

"How could we demand of people outside the organization what we could not demand of people inside?"

—Bernardine Dohrn

The 1969 convention of SDS marks a turning point in its history. For the first time SDS adopted certain Marxist political principles. For the first time SDS expelled members of the organization who opposed these principles.

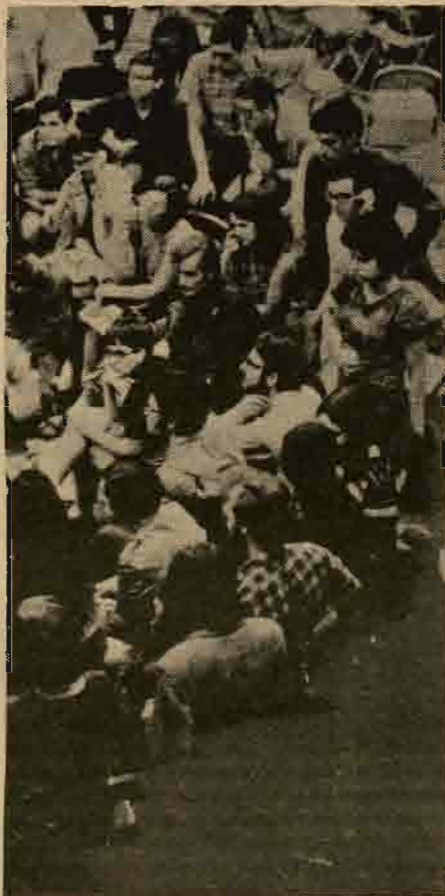
The expulsion of PL and its supporters must be understood in the context of the historical development of the movement and the position of SDS in the national (even international) political arena. Since its beginning in 1962 as a left-liberal student organization, and especially in the last two years, SDS has grown into the largest national political organization of revolutionary white youth. No other organization has anywhere near its mass base and reputation. Therefore its actions and policies set the tone for the white movement in general.

Although the organization has been extremely loose and decentralized, with affiliation being more often a matter of affinity than formal membership, SDS has been the only mass organization to assert leadership over that amorphous body called the "New Left". This fact makes the organization an arena for every conceivable political viewpoint competing for national circulation. Such ideological competition has a double edge. It has been healthy for the organization in exposing the membership to many political ideas and allowing them to sort out those which served best in practice. At the same time it has often crippled SDS's ability to act, as competing sect groups have been more concerned with pushing their line than in taking care of business.

Nevertheless, under the leading influence of third world struggles (especially those of the Vietnamese and the Blacks) SDS has been developing a revolutionary perspective. The basis of this perspective has been the understanding that the principle contradiction in the world today is between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed nations of the world. SDS has tried to forge an alliance with these oppressed peoples by building an anti-imperialist student movement on campuses throughout the country in support of the struggles for self-determination. SDS sees these struggles as part of an international class struggle which implies the necessity to link up with the working class.

Along with this ideological development has come increased militance in struggles and an attempt to spread the movement to sectors previously untouched by SDS—namely, working class youth. In short, SDS has begun to take its politics more seriously, which, in turn, has meant that the ruling class takes SDS more seriously. This spells increased repression.

Although repression was not explicitly discussed at the convention, this issue was omnipresent. Pigs outside taking pictures, spies and provocateurs inside, the need for tight security measures served as constant reminders of the murders of our Panther allies and threats of long prison sentences for all



of us. People at the convention understood that the political stakes have been raised—that the political scene in this country has become increasingly polarized. Either you're for the NLF or you're for imperialism; you're for black liberation or you're for racism. "Either you're part of the solution or you're part of the problem".

#### WHY THE EXPULSION

Before the main business ever really got underway people were talking about how PL and its supporters were, indeed, part of the problem. Since PL began participating in SDS about two years ago they have incurred the hostility of many SDS people.

Until recently, many people opposed PL for the wrong reasons. Much of the hostility was based on a mistrust of a strongly disciplined outside cadre (that is, on anti-communism). Also some people rejected PL's heavy working class orientation. They didn't criticize PL for being reformist or economist in its approach to the working class, they just rejected approaching the working class altogether. While most people in SDS have abandoned their anti-communist and anti-working class attitudes in the course of the struggle (eg. anti-war movement supporting the NLF or Black liberation struggle urging white radicals to organize white poor and working people), PL does deserve some credit for pushing these ideas inside SDS.

