puerto Rican student groups involved in the District One fight.

The issues of the war and military are still of concern on campus. Hundreds of students demonstrated against Thieu in April. At Boston University several hundred students protested Marine recruiters coming on campus. It is important for SMCs to continue to function by participating in actions like these and getting out educational material.

There have been some campus actions around women's liberation demanding women's studies, abortion, adequate health care, equal jobs and equal educational opportunities for women. Our perspective is to continue to participate in campus women's liberation groups. It is important that these groups orient towards the big political issues like the anti-inflation fight or childcare, as well as educational activities. When these groups don't have an action focus, they are more likely to degenerate into narrow counterinstitutionalist circles. Also it should be noted that there is a good deal of interest among these groups in socialism. We've addressed ourselves to this through forums and classes on the roots of women's oppression and feminism and socialism.

There has also been some motion on campus in defense of democratic rights, and widespread demonstrations around defense of the Wounded Knee action.

So although there is a relative downturn in activity, the radicalization of students continues. Dissatisfaction with the status quo runs deep. Millions of students participated in the mass actions against the war, and the change in their consciousness will not simply fade away.

How well has the YSA responded to the new political situation which has developed? What progress have we made in recruiting to the YSA? What progress have we made in strengthening the YSA's influence in the student movement and in strengthening our internal functioning? These are key questions in evaluating the development of the YSA.

The youth report to the last plenum centered on a number of problems that the YSA was beginning to grapple with at the time. These included a lack of growth, what was seen as a tendency to overproject what we could accomplish, and the lack of a strong campus base. In the last year we have discussed these problems and made efforts to turn them around. In general we have made progress. The YSA is stronger today than it was a year ago.

We went on a drive to get more YSAers onto the campus, directing the attention of the leadership toward campus work. We began to build strong campus fractions that were not alien to the political life of the campus,

but right in the center of it.

Our campus comrades are aware of local issues, are taking initiatives on them, are familiar with the other groups, and are known as campus leaders. We have larger campus fractions, including some at important schools where we were weak before. The YSA has at least 15 fractions of ten YSAers or more. These fractions are better integrated into the politics of their campuses. This is illustrated by their ability to respond quickly to openings for action.

Sales on campus have increased. We set as a goal the regular sales of large numbers of *Militants* and *Young Socialists*. This is seen as a priority. We utilized both campus and non-campus comrades for night sales and organized dorm blitzes for single copy sales.

This year we have run more campus election campaigns than ever before. These campaigns give us an opportunity to speak to all sectors of the student population on all the key issues and directly explain our strategy for the student movement. It is especially important for these campaigns to link up the local campus issues with broader social questions. We run revolutionary socialist campaigns, not just "Student Power" campaigns.

We are setting up more literature tables than ever before. We are getting our speakers onto campus. Some of our larger campus fractions have established semi-regular Young Socialist forum series, having a YSA-sponsored speaker every couple of weeks. The national speaking tours, like the Vietnam tours and the YSA tours, this spring are very important. This gives us a chance to get some of our best spokespeople on campuses all over the country. This is especially important for the YSAs in the region.

We intend to continue improving our campus work in all these respects. It is also important to extend our campus base beyond the schools we are now on. We have pointed to the importance of certain major campuses that tend to be looked to when student struggles erupt. We also want to be on the city colleges and community colleges. These schools often have more Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano students than the more expensive schools. We often find the YWLL on these schools too, and we don't want to leave them a free hand anywhere.

We also want to pay more attention to the all-Black or predominantly Black campuses. There has been some motion on these campuses, and experience shows that we get a good response to our ideas. That was shown in the response to our Black teams.

As the radicalization deepens in the high schools, they have become an increasingly important potential source of recruitment to the YSA. However, our high school work has tended to be weak and disorganized in most areas. We have about 70 high school members in the YSA. Most branch locals have at least one high school comrade, but there are hardly any locals where we have several comrades together in one high school, where they function as an organized fraction.

