

# INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION BULLETIN

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## DISCUSSION ON THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH RADICALIZATION

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**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY**

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- Marty Feb 2014

This bulletin reprints all of the contributions to the International Information Bulletin during the period of 1968-1971 dealing with the international youth radicalization. The Draft Resolution on "The Worldwide Radicalization of the Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International" was adopted by the Third World Congress Since Reunification (April 1969) as an initial contribution to the discussion on this question.

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Feb 2014

## Draft Resolution

### THE WORLDWIDE RADICALIZATION OF THE YOUTH AND THE TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

#### I.

##### Root Causes and Common Features of the Worldwide Radicalization of the Youth

A fresh generation of revolutionary youth has come upon the world scene and is playing an ever more important part in its politics. The growing combativity and revolutionary élan of this new generation have been proved many times over, in all three of the basic sectors of the world revolution.

The new wave of radicalization began during the late fifties in response to the upsurge of the colonial revolution, the new rise in the Afro-American struggle in the U.S., and in reaction to the Khrushchev revelations of Stalin's crimes and Moscow's suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. It was furthered by the Algerian revolution and given decisive impetus by the revolutionary victory in Cuba.

It entered a higher stage when U.S. imperialism escalated the Vietnam war, making Vietnam the focal point of the international class struggle, and millions of young people around the world rallied to the defense of the Vietnamese people. The May-June 1968 events in France provided a graphic demonstration of its tremendous potential in the centers of capitalism.

Over the past decade, the movement has grown from symptomatic indications of a mood of rebellion among the youth against a series of rotted institutions into a powerful revolt of youth on a global scale. This political phenomenon is of crucial importance to the Fourth International and its sympathizing organizations. It poses a major challenge to the entire world Trotskyist movement -- how to provide leadership for it and win the best of the new generation to the banner of the Fourth International. To recognize and carry out this task is central to the work and orientation of the International in the next period.

The political character of the radicalization of the new generation of youth is rooted in the crisis of imperialism on the one hand and in the correlative crises of Stalinism and the Social Democracy -- the historically bankrupt major tendencies in the workers movement -- on the other. The new generation is achieving political understanding during the most intense period of social convulsion in this century. In Vietnam it has seen modern imperialist war in all its brutality. In a few brief years it has witnessed big revolutionary

upheavals and counterrevolutionary bloodbaths. Current history consists of a succession of upheavals, and not even the United States is immune, as the ghetto uprisings and campus revolts bear witness.

The economic contradictions of imperialism are the underlying source of the social explosiveness of our era. Even while there has been a prodigious expansion of the productive capacities of the advanced capitalist countries in the past two decades, the gap between the rich and the poor nations has steadily widened. Successful revolutions in China, Cuba, North Korea and North Vietnam, along with the destruction of capitalist relations in Eastern Europe, have removed vast areas from the sphere of direct imperialist exploitation. Political instability and the threat of revolutions in one colonial country after another have inhibited capitalist investment in these sectors. At the same time competition between the major industrial powers for a larger share of the world market steadily intensifies.

These economic contradictions are intertwined with the necessity felt by imperialism to halt any further advances of the world revolution. The efforts of the imperialists to maintain their exploitation and oppression and crush revolutionary movements have been the prime factor in radicalizing the youth in both the advanced capitalist countries and the colonial countries. While the example set by the insurgent youth in their challenge to capitalism has affected the youth in the workers states, the dissidence in these areas has been engendered primarily by the efforts of the bureaucratic caste to maintain their privileged positions and totalitarian rule.

The continuing crisis of world Stalinism has been a powerful factor in radicalizing the youth in both the Soviet bloc and the capitalist countries. The prestige and authority of the Kremlin have considerably diminished since 1956. The Sino-Soviet conflict, the Cuban revolution, the Vietnam war, and finally the invasion of Czechoslovakia have all contributed to the disintegration of Stalinist monolithism. The counterrevolutionary implications of the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" and the "parliamentary road" to socialism, and the grotesque distortions created by the absence of workers democracy and the abuses committed by a privileged bureaucratic caste, have become increasingly obvious to growing numbers of the radical youth.

The Social Democracy is equally dis-

qualified in the eyes of the new radical generation. The Social Democrats have become so thoroughly identified as guardians of capitalist rule that they have no attraction for the youth. Their youth organizations, with rare exceptions, are, like the Communist party youth organizations, empty shells with few active members or followers.

The new generation has come into politics under the impetus of a succession of victories. The Chinese, Algerian, Cuban, and Vietnamese revolutions, and the advancing Afro-American liberation movement, have been key rallying points and sources of inspiration and emulation. The new generation has seen defeats, some of them bitter and tragic, as in the case of Indonesia. But it has not undergone the numbing experience of such terrible and enduring catastrophes as the rise of Stalinism, fascism, and Hitlerism before the second world war and the betrayals by the Communist leaderships in Western Europe following that war. Most of them were too young to have had direct experience with even the witch-hunt atmosphere of the cold war. Many recall the victory of the Cuban revolution as their initiation into political life.

