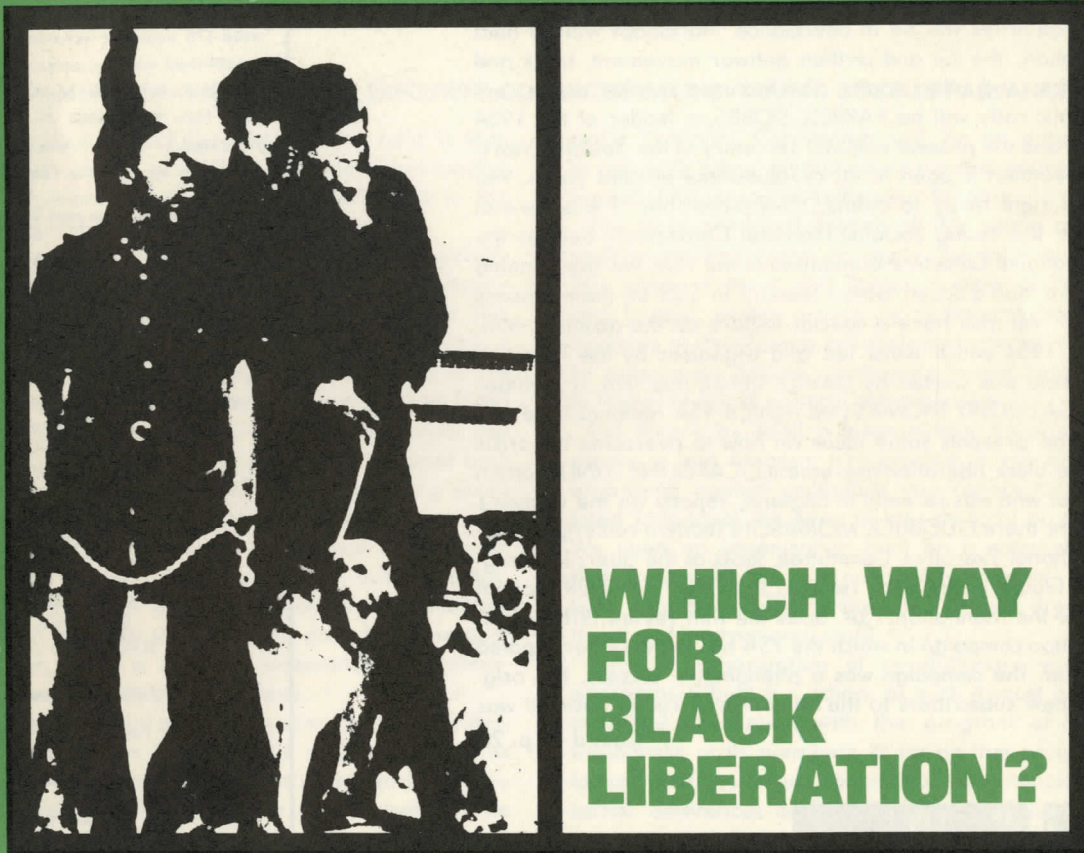


young socialist

December 1969

25 cents



**LENIN: The Student Movement
1934: The Minneapolis Strikes
Women's Liberation; Medium Cool**

□This year's YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION will take place at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Minn. Dec. 27-30 (See ad, back cover). This will be the largest such gathering of revolutionary American youth in decades. In some ways it will be one of the most important as well. As the ruling class is increasingly divided and put on the defensive by the mass antiwar movement, and as new layers of the population are brought into action against the war, it becomes that much more important for revolutionists to plan their strategy for continuing to build that movement around the militant, anti-imperialist demand of immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. This will be only one of the crucial areas of struggle to be discussed at the convention. Others include the struggle for black and third-world liberation, the international fight against imperialism, and a revolutionary electoral fight both in state-wide and campus elections in 1970. Revolutionary youth from all over the United States, Canada and several European and Asian countries will be in attendance. Workshops will be held on women's liberation, the GI and civilian antiwar movement, black and third-world liberation, and other topics. The featured speaker at the convention's large public rally will be FARRELL DOBBS, a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis strikes and the present national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The convention is open to all revolutionary-minded youth. You should make plans right away to attend. □This month the YS has several features relating to the Young Socialist National Convention. Besides the statement, by the National Executive Committee of the YSA, we are running a statement by more than a dozen former leaders in SDS on their reasons for joining the YSA. We also have a special feature on the dramatic Minneapolis strikes in 1934 which were led and organized by the Trotskyist movement. The article was written by DAVID RIEHLE (*top left*), a member of the Twin Cities YSA. □TONY THOMAS (*top right*), a YSA national field secretary, analyzes and presents some ideas on how to overcome the crisis of leadership in the black liberation movement. □CAROLINE LUND (*bottom left*), a leading YSAer who was recently in England, reports on the women's liberation movement there. □DERRICK MORRISON (*bottom center*), a member of the YSA National Executive Committee, looks at the guerrilla struggle in 'Portuguese' Guine in the book review. □ANGELA VINThER (*bottom right*), a member of the Manhattan YSA, does the film review. □The eight-week long subscription campaign in which the YSA has actively participated has come to an end. The campaign was a phenomenal success. The original goal of 4,000 new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* was

Cont'd on p. 23



young socialist

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THE MAGAZINE OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, A MULTINATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ORGANIZATION.

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A CHALLENGE TO REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The Young Socialist National Convention to be held in Minneapolis this month comes at a time when the opportunities facing a whole generation of young revolutionaries in the United States are greater than they have ever been.

The revival of radicalism in the 1960s, which successfully broke through the restraining wall of the Cold War anticommunist ideology, will continue to accelerate in the 1970s. This is not merely a statement of revolutionary optimism, it is a prediction based on a rational analysis of the history of the decade just coming to an end. The central contradiction faced by the rulers of this country can only become more acute: the inability of world imperialism, under their aegis, to beat back the advance of the world revolution without sacrificing social peace at home and intensifying the class struggle.

The radicalization of the 1960s has taken place, in the main, among youth on the campus, in the high schools, in the ghettos, in the imperialist army. A new generation of revolutionary militants, of which the YSA is an integral part, has emerged, and it has proven to be a dynamic, enthusiastic, and determined force on the American political scene.

Increasing numbers of our generation are coming to understand that it is capitalism itself—not its spokesmen such as Nixon—that is at the root of the problems in this society. They have come to understand that the war in Vietnam and the oppression of black people in the U.S. are not mere 'mistakes' that, once pointed out and clearly labeled, can be corrected, but that they are conscious policies and inevitable results of capitalism as a system.

At the same time, many young radicals have become disenchanted with the 'new left,' realizing that it has failed to act effectively, provide leadership, or elaborate a new theory that could replace Marxism.

The process that began among the young radicals in the 1960s and will continue in the 1970s is one of coming to grips with and understanding the need for a revolutionary change in this society, and the task of building an organization that can provide leadership for youth in the fight for that revolutionary change.

In this context, the role of the conscious vanguard—the revolutionary socialist youth organization—is crucial. This is what the Young Socialist Alliance is all about, and the Young So-

cialist National Convention will be an opportunity for you to join with other revolutionary-minded young people in making plans for struggles in the year to come.

The most advanced section of the young radicals needs to understand and learn to apply the tools of Marxist theory. The ideas of Marx and Engels, further elaborated by Lenin and Trotsky, enable young revolutionaries to understand the dynamic of developing revolutionary forces, and enable them to consciously initiate, participate in and lead mass struggles to higher levels of political consciousness.

But theory by itself is meaningless. An organization is necessary to put Marxism into practice. If you are serious about organizing against capitalism you cannot function as an isolated individual, or even in merely local or regional groups. We need an organization built on a national scale, and one that is part of an international movement, to organize the fight against a capitalist class that is itself organized on a national and international scale.

Such an organization of revolutionary youth must be an organization built for action; as such it must be based on fundamental agreement with the program of Marxism, and a willingness of its members to act on that program. This is not to say that the organization must be monolithic, without internal differences and democratic discussion of those differences. A healthy and vital political life inside such a revolutionary youth organization is the only guarantee of a continued revolutionary course. The YSA is such an organization.

The YSA convention will be open to all young people interested in organizing the fight for socialism. It will make plans for the future of the socialist wing of the youth radicalization. It will discuss what course revolutionary socialists should follow within the antiwar movement, within the struggle of black and other third world peoples, within the electoral arena, on the campuses and in the high schools. And it will discuss how to build the revolutionary socialist youth organization that will coordinate these struggles—the YSA.

If you recognize the need for a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, and want to help organize the struggle to replace it with socialism, you should be in Minneapolis December 27-30.

Attend the Young Socialist National Convention!



WHICH WAY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?

1969 has seen the opportunities for the struggle for black liberation mushroom. Sentiment for black control of the black community has expanded, encompassing not just thousands, but millions of Afro-Americans. Mass struggles for community control, such as the struggle in New York for control of Harlem Hospital, have broken out. Struggles of black students for open admission, for black studies, for a black university at universities like Southern University, Brandeis, New York's City College, and San Francisco State, have shaken this country. Black caucuses within the unions have spread. Thousands of blacks have taken to the streets to protest racist hiring in the construction industry in Pittsburgh, Chicago and other cities.

By Tony Thomas

Despite the fact that the current stage of the black struggle offers unprecedented opportunities for building a massive organized movement for black liberation, little progress has been made in that direction. No significant organization exists to tie together the different sectors of the black community and give a consistent direction in struggle. Those mass organizations that do exist are largely controlled by those who place their faith in the continuation of this system and the two capitalist parties. In short, no organized movement exists to translate the sentiment for black control of the community into conscious action.

The lack of an organized militant leadership gives an advantage to conservative and reformist elements within the community who are well organized, especially because of their ties



in isolation from one another because no organization exists that can coordinate them in militant action.

The community sees no alternative to the reformists which can give it confidence in struggle. As a whole, our struggle develops inconsistently with erratic fits and starts and ups and downs. Broad and massive actions develop around individual struggles, only to dissipate immediately after each particular struggle. What is needed is a movement that is able to draw together the whole Afro-American nation for a long-term struggle.

Perhaps a crucial component in this crisis in the black struggle is the isolation of the revolutionary nationalists from the masses of the community. Revolutionary nationalists are those who understand that the only long-term solution for the black struggle lies in destroying the capitalist system. It is from this quarter that an effective opposition to the capitalists and Toms must come. For the Afro-American struggle to be successful, it is necessary to close the gap in consciousness between the revolutionists who have a long-term perspective and the great bulk of the community which sees actions chiefly around immediate issues such as jobs, the schools, police brutality.