Our high school comrades cannot be expected to carry out the same range of activities as the university campus fractions. We have to have clearly defined priorities for political activities at the high schools where we have comrades. The entire local should participate in high school work. This is not an area just for high school comrades.

We have set two priorities for getting high school work

underway in every area. One is to organize regular sales of our press outside selected high schools. We need to concentrate especially on YS sales. We need to aim these sales at Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican high schools.

We are projecting taking our SWP election campaign support work into the high schools. We can draw high school youth into youth support committees as a means to recruit them. Our campaigns can be particularly attractive to high school students since we are the only ones who stand for their full rights, for their right to control their own education. We have several candidates who are high school students.

This kind of activity can be carried out in every local, whether we have high school comrades or not. This is a good way for the YSA to contact radicalizing high school students and recruit them.

The Black urban high schools are particularly important to us. The example set in Detroit showed the potential for the YSA winning support in these schools.

One question we became aware of as we discussed recruitment is the public projection of the YSA as an independent youth organization. We saw this as a weakness. As an independent youth organization, we also have to be open to taking people in on many different levels of political commitment, and we've tried to eliminate any unnecessary organizational barriers to recruitment.

In our relations to the party we have tried to eliminate any organizational practices that tend to blur the organizational independence of the YSA. Some of these were rather minor and were easily corrected, like the practice of sending out joint YSA and SWP city letters. We have become conscious of projecting well-known public figures identified as YSAers. We stressed Andrew Pulley being a national YSA leader during his campaign for vice-president. It became clear, however, that putting the YSA forward more publicly and more aggressively pointed to relaunching an independent youth newspaper.

At a special YSA National Committee plenum last summer at Oberlin, the YSA voted to launch the monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper. This was a major step forward for the YSA. The YSA now has an independent public voice that gives the views of the YSA on all major issues. We can report on our own activities as well as analyze events in the student movement. The *YS* is a tool for the YSA to intervene in student struggles and put our strategy forward. It's a tool for recruitment to the YSA, projecting the YSA as an open, dynamic, action-oriented socialist youth organization with the correct ideas on what to do. The *YS* helps to give the YSA cohesiveness and an identity as an organization.

Publishing and distributing the *YS* also posed a challenge for the YSA. A large portion of the time of our national staff is devoted to producing the paper. We had to develop, almost from scratch a team of writers and editors who could get out an attractive and interesting paper every month. Each issue since the first in October has shown improvement.

Having launched the paper, our task became the building of its circulation. We centered our effort around bundle sales. We initiated a drive to get the bundle circulation over 10,000 monthly. We scored a major victory in this campaign by achieving our goal a full month ahead of schedule. This 10,000 figure does not include the thou-

sands of papers sold by the Young Socialist teams. The April issue run of the *YS* was 22,000 copies. We totally sold out the press run and had to turn down locals that wanted more papers.

We feel that our experience with the paper so far has confirmed the correctness of our decision to publish the *YS*. The experience has enriched our understanding of the value of an independent publication. Our perspective is to improve and expand the *YS*, to increase its circulation and further develop it as a tool for building the YSA.

Much of the progress the YSA has made last year can be attributed to a strengthening of the YSA leadership. Last year we noted a tendency to graduate developing YSA leadership too fast. This was not primarily a problem of the total number of graduations, rather it was a question of having strong central leaders in the YSA locals.

This problem has been successfully turned around, on both the local and national level. The nominating commission at the last YSA convention held a good discussion on exactly this question. They placed an emphasis on continuity rather than a faster and faster turnover. This was finally reflected in the National Committee that was elected.

An area of work which has improved dramatically in the last year is YSA finances. This epitomizes the greater strength of our internal functioning. A year ago the YSA fund drive had to be singled out as an area where we fell far short of our projections, reaching a low point in the fall of 75 percent of our goal. This spring we made finances a top priority. We set a fund drive goal a full \$8,000 higher than the total raised last fall. The weekly progress reports demonstrate how successful this fund drive has been. It is now certain that we will meet our goal and probably exceed it.

At the same time as we have improved national finances, local finances have improved in most locals. They are more stable and pulling more of their share on headquarters rent, phone bills, organizer subsistence.