As the reasons for the hostility to PL changed and the antagonisms became more bitter. More and more SDS people have formed collectives based on principles of Marxism-Leninism: democratic centralism, class line, criticism and self-criticism. The objection to PL came to be based on PL's incorrect ideology and practice rather than on anti-communism. Chapters and collectives all over the country learned in practice that the application of PL's ideology meant the subversion of revolutionary struggles for open admissions of black and brown students; for black studies; for people's parks. Even when PL didn't have a chance to explicitly oppose an ongoing struggle they effectively subverted the development of any kind of struggle by bogging chapters down in endless sectarian debates. Many SDS people found themselves becoming dogmatic and forgetting practice in the course of their struggle against PL. In many places at the chapter level splits or attempts at expulsion had already

# "You're either part of the part of the

occured (RSU, Cal; Columbia expulsion of the expansion committee), and de facto splits existed in many other places.

On the national level the antagonisms were clear way before the split. At the NC in Ann Arbor last fall PL actively opposed a "Solidarity With Cuba Week". People understood that a rejection of the Cuban revolution and refusal to hold educational and agitational activities in support of Cuba could only help the imperialists.

At the NC in Austin there was bitter debate over support for the Panthers. People understood that PL's position that the Panthers are racist and reactionary could only aid the ruling class in the attempts to smash the Panthers. ("Despite the frequent waving of the Quotations of Mao-Tse-tung", it is quite apparent that the Panthers have no class outlook and believe they are out to fight a war against white people in general".

--PL Magazine, February, 1969) Also in Austin people understood that they had to strongly reject PL's criticism of the Vietnamese leadership if they were to effectively struggle against imperialism. ("NLF-type liberation programs will take radicals right to the graveyard." -- PL Magazine, August 1969) The harm that PL was doing to the Vietnamese struggle was spelled out by Le Phoung, an NLF representative in Sweden in a letter to the GUARDIAN on April 5, 1969: "They (PL) defame the political program of the NLF, they defame it flagrantly. While progressive people throughout the world support the NLF and its political program, these people wrongly criticize the political program. While the U.S. imperialists slander our front, they slander our front too. That is aiming at deceiving public opinion, including American public opinion. That is aiming at harming the antiwar move-



ment in the U.S."

So, in a certain sense, the expulsion of PL was inevitable; a split was already an accomplished fact before the convention. The actual expulsion awaited a catalyst. The catalyst came after two days of Roman circus when PL's disruption made rational political discussion impossible. The Panthers were booed, thunderous PL chants would not allow the National Secretary to address the Convention and PL took over the stage. Rudd, Klonsky, and Dohrn led a walkout.

#### TACTICS OF THE EXPULSION

PL claimed that their expulsion had

been plotted by the National Office for months in advance. The blundering way in which the final split occurred proves PL's claim a lie. If the expulsion had been carefully pre-mediated the strength of SDS would have been immediately apparent, but it wasn't.

On its face, the walkout seemed to be an act of frustration. A little less than half of the people walked out, apparently because they felt challenged by the Panthers to do so and because they found it impossible to be heard above the thunderous chanting of PL.

The Panthers definitely did take the lead in the expulsion of PL. They read a statement to the convention that stated: "If the PLP continues its egocentric policies and revisionist behavior they will be considered as counter-revolutionary traitors and will be dealt with as such. SDS will be judged by the company they keep and the efficiency and effectiveness with which they deal with bourgeois factions in their organization." The statement was also signed by the Young Lords, the Brown Berets, and the Young Patriots.

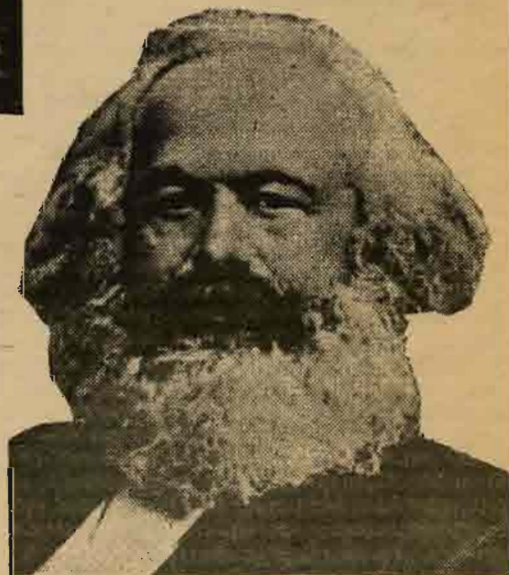
The walkout was spontaneous. Only after 24 hours of discussion (without PL) did people clearly understand the necessity for the expulsion and the reasons for it.