The dissident youth in the workers states have grown up during the erosion of the power and influence of Stalinism and are obliged to come to grips with all the problems involved in the antibureaucratic struggle.

While the bourgeoisie and their echoers in working-class circles decry the "conflict of generations" and the "generation gap," the issues posed by the youth in revolt are not due primarily to age differences. They clearly reflect the major class conflicts of our time. The fundamental significance of the unprecedented radicalization of the youth is the emergence of new forces, ready, willing and able to enter the arena of class struggle on the side of the colonial peoples and the working class and to give battle to world imperialism and its accomplices, who falsely claim to speak in the name of the working class and its allies.

While the interlocked crises of imperialism and of the historically superseded leaderships of the working class have shaped the basic political development of the student radicalization, they do not suffice to explain the social weight of the current student movements. Students have often engaged in forays in the past without causing much concern to the capitalist rulers or the bureaucratic regimes of the Soviet bloc.

The enhanced social weight and political impact of the student movement derive from the fundamental changes that have taken place in the sphere of educa-

tion under pressure from the scientific, technological and industrial advances involved in the "third industrial revolution." These developments call for a more highly educated and technically qualified type of personnel which is capable of innovating, developing, and operating the most complex, up-to-date means of production and destruction.

These economic conditions require larger numbers of better educated people not only among the administrators and superintendents of the productive processes but also in the work force at all levels of industry and trade. Higher educational and cultural standards flow from higher levels of productivity and greater "capital intensity." The steady rise in the norms of qualification all along the line has greatly altered the character and structure of higher education, particularly, in the more advanced countries, over the past twenty years.

On a world scale, and in most individual countries, the facilities for higher education and the size of the student body are undergoing explosive expansion. According to the latest UNESCO figures, between 1950 and 1963-64 the student population in the world's colleges and universities more than doubled. In France it multiplied by 3.3; in West Germany by 2.8; the U.S., 2.2; Italy, 1.3; Czechoslovakia, 3.2; the USSR, 3; East Germany, 2.8. The high-school population has increased even more during the past fifteen years.

This turbulent growth has created more problems than it has solved. On the one hand, the educational setup has not been reshaped quickly enough or thoroughly enough to suit the requirements of the ruling class in the capitalist countries and the experts entrusted with looking after its interests. On the other hand, the demands imposed upon the university in transition from the old ways to the new have generated great dissatisfaction among the student body and sections of the faculty. This has led to confrontations and sharp collisions with both the academic administrators and the authorities behind and above them. The university has consequently been plunged into a severe and permanent state of crisis which cannot be overcome short of a revolutionary transformation of the social order.

In view of the rapid turnover of college "generations," these clashes touch layer upon layer of students in a relatively short period of time. They find that the university is often not equipped to train them in the skills they need to find employment or that it insists upon molding them according to the crassest needs of big business or the bureaucratic regime. In any case, the university is not designed to impart the most elementary truths about

living society. In complicity with the established authorities, it tries to hide or to distort these truths and even to insist on falsifications. The insistent demands of the students for freedom of political inquiry and activity and control over the universities they attend bring on the now familiar head-on confrontations with the academic officials and the ruling class or bureaucratic caste which stands behind them.

While the specific issues, whether on or off the campus, which incite or rally the students to action vary considerably from one country to another, and even from one university to another, their movements are strikingly similar in pattern. The rebellious students find themselves arrayed against the powers that be and confronted with a showdown struggle.

Thus the sitdown occupation of the Belgrade university in June 1968 precipitated a national political crisis in Yugoslavia, as did the demonstrations of the French students a month earlier. The student demonstrations in West Germany, Japan, Pakistan, Egypt, and California have had powerful political repercussions.

In the last two decades, as it has grown in size, the student population has strikingly altered in complexion in several important ways.

(1) The time spent as a student has appreciably lengthened. Millions of young adults now spend their most productive and energetic years in the university environment. Many family restraints have been left behind, and they are not yet restricted to holding down a job to earn their livelihood. They have access to more information than the ordinary citizen and time to absorb and discuss its implications.

(2) They are concentrated in educational institutions or areas to a degree exceeding the work force in all but the most giant factory complexes.

(3) While the composition of the student body in the capitalist lands is still preponderantly middle class, there has been some influx (a significant one in the United States) from working class backgrounds.