At the time of the last SWP plenum we recognized that the YSA was not growing. Our size was approximately the same as it had been since the middle of 1970, and over the last year our total size has remained stable. We have been recruiting at a modest rate, but the number dropped or graduated is about equal to the number recruited. Like last year the movement as a whole has been growing. The SWP has had a net gain of members mostly recruited from the YSA.

The YSA has given much attention to recruitment since last year. Discussions at our conventions, plenums and organizational tours have stressed aiming our work towards recruitment. The national office has given various specific suggestions for improving recruitment. The YSA locals have experimented with various organizational forms to improve recruitment. But we need to give even more consideration to this question. There are no gimmicks or shortcuts that will instantly transform the YSA into a mass organization, but we could be recruiting more people if we improve this area of functioning. One aspect of recruitment that can be improved is individual contact work.

In the course of our activities we run into many people

who are interested in our ideas. These people are potential recruits to the YSA. Most have many questions and hesitations. There is a lot of pressure not to join a revolutionary organization. Recruiting these people requires systematically organized work. All comrades should see this work as one of their main responsibilities. We need to find out what questions and disagreements contacts have, discuss these questions with them and see that they get the appropriate literature. This is not a one-shot operation. It requires persistence in getting contacts to forums and other functions.

YSA executive committees and all fractions should have a regular point on their agenda to discuss who the contacts are and what can be done to recruit them. The exact organizational forms of recruitment work will vary. Some locals may find it useful to form recruitment committees and assign a recruitment director. There should be particular tasks for the committee to carry out, such as recruitment classes or contact mailings. In some areas the campaign committees can perform these functions. Recruitment committees are not a substitute for individual contact work being done by all comrades and through the fractions. The local executive committee is ultimately responsible for thinking out the overall problems of recruitment and giving direction to the fractions to facilitate recruitment.

The party leadership can play a vital role in helping the YSA local leaderships think out recruitment work. We need to work out ways of better utilizing the branch institutions like forums and the bookstores for recruitment. Branch comrades can play a direct role in recruitment by making a point of talking to contacts themselves. The comrades on the branch executive committees are often some of the best recruiters in our movement.

In addition to individual contact work, involving contacts in activities is an important facet of recruitment work. We should be conscious of this in every area of activity. It is easy to make mistakes in this regard because it seems more efficient to simply assign a comrade to do a particular job. But involving independents in activities such as election campaigns can pay off in giving real breadth to our work and also in recruitment.

There appears to be an increased interest in our socialist ideas among Black students as well as other Black youth. This is indicated by frequent reports that comrades find it easier to sell our press to Black youth. Another sign is the response to our traveling teams from Black students. The teams are able to make a few good contacts among Black students in nearly every area they visit. We have recruited Blacks who were formerly in opponent groups in Detroit and Connecticut.

Over the last year we have had a modest increase in our total Black membership. During this same period there has been a significant increase in the number of Black comrades who are leaders of our movement. We have made a conscious and successful effort to get more Black comrades on the campus.

In addition to sharpening up recruitment work we plan to devote more attention to integration of new comrades and education. We intend to publish a basic reading list for contacts and new members. We will also publish some suggested course outlines for very basic introductory classes. We should keep in mind that a certain turnover in

membership in a youth group is to be expected. But we can try to cut down on our turnover rate by paying more attention to integration and education.

One of the major focuses of party work at this time is election campaigns. We can expect them to be a major source of recruitment to the YSA. Running large-scale professional election campaigns is the first step. The next step is turning our support into recruits.

The "Young Socialist for the Socialist Workers Party candidates" are the main focus of YSA campaign support work. Our aim with the Young Socialist supporter committees is to make it as easy as possible for people to take a step toward supporting socialist politics. Experience shows that it takes ingenuity and flexibility to make these committees successful. It is especially important to find activities that campaign supporters can do right where they are, such as in the high schools and on the campus.