Some accused SDS of walking out in fear of losing the organization on the basis of votes to PL. Aside from the fact that credentials counters claimed that SDS had a slight margin over PL (and that the meeting after the walkout grew from some 600 to over 1000) most people were clear that working with PL was untenable, whether PL be majority or minority. Most people thought that if allowed to speak, SDS would win a slight margin over PL in a vote over expulsion. That vote was never taken. The reason was not because people feared the vote, but because people felt very strongly about their political principles and didn't want to have them bogged down in parliamentary procedure and constitutional debates which would legitimize PL. Yes, SDS dropped its own constitution. They felt that the constitution was irrelevant and were sick and tired of phoney votes with PL.

#### CLASS STRUGGLE

In the 24 hours following the walkout, people made a serious attempt to analyze what had happened and to map out a program for the future of SDS. At first people were elated and confused. As the debate wore on, however, the various forces at the convention became clear. The decision to expel PL on a principled basis reflected a class analysis of the various political positions taken.

Although SDS includes people from many different class backgrounds, and, although many groups within SDS differ in their definition of the working class, everyone gives lip service to the fact that the working class (black and white) will make the revolution. So in making a class analysis of the forces at the Convention, we must look at which class



# PROBLEM or SOLUTION" --eldridge cleaver



sent at the convention, they joined forces on principled grounds to expel PL. There are also some people who dig the Revolutionary Youth Movement, but who remain unattached to either Weather-bureau or RYM II. The Revolutionary Youth Movement is tied together by a common recognition of the black liberation struggle as the leading force in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The RYM is by no means a monolithic group. There are plenty of disagreements among various groups within RYM. That's natural and healthy. What gives that group some degree of unity is the agreement on important basic principles that at this stage in the struggle divide them off from the counter-revolutionaries. Different collectives with different experiences, and different ideas are attempting to deal with the American reality. Eventually through theory and practice some will find new directions which will again divide revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries. At this point in the struggle both our practice and theory have not reached this point.

At times however, there is a disturbing tendency among many groups that think they have already reached this point. They tend to label disagreements with allies the same way one labels an enemy. Personal, cliquish and political preferences intersect and the thing can become downright immature and dangerous. Arrogance and dogmatism tend to blossom... and they are poisonous weeds.

We are not against comradesly ideological struggle, but we are against struggling with comrades as if they were the enemy. When a hundred flowers bloom they all bloom in the same soil, where differences between comrades are dealt with on the level of persuasion, honesty, non-subjectivity and working together whenever possible. This qualitative change in the relationship between groups and individuals has to accompany the ideological advancement that has pushed SDS from Port Huron to Chicago, from exclusion of Communists to becoming Communists.

"To treat comrades like enemies is to go over to the stand of the enemy". Mao

The RYM, which includes Klonsky and Dohrn, and all the new national officers, pressed for the expulsion of PL, but tried to make clear that PL was being expelled on the basis of certain political principles. They maintained that PL was the real anti-communist force because they opposed the following position:

1.) We support the struggles of the Black and Latin colonies within the U.S. for national liberation, and we recognize those nations' rights to self-determination (including the right to political secession, if they desire it.)

2.) We support the struggle for national liberation of the people of South Vietnam, led by the NLF and the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government. We also support the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, led by President Ho Chi Minh, as well as the People's Republic of China, Korea and Albania. And the Republic of Cuba, all waging fierce struggles against US imperialism. We support their right to pick up the gun to free themselves from the brutal rule of US imperialism.

These principles were passed and all those who couldn't support them were excluded from the organization. (ISC, while it doesn't support the 2nd point, did not force expulsion of itself by keeping quiet on its international politics.)

RYM people tried to spell out what these principles meant in practice: active support of all third world struggles; eg. black studies, community control of

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So this factor may become less significant in attracting people to PL in the future.