Yet it is reformist organizations such as SCLC that have been in the leadership of community struggles such as the Chicago construction actions. The militant struggle for control of schools in New York was diverted into reliance on liberal politicians in the state legislature. Only among black students do the revolutionary nationalists have a firm base.

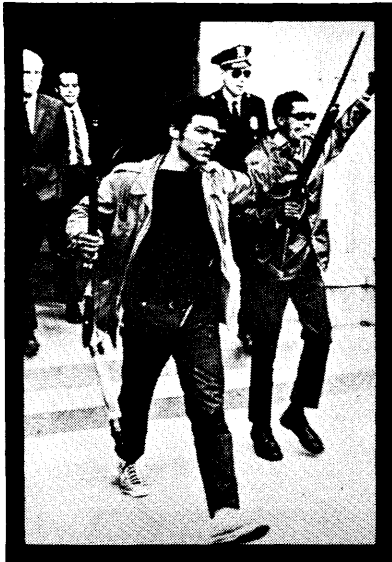
This crisis within the black liberation movement poses several concrete tasks: 1) to build an organized movement that can tie together and give direction to the struggle for black control of the community, 2) to build this movement as a serious alternative to conservative leaderships within the community, 3) to do this with the perspective of building a revolutionary movement to settle accounts with the capitalist oppressors of the black community.

To meet these tasks it is necessary for revolutionary blacks to initiate and participate in mass struggles and also to build a massive black political party to give a central direction to these struggles. For it is only through the conscious participation of revolutionary blacks in active struggle that the black community will gain a revolutionary perspective. We can see this by the role that the black student struggles of the past year have played in making the students the most militant and best organized sector of the community. We must extend the type of struggle that has rocked the campus into the community.

Many feel that participating in struggles whose demands are not consciously revolutionary but are for partial demands, or reforms such as more jobs in the construction trades, or whose tactics are not "revolutionary," such as election campaigns or mass demonstrations, does not further the revolutionary cause, but is simply reformist. Others reject the importance of such participation because they feel that only massive repression will revolutionize the black community. Still others reject the need to organize the masses around partial

with the capitalist class and its institutions—SCLC, the Urban League, the Democratic Party, and black capitalists. It enables them to take the leadership of many of the broader struggles that arise. They are able to capitalize on the illusions that exist within the black community to keep the struggle away from a political confrontation with the capitalist system. Instead of independent struggle, support to Negroes or white liberals in the Democratic Party, black capitalism, poverty programs, etc., are stressed as the way out for the black community.

This crisis in the leadership of Afro-America dulls and disperses the struggle. Without organized and militant leadership to draw the black movement together, actions within various sectors of the community are often isolated from each other. Many look at students, workers, or community struggles



demands because they feel that we are already in a revolutionary period and that the central task is organizing for armed struggle.

It is incorrect for revolutionaries not to struggle for partial demands or reforms because such a refusal sentences the revolutionists to isolation from those who have not yet become revolutionists.

This abdication by the revolutionists only insures reformist dominance and defeat for the struggle. All struggles in a prerevolutionary period start on a nonrevolutionary stage of consciousness. It is by participating in partial struggles for reforms and struggling for them in a revolutionary fashion—demanding mass actions, no reliance on white liberal or black Tom politicians, calling for the permanent organization of the community to fight until black control has been won—that the masses of the community will be won to revolutionary nationalism.

To rely on repression or weakness of the capitalists to revolutionize the community and to abstain from struggles leaves the community prey to the reformists. To deny the possibility of leading the community to revolutionary consciousness by struggle against their oppression is to deny the reality of that oppression. If this is denied for a period such as this when the movement is growing and open, it will be doubly true during a repression. In times of repression, it is harder, not easier to be a revolutionary. Those who are initially radicalized by such a repression will not feel ready to take action unless there is a strong movement to back them up.

The task of revolutionary blacks is to enter the mass struggles of the com-

munity to gain a firm base to counter the repressive assaults of the imperialists. Revolutionary nationalists cannot afford to be isolated from the community, since it will be the revolutionists, not the non-politicized, who will be the targets of repression.

What role can a black political party play as part of such a strategy to win the allegiance of the black community?

A black party can play the role of central organizer of the black struggle, a center to coordinate action among the different sectors of the community. It would exist as the organized alternative to reformist leaders within the black community and to white liberals.

Its program should be based on struggles which can be best formulated around the demand "black control of the black community." Black control would mean ending the control of the white capitalist rulers over the lives of black people: over the schools, places of business, factories, and other institutions which are used to exploit and oppress Afro-Americans. This will ultimately lead to a revolutionary confrontation with the imperialist rulers of the U. S. The demand is a reflection of the upsurge of struggle going on in the schools, on the jobs and in the streets of the black community.

It is important for such a black party to adopt a transitional strategy. That is, a strategy that can lead the struggle from its current level to a revolutionary one. Through black control of the black community, a black party can pose a concrete alternative to the racist manipulation of the community, a positive direction for the struggle. And it can do so in a way that will

lead to a revolutionary confrontation with the capitalist rulers.

One of the chief tasks of a black party would be to destroy the base of the Republicans and Democrats within the black community and isolate Negro politicians who attempt to divert the black struggle into their own pockets. This is an important task because the mass of blacks still support Republican and Democratic candidates.

However, a black party would not be primarily centered around electoral action. Rather, it would utilize electoral action to organize and mobilize the community for other forms of action. As an independent organization, an expression of the struggle of the community, it would urge the community to rely on direct action. It would lead mass struggles in the community through demonstrations, boycotts, strikes and armed self-defense. It would seek to be the permanently organized embodiment of the black struggle, intervening on all levels.

The Black Panther Party's emergence and decline has made the question of how a black party should function more concrete to many. Unfortunately, despite its popularization of the idea of a black party, its failure to have a mass approach has led to its political and organizational decline.

The Panther Party's ten point program was an important contribution to the black struggle as an example of the kind of demands around which to intervene in community struggles. The central problem of the Panthers was their failure to apply this program in action.

Instead of reaching out to the broadest masses of the community around

these demands, the Panthers concentrated on pseudorevolutionary Maoist rhetoric. Waving the little red book, or calling this the year of the gun relates little to the consciousness of the average black who is willing to struggle. What he needs is concrete suggestions and demands around the questions of black control of the schools, ending police brutality, better jobs.

By refusing to build a party around these needs, the Panthers isolated themselves from the thousands looking for a serious action leadership, not pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering. Due to their incorrect political perspective, they were at various times either unable or unwilling to intervene in the mass struggle. The Panthers have played little or no role in such mass struggles as the San Francisco State Strike or the New York struggle for community control of the schools, even though with their forces they could have created a more dynamic leadership for these struggles. They haven't seriously intervened in electoral campaigns to challenge the Republican and Democratic grip on the black community.

To be effective, a black political party must put itself forward as a serious leadership for the struggles of the community, the students and workers. This means that it cannot afford to waste its time with rhetoric about "offing the pigs," "fascism," or Mao. Such rhetoric only isolates the vanguard of the struggle and sets it up for repression. The way to fight the kind of repression that the Panthers face is for the black liberation movement to build a firm base within the community through playing a more active part in the struggle for community control.

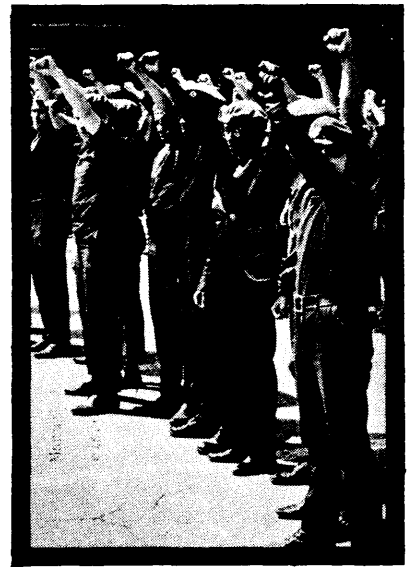
While many black students, and figures such as Phil Hutchings of SNCC and Herman Ferguson of the Republic of New Africa support the construction of a black party, the question arises as to how it will be done. It is obviously not enough simply to propagandize about a black party. Such a strategy would seem sectarian and ineffectual in and of itself.

The chief way to make such a party a reality will be to build it through action. By doing so a political base will be made and the need for such a party will be made more concrete.

It is in the process of actions that people will recognize the need for such a party. The fact that the Democratic and Republican parties are tied to oppression of the community becomes abundantly clear as the two parties are faced with concrete explosions in the community. The lack of an ongoing mass organization to coordinate and continue the struggle and to organize those who have been newly radicalized becomes more apparent as people are mobilized in action. Mass actions provide the clearest example of the kind of reliance on independent black power that would be the base for a black party.

Black Marxists in the YSA are trying to carry out this perspective by building struggles on the campuses around the need for black studies such as at City College of New York and in Berkeley's TWLF strike, armed with the perspective for a black party.

Organizing the community against the war provides a great opportunity for mobilizing and organizing the community. Sentiment against the war within the community is almost universal,



but it has not been translated into action. In this situation, organizing the community against the war offers a threefold advantage: 1) to organize both black students and the black community, 2) to provide a base for organizing a black political party, and 3) to aid the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination and defeat the principal enemy of black America—U. S. imperialism.

The November 14 student strike and November 15 demonstrations witnessed an increase in black participation in the antiwar movement.

The YSA has played a leading role in this by intervening in the black student movement and Third World Solidarity Committees to build a mass black movement and to popularize the need for a black party.

The building of the revolutionary Marxist movement is also vital to resolving the crisis within the black liberation movement. It is possible to draw the fullest lessons of the struggle for black self-determination and the rest of the worldwide revolutionary upsurge only on the basis of Marxism, which is nothing but the combined experience of the revolutionary struggles of the past 100 years. Black Marxists have been in the lead in calling for a black party and relating it to the development of the struggle.