(4) Social distinctions and stratifications within the student body are not so sharply defined as they were twenty or thirty years ago. A college degree no longer means that the holder automatically becomes a government functionary, a small businessman, or a member of the professions. Under today's advanced technology, a college graduate will more likely become a highly paid technician or a skilled worker in the productive apparatus. He has nothing to sell but his more qualified

labor power and no perspective of escaping the essential condition of a wage worker. These circumstances tend to link him more closely to the industrial working class. The attitudes of university students are more and more influenced by this situation so that growing numbers tend to identify with the status awaiting them after graduation rather than with their family origin.

(5) The owners and organizers of the economy are far more dependent for the operation of their enterprises upon the qualified personnel coming from the higher educational institutions and are therefore far more concerned about their moods, attitudes, and political orientations.

(6) For all these reasons, students have stronger ties with the rest of their generation in the high schools and factories than previously, making their radicalization a more serious matter for the rulers. This was shown on a massive scale in France in May 1968 when the student revolt catalyzed the biggest general strike in history and precipitated a revolutionary situation. The lesson was not lost on the capitalist ruling class internationally, particularly the lesson of how the students tend to become a transmission belt for revolutionary ideas that find a receptive audience in the working class. In January 1969 the Franco regime, in decreeing a "state of exception," cited the current "student disorders" in Spain and the lesson of the May events in France.

These conditions give the student population impressive social and political significance. The opinions and actions of this social layer have great impact on national life.

Since it emanates from the feverish development and interdependence of the world productive and destructive forces, the student movement is not restricted to any one part of the world but has acquired a global scope. The new features of academic life are most evident in such highly industrialized powers as the United States, Japan, Germany, and the Soviet Union. But, dominated as they are by the dynamism of modern economy, all countries which compete in the world market or the military arena are subjected to their presence and pressures to one degree or another.

The pace of radicalization of the students, the ways in which it is refracted through diverse issues, and the depth of its impact vary considerably in the developed capitalist countries, the workers states, and the colonial lands. The American students know little about Marxism or working-class parties. The East European students reacted to the Vietnam war in a more muted way than youth elsewhere. In the colonial world, the

students have exceptional possibilities of playing a major role in revolutionary struggles for power as was shown in Cuba.

Nonetheless, the intensity of the student demonstrations in Paris and Tokyo, Mexico and Brazil, Egypt and Pakistan, Poland and Czechoslovakia, testify to the universality of the phenomenon. The almost instantaneous world communications network and the degree of international travel play a large role in this continuing universalization. The rebellious students in one area rapidly copy the methods, take up the slogans, and study the political lessons of struggle of students in other areas. The general admiration for heroes such as Che and the common inspiration drawn from the Vietnamese revolution are indices of a surprising degree of homogeneity in the student vanguard the world over. They speak a common language.

## II.

### Ideology and Politics of the Student Radicals

The student radicals exhibit a broad spectrum of ideological tendencies and political positions. For the most part, they disdain the Stalinism of the Moscow school and the reformism of the Social Democracy.

In their quest for a new ideological basis, they resurrected some of the primitive notions which had been tested and found wanting in earlier periods of socialist and labor history. The emphasis placed by the Cuban leaders on practice and their discounting of theory helped to foster this trend. They neglected scientific theory and a carefully worked-out political program of struggle in favor of pragmatic expedients. These served as a charter for impressionism and opportunism and later as an excuse for adventurism. In place of democratic centralism, "participatory democracy" and decentralization were advanced as nostrums. Under these banners, however, small uncontrolled cliques sometimes manipulated movements in an undemocratic way. They substituted spasmodic actions, "propaganda of the deed," or "revolutionary style," for patient and persistent organization of the revolutionary forces.

Many of the radicalized student currents failed to recognize, or denied, the decisive historic role of the revolutionary vanguard party. On the key question of Stalinism, over which many had begun their course to the left, they were unable to explain its nature. Much of the "New Left" in the USA drew inspiration from the views of C. Wright Mills, Herbert Marcuse, and others, who doubted the capacity of the working class to serve as the prime historical agency for social change, denying that it possessed the revolutionary

potential ascribed to it by Marxist theory.

The result was the paradoxical phenomenon of large numbers of young people moving to the left of the Communist and Social Democratic parties in their temper and activities but remaining highly deficient in their theoretical equipment and organizational concepts.

The "New Left" in the USA has been influenced by the culture and habits of the Hippies. The repulsive aspects of bourgeois society that have started many radical youth in search of collective political solutions induced others, commonly known as the Hippies, to seek an individual means of maintaining personal freedom without overturning capitalism. Some have reached utopian positions, believing that bourgeois society can be transformed through love and unselfishness. The petty-bourgeois escapism and self-indulgence of Hippivism, found on every campus in the United States, are indirectly reflected in the anarchistic philosophy and tactics favored by part of the "New Left."