There are a number of reasons why regional work is important to the YSA and must be stressed. First the potential for recruitment is very great in the region. The proportion of our total membership recruited in the region is far greater than the total current membership of the regional locals.

Another reason that we stress regional work is the political importance of cities and campuses beyond the 18 cities where we have regional centers. Many regional YSA locals have become important political factors in the life of their city or campus. We find our political opponents in the region and to confront them it is necessary for us to be there too.

The central success of regional work in the last year has been the traveling teams. We fielded 17 YSJP teams last fall and 12 YSA teams this spring. Fielding these teams requires a substantial commitment of finances and personnel, but the teams are the best way we have devised to carry out the trailblazing aspect of regional work. We should aim to make this project a regular twice-yearly campaign of our movement.

In the last year we have improved the regular regional organizing through which we maintain contact with regional locals and at-largers. We try to have a regional organizer assigned in every region. Most are on full-time. It takes an experienced, leading comrade to be a good regional organizer. The regional organizer has to be able to work well with new comrades, be sensitive to their particular situations, and help them work out realistic tasks and priorities.

It is also helpful for comrades from the center—other than just the regional organizer—to get out into the region and give classes and forums and just talk with comrades. This will help to give regional comrades a broader view of our movement and aid in their further integration.

The YWLL remains our largest, strongest and historically most important challenger for the leadership of radicalizing youth. The YWLL is central to the CP's new policy of coming out into the open to directly build the CP and its influence. Successfully establishing the YWLL over the last three years represents an important step forward for the CP.

The YWLL is about the same size or somewhat smaller than the YSA in total membership. Their geographical spread is roughly the same as ours. There are some

key areas where we have locals where they are weak or nonexistent, like Atlanta, Florida, Texas, Minneapolis, and Denver. They, however, have strength in areas we don't, like North Carolina, Alabama, and Maine.

The YSA is significantly stronger than the YWLL. Our members are politically stronger, more active, and better organized. When we can get close to the YWLL membership, work in united fronts with them, confront them politically, we deal blows to their organization. We did this around January 20 by forcing the CP into supporting it. YSAers worked with YWLLers on the marshalling and were able to engage them in political discussions with some effect.

We have been able to recruit some people out of the YWLL in Cleveland, Maine, and New York. By establishing the YSA as a pole of attraction in places like Bloomington and Pittsburgh we have cut down on their influence and recruitment.

Right now they're on a big drive to build the YWLL. They have launched a drive to double their membership in 1973. This is unlikely to happen. In their organizational report in June 1971 they said they had 1,000 members and projected growing to 1,800 by their next convention. At their next convention they claimed to have 1,200 members and projected growing to 3,000 by 1974.

It is obvious that they have copied a number of ideas from us, like running in student government campaigns and sending out regional teams. There are, however, some places where we could take a lesson from them. They very aggressively project the YWLL in the *Daily World*. They demonstratively had Angela Davis join the YWLL. They have top CP leaders in the YWLL.

They are trying to grapple with some of the organizational problems that have plagued the YWLL from the outset. If they implement their projections, such as traveling teams and more literature, we should not underestimate what their financial resources will enable them to accomplish. This is all the more reason to take them very seriously.

To solve the problem of giving a unifying focus to their work, the YWLL has come up with the idea of a "National Youth Act." They took the idea from the CP youth in the 1930s. The youth act is a way of codifying their program for youth. They can hold meetings around it, circulate petitions and build around the reformist concept that through pressure on Congress, rather than mass mobilization, the youth can win specific demands.

Recognizing the gains they made from the Angela Davis defense, they are trying to maintain and extend their contacts through the National Committee to Defend All Political Prisoners. We should follow very closely what they do with this formation and participate as best we can in any genuine defense campaigns around specific cases.

Last year in the youth report we described the evolution of the ex-new left which was splintering into collectives and communes. They generally retreated from political action in the student movement into counter-institutionalism. This is a very broad and diffuse milieu ranging from hardened cynical ultralefts, reformists, and anti-Trotskyists to thousands of youth who were active in the antiwar movement or some other social protest. Some are still interested in radical political action, some have been sucked into the workerist sects, and some have

remained in groups which are involved in the moves for a new Maoist regroupment.