At the Young Socialist National Convention in Minneapolis this month, black Marxist youth from across the country will gather to discuss a revolutionary strategy for solving the crisis in the black struggle.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN ENGLAND



As in the United States, the growing general radicalization in Britain has been accompanied by a rise in the struggle of women for equal rights and liberation. In the U. S., the first steps to fight for their rights have been taken by women in the radical movement, and to some extent among black and Puerto Rican women in struggles for welfare rights and for control over their children's schools. In Britain, struggles by women workers have been the spark to ignite a broad movement for women's equal rights.

In the fall and winter of 1968, a number of militant strikes broke out around the demand for equal pay for women workers. The largest of these strikes was of women seamstresses at Ford factories in London. There was a militant strike of women sewing machinists in Ireland also, calling for equal rights for women workers. Nurses in Britain are a particularly exploited category of women workers, and they have carried out militant protests and demonstrations in the past year. In London a group of bus conductresses struck last year, demanding the right for women to be bus drivers; drivers receive higher pay.

By Caroline Lund

In all these strikes, the women workers displayed great spirit and fighting tenacity. They suffered attacks from all sides. The bourgeois newspapers would try to appeal to prejudices among the men workers and divide them from the women workers. The trade union officials and government leaders would argue that to give women more money would mean taking wages from the men workers, and that if women wanted wages equal to those of men, they would also have to accept the conditions men have to work under, such as night shifts and greater speed-up.

Because of the fighting spirit of these women workers, their strikes were successful to one degree or another. These struggles inspired the formation of other organizations dedicated to the fight for women's rights.

"The whole thing of women's liberation groups is extremely embryonic," Antonia Gorton explained to me. She is a leading member of the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, and an initiator of the magazine *Socialist Woman*. Most of the information in this article is from Antonia Gorton and from articles in *Socialist Woman*. Because of the embryonic nature of the British women's movement, I will simply describe here the positions and ac-

tivities of the most significant women's organizations at the present time.

The first new organization, formed in the spring of 1968, was NJACCWER (National Joint Action Campaign Committee for Women's Equal Rights). It was formed by the National Union of Vehicle Builders, the union of the Ford seamstresses, as part of their struggle for equal pay mentioned above.

NJACCWER has the following program: removal of sex discrimination against women in employment, education, and public life; equal pay for equal work by women workers; equal legal rights for women; equal opportunities for women in industry. NJACCWER is a loose organization which asks trade unions, as well as other political and social organizations, to support it. A large number of trade unions have formally voted to support NJACCWER, as have a number of Labour Party MPs, and such organizations as the National Assembly of Women, the Communist Party, the International Marxist Group, and many others.

Some statistics will show the extent to which women are doubly exploited in Britain, and why the issue of equal pay is so important. There are almost 9 million women workers in Britain; half of them earn less than five shillings (60 cents) an hour, and only one

in thirty earns as much as ten shillings (\$1.20) an hour. They are discriminated against not only in wages but also in the types of jobs they get. This discrimination begins in the educational system itself, where boys are encouraged to continue in universities and go into fields like science, engineering and technology, while girls are almost totally absent from these fields. Only eleven percent of women workers get pay equal to that of men who do exactly the same job they do. Discriminatory practices are even worse against immigrant women from the former British colonies.

Local NJACCWER chapters have been popping up all over England in the past year, which shows the great potential for organizing for women's rights in Britain. Here is how a NJACCWER activist reported on the work of her chapter in the magazine *International* published by the IMG: "The West Middlesex branch of NJACCWER has circulated most labour organisations in the area, with some encouraging results: already two trade councils have asked to affiliate; one wants a speaker. One trade union branch has affiliated and two others want a speaker for their women's sub-committees. A Labour Party women's section has also affiliated and individual membership is now growing."

Other activities of local NJACCWER branches are: holding neighborhood meetings to discuss the issue of equal rights for women, intervening in various Labour Party and trade union conferences to press for action toward women's equal rights, and building for national actions and demonstrations of NJACCWER. On May 18, 1969 NJACCWER sponsored a national demonstration in London of several thousand women to demand equal pay and equal rights now.

A group of women came together early this year who wanted to introduce socialist ideas and demands into the women's rights movement. They publish a magazine called *Socialist Woman*. Here is the magazine's perspective, as elaborated in its second issue:

"We must demand: Complete rights over our own biological functions, i.e., free access to birth control information and devices, abortion, and a completely new attitude to marriage with a view to ending enforced cohabitation. We stress that the 'family' is only meaningful if based on mutual consent, love

and respect. Children must be the responsibility of the community which should provide free creches and nurseries, and legal paternity should be abolished. We must destroy the image of marriage as a career; petty domestic routine and constant preoccupation with small children are not fulfilling activities for any adult human being.

"We must demand full legal rights, such as the right to separate income tax returns, and we must demand equal pay for work of equal value. While women represent one-third of the labour force, only one in ten receives equal pay. Opportunities for female apprenticeships are dismally low: in management only five percent of the total are women, and in science and technology only two percent. We should demand full maternity leave, nurseries attached to the place of work and organise women workers to reject the concept of 'two jobs.' ['Two jobs' refers to the concept that women should receive lower wages because their husbands are also presumably working.] Unions must be forced to accept equal pay as an urgent need, requiring immediate industrial action.

"Finally, we must examine and restate the role of women in history and reject the bourgeois propaganda that women have made no contribution. They can and will continue to do so in their roles as human beings. We must organise ourselves and gain confidence in our ability to act. Socialist Women's Committees can and should be formed everywhere possible—with mutual cooperation and militancy. *Organise* should be our keyword."

Socialist Woman tries to participate in active support of any struggles by women. In August and September *Socialist Woman* threw its forces into aiding a strike by women factory workers at Electronics Laboratories in the town of Ramsgate. They struck for fourteen weeks, demanding union recognition and a wage raise from £8.15s (\$21) per week to £10.15s (\$26) per week. *Socialist Woman* supporters distributed leaflets requesting contributions to the strike fund and helped publicize the struggle of these women workers.

When the strike was over and the union recognition had been won, the Ramsgate women wrote to *Socialist Woman*: "We know we have a hard struggle ahead of us to get the others to join the union, but you can rest assured we won't give up! I would like to thank you for all the wonderful ways

you have supported us; we could never have carried on for so long as we did without it. Once again, on behalf of the strikers, many, many thanks."

Socialist Woman also helped organize a rally in Nottingham sponsored by NJACCWER in support of the nurses' movement. Student nurses make only £5.15s (less than \$14) per week, and a staff nurse only £12.10 (about \$30) per week. The daily papers have viciously attacked Sister Veal and the nurses' movement, with the innuendo that the nurses will "do anything" for more money. Since nurses have chosen a humanitarian profession, they supposedly have no right to fight for higher wages!

The next issue of *Socialist Woman* will carry a report on a strike of women workers in East Kilbride, Scotland, which has gone on for over eleven weeks — a very militant strike where violence has been used against the strikers.

Socialist Women's Committees work within and support NJACCWER, but are trying to strengthen some of its weak points, such as making NJACCWER more democratic and more of an independent, activist organization.

Some members of NJACCWER, notably from the Communist Party, have the position that NJACCWER should concentrate simply on the equal pay issue, as opposed to the broader question of equal rights in general, making propaganda for equal pay, and pressuring Parliament through lobbies. Socialist Women groups are pressing for NJACCWER to mobilize to actively support all women's struggles and also to adopt a more democratic structure, broadly representative of all the new branches which are forming all over England.

According to Antonia Gorton, the most important groups involved in women's liberation at the present time are NJACCWER, Socialist Women groups, Women's Liberation Workshop, and the women's sections of the Communist Party and Labour Party. There are other organizations also, but they are either localized or work around more specific issues.

About the Women's Liberation Workshop Toni Gorton says, "It is a fairly dynamic group along the lines of the majority of the American ones (from what I can gather from some American publications I have received). They are led by Maoists, so have an anti-

capitalist orientation, but generally consider themselves feminists."

The Women's Liberation Workshop holds small neighborhood discussion groups for women interested in talking over problems women face. This group has been engaged in a sticker campaign against sex exploitation in advertising. In the subways and on the streets, they place stickers over advertising degrading to women. They have been attacked in the London *Daily Telegraph* for supposedly having similar attitudes to the Italian and German fascist women, whose slogans were "The German woman does not use cosmetics" and "We prefer soap and water."

The Women's Liberation Workshop has also experimented with "guerrilla theater" to put across its ideas. For example, one of its newsletters described an action it took at a "Commercial Festival" in London department stores. A part of this festival (which was supposed to encourage women to buy more commodities) was an appearance of

"Miss Nelbarden Swimwear," who would display her "perfect body" in a Nelbarden swimsuit.

A group of Women's Liberation Workshop members brought into the store an inflated dummy representing exploited and degraded women, dressed in black lace underwear, thick make-up, etc., and in this way tried to attract attention to their protest against such methods of advertising.

Later the television quoted Miss Nelbarden Swimwear's reaction to the WLW protest to the effect that she didn't feel a bit exploited. But another part of her remarks was edited out. She also said: "One thing does annoy me—why can't I go into a pub by myself to have a drink without everyone thinking I'm on the make? I mean, if I want to have a drink by myself I should be able to in peace, shouldn't I? And also I get very annoyed when men take me out to dinner or something and then want to chastise my body in return for a nice evening. . . ."

The British, Scottish, and Irish working class has a long tradition of militancy on the part of women workers. Just before the Easter uprising in Ireland in 1916, in which women played an important role, James Connolly, the great Irish revolutionary, wrote: "None so fitted to break the chains as they who wear them, none so well equipped to decide what is a fetter. In its march towards freedom, the working class of Ireland must cheer on the efforts of those women who, feeling on their souls and bodies the fetters of the ages, have arisen to strike them off, and cheer all the louder if in its hatred of thralldom and passion for freedom the women's army forges ahead of the militant army of Labour."

We are now seeing the beginning of a new upsurge among women in Great Britain that certainly has great potential for aiding the general struggle against capitalism.