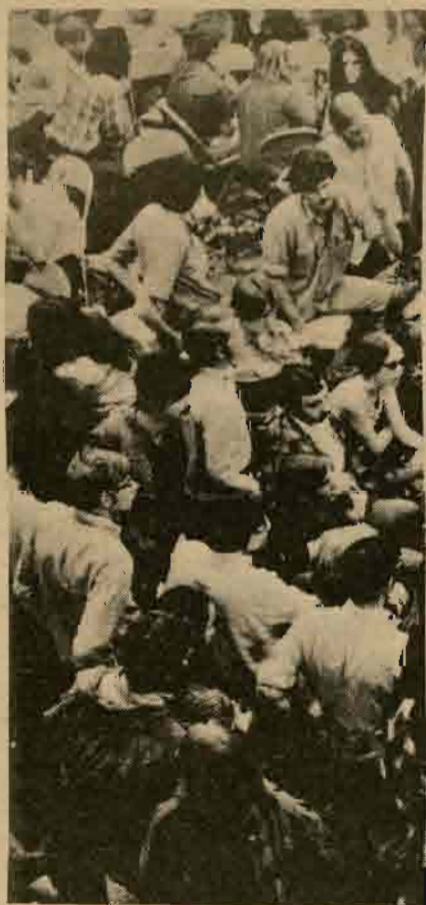
The lies and distortions PL uses to organize would not be effective at all were it not for the fact that SDS organizers have largely abdicated the hard job of organizing in such places as the Bay Area.

## ISC

The Independent Socialist Club is a small trotskyite group which condemns all existing socialist governments as bureaucratic and undemocratic, but claims it's for socialism. The ISC had been politically irrelevant in SDS until convention time. (At Austin NC, they had 9 votes, the 9 ISC members present) At the Convention, they had an estimated 100 votes.

The domestic application of their anti-communist international position is rejection of all forms of "stalinism" within SDS. Although the final vote of RYM was delayed hours because they were allowed to speak, they maintained that RYM and PL shared equally in the same sin: "stalinism". They never made a principled stand against the position adopted in support of the NLF, DRV, Cuba, China, Korea, Albania. Rather they accused the supporters of that principle of being elitist, manipulative, Stalinist, etc. This is the same kind of argument that liberal academics and politicians make against the left in general. It has been traditionally used to smash revolutionaries by depriving them of potential supporters.

While the motives for ISC's criticism were opportunist: "We're independent, if you don't like them, join us", many people who supported the "independent" position had good reason to be turned



off by RYM (and, of course PL). RYM people have spent a lot of time in the last few months in "sharp ideological struggle" with PL and among themselves. In the course of this struggle positions tend to harden before they are tested in practice. People become dogmatic.

In the course of these ideological struggles certain phrases (which the ISC labels "Stalinist rhetoric") became understood for more complex ideas. This is fine for discussion within a small collective that has been working together for a long time but it causes severe problems when the leadership of a mass organization engages in this



ideological struggle apart from the rank and file and then carries this rhetoric to the floor of its convention without adequate explanation. The gulf that exists between SDS membership and leadership is partially explained as the result of the limited number of sophisticated cadre needed to both run the organization and do mass work. Faced with the necessity of ideologically defeating counter-revolutionaries like PL, the cadre turned in upon itself instead of going to the masses in the organization to teach them and learn from them.

Many of the rank and file failed to advance their understanding of revolutionary theory on the basis of concrete struggles on the local level. They failed to form collectives and engage in study, criticism and self criticism. The gulf thus created between the leadership and the rank and file was manifested at the convention in many people being turned off by the rhetoric of the "NO".

Another problem is that some people who are still hung up on high school memories of being excluded from the "group" or on the super anarchist days of SDS, reject the notion that people should caucus and work out political positions before mass meetings. They call this manipulative and elitist. When ISC says this, they're being hypocritical, since ISC has its caucuses before meetings all the time. But other people, with no collective or caucus to attend have a legitimate gripe. Collectives are a positive and necessary form of political action, far superior to having isolated individuals just doing their thing. The problem is not that people belonging to collectives were manipulative, rather that SDS people hadn't done the hard job of organizing regional collectives where none exist or incorporating new people into already existing collectives.

The upshot of the ISC's opportunism and the vulnerability of RYM was that a substantial minority of people were won to an anti-communist line in the name of "anti-Stalinism". This, in effect, was playing into the hands of the ruling class, even though these "independent" forces never won a vote.

## RYM

The Revolutionary Youth Movement is split between two forces: the Weather bureau and RYM II (the names coming from the titles of their respective position papers). Although the tension between these two groups was always pre-

interests the various positions taken objectively serve and how they are served.

