

873 Broadway
2nd floor south
New York, N.Y. 10003
May 29, 1970

TO ALL ORGANIZERS AND ANTIWAR DIRECTORS

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is a copy of a leaflet put out by the SMC to build the June 19-21 antiwar conference. A leaflet put out by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council has also been printed and is being mailed out of Cleveland. Either can be reproduced for local distribution.

In the coming weeks we should make a major effort to publicize and build the conference. Copies of the conference leaflets should be sent to expanded local antiwar mailing lists. Travelers should be on the road organizing attendance from outlying areas. Local antiwar committees should start planning transportation.

A second printed edition of the conference call may also be put out. It is still quite important to obtain additional sponsors. The present list of sponsors is impressive enough to make it easy to obtain the names of conference sponsors from a broad range of groups opposed to the war and favoring mass antiwar action. The names of sponsors should be called or sent in to the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, 2102 Euclid Ave, Cleveland, Ohio 44105. Tel: (216) 621-6516.

This antiwar conference is particularly important. It will be the first major national antiwar conference since the student strike upsurge of May, and the conference discussions will take place in the context of greatly enhanced opportunities for mass antiwar mobilizations. Not only has there been a qualitative leap forward in the political consciousness of the mass of students, but the expansion of the war and the mass student upsurge has also affected other sectors of the population. We should note in particular the signs of greater labor involvement in the antiwar struggle. This is reflected in the conference call, which includes more labor sponsorship than for any previous antiwar conference. The recent issues of the Militant give a general roundup of developments in this area.

This conference, as the call specifically states, is called for the purpose of organizing mass antiwar demonstrations, and not for action of a civil disobedience or confrontationist nature.

The New Mobilization Committee is continuing along the anti-mass-action course that it has been based around after the November 15 march on Washington. The line that the NMC apparatus has projected is that of civil disobedience. Accordingly, the NMC has taken a hostile attitude toward the Cleveland antiwar conference, and at this time is trying to call an antiwar gathering of its own for the purpose of organizing civil disobedience. The breadth of support for this NMC line is very narrow. Whether this projected NMC meeting gets off the ground or not, the Cleveland conference is proceeding as scheduled.

In some areas the CP has been intervening in antiwar organizations to a greater extent than previously. The CP's goal is to divert the antiwar movement away from independent mass action and into support for capitalist candidates in the 1970 elections. In so doing they also attempt to weaken support for our mass action line within the antiwar movement by whatever means they can. In some cases (the NMC and the New York Parade Committee, for example) the CP has been functioning in a temporary bloc with civil disobedience and pacifist forces, and ultra-lefts around the issue of anti-Trotskyism and anti-mass-action. We should be alert to increased intervention by the CP in the antiwar movement. Please send in any information on this to the national office.

The key to the continued projection of mass antiwar action in the immediate period is the success of the Cleveland antiwar conference. Not much time remains to build it. From now until the conference we should go on a campaign basis to ensure its success.

Comradely,

Gus Horowitz

Gus Horowitz
National Antiwar Director
Socialist Workers Party

Sponsor list in formation. (Organizations listed for identification purposes only.)

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-more-

a call to an

EMERGENCY NATIONAL CONFERENCE

**Against the Cambodia
Laos Vietnam War**

**FRIDAY-SATURDAY-SUNDAY
JUNE 19-20-21**

**CUYAHOGA COMM. COLLEGE
CLEVELAND OHIO**

**Fri: Registration & housing begin 12 noon
Campus Center Bldg. / Keynote speakers**
**Sat: Sessions until 5 PM / Demonstration
against Agnew, early evening**
Sun: Sessions until 3 PM

"The purpose of the emergency conference is simple and to the point: to plan anti-war demonstrations and other anti-war activities of the most massive kind centering on the crucial issue of withdrawal from the war and conducted in a peaceful and orderly fashion. This is the way to involve immense masses of ordinary people, trade unionists, GIs and their families, students, moderates, liberals and radicals, young and old, and all those who oppose the war regardless of their differences on various other matters." (Excerpted from the Conference Call.)

I plan to attend the conference. (Enclose the names of others in your area who plan to attend)

I need housing for Friday Saturday Sunday, for people.

Enclosed is ___ Registration Fee (\$5 adults/\$2 students)

I cannot come. Enclosed is my donation of \$___. Please keep me informed of conference decisions.