**Ted Brown suggested it,
and somebody's wife did it.**

"Hey, here's an idea.
"Your poor husband comes home from work every night, tired, listless, worn out.
"Give the guy a break.
"Today, wrap yourself up in Saran Wrap, and surprise him at the door, all dewy-eyed and rosy-cheeked, with a big pitcher of martinis in your hand.
"That oughta wake him up!"
We know for sure that one woman tried it. It was the experience of her lifetime, and it may have saved her marriage.
Ted is always doing outrageous things on the radio. Once he announced a delay in the Holland Tunnel because they were hanging drapes in there.
Another time, he claimed traffic was being held up by a little Dutch boy with his finger in the tunnel wall. Even Sing Sing is not immune to Ted's merry pranks.
He once urged his listeners to call the warden and find out why the prison's lights were flickering.
Ted Brown's 4 to 8 PM show is a music show. But there's a lot more to it than music.
Once, with the help of cooperative caulets who turned the volume up on their radios, Ted blared a bugle call all over West Point.
"They must be listening to WNEW out there," Ted laughs. "Half the buildings were empty before the bugle stopped!"
Ted can empty shelves too. When he started to be the spokesman for Chicken Delight, they had 20 stores. They now have 200.
Ted put Chicken Delight on the map.
He may be the best mover-of-goods in the radio business.
One gift-wrapped package we know will gladly testify to that.

WNEW1130
Metropolitan Radio.



**Ted Brown suggested it,
and somebody's husband did it.**

"Hey, here's an idea.
"Your poor wife comes home from work every night, tired, listless, worn out.
"Give the gal a break.
"Today, wrap yourself up in Saran Wrap, and surprise her at the door, all dewey-eyed and rosy-cheeked, with a big pitcher of martinis in your hand.
"That oughta wake her up!"
We know for sure that one man tried it. It was the experience of his lifetime, and it may have saved his marriage.

Full-page ad in New York Times

1934: Minneapolis Becomes A Union Town



Thirty-five years ago the American workers were just recovering from the shock of the Depression and entering into the great period of organizing that culminated in the formation of the CIO. The tone, the militancy and many of the tactics used came directly out of the 1934 strike wave. Three strikes dominated that year: the Toledo Auto-Lite Strike, the San Francisco general strike, and the general strikes of the Minneapolis truck drivers.

At the beginning of 1934 Minneapolis was an open shop town. Every major strike since 1916 had been smashed by one of the best organized groups of bosses in the country. By the end of the year Minneapolis was well on its way to becoming one of the most solidly unionized cities in the United States. How did that happen? 1934 may have been the original long hot summer for Minneapolis — open class war in the streets and marketplaces of the city, tens of thousands of workers mobilized, marching and picketing — but it all started in Minnesota's long cold winter.

According to Charles R. Walker in his classic book on the rank and file of Minneapolis, *American City*, "one distinguishing feature of politics in Minnesota is that in the ebbs and flows of radicalism in America, Minnesota for the most part found herself on the left wing of the movement. When the

Socialist Party split and its left wing throughout the world declared for the Communist International, almost the whole of the Minnesota Socialist Party was found in the left wing and went Communist. A second split in the world revolutionary movement took place in 1928. The Left Opposition of the Communist International, led by Leon Trotsky was expelled from the Communist Parties in all countries. Once more the majority of the Minnesota party were to be found in the left wing and crucially for history this included several of the ablest trade union leaders in the labor movement in America."

The men he was referring to were Carl Skoglund, a Swedish immigrant who had been blacklisted from the railroads for leading the shopmen's general strike in 1922, and the Dunne brothers, Grant, Miles and V. R., known variously as Vince or Ray, probably the only man ever to be compared in the same paragraph, in *Harper's* magazine, March 1942, to both Lenin and Humphrey Bogart.

It was due to a joint effort of the bosses and the bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to purge from their ranks all revolutionary bacilli, that in 1924 all "Reds," mostly members of the American Communist Party, were expelled from the AFL. Only the least desirable, low-paying jobs were available to the blacklisted and consequently at the end of 1933 Carl Skoglund and the Dunne brothers were working in the coalyards

of Minneapolis. From that base issued forth the great organizing drive that seized Minneapolis, went on to organize over 100,000 truck drivers in eleven states and created the structure that has made the Teamsters Union the most powerful workers organization in the United States.

The coal strike came in the middle of winter, when the demand for coal was at its peak. Short and victorious, it shut down sixty-five of sixty-seven coalyards in the first three hours. According to Bill Brown, the president of the truck drivers union, "For some reason or other the Teamsters Council gave me the job of international organizer in 1933, so I decided to work with a few men in the union who knew how to organize. They were the Dunne boys and Carl Skoglund, who were working in the coalyards at that time. Conditions were lousy and there was plenty of sentiment for a union. When the bosses threw our demands into the wastebasket we went to the Teamsters Council for permission to strike. They gave us permission so I wrote to Dan Tobin, the international president, for an O. K. Two days after the strike was over he wrote back that we couldn't strike. By that time we'd won and signed a contract with increased pay."

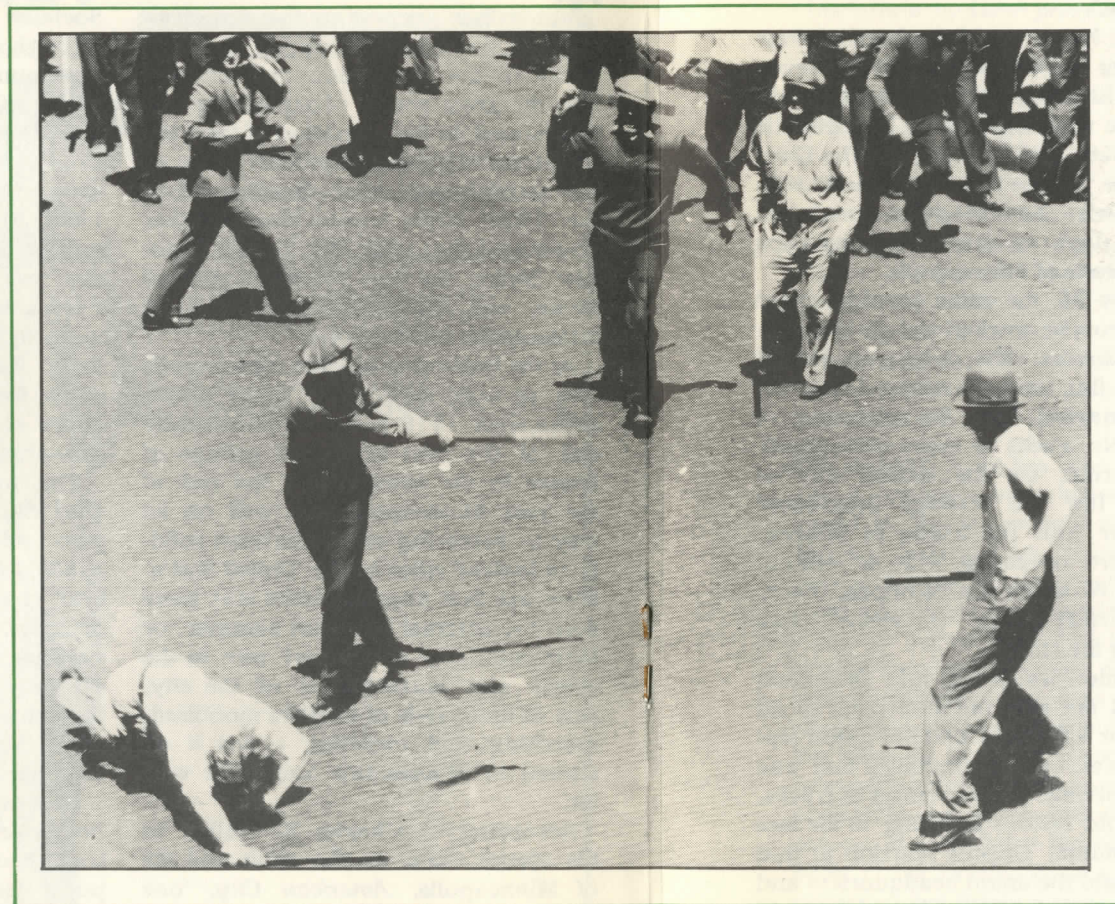
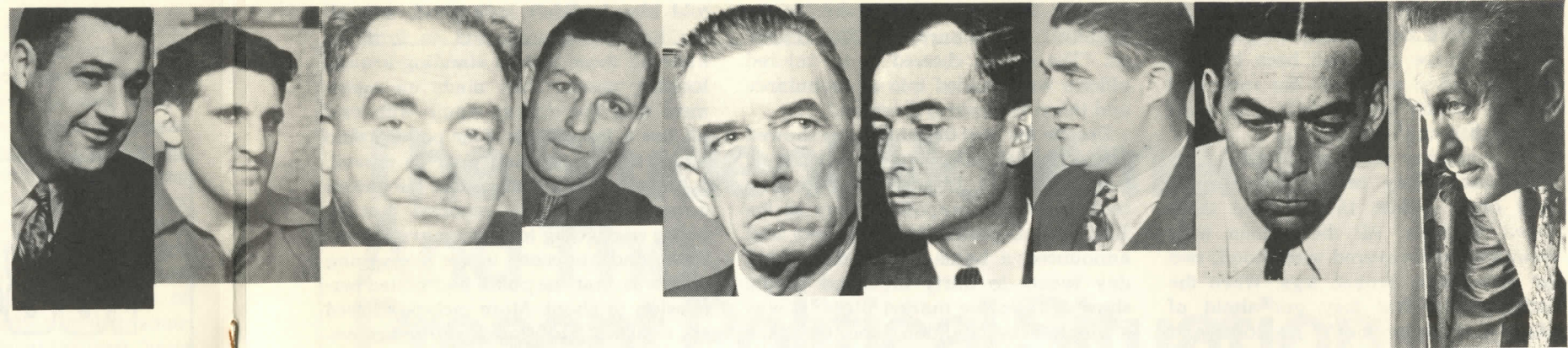
After the coalyard victory, workers began coming around in the thousands, wanting to join Local 574, because it was a fighting union. By April 3,000 truck drivers were in the union and the bosses' Citizens Alliance met to

By David Riehle



Funeral of Henry Ness.

Strike leaders left to right: Clarence Hamel, Jake Cooper, Carl Skoglund, Harry DeBoer, V.R. Dunne, Miles Dunne, Emil Hansen, Grant Dunne, Farrell Dobbs



decide what to do about it. The last Teamsters' strike, in 1916, had been smashed at a cost of \$25,000 and the Alliance felt it had been well worth it. There would be no recognition of the union, it decided. At a mass meeting shortly after that in April, the drivers voted to strike unless their demand was met: recognition of the union including not only drivers but inside workers as well. Carl Skoglund said that "only by all the sections of the trucking industry acting together did we have a chance to win anything for any one of them."