## PL/WSA

PL/WSA inevitably label all those who disagree with them as anti-working class. They challenge the slogan "Power to the People" with their own slogan "Power to the Workers". (As if workers' interests were different than the interests of the people). But after the chants die down, and people have a chance to evaluate practice, it appears that it is PL who is really anti-working class since it is PL that takes positions which support the ruling class.

In addition to opposing revolutionary struggles (NLF, Ho, Panthers, League of Revolutionary Black Workers etc), the arguments PL has been using to expand the ranks of the WSA, have the familiar ring of bourgeois liberalism.

It was no accident that time after time before the walkout ISC "on the basis of principles" was consistently able to support PL in votes and chants. Both presented a liberal "free speech" argument in opposition to the national office and their supporters (revolutionary youth movement). PL recruited many people, not on the basis of the political content of their position, but on the basis of the fact that PL hadn't been given equal time in New Left Notes. They ushered many WSA supporters into chartered busses and planes to prevent an "anti-communist ouster" of PL from SDS. Their arguments were reminiscent of the recruitment of Peace and Freedom Party signatories "you don't have to be for PFP you only have to be for our right to be on the ballot."

The effect of these liberal arguments was evident in the composition of the WSA cheering galleries. Most seemed very young, just out of middle class suburban high schools. Siding with PL gave them a chance to seem hip by mouthing revolutionary rhetoric, and at the same time, not supporting revolutionary struggle which they feared. (Their parents told them the Panthers were racist and so did PL)

This is not to say that all PL supporters were wimpy middle class kids. Some were sincere supporters of revolution, new to the movement, whose only source of information was PL cadres. One insisted, "How can you say PL is counter-revolutionary? They're responsible for the success of the struggle at SF State, the vanguard struggle of the year." His PL teachers apparently didn't feel it necessary to mention that struggle was led by the TWLF which not only publically condemned PL, but also expelled two black PL's from its ranks.

No doubt PL also attracted many supporters by claiming to be "Maoist". The Chinese revolution has tremendous prestige around the world. As long as P.L. fashioned itself to be Mao's heir in the U.S., some of China's prestige rubbed off on P.L. Now other groups are actively challenging PL's monopoly of Maoism and pointing out how PL, in fact, contradicts Mao and the experience of the Chinese revolution.



# GUN LAWS

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rifle or shotgun acquired in any state prior to the effective date of this act.

## 2. TRANSFER TO NON-RESIDENTS

No person (except a licensee) may transfer, sell, trade, give, transport or deliver any firearm to a non-resident (except a licensee). Exceptions are: (1) transfer, transportation or delivery to, or acquisition by, a person, in case of inheritance, authorized to acquire or possess in his state of residence; (2) loan or rental for temporary use for lawful sporting purposes.

A licensee (1) may lend or rent a firearm to a person for temporary use for lawful sporting purposes; and (2) may sell or deliver a rifle or shotgun to a person who is participating in organized rifle or shotgun competition, or engaged in hunting, and whose rifle or shotgun has been lost or stolen or becomes inoperative. (In latter case, buyer must submit a sworn statement, the same as in Intrastate Sales, without the seven-day waiting period.)

3. A licensee may sell or deliver a rifle to a person in a contiguous state under certain specific conditions not relevant here.

## 4. INTRASTATE SALES

A licensee may sell a firearm to a person who resides in the same state as the licensee but who does not personally appear at the licensee's place of business if the purchaser submits a sworn statement that he is at least 18 years old (in case of rifle or shotgun) or 21 (in case of handgun) and that he is not prohibited by federal, state or local law from receiving the firearm. The statement must contain the name, address, and title of the principal local law enforcement officer of the locality to which the firearm will be shipped. The seller sends a copy of the statement to the local law enforcement officer and must wait at least seven days after receipt of notification by return receipt before delivery of the firearm may be made.

## 5. IMPORTATION OF FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION

The Secretary of the Treasury may permit importation (1) of a firearm or ammunition for scientific or research purposes, or for use in competition

or training under the program of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice; (2) of an un-serviceable firearm (other than a machine gun) as a curio or museum piece; (3) of a firearm or ammunition previously taken out of the United States by the person who is bringing it in. Importation of all surplus military firearms is prohibited, except by permit.

## 6. SALE OR DELIVERY IN VIOLATION OF STATE OR LOCAL LAW

No licensee may sell or deliver any firearm or ammunition to any person in any state where purchase or possession would be a violation of state or local law applicable at the place of sale, delivery or other disposition, unless the licensee knows or has reasonable cause to believe that purchase or possession would not be in violation of such law or ordinance.