Name _____ Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Organization _____ Union _____

School _____
**SEND TO: Conference-CAPAC
2102 Euclid
Cleveland, Ohio 44105**
(216) 621-6516

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John T. Williams, Vice-president, Teamsters Local 208, Los Angeles

Come to Cleveland

President Nixon has expanded the war in Southeast Asia against the will of the majority of the American people. His latest reckless move in Cambodia dooms thousands of additional GIs, Cambodians and Vietnamese to death and threatens a confrontation with China. The frenzy and recklessness which now characterize U.S. foreign policy do not preclude the end result of nuclear holocaust.

Nixon has acted against the clearly expressed desires of the American people who want to get out of the war. His order to invade Cambodia was issued without the consent of Congress. It is now perfectly clear that Nixon's real policy is not to withdraw from Southeast Asia but to "win" the illegal, immoral Indochina war.

In this historic crisis for humanity it is imperative that the American anti-war movement be a beacon light for the tens of millions of Americans who will join the struggle to end the war if given leadership. The movement must provide a focus and a form for the expression of the broadest opposition to Nixon's course and for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. That is the only way to spare the lives involved; to save humanity from the horrors to which Nixon is leading it; to protect the living standards of American workers which are being destroyed by war-inspired inflation; and to achieve a reordering of national priorities away from a war economy. It is imperative—and at this time it is possible—that the movement expand to embrace the millions of Americans who have not previously protested. It is imperative and it is also possible that significant elements of such powerful social forces as organized labor be involved and integrated in the anti-war struggle. This is the time for those opponents of the war who understand the importance of immense masses in action, for those who understand the importance of giving form to the *majority* sentiment against the war, to unify for that task and launch a program of action on which such broad forces can agree.

For these reasons the undersigned issue this call for a NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE AGAINST THE CAMBODIA-LAOS-VIETNAM WAR to be held in Cleveland June 19-20, 1970. The Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, which hosted the conferences which gave birth to the largest anti-war demonstrations in American history—including April 15, 1967 and Nov. 13-15, 1969—has agreed to host this conference.

June 20 is the date when Vice President Agnew is speaking in Cleveland at a \$250-a-plate Republican fund-raising dinner. CAPAC is organizing a massive, peaceful demonstration to confront Agnew on this occasion. The conference itself will be an effective answer to Agnew and all participants in the conference will be urged to join the demonstration.

The purpose of the emergency conference is simple and to the point: to plan anti-war demonstrations and other anti-war activities of the most massive kind centering on the crucial issue of withdrawal from the war and conducted in a peaceful and orderly fashion. This is the way to involve immense masses of ordinary people, trade unionists, GIs and their families, students, moderates, liberals and radicals, young and old, and all those who oppose the war regardless of their differences on various other matters.

This conference is not intended to solve or even necessarily to discuss all the problems of our crisis-ridden society. It is not a conference to hammer out the strategy or tactics of social revolution or to found a new political party or movement. It is not a conference in competition with any tendency or movement for social change. IT IS A CONFERENCE TO ORGANIZE MASSIVE OPPOSITION TO THE WAR. All those who want to see such opposition organized are welcome to participate regardless of their political ideas or affiliation.

YSA PROGRAM FOR THE STUDENT REVOLT



American universities and high schools are going through great convulsions and transformations. All across the country, youth are struggling to rid the campus of the hypocrisy, racism and exploitation that are features not only of the university, but of society as a whole. Strikes, sit-ins, mass protest, and a seething discontent have become part of the daily experience of American education. With the escalation of the Vietnam war and the murder of young people at Kent, Augusta and Jackson, these struggles took on a new dimension, with a new feeling of anger and determination to stop the war spreading to almost every school and from the student movement to broad layers of the American people.

A whole generation of youth threatens to turn its back on the ideology and on the political and academic mouthpieces of America's rulers. The "silent generation" has given way to its rebellious opposite. The pressure of student protests has forced large numbers of professors and even some administrators to take a stand against the war. The response of those in power has been swift and often brutal. Governors, legislators, businessmen, the President, and many college presidents have joined hands to restore "law and order" by flooding the campuses with police and national guardsmen armed to the teeth.

This new radicalism is not a strictly American phenomenon. It is part of a worldwide radicalization of youth. It is young people who have made up the van-

guard and the ranks of the international struggle against the aggression of U. S. imperialism in Vietnam. It is primarily young people who have taken up arms against oppression in Vietnam, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. It is young people who are in the forefront of the fight for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe. It was young people in France who in 1968 sparked the biggest general strike in history. This upheaval put the overthrow of capitalism on the agenda in an advanced capitalist country for the first time in decades.