The first day of the strike the Minneapolis *Tribune* listed the following businesses hit by the strike: general and department stores, bakeries, groceries, cleaners, laundries, all building materials, all wholesale houses, all factories, gas and oil companies, breweries, truck transfer and warehouses, and all common carriers. On the second day of the strike, "with nearly 3,000 picketers blocking every entrance to the city and massed about the gates of every large fleet owner they succeeded in halting most of the ordinary trucking movement."

One of the innovations of the strikers that proved very effective in halting scab trucks was the cruising picket car. They had been used in the February strike but they really came into their own in May. These cars, sometimes hundreds, were dispatched from the strike headquarters, which also housed a commissary and a hospital. Truckers who insisted on running during the strike were pulled over by picket cars and either had their radiators smashed or were tipped over, or both, if the occasion seemed to warrant it.

Harry DeBoer, a strike leader and still an active member of the Socialist Workers Party, often found himself on duty as a cruising picket. One time they stopped a truck and started to tip it over, but they found that four of them just couldn't quite get it all the way over. They told the driver, who was standing nearby, looking worried, "Come here and help us tip this truck over." And he did. He didn't dare not to. Another time they stopped a truck and the driver hopped out with a 45. He pumped a few shots into the ground and told them, "Keep away from me, I know how to use this thing." That was one that got away, but most of them didn't.

The first three days of the strike in May were peaceful. Pickets guarded 50 main roads entering the city and turned back all trucks without union credentials. After a few days 35,000 building trades workers struck in support of the drivers. On the second day all the taxi drivers walked out in sympathy.

Negotiations, however, got nowhere. Floyd Olson, the Farmer-Labor Party governor, threatened to call out the national guard, and the Citizens Alliance began its counteroffensive. Meeting in secret, they decided to move a *Tribune* paper truck as a decoy to attract pickets, and then to ambush them with armed guards and police.

Minneapolis police sent a stool pigeon into the strike headquarters. According to Grant Dunne, "He was there twenty hours a day and always busy. Somehow one night he got on the mike for announcing cars: 'This is a little job we have to do tonight, and some

of you women pile in there with the men.' Within ten minutes we got word that the three cars had been blocked into the alley and both the men and women beaten unmercifully with saps and nightsticks."

"I remember the night," said Carl Skoglund. "They brought the women and other pickets in and laid them down in rows. All the women were mutilated and covered with blood, two or three with broken legs. When the strikers saw that they got ahold of clubs and swore they'd go down and wipe up the police and deputies. We said no, the *Tribune* alley is a trap. We'll prepare for a real battle and we'll pick our own battleground next time. That night, all next day and the next night, fellows began to collect clubs. They got sticks, garden hoses filled with lead washers, and ballbats wrapped with barbed wire."

After this episode the Citizens Alliance held a meeting of businessmen and delegated a "Committee of 25" to "lay plans to move trucks—through picket lines if necessary." At the same meeting an organization of a "citizens army" was begun.

Farrell Dobbs, strike leader, said: "Both sides were preparing for a battle and we decided we would pick the ground ourselves this time. We selected the market, where there would be plenty of room." The city market, where farmers sold their produce to retailers and jobbers, depended entirely on trucks and it became the natural heart of the strike. The Central Labor Union voted endorsement of the strike, the unemployed organizations were solidly behind it, and on Sunday, May 20, the lines were drawn for battle.

The city market was filled the next day with pickets, cops and special deputies (the "citizens army"). One union leader related: "The special deputies were gradually pushed by our pickets to one side and isolated from the cops. When that was accomplished the signal was given and 600 men poured out of the Central Labor Union headquarters. They marched in military formation four abreast, each with their clubs, to the market. Then we called on the pickets from strike headquarters who marched into the center of the market and encircled the police." Casualties for the day included for the strikers a broken collar bone, the cut-open skull of a picket who swung on a cop and hit a striker by mistake as the cop dodged, and a couple of broken ribs. On the other side

roughly thirty cops were taken to the hospital. The Minneapolis *Star* reported: "The crowd cheered as the injured officers were loaded into an ambulance and taken to General Hospital."

Despite the rout the employers showed no inclination to change the tactics of their offensive. Tuesday was the day recorded in Minneapolis history as the Battle of Deputies Run. No one had announced a battle but on the second day twenty to thirty thousand people showed up in the market place. It was a single-issue coalition, and the issue was "Will they move the trucks or won't they?" Finally someone tried to move a truck and a striker threw a crate through a plate glass window. The battle was over in about an hour, with the police and the "citizens army" back in their headquarters hiding out or in the hospital. As late as ten o'clock that night pickets continued to mop up, settling accounts in bars and alleys. After a few days the Citizens Alliance capitulated and at a mass meeting the union ratified the contract.

Two months later the employers were chiseling on the contract (700 cases of discrimination were recorded between May and July). Jurisdiction over inside workers was still in dispute. The bosses "broke off relations" with the union. Both sides mobilized in advance.

Under the headline "Must Minneapolis Be Penalized By a Strike To Satisfy a Handful of Communist Agitators Who Plan to Make Minneapolis the Birthplace of a New Soviet Republic?" the Citizens Alliance in a full-page ad quoted Dan Tobin in a redbaiting attack on the union leadership. More important was the accumulation of armaments. Chief of Police Johannes asked for a 100% increase in his police budget, and got machine guns, rifles, riot clubs, and Minneapolis' first and only armored car. Harry DeBoer said that no matter how hard they tried they couldn't put a dent in it, but "We tipped it over, though."

On July 5 the largest mass meeting in the history of Minneapolis was held. It was preceded by a gigantic street demonstration led by an alderman on a white horse. Unions marched with their banners flying and over twenty farmers' organizations participated. Two airplanes with a big "574" painted on their sides zoomed overhead.

On the morning of July 20, Harry DeBoer was a picket captain down in the general area of the city market. The police captain there came up and

told him it didn't look good, with all the tourists around and so forth, to have all those pickets standing around looking mean. They made an agreement that the drivers would withdraw all but a few pickets if the police would agree that no trucks would be moved.

Later on in the afternoon, the pickets down at the market reported that the police were going to try to move a truck. What had happened in the intervening time was that the police had gotten permission to shoot. More pickets showed up, unarmed, to stop the truck movement, and the police opened fire. Sixty-seven persons were wounded, including DeBoer, and two died. A public commission set up later by the governor reported: "Police took direct aim at the pickets and fired to kill. Physical safety of the police was at no time endangered. No weapons were in possession of the pickets. The truck movement in question was not a serious attempt to move merchandise, but a 'plant' arranged by the police."

Henry Ness, a picket who died four days after the shooting, had thirty-seven slugs in his body. At his funeral, nearly the entire working class of Minneapolis turned out—100,000 people. The Chief of Police fortified the city hall with barbed wire and machine guns, and for two days no one saw many cops on the streets of Minneapolis.

On July 25, the union voted to accept a compromise worked out by two federal mediators. The employers turned it down flat, and Governor Olson declared martial law. No picketing of trucks. No trucks to move without military permit. On the second day of martial law the military announced that over half the trucks in Minneapolis were operating with or without permits. Whatever his intentions, Olson, the Farmer-Labor governor, was breaking the strike.

The union leadership told Olson that if he did not stop the movement of all trucks for 48 hours and put union representatives on the committee that was issuing permits for movement of trucks, they would restore picketing in the face of the militia. Olson's reaction to that was to raid the union headquarters and arrest the leadership, putting them in a stockade at the State Fairgrounds. However, two of the leaders, Grant Dunne and Farrell Dobbs, escaped out the back door while the raid was taking place, and continued long distance negotiations with the governor by phone.

Cont'd on p. 17

The Student Movement And The Present Political Situation

The article by Lenin printed here first appeared in October of 1908 in the Russian revolutionary periodical, *Proletary*.

While there are obvious, considerable differences between today's student movement and the movement in Russia in 1908, these differences are not such that they diminish the relevance of the general considerations discussed by Lenin in the article.

For example, the approach of the Petersburg students to whom Lenin addressed his argument clearly parallels the mechanical and sectarian approach taken toward today's campus struggles by Maoists and other ultraleftists, such as RYM II and Progressive Labor. Lenin's explanation of the need for a transitional approach to move narrow student power protests into consciously political battles is as pertinent in the current context as it was in the context he wrote it 61 years ago.

A students' strike has been called at St. Petersburg University. A number of other higher education establishments have joined in. The movement has already spread to Moscow and Kharkov. Judging from all the reports in the foreign and Russian newspapers and in private letters from Russia, we are faced with a fairly broad *academic* movement.

Back to the old days! Back to pre-revolutionary Russia! That is what these events signify above all. As before, official reaction is tightening the screw in the universities. The eternal struggle in autocratic Russia against the student organizations has taken the form of a crusade by the Black-Hundred Minister Schwartz—acting in full agreement with "Premier" Stolypin—against the autonomy which was promised the students in the autumn of 1905 (what did not the autocracy, faced with the onset of the revolutionary working class, "promise" Russian citizens at that time!); against an autonomy which the students enjoyed so long as the autocracy had "other things to think of than students," and which the autocracy, if it was to remain such, could not but begin to take away.

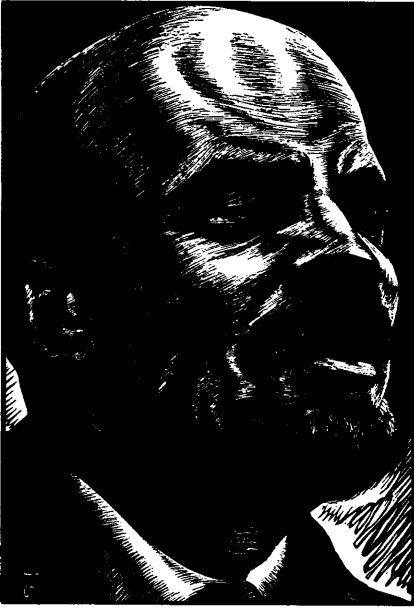
As before, the liberal press laments and groans, this time together with some Octobrists—the professors lament and snivel too, imploring the government not to take the road of reaction and to make use of an excellent opportunity "to ensure peace and order with the help of reforms" in "a country

exhausted by convulsions"—imploring the students not to resort to unlawful courses which can only play into the hands of reaction, etc., etc., etc. How ancient and antiquated, how hackneyed are all these tunes, and how vividly they resurrect before our eyes what took place twenty years ago or so, at the end of the eighties of last century! The similarity between that time and this is all the more striking when we take the present moment by itself, apart from the three years of revolution we have gone through. For the Duma (at first sight) with only the tiniest difference expresses that same pre-revolutionary relation of forces—the supremacy of the wild landlord, who prefers using Court connections and the influence of his friend the official to any kind of representation; the support of that same official by the merchants (the Octobrists) who do not dare to differ from their benevolent patrons; the "opposition" of the bourgeois intellectuals who are concerned most of all to prove their loyalty, and who describe appeals to those in power as the political activity of liberalism. And the workers' deputies in the Duma recall feebly, far too feebly, the part which the proletariat was recently playing by its open mass struggle.