## 7. MISCELLANEOUS

Several sections of the Act relate to bookkeeping requirements, common carriers, the military, state laws and miscellaneous regulations which are not immediately relevant here.

## 8. PENALTIES

Whoever uses a firearm to commit any federal felony, or carries a firearm during the commission of ANY federal felony may be sentenced to jail for one to ten years. For a second or subsequent conviction, imprisonment is for not less than five nor more than twenty-five years, with no suspension of sentence or probation.

Violation of any provision of the Act is punishable by fine of \$5,000 or five years in jail or both. These persons can be paroled as the Board of Parole may determine.

The shipment, transportation or receipt of a firearm in interstate or foreign commerce with intent to commit an offense punishable by more than one year (a felony) or with reasonable cause to believe that such an offense is to be committed, is punishable by \$10,000 fine or 10 years or both.

Any firearm or ammunition involved in, or used or intended to be used in any violation of this Act, or rule or regulation thereunder, or any other fed-

eral criminal law, shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture.

The Second Amendment to the United States Constitution states: "A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed."

This wording has consistently been held inapplicable to gun control legislation. The rationale is that there is no personal or individual right to keep and bear arms except insofar as it is essential to a well-regulated Militia. This interpretation has the second item in the Bill of Rights guaranteeing the people their right to a militia, Attorney General Katzenbach claimed, before the Dodd Committee, that the National Guard was the modern version of the "well-regulated militia."

This interpretation has several advantages. First, it grants ALL control to the federal "state", allowing uniform legislation. Second, it claims a monopoly on the right of defense. The original purpose of the Second Amendment was clearly to bring the numerous standing armies under state control, through citizens militias, and to guarantee to the people the right of revolution. In 1882, the Arkansas Court held the provision sprang from the "former tyrannical practice of disarming the subjects so as to render them powerless against oppression." The court added: "It is not intended to afford citizens the means of prosecuting their private broils in a free government."

Implicit in all the court decisions concerning constitutionality is this assumption. The purpose of the Second Amendment was political but its politics have become obsolete because we are not tyrants or oppressors like the British, but a free nation. We no longer need a citizens militia. By this attitude, they increasingly make such a militia again necessary. By laws such as these they reflect their own distrust of people, and recognition of their own oppressive role. The ruling class doubts its ability to rule by consent, and begins to rule by open coercion.

# mahwah

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the potential for white support of a black-led movement at Mahwah at the present time.

But we allowed our political doubts and confusions to serve as an excuse for not finding out what the attitudes of the white workers were or for trying to develop contacts among them. One reason was that we tended to think of ourselves as white students who had no direct stake in the struggle, rather than as a revolutionary movement whose job it is to work for the unity of oppressed people against the system. Or, we had the vague idea that our mere presence would in some symbolic way transmit to white workers the message that fighting white supremacy and fighting alongside blacks was in their interests.

All this is not to imply that we should have approached white workers thoughtlessly. 500 long-haired kids stopping workers at the gate to demand that they hand over their privileges definitely would not have helped. The question is not whether we should have approached the white workers, but HOW. In any strike like this, the questions of whether or not we

should stand on the picket lines with workers or in place of workers, whether we should write our own leaflets or not, whether we should speak to white workers as SDS or develop contacts individually etc., are all important tactical questions that can't always be answered in advance, and that we will be better able to answer as we gain more experience. But at Mahwah we learned little about this because we tried almost nothing.

If even one white movement person had been working in the Mahwah plant before the strike began, it could have made a crucial difference in our relationship to the strike--we should learn a lesson from this.

There was one white radical in the plant who considered himself an organizer. Unfortunately, his allegiance to the Progressive Labor Party resulted in his having the opposite effect. According to the black workers, he condemned the organization of the UBB from the beginning because "it would divide the workers". Because of his attitude toward the workers--eg, he criticized them for listening to the "counter-

revolutionary" Beatles--nobody wanted to sit with him at lunch. When the strike broke out, he took the position that "the time wasn't right", and except for one afternoon when Jeff Gordon dropped in, none of his PL brothers showed up to support the strike. This was just as well, since when the UBB invited SDS to come to Mahwah, one of the conditions was that we wouldn't bring any PL people with us.