Student youth have initiated struggles that have brought in broader social layers, including the working class, leading to major upheavals in France, Mexico, Argentina and Pakistan, to mention only the most spectacular. This student radicalization has demonstrated its capacity not only to trigger mass action by the working class, but to serve as a transmission belt speeding the development of a radical political consciousness among other social layers.

The revolts that are sweeping across American campuses are only rehearsals for bigger protests to come. The student revolt will be a permanent feature of politics in this country until the deep causes of youth discontent are eliminated. The expanding layer of revolutionaries on the campuses must draw lessons from the mistakes and successes of past and current struggles in order to build the most effective movement which can link up with struggles off the campus, among workers, women, and the Black and Brown communities.

Causes of the Student Revolt

The student rebellion springs from the fundamental problems of capitalist society, and is nourished by three main phenomena.

The Vietnam War

Nothing has served to reveal the hypocrisy and exploitative character of the American university like the Vietnam war. The businessmen who sit on the boards of trustees of the American university undermine and pollute education by turning over its facilities to their companies for war-related research. More interested in the profits of the companies in which they hold stock than in the educational needs of the students and the community, they invite the recruiters of those companies onto the campus to select their products. Administrations work hand in glove with the government, the Pentagon and the CIA to devise more effective techniques for crushing liberation movements. The ROTC program still functions on many campuses. And by cooperating with the Selective Service System, colleges are helping funnel students into a military machine whose principal task is to defend the profits of the companies whose interests the college trustees serve. What is educational is determined not by the needs of the students but by the interests of the ruling class.

The Vietnam war has exposed these facts to large numbers of American students, leaving college administrations without so much as a secret contract to hide their role in this duplicity.

Racial Oppression

Refusing to use its resources and facilities to help advance the liberation of black and third world Americans, the university is an intolerable example of institutionalized racism. The history it teaches is the history of the white, capitalist oppressor. The ideology of its political science, economics, psychology, sociology and philosophy departments is the ideology of the white, bourgeois oppressor. The distorted education which results is as racist as it is inadequate. Those few black and third world youth who manage to break through restrictive college admission barriers do so only to discover the same racism that saturates society as a whole.

It is in response to this situation that black students have initiated struggles for autonomous black studies departments to teach the truth about black history and culture. Frequently initiated and led by black student unions, they have not only been in the forefront of the campus rebellions, but they have often achieved important victories.

The struggles for open admissions of third world students and for a "black university" placing the facilities of the university at the disposal of the black community, and the demand for black control of black education are a concrete manifestation of the broader revolutionary struggle for black control of the black community. By challenging the purpose of capitalist education, these battles strike at the racist heart of American education and lead broad masses of students — both third world and non-third world — to understand the nature of capitalist education. Such struggles represent a significant advance in the liberation struggle of third world peoples.

Meaningless Education

Our generation has come to political consciousness during the most intense period of social convulsion in history. We have seen revolutionary upheavals in dozens of countries. And we have lived through some of the most barbaric wars in history.

We have seen the technological and industrial advances of the "third industrial revolution" put man on the moon and arm him with nuclear weapons. Yet we also know that in the United States this technology has not even been used to eliminate, for the first time in history, man's age-old struggle against hunger. Not to mention war and racism.

The developments in this technology call for a more highly educated and technically qualified type of worker who is capable of innovating, developing, and operating the most complex, up-to-date means of production and destruction.

Students today are trained to take their place as highly skilled workers in this alienating, profit-generating machine. Our education in no way equips us to deal with the pressing social, political and economic realities of our time. Even in colleges it is dangerous to think. The best student is the obedient, docile student who dutifully collects credits until he reaches the magical number when he is considered "educated." In no way is he able to exert any control over his education or his future.

The fundamental changes in education resulting from the advances in technology give the student movement today an enhanced social weight and political impact. It is only in the relatively recent past that the university has ceased to be the exclusive domain of the sons and daughters of the ruling class. The needs of an advanced capitalist society for a broader layer of highly skilled workers to operate its complex, computerized technological machine forced it to open the university's doors even to working-class youth. Under this pressure, the university has become a gigantic factory whose finished product is a skilled technician programmed to help improve the functioning and profitability of the larger social machine.