It may be asked, can we in such conditions attribute any importance to the old forms of primitive academic struggle of the students? If the liberals have sunk to the level of the "politics" of the eighties (one can of course only in irony speak of politics in this connection), will it not be a debasement of the aims of Social-Democracy if it decides that it is necessary to support the academic struggle in some way or other?

Here and there, apparently, Social-Democratic students are putting this question. At any rate, our editorial board has received a letter from a group of Social-Democratic students which says, among other things:

"On September 13 a meeting of the students of St. Petersburg University resolved to call upon students for an all-Russian student strike, the reason given for this appeal being the aggressive tactics pursued by Schwartz. The platform of the strike is an academic one, and the meeting



even welcomes the 'first steps' of the Moscow and St. Petersburg Professorial Councils in the struggle for autonomy. We are puzzled by the academic platform put forward at the St. Petersburg meeting, and consider it objectionable in present conditions, because it cannot unite the students for an active struggle on a broad front. We envisage student action only as one co-ordinated with general political action, and in no case apart from it. The elements capable of uniting the students are lacking. In view of this we are against academic action."

The mistake which the authors of the letter are making is of much greater political importance than may appear at first sight, because their argument, strictly speaking, touches upon a theme which is incomparably more broad and important than the question of taking part in this particular strike.

"We envisage student action only as one co-ordinated with general political action. In view of this we are against academic action."

Such an argument is radically wrong. The revolutionary slogan—to work toward co-ordinated political action of the students and the proletariat, etc.—here ceases to be a live guidance for many-sided militant agitation on a broadening basis and becomes a lifeless dogma, mechanically applied to different stages of different forms of the movement. It is not sufficient merely to proclaim political co-ordinated action, repeating the "last word" in lessons of the revolution. One must be able to agitate for political action, making use of all possibilities, all conditions and, first and foremost, all mass conflicts between advanced elements, whatever they are, and the autocracy. It is not of course a question of us dividing every student movement beforehand into compulsory "stages," and making sure that each stage is properly gone through, out of fear of switching over to "untimely" political actions, etc. Such a view would be the most harmful pedantry, and would lead only to an opportunist policy. But just as harmful is the opposite mistake, when people refuse to reckon with the actual situation that has arisen and the actual conditions of the particular mass movement, because of a slogan misinterpreted

as unchangeable. Such an application of a slogan inevitably degenerates into revolutionary phrase-mongering.

Conditions are possible when an academic movement lowers the level of a political movement, or divides it, or distracts from it—and in that case Social-Democratic students' groups would of course be bound to concentrate their agitation against such a movement. But anyone can see that the objective political conditions at the present time are different. The academic movement is expressing the *beginning* of a movement among the new "generation" of students, who have more or less become accustomed to a narrow measure of autonomy; and this movement is beginning when other forms of mass struggle are lacking at the present time, when a lull has set in, and the broad mass of the people, still silently, concentratedly and slowly are continuing to *digest* the experience of the three years of revolution.

In such conditions Social-Democrats would make a big mistake if they declared "against academic action." No, the groups of students belonging to our Party must use every effort to support, utilize and extend the movement. Like every other support of primitive forms of movement by Social-Democracy, the present support, too, should consist most of all in ideological and organizational influence on wider sections who have been roused by the conflict, and to whom this form of conflict, as a general rule, is their *first* experience of political conflicts. The student youth who have entered the universities during the last two years have lived a life almost completely detached from politics, and have been educated in a spirit of narrow academic autonomism, educated not only by the professors of the Establishment and the government press but also by the liberal professors and the whole Cadet Party. For this youth a strike on a large scale (if that youth is able to organize a large-scale strike: we must do everything to help it in this undertaking, but of course it is not for us socialists to guarantee the success of any bourgeois movement) is the beginning of a political conflict, whether those engaged in the fight realize it or not. Our job is to explain to the mass of "academic" protesters the objective meaning of the conflict, to try and make it *consciously* political, to multiply tenfold the agitation carried on by the Social-Democratic groups of students, and to *direct all* this activity in such a way that revolutionary conclusions will be drawn from the history of

the last three years, that the inevitability of a new revolutionary struggle is understood, and that our old—and still quite timely—slogans calling for the overthrow of the autocracy and the convocation of a constituent assembly should once again become a subject of discussion and the touchstone of political concentration for fresh generations of democrats.

Social-Democratic students have no right to shirk such work under any conditions. And however difficult this work may be at the present time, whatever reverses particular agitators may experience in this or that university, students' association, meeting, etc., we shall say: knock, and it will be opened unto you! The work of political agitation is never wasted. Its success is measured not only by whether we have succeeded here and now in winning a majority, or obtaining consent for coordinated political action. It is possible that we shall not achieve this all at once. But that is why we are an organized proletarian party—not to lose heart over temporary failures, but stubbornly, unswervingly and consistently to carry on *our work*, even in the most difficult conditions. . . .

The beginning of a mass student struggle in the Russia of 1908 is a political symptom, a symptom of the whole present situation brought about by the counterrevolution. Thousands and millions of threads tie the student youth with the middle and lower bourgeoisie, the petty officials, certain groups of the peasantry, the clergy, etc. If in the spring of 1908 attempts were being made to resurrect the "Osvobozhdeniye League" [a group supporting constitutional monarchy], slightly to the left of the old Cadet semi-landlord union represented by Pyotr Struve; if in the autumn the mass of youth which is closest of all to the democratic bourgeoisie in Russia is beginning to be disturbed; if the hireling hacks, with malice tenfold, have started howling once more against revolution in the schools; if base

liberal professors and Cadet leaders are groaning and wailing at the untimely, dangerous, disastrous strikes which displease those dear Octobrists, which are capable of "repelling" the Octobrists who hold power—that means new powder has begun to accumulate in the powder-flask, it means that *not only* among students is the reaction against reaction beginning!

And however weak and embryonic this beginning may be, the party of the working class must make use of it and will do so. We were able to work years and decades before the revolution, carrying our revolutionary slogans first into the study circles, then among the masses of the workers, then on to the streets, then on to the barricades. We must be capable, *now too*, of organizing first and foremost that which constitutes the task of the hour, and without which all talk about co-ordinated political action will be empty words, namely, the task of building a strong proletarian organization, everywhere carrying on *political agitation* among the masses for its revolutionary watchwords. It is this task of organization in their own student midst, this agitation based on the concrete movement, that our university groups, too, should tackle.

The proletariat will not be behindhand. It often yields the palm to the bourgeois democrats in speeches at banquets, in legal unions, within the walls of universities, from the rostrum of representative institutions. It never yields the palm and will not do so, in the serious and great revolutionary struggle of the masses. All the conditions for bringing this struggle to a head are not ripening as quickly and easily as some of us would hope—but those conditions are ripening and gathering head unswervingly. And the little beginning of little academic conflicts is a great beginning, for after it—if not today then tomorrow, if not tomorrow then the day after—will follow big continuations.

1934, Cont'd from p. 14

In place of the eight leaders, fifty picket captains took charge, and picketing resumed on an even wider and more furious scale than before.

Grant Dunne told Olson, "Don't you know by now that you're not dealing with children? There are plenty of leaders left. The strike will go right on, picketing and all." The next day the leaders were let out of the stockade and the headquarters restored to the union. The union appealed to the Central Labor Union for a general strike and the governor issued an ultimatum that he would stop all trucks by midnight August 5 if there was no settlement. In spite of that, by August 14 there were 11,500 trucks moving, only one-third of which had signed with the union.

The strikers held out and on August 21 the federal mediator got acceptance of a strike settlement from A. W. Strong, the head of the Citizens Alliance. The union — rechartered as Local 544 — went on to become the biggest and most powerful in the Twin Cities, leading the organizing drive that brought over-the-road drivers from eleven states into the Teamsters Union.

Business Week reported in its August 2, 1941 issue: "Elsewhere, labor leaders came to power with hard-boiled methods, but once established, recognized a common interest with the industry in which they operated. They became in most cases tempered, responsible, reasonable. But not the Dunnes. Any union out on strike could depend on the Dunnes to cut off all deliveries from the struck firm. It was a powerful device and many Minneapolis employers considered the Dunnes their greatest business problem. After years of unabated labor strife the city began to take an interest in the Dunne brothers' politics. The city wanted to know what made the Dunnes different."

What made them different was that they were revolutionaries.

The YSA today is carrying on the fighting traditions of the revolutionary movement which led the Minneapolis strikes in the 1930s. When it holds its national convention in Minneapolis at the end of this month, it will be not only to salute the past struggles of the revolutionary movement but also to make plans for an escalated assault on the capitalist system in the coming year.



From Rebellion To Revolution

Most of us who joined SDS in its early days joined because we understood, sometimes vaguely, that our society was becoming less and less humane. We understood that social injustice exemplified by oppression of blacks and the imperialist war in Vietnam was intrinsic in our system, and that a radical solution was needed to create a new democratic society.

Our motivations were healthy, and we hoped to find a vehicle for our aspirations in SDS which, for a time, corresponded to the level of our political development.

However, the internal contradictions of SDS, its lack of a program for social change, and the fallacies of new left ideology soon resulted in the degeneration and collapse of the national organization and most local chapters.

New left theory ignored the real forces necessary for radical social change, and largely led to the isolation of SDS from the masses, especially the working class. Hostile to Marxism and saturated with pragmatism as that theory was, it rendered SDS powerless to explain and foresee the course of the developing radicalization.

Early SDS ideology, largely a mixture of liberalism and Marcuse, was somewhat less than coherent. Consequently, an entry attempt by an organized group like Progressive Labor could hardly be met by the original SDS leadership.