But under the circumstances, there was a definite limit to the political affect we could have hoped to have, whatever we did. We were outsiders, we took no real risks ourselves, and gave little concrete material support to the strike. (The picket lines were not set up in such a way that they absolutely depended on outside help, as is sometimes true in wildcats.) In short, without any political base or contacts among the workers, without ties built up through the experience of common struggle, the political work we could have done would have been of a preliminary sort.

The point is, we should have begun to develop that base and build those ties.

# sds

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schools and pigs, a non-economist approach to workers' struggles, organizing around male supremacy (structures) not just male chauvinism (attitudes), etc.

Under the RYM leadership, the SDS convention passed the following program. They called for major actions in the fall against the War in Vietnam in support of the NLF and black liberation struggle, to force the ruling class to bring the war back home. They also endorsed the Conference for a United Front Against Fascism called by the Panthers and the Venceremos Brigade. (see MOVEMENT July 1969 for details on Brigade.)

This program is a solidly anti-imperialist program. The explicit intention of the RYM is to bring large numbers of working class youth into this anti-imperialist movement.

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Next to imperialism and racism, no issue received more attention at the Convention than women's liberation. But while each tendency had its own "correct" line on women's liberation, no program for women's liberation came out of the convention. The issue itself became a political football, with each group apparently competing for the "women's vote".

The Panthers started off the show by insisting on "pussy power". PL immediately responded with chants of "Smash Male Chauvinism", which was quite opportunist considering that in the

women's workshops and in their own women's resolution they denied the existence of any special structures of male supremacy. "Women are only super-exploited workers". (They suffer no oppression that's qualitatively different from men.)

Other groups were equally opportunist in their approach to the issue by constantly attacking the "others" for their lousy position on women's liberation, but never proposing any concrete political program to deal with it. The basic problem was that everyone has lots of theoretical propositions on women's liberation, but no one seems to have much concrete practice in the area. So, for example, in the workshops everyone hotly debated the issue, but the men dominated the discussions. PL women insisted that men join the workshops, and once admitted, the men from all the anti-PL groups just had to get into the act.

This isn't to say that women's liberation should be an issue immune to ideological debate. But it seems that given the lack of practice, women's liberation is an issue especially vulnerable to opportunism and sectarianism.

## UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

While PL was expelled from SDS, PL still insists that it is the real SDS. This means that the struggle that went on at the convention will probably continue at the chapter and regional

level for a long time to come. In some places, where PL is weak, their expulsion will be automatic. In others, the debates that went on at the convention will be repeated over and over.

The problem will come in areas where PL is strong, like Boston and the Bay Area where PL controls many campus chapters. In such places, SDS will have to work very hard to organize new people and consolidate the RYM forces that already exist. A lot of past mistakes will have to be avoided, e.g. sectarianism, anti-communism, etc. This will be very difficult since it's no accident that PL is strong where SDS is weak. In the Bay Area, for example, SDS (with or without PL) has never been a significant political force.

Another problem will be that of building SDS as a mass organization with the exclusionary principles. SDS has always been a mass organization that admitted anyone to its ranks. Now some people see a contradiction between the structure (mass organization) and the adoption of a set of political principles. In theory there is nothing wrong with a mass organization adopting principles of exclusion. A revolutionary organization should exclude counter-revolutionaries.

The problem will arise in putting the principles of exclusion into practice. Not all new members attracted by SDS programs and actions can be expected to enthusiastically support Korea and Albania. Many will probably know nothing about them, and it is doubtful that SDS will produce much literature about them

as a top priority. What is to be avoided is exclusion of new members who fail to give support for countries or movements with which they are not familiar, but who do not object to them on anti-communist grounds.

Dealing with political organizations will apparently be even more difficult. The ISC example may become a rule of thumb--that is allowing people and organizations to stay in SDS despite the fact that they oppose the principles, but remain silent about them in meetings. The convention vacillated with ISC and that could be a dangerous precedent. SDS has adopted a set of revolutionary principles upon which they can go forth and recruit new membership. They should not be held back in this work by trying to retain present counter-revolutionary members. In the future they will only become a greater problem. Sects like PL and ISC joined SDS because they are unable to build a mass organization with their own politics. They should not be allowed to obstruct and build caucuses within a revolutionary organization. As Bernadine Dohrn said, "How could we demand of people outside the organization what we could not demand of people inside."

The ante in the struggle has been raised. A lot of hard organizing work needs to be done. Repression is coming down hard and will increase. Whether or not SDS grows depends not on the fact of PL's expulsion, but on whether it can bring its revolutionary perspective to larger and larger numbers of people.