The fact that today's students are being trained to play essential roles in operating this machine gives their rebellion an important social weight. This is the main reason why the ruling class is so anxious to squelch the campus revolts. Student dissatisfaction with the meaninglessness of capitalist education has plunged the university into a state of permanent crisis which constitutes a threat to capitalist society.

Lessons of the Student Revolt

The campus rebellions have shown that, correctly organized and led, they can result in significant victories. They can force important concessions from the ruling class. To insure this, however, several lessons must be learned from these struggles.

United Front

The organizational form of the struggle must be a united front. All political tendencies supporting the struggle demands should be represented on the leading body of the struggle. Any attempt to impose the entire program of any one particular group on the others as a prerequisite for united struggle will only discourage

broad participation and must therefore be rejected. Anyone who supports the demands should be encouraged to participate.

Decisions should be democratically made at mass meetings, not by small cliques. Only through mass democratically-run meetings can large numbers be effectively mobilized on a sustained basis and can their consciousness be raised.

Mass Action

Action involving masses of the community as well as the students is the most effective means to force administrations and local ruling classes to concede defeat.

Handfuls of self-styled campus "guerrillas" who tend to substitute tactics like the seizure of a building and small, physical confrontations for a well thought-out political program usually succeed only in isolating themselves from the student masses. Such struggles end in defeat.

The correct revolutionary strategy is one that involves the masses of students. Making the universities and high schools into centers for revolutionary change requires the action of masses, not just handfuls.

Defensively-Formulated Demands

To rally broad support, both on campus and in the community, demands must be clear and few in number. Long lists of demands not only cut down on participation by discouraging those who may not necessarily agree with every single demand. They also invite the administration to give in to any less important demands and then try to divide the movement by attacking its leaders as "irresponsible" for not compromising on the essential ones.

The demands we raise are not simply to clear our own consciences, but to mobilize masses of students and the community to win victories. Our demands must therefore be formulated in such a way as to be easily understood and to convince people that justice is on our side.

For example, demands which are offensively formulated like, "Smash ROTC!" actually put the movement on the defensive, instead of putting the authorities on the defensive for not giving in to those demands. The demand that the university facilities be turned over to the students for antiwar organizing, on the other hand, is much more likely to gain mass support. It is easily understood that the majority of Americans are against the war and therefore the universities should be used to carry out the will of the majority. Another example of a clear, defensively-formulated demand is "Support Black Control of Black Studies!"

If demands are not formulated in this way, they will not be able to mobilize large numbers of people, and can lead to isolation, victimization and defeat.

Only defensively-formulated demands, which counterpose the just grievances of the students to the hypocrisy and obstinacy of the authorities, will put large masses of students into motion. Only defensively-formulated demands put the onus for any violence that occurs where it properly belongs—on the university administration, not on the students.

Ultraleftists frequently raise demands that have no chance of being met, and which they proclaim to be

non-negotiable. They do this because they *want* the struggle to end in defeat, believing that people are radicalized through defeat. In this they are dead wrong. Movements that change society are built on victories, not on defeats. And only through victory do the masses gain confidence in their ability to change society.

The Role of Revolutionists

It is to help construct a movement that can overthrow capitalism that revolutionary socialists in the Young Socialist Alliance initiate, lead and participate in these struggles. The student revolt cannot by itself make a socialist revolution, but it is a stage in the revolutionary process.

Our participation is designed to demonstrate in practice how the student struggle is linked to the broader struggle to replace capitalism with socialism. We do this by putting forward demands that help raise the level of political consciousness of students from their current level to one of conscious anticapitalism.

Unlike liberal reformists who would limit student struggles to narrow "student power" issues like grades, living conditions, and campus politics, or to working for capitalist politicians, revolutionists take up issues of national and world concern, like the Vietnam war and racism, and show the interrelationship between the campus and the national and international class struggles.

Unlike ultraleftists, who call on students to leave the "petty-bourgeois" campus and head for the factory, who reject campus struggle for artificial "worker-student alliances" and "serving the people" through reformist social work, revolutionists put forward a concrete program that transcends the campus in its goal, but at the same time includes it. A revolutionary program is one that mobilizes for struggle around the basic issues of the world class struggle *and* the needs of students themselves.

A Revolutionary Strategy

To be effective, such a program must be part of a strategy which answers the questions: "What kind of education shall students get? Toward what ends should this education be directed? Who shall control the educational facilities and for what purpose? What layers of society should the educational institutions serve?"