The attempt at regrouping the Maoist forces into a new communist party is being pushed by the *Guardian*. Other groups involved are the Revolutionary Union, October League, Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, Black Workers Congress and I Wor Kuen. These were the main forces involved in building the November 4 "Support the Treaty" demonstrations.

These groups in their conglomerate are probably as large as the party and YSA right now. There are several areas where these groups are major opponents of the YSA. Both the RU and the October League are fairly well organized. They do systematic regional work and have recently expanded into new areas.

Although it will be very difficult to actually fuse these diverse forces, we should see as one possibility the actual formation of a new Maoist party. If established its appeal could be much broader than just to the ultra-lefts. Because of China's new right posture in regards to the U.S., a formation based on loyalty to the Chinese bureaucracy could appeal to liberals. We will need to step up our polemics against the Maoists. We should engage them in debate especially around the Vietnam accords. The discussion around this issue is not over, and as events unfold, our position should be further confirmed.

An example of how we have been able to debate the Maoists is the debate in the Atlanta paper, the *Great Speckled Bird*. As a result of a debate in the editorial staff of this newspaper, there was an open debate on the Vietnam accords in the pages of the paper. The Maoists, NPAC and the SWP all submitted their points of view.

The propaganda around Vietnam is central to our ability to challenge both the Peking and Moscow Stalinists for the allegiance of this very substantial milieu of radical youth.

The relative downturn in the student movement has been an encouraging development for the Young People's Socialist League. As long as the antiwar mobilizations were a big factor in campus life, YPSL's right-wing politics left them totally isolated in the student movement. Their main activity now is building the right-wing pro-Zionist "Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East." They correctly recognize that it is on the question of Zionism that reactionary ideology is strongest on campus. They see this Youth Committee as an opening to make a comeback against radicalism. The Youth Committee has launched a direct attack against the YSA, labeling us as anti-Semitic. YPSL is making this a big campaign. The YSA teams found anti-YSA leaflets on a number of campuses, which confirms the *New America* report that the Youth Committee has teams on the road.

We should take this opportunity to not only refute the YPSL slander, but to go on the offensive with our own propaganda around the Middle East. There is an apparent increase in interest around this question, so we want to step up our propaganda through our press, election campaigns, speaking engagements and possibly new literature.

The Progressive Labor Party and their reformist student formation, SDS, continue to function in most large

cities and on many campuses. Centering the work of SDS around their thoroughly reformist and abstract campaign against racism, they have attracted some radicals and liberals to their group. On some campuses they are the other most visible group competing with the YSA. PL is no longer characterized by the rabid sectarian posture that became their trademark in their "smash the SMC" days. They view SDS as an open reformist student group and in many places it is possible to work with SDS around specific issues.

The proliferation of left sects remains a minor problem for the YSA. The largest of these is the Workers League and their youth group, the Young Socialists. They have launched a youth publication called the *Young Socialist*. While their membership is on an extremely low political level, it is significant that the founding conference of the YS in New York City attracted about 300 youth; over half were Black and Puerto Rican. The International Socialists have been less active recently and are apparently going through internal difficulties. The Spartacist League has picked up some people through regroupment maneuvers with Maoists and opponent formations which

split from the SWP or the YSA.

The YSA is not yet the mass organization we strive to become. But we are stronger in relation to the other tendencies vying for leadership in the student movement than was the case in the beginning of the youth radicalization. Our current strength has come about fundamentally because of our correct program, our ability to recognize the real unfolding class struggle without being blinded by preconceived schemas or blueprints. We have acted as revolutionists in the face of new developments. We have participated in the struggles of today's youth and tried to provide leadership for them. We have recruited the best fighters from these struggles to the program of Trotskyism.

Now we face new developments, new arenas, new tests. In describing how we intend to take advantage of these new opportunities I have stressed the organizational independence of the YSA. Another important aspect of the process of developing the YSA is strengthening the fraternal collaboration between the YSA and the SWP at all levels.