This conflict forced a change of the SDS leaders, who adopted the worst characteristics of PL. This all culminated finally in the RYM minority's bureaucratic expulsion of the WSA-PL forces that made up the majority at the convention last June.

Since then SDS has made a 180 degree turn away from its early humanist orientation, and headed down the road of Stalinist bureaucracy. The SDS leadership (all factions) seems to oscillate between adventurism and opportunism. One need only consider the Weatherman fiasco in Chicago last October or RYM II's plans for a confrontation on November 15 at the Justice Department by a numerically small "red flag contingent" to see to what an extent the organization has degenerated.

But the recent events of the national SDS were only the culmination of contradictions that pervaded SDS to its local level. In terms of tactics, the lack of coherence in SDS ideology led to the abrupt turn of events when, after calling the first large antiwar demonstration in

1965, SDS turned off to the national antiwar movement. Not only did the SDS leadership fail to recognize that Vietnam was the central political question facing revolutionaries, but it consistently rejected its political responsibility to help build a mass movement of support to the Vietnamese revolution which could force the United States to pull its troops out of Vietnam. To us, this sectarian abstention from building the antiwar movement was indefensible.

Perhaps what clinched our discontent was the increasingly undemocratic organization of SDS on a local level.

Participatory democracy ignored the fact that any organization has leadership, official or unofficial, democratic or bureaucratic. Local SDS leadership was characteristically controlled by personality cliques, based on personal alliances rather than political orientation. Hence, attempts to give direction to a chapter's policy outside the established, usually unofficial leadership were met with hostility, character attacks, and even redbaiting.

While there were many notable exceptions, the above characteristics were repeated too often not to be the result of a common shortcoming in SDS theory and practice.

For some of us, the above-described inability to function democratically, plus the many other contradictions that precluded SDS from fully grasping the dynamics of the youth radicalization or from successfully aligning with other radicalizing sectors of our society caused us to drop out or become inactive in SDS. For others, it took the ultimate absurdity of the June convention and the infantile events that have transpired since to convince us of the hopelessness of SDS.

The above is why we left SDS. Why have we, sometimes by entire chapters, joined YSA?

The pattern is similar for comrades throughout the country.

Unable to live with SDS's avoidance of the antiwar movement, some of us who were later to join YSA bypassed SDS to launch and participate in committees to build SMC mobilizations like the one last April 5-6.

Many comrades split from SDS when the old personality-dominated leaderships insisted on adopting policies regarding black liberation aimed more at soothing liberal consciences than at effectively supporting the black liberation struggle.

At first some of us were uncertain about which way

to align ourselves. Eventually, however, the YSA's revolutionary Marxist program and its position on the anti-war movement and black nationalism confirmed our decision to join the YSA, and in several areas to form new YSA locals. In these local areas, as well as on a national scale, the YSA has been instrumental in building an overwhelmingly large antiwar movement, while SDS continues to decline and further isolate itself.

YSA is nationally emerging as an important, rational,

Marxist force in the youth movement. As the increasing disillusion with SDS leads serious youth to look for a Marxist alternative, large numbers of them will continue to choose the YSA, as we did.

While SDS continues to engage in actions that can only further isolate and alienate it from the masses of the American people, we will continue to build a movement whose success will be the creation of a socialist America and a socialist world.

George Dolph
Chairman, Mansfield State College SDS;
Member, Niagara SDS Regional Council;
District Representative, Ithaca District SDS

Alan Clark
Vice-Chairman and Corresponding Secretary,
Mansfield State College SDS

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Nov. 12, 1969.

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IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, BLACK AND OTHER THIRD WORLD LIBERATION STRUGGLES, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE ARAB REVOLUTION, SOCIALIST CANDIDATES, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA . . .

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"Within this small country events are occurring which have the potential of definitively shaping the future of the African continent."

THE LIBERATION OF GUINE, by Basil Davidson. Penguin. Baltimore, 1969. \$1.45.

"Portuguese" Guiné is on the west coast of the African continent, lying between the independent republics of Senegal and Guinea. It has a land area greater than that of the Netherlands, but less than that of Switzerland. Guiné's African population is just under one million, with the principal agricultural products being groundnuts, rice, and palm oil. But, despite its geographical smallness, Guiné has a political significance all out of proportion to its size. Within this small country, events are occurring which have the potential of definitively shaping the future of the African continent. For there is a revolution going on in Guiné, armed struggle for state power led by the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde—African Party for the Independence of Guiné and the Cape Verde Islands).

The Portuguese imperialists—armed with helicopters, napalm and other weapons of destruction through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—have responded to this quest for freedom by pouring in over 30,000 troops. To get a sense of the intervention, this troop level vis-a-vis the African population is comparable to the half million U. S. troops vis-a-vis the 16 million South Vietnamese. Guiné is Portugal's Vietnam.

It is this African Vietnam that the noted author Basil Davidson describes in this book. Davidson has visited Guiné on three occasions, spending a considerable amount of time in 1967. In his book, he chronicles the imposition of Portuguese colonialism in Guiné,

the rise of PAIGC, and the subsequent political and military mobilization of the various ethnic groups in Guiné against Portuguese domination. Davidson quotes extensively from members of the PAIGC and their secretary-general, Amilcar Cabral.

While explaining the rise of revolutionary struggle in the specific conditions provided by Guiné, Davidson touches upon the struggle against Portuguese imperialism in Angola and Mozambique. For it is no accident that Amilcar Cabral, who along with six others met secretly in Bissau and founded the PAIGC in September 1956, also participated with Agostinho Neto three months later in initiating the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola). Both Cabral and Neto were students in Lisbon in 1948. Through forming a Center for African Studies with other Guinean, Mozambican and Angolan students, they were able to steep themselves in the history and heritage of their respective countries.

Later on in 1952-54, Cabral, working as an agricultural engineer for the Portuguese administration in Guiné, was able to fathom at first hand the conditions of the peasantry and the land.

The turning point came for the PAIGC on August 3, 1959. On that day, African workers at the Pidgiguiti docks in Bissau went on strike. Subsequently, they were savagely shot down by the Portuguese police, losing fifty of their number in the massacre. It was after this event that the PAIGC decided to struggle against the Portuguese "by all possible means, including war."

In preparation for the armed phase of the struggle, while extending its political organization in Bissau and the countryside, the PAIGC began to send militants to the Republic of Guinea in 1960 for political, military and techni-

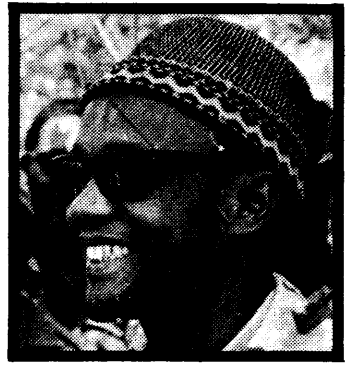
cal training. Guinea achieved its independence in 1958 when it alone of France's African colonies voted to opt out of the French Union. While making their exit, the French technicians took everything that could be taken and sabotaged that which was left behind. The Republic of Guinea survived, and was to play a very fruitful role in the struggle in Guiné.

It was only in 1963, seven years after a political preparatory period begun in 1956, that the PAIGC launched the armed phase of the struggle. And this was at a time when hundreds of peasants and disaffected city dwellers began to find their way into the ranks of the party. The PAIGC army or FARP (People's Revolutionary Armed Forces) was formed in 1964 by a decision of the party congress at that time.

During the next four years, the Portuguese army, made up largely of conscripts from Portugal, moved from mobile warfare to a static position of just holding onto fortified camps throughout Guiné. The few cities and Cape Verde islands have been made into armed camps in an effort to combat not only FARP, but the underground organization of the PAIGC in those areas. Meanwhile, the PAIGC, fighting on three fronts, is now in control of two-thirds of the countryside, and moving ever so patiently and methodically toward the complete expulsion of the Portuguese.

This is because, while the PAIGC is waging a war, which is facilitated by the military and technical aid from the Soviet Union and other workers' states, it is also building a country. As Davidson points out: "For the year 1965-66, the PAIGC had 127 primary schools in Guiné, with 191 newly-trained teachers and 13,361 pupils. In the following year, 1966-67, they increased these figures to 159 schools with 220 teachers and 14,386 pupils. (In Conarky they

By Derrick Morrison



AMILCAR CABRAL

also had a 'pilot-school' with Yugoslav aid, and 87 pupils.) Eighty percent of these pupils had completed two years' schooling, and the average age was 12. Some fifty young men and women were also sent to Europe in 1967 for technical training in various fields. Several printed school-books prepared by PAIGC staff were now available, and others were about to be published. Health services were likewise expanding in the liberated regions. During 1967 fifty nurses completed courses in Europe, mostly in the Soviet Union, as well as several doctors; there were now about one hundred nurses in all. In their liberated regions, the PAIGC had now installed six field hospitals, 120 clinics and had twenty-three mobile medical teams at work."

Thus the PAIGC is actively engaged in the process of nation-building. And part of this process is the forging of an unbreakable unity among the various African ethnic or tribal groups in Guiné.

The entrance into the struggle of two major ethnic groups, the Fula who are Muslims and the Balante who have their own African religion, is best described by Cabral in a speech at the Frantz Fanon Centre in Milan, Italy. There, in 1964, he stated, "In the countryside, first of all. There we have, on one hand, the Fula group whom we have always considered as being semi-feudal in their social structure, and, on the other hand, the Balante whom we may call, if you like 'stateless.' Between these two extremes there are several intermediary situations. . . ."

"What is the actual situation among the Fula? First of all there are chiefs, the nobles and the religious lineages; then the artisans and dyula or travelling traders; after that, the peasants themselves. . . ."

"Aside from property questions, the relative position of women can be a

useful means of social comparison. Among the Fula, women have no social rights: they take part in production but possess none of its fruits. Moreover, polygamy is a much respected institution, the wife being considered somewhat as the property of her husband. At the other extreme, among the Balante, we are faced with a society which is completely without stratification, and where the only source of authority is composed of the elders of a village or of a group of villages. Among the Balante the land belongs to the village, but each family has a piece sufficient for its subsistence, while tools and other necessary equipment belong either to a family or to an individual. Though there is a strong trend towards polygamy, most of the Balante are monogamous. Women take part in production but, unlike Fula women, become the owners of what they produce . . . and so Balante women have a certain effective liberty except in relation to their children, which the family head may always claim. No doubt the reasoning behind this is economic: the strength of a family is seen as resting in the numbers of hands it can mobilize for its own production.