The educational institutions should be oriented towards fulfilling the needs of the majority of the population, rather than serving the tiny ruling class. The university ought to be transformed from a factory producing robots into an organizing center for all kinds of anticapitalist activities, a generator of revolutionary education, an arena for mobilizing youth in the struggle for the complete transformation of society.

The idea of the university as an instrument to support struggles of the working class, the Black and Brown communities, youth and women must be counterposed to the "ivory tower" myth that the university is an institution which is above classes and politics. Students must struggle to make its resources available to the exploited, the poor and the oppressed. Already this concept of the

university has been partially applied in the form of the "antiwar university." The antiwar universities have concretely demonstrated the terrific possibilities opened to the antiwar movement through the use of universities as a base for mobilizing and organizing against the war.

Transitional Demands for Campus Struggle

To help implement these ideas, the Young Socialist Alliance puts forward the following demands which, though far from our entire program, are specifically designed for the campus. Many of them have already been put forward in the struggles.

These demands are not necessarily slogans. They are political concepts around which campus struggles can be effectively waged. In particular cases throughout the country, one or another may be more prominent.

Free Education

- 1) Free education through the university level for everyone who wants it. Abolish tuition.
- 2) An annual salary for all students, with automatic increases to offset inflation.
- 3) Guaranteed jobs upon graduation.

Student-Faculty Control of Education

- 1) Student-faculty control over the university, including the hiring and firing of faculty members and administrative officials.
- 2) Freedom of political association.
- 3) Full civil liberties for all students, including high school students. Freedom of speech, assembly, petition, and travel and the right to demonstrate against government and university injustice without reprisals. *End in loco parentis.*
- 4) The right to use university facilities to promote educational and cultural activities and struggles of direct interest to organizations of the working class and Third World peoples.
- 5) Remove from office all government officials, from the President on down, responsible for victimizing students, workers, Third World militants and political dissidents.
- 6) Repeal all anti-student legislation.
- 7) No police on campus.

End Campus Complicity

- 1) End campus complicity with the Vietnam war.
- 2) Abolish ROTC.
- 3) The right to use all university facilities, including money, to organize against the war.
- 4) End all ties between the university and the military. No military recruiters on campus. End cooperation with the Selective Service System.
- 5) Full civil rights for all youth conscripted into the army.
- 6) Abolish the draft.
- 7) Abolish secret and classified research by the university for the government. No research for biological and chemical warfare.
- 8) End all university ties with the FBI and the CIA. No

more secret files on student political groups.

9) Make public *all* investments, holdings, and contracted projects of the university and of all directors, trustees and administrators.

10) No campus recruiting by the big corporations.

For A Black University—For A Brown University

- 1) Self-determination for Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans. The right of oppressed Third World communities to control their own affairs, including education from kindergarten up.
- 2) Establishment of adequately-financed Black and Third World studies departments under the control of these national minorities. For truthful teaching of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American history and culture in all schools.
- 3) Required courses in Black and Third World history for all students.
- 4) The right of Native American and Spanish-speaking peoples to use their language in the educational system.

For Women's Liberation

- 1) End all discrimination against women in education, high school and university. Special encouragement for women to enter all fields of education. Recruitment of women professors. Courses on the history of women and women's struggles.
- 2) Right of women to control their own bodies. Universities and high schools should provide birth control information and contraceptives. University hospitals and clinics should provide free and legal abortions on demand.
- 3) Establishment of university-financed 24-hour day care centers for children of students, faculty, and campus workers, controlled by those who use them.

The Young Socialist Alliance

The interests of student revolutionists are no different from those of the majority of students. Any victory that gives students more control over their lives is a victory for revolutionaries. We openly participate as revolutionary socialists in campus struggles with the audacity and confidence which stem from this fact.

Not only do we seek to build united fronts for these struggles, but also to play a leading role in them in order to assure a successful outcome. We also strive to raise the level of consciousness of the student masses by raising slogans that link each struggle to the broader struggle to overthrow capitalism. The problems of the university were created by capitalism. Struggle against them can easily develop into a conscious struggle against capitalism itself.

By recruiting the most dedicated white and Third World men and women fighters to its ranks, the YSA is building a multinational, revolutionary socialist youth vanguard. It is also helping to build the Socialist Workers Party as the revolutionary party that will bury capitalism by successfully leading the coming American socialist revolution.

JOIN THE YSA!

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