"Our traditions—or, if you wish, our economic structure—are such that our Fula peasants or our semi-feudalized peasants often have a tendency to follow their chiefs. So their mobilization has required a profound and intensive labour. . . . As for the 'stateless peoples', such as the Balante, these were the groups which offered far greater resistance to the colonial invaders than the others, and it is in their ranks that we have found the greatest readiness to accept the ideas of national liberation even though it remains true that for these peasants—and they are all peasants—this is not without anxieties and problems. . . ."

The tasks accomplished by the PAIGC have not been undertaken without an

ideology of national liberation. On the contrary, the party is very much concerned with ideas. This was expressed in a speech delivered by Cabral, entitled, "Foundations and Objectives of National Liberation in Relation to Social Structure," at the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana, Cuba in January of 1966.

Cabral explained that national liberation was necessarily synonymous with social revolution. He saw the level of productive forces at any place and time as "the true and lasting motive force of history." Thus Cabral went on to define national liberation not so much as the right of a people to rule itself, but the right to regain and continue their own history, which entails a people liberating "the means and process of development of its own productive forces." This, he concludes, is the basis and objective of national liberation.

Hence, upon this scientific and rational axis, political, economic and cultural change is wrought on the level of the masses, not on the level of some bankrupt elite. Acquisition by the masses of the total agricultural and mineral resources of the country in order to develop them as they see fit is the keystone of PAIGC ideology. This puts them definitively in the camp of the Chinese, North Koreans, Vietnamese and Cubans—the peoples who are implementing this concept. In this respect, while Davidson was visiting liberated territory of Guiné in 1967, he met two other visitors, Tran Hoai-nam and Pham Van Tan of the south Vietnamese National Liberation Front. Just recently, Luiz Cabral, brother of Amilcar, appeared in Cuba, giving an interview to the Cuban daily *Granma*.

It is these actions and these ideas, flowing from the growing strength of the PAIGC, that put the people of Guiné in the very vanguard of the African revolution.

"You are the distorters . . ."

MEDIUM COOL. Written and directed by Haskell Wexler. Produced by Wexler and Tully Friedman. Starring Robert Forster and Verna Bloom. Paramount Pictures.

Medium Cool is a powerful film about the impersonal manner in which TV reports the news. It begins with a bloody automobile accident on the Eisenhower freeway in Chicago. The victims are seriously, perhaps fatally injured. A TV news photographer and his sidekick soundman ("I'm just one big extension of a taperecorder.") have stopped to film the wreckage and record the agonized moans of the passenger. Not until they return to the cruise car, *their* job done, do they call an ambulance.

The scene called to mind the example given by Fritz Pappenheim (*Alienation of Modern Man*, Monthly Review Press, 1959) of the extent to which individuals in capitalist society have become separated from each other and their own humanity. Pappenheim referred to a prize-winning photo which "showed the pain-stricken face of one of the victims [of an auto accident] in the moment before death."

This is indeed a cool medium—or cold, to be more precise.

Yet in another sense, the medium is anything but cool. "You are the distorters," a black nationalist tells the photographer, "and that ain't cool." The two-man news team has ventured into Chicago's black ghetto to follow up

on a "human interest" story. One of the friends of the man he has come to interview wonders whether "human interest" means that his friend is interesting to humans or if the photographer realizes his friend is human too. Another friend says to the photographer, "You come down here to shoot fifteen minutes of what took 300 years to develop—grief, man!" Thus he sums up the value of the "in depth" reporting TV news directors boast about so often.

How far removed from the world he photographs the TV newsman is gets underscored repeatedly throughout the film: in the stark opening scene, later in Washington during the Poor People's Campaign, in his encounter with black bitterness at the ghetto apartment of a cab driver who turned in some stolen money he had found. Not only the medium, but the man himself is cool in a similar but subtly different sense, something revealed in his conversation with his sidekick, at a cocktail party of TV newsmen and in a frantic bedroom romp with his nurse girlfriend.

The film doesn't really have a plot, nor is the TV news photographer a character in any traditional, dramatic sense of the word. Rather, the audience watches the things taking place and the people taking part in them in a detached—cool—way, identifying more with those who have made the film than with anyone on the screen.

The brutally ironic final scene is a second parenthesis which, together with the opening scene, frames the intervening series of vignettes, making the film into a unified statement. The photographer's car crashes, killing his pas-

senger and critically injuring him. A child leans out the window of a passing car and snaps a picture with his brownie.

The closing shot pans to a TV camera on a platform overlooking the road (set up to cover the antiwar demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic Party Convention); zooming in on the TV camera, the scene is swallowed by the lens staring out at the audience. By this device, the movie-makers part with the audience which has been keeping them company throughout the film, forcefully calling attention to the cool sense of non-involvement the preceding scenes have so skillfully evoked.

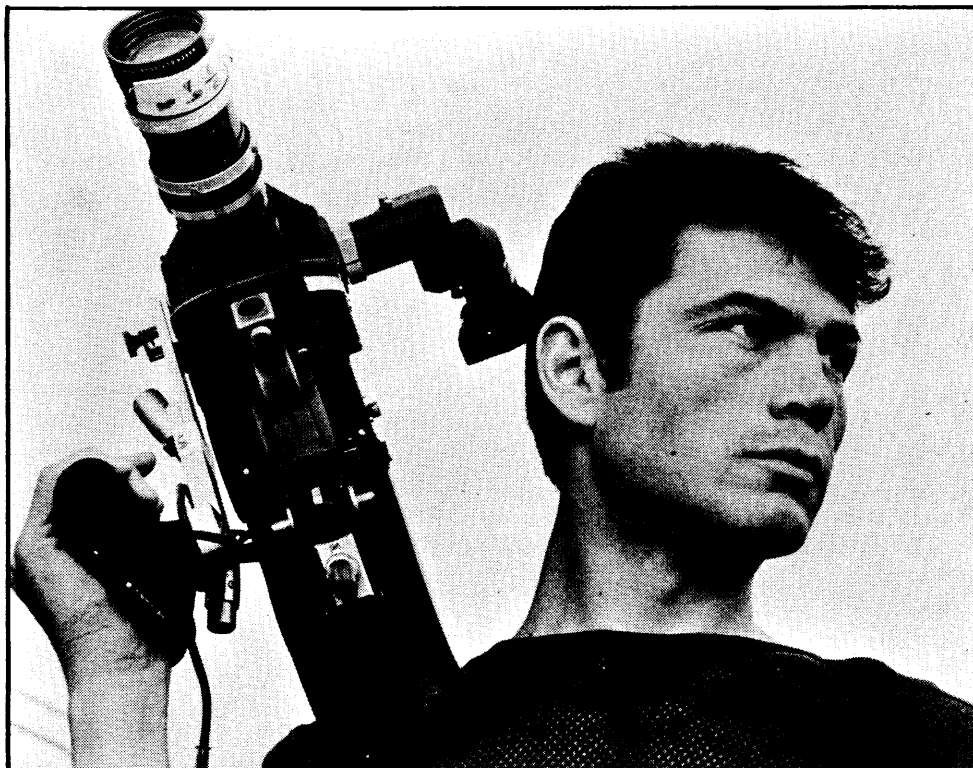
Yet, even in the absence of a "story" and despite the viewer's detachment, there is a discernible process involving the news photographer before he piles up his car: he begins to lose his cool. When he learns that for more than a year his film has been finding its way into the hands of the FBI, he really blows his cool ("What am I, a fink?"), and, on top of that, the station fires him.

Then he becomes fond of a woman from the hills of West Virginia, and of her child—which is not cool. He gets a free-lance job to cover the Democratic Party Convention, but bolts from his assignment to help his hillbilly lover look for her missing urchin in the battletorn streets. Just as he has begun to warm up, the violence of his accident effects a chilly reunion with the cool world; seconds before his car skids out of control, a broadcast announcing his critical condition and his West Virginia woman's death fades up on the soundtrack.

—By Angela Vinther

The photography in this film is extremely skillful. Some of the most excellent shots are those filmed in Chicago during the Democratic Party Convention demonstrations, shots the filmmakers obviously had no chance to stage or rehearse. They apparently dressed the woman playing the West Virginia mother in a yellow dress so the camera would pick her up in the crowds, told her to run through Grant Park and the streets as if she were looking for her runaway child and ran after her with a handheld camera. (YSAers who see the film will note that the camera focuses on two Chicago comrades holding a YSA banner for 15 to 20 seconds during these scenes.)

While one does not become emotionally involved with any of the characters, the film does charge up the audience by very accurately recording a large part of what life is like in the United States during the late 1960s. It deserves to be seen.



ys misc.

Cont'd from p. 2

quickly found to be far too modest and had to be repeatedly revised upward. The campaign finished with more than 5,900 new readers! Congratulations to all YSAers who participated in this campaign to undermine the subversive influence of the capitalist press. □ The YSA is proud of the role it played in building the Student Mobilization Committee and in mobilizing the 1,000,000 Americans who demonstrated their opposition to the imperialist war in Vietnam on November 14-15. (See the letter on the left from Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco and other peasant leaders imprisoned with him in Peru.) Recently the role played by the YSA, the SWP, the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist* in building this mass, popular movement has been singled out for special attention in the anticommunist *U. S. News and World Report* and in redbaiting speeches on the floor of the Congress. The increasing frequency of these attacks is surpassed only by their crudity. Now that the November antiwar actions are over, one of the red baiters, Rep. Ichord from Missouri, has branched out and levelled an attack on the Venceremos Brigade, a trip to Cuba by young Americans to help Cuba achieve its goal of a 10 million ton sugar harvest in 1970. The mass demonstrations on Nov. 15 themselves were a spectacular repudiation of this red-baiting. The YSA also repudiates it and pledges to continue to build the SMC and to organize the struggle to replace capitalism with socialism.

Lima, Peru
October 28, 1969

Comrades of the Young Socialist Alliance:

We ask you to convey to North American youth our wishes for success in the November 14th strike.

The October 15th mobilization showed the world that the American people are not accomplices in genocide. Let's hope that the November 15th March on Washington will be even more successful.

The political prisoners of "El Fronton," Peru.

Hugo Blanco G.

Eduardo Cress G.

Guillermo Lozada A.

Vicente G.

ON TO MINNEAPOLIS



YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION

Dec 27-30, 1969

University of Minnesota

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