The basic characteristics of the student radicals -- instability, ultra-leftism and inability to solve the organizational question -- are rooted in the social nature of these currents. The same conditions which enable them to quickly reach a high level of political sensitivity -- more leisure, less job discipline -- make it more difficult for them to understand the need for a permanent organization, long term strategy, and patient and persevering political action.

However, the political outlook of the radical students has not remained static. It has begun to evolve quite rapidly in the past two years. These currents have been exposed to all the contending schools of thought in the radical milieu, have gone through intense internal disputes and sometimes bitter factional alignments, and started to regroup. Maoism, neo-anarchism, spontaneism, "state capitalism," Castroism, Trotskyism have all won adherents and left their marks on the eclectic and elitist "New Left" theorists, activists, and their organizations.

The march of events and more experience in struggle have compelled many of them to define and further clarify their positions. Thus the German SDS leaders sought to link up with the workers. The May-June events in France led the anarchistically inclined elements in the American SDS to identify with the Cohn-Bendit tendency while the same events persuaded an opposing segment of the organization of the need for an orientation toward organizing workers.

Their defects and limitations, which



are reminiscent of the immature phases of youth movements in the past, do not outweigh the significant strengths of the new radicals.

(1) By and large, national and international politics absorbs them. Unacquainted with extensive mass mobilizations in their own living experience, most of them have had to arrive at revolutionary conclusions through independent critical thought, and have had to work out solutions on their own to important and complex problems.

(2) The days of Communist and Socialist youth organizations, largely concerned with yé-yé, social activities, sports contests, colorful uniforms, and similar distractions, are gone. The best of today's radical youth are attracted to the revolutionary youth groups and join them because of the militant actions they initiate or take part in around the most burning political issues of the day, because of their political programs, their international perspectives, their seriousness toward theory.

(3) Above all, the current radicalization of the youth is characterized by the rebirth of an authentic internationalism, the kind of solidarity that is the complete opposite of the narrow bureaucratic nationalism of the Stalinist movement. The greatest impetus to this development has been given by the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions. The courage of the Vietnamese in resisting the aggression of American imperialism helped bring into being a worldwide effort on their behalf. The Cubans contributed to this revival by setting an example in their own appeals, by Che's call for "two, three, many Vietnams," and by their insistence that the best way to defend a revolution under attack from imperialism is to spread it to other countries.

The new radical generation is aware that it confronts a common enemy in imperialism, the capitalist ruling class of the United States in the first place. It has already shared a series of common political experiences in the struggle against imperialism (Cuba, Vietnam). International campaigns are readily geared together and joint actions rendered more effective by the ease of communication and travel in the world today.

(4) One of the most promising characteristics of the student radicalism is its antiauthoritarian bent, its lack of respect for tradition and its readiness to challenge and question most of the hallowed norms, rules, and regulations of the past. In its search for answers to problems which it did not create, the new generation is willing to consider with an open mind precisely those solutions which have been regarded as heretical and taboo.

In fact, whatever is opposed by the state, school, parents, church, employer, or bureaucracy is thereby recommended to the rebels.

(5) Many young radicals are groping toward a revolutionary Marxist understanding of national and world politics. Leaving aside those who reject Marxism and Leninism out of prejudice, without seriously studying and testing them, most of them are earnestly striving to make their way in a confused, experimental fashion through the fog of lies and distortions spread by the capitalist agencies as well as the falsifiers of Marxism. They may be temporarily diverted in the blind alleys of Maoism, neo-anarchism, or ultraleftism, but bit by bit they are rediscovering the truths of Marxism and learning how they apply to contemporary reality.

### III.

#### Strategy of the "Red University"

Radical student circles are hotly debating the central question of orientation. What should be the direction and objectives of the student struggle? What kind of relationship should the student movement seek with the broader struggle of the working masses and oppressed nationalities? What sort of program should the revolutionary vanguard put forward for the student movement?

The reformist tendency maintains that students should concern themselves with nothing but narrowly defined student issues -- grades, courses, the quality of education, living conditions, narrow campus politics.

At the opposite end of the spectrum stand the ultralefts. They propose to turn the energies of the student body away from the academic milieu altogether, taking the student activists under their wing and sending them to the factory gates, or into the "community," to distribute leaflets proclaiming the need for revolution.

Both of these orientations should be rejected as one-sided and sterile. The revolutionary youth vanguard keeps in mind the long-range interests of their generation as a whole. The college, high school, minority and working-class youth should be brought together onto a common ground of struggle for their own demands against the established order. The aim should be to unite all these into a single powerful fighting force and thereby win the best representatives of all these categories to revolutionary positions and the revolutionary party.

Many politically advanced students come to comprehend the need to gain control over their education and educational

institutions and to recognize that this goal can be fully satisfied only with the revolutionary transformation of society. But they puzzle over a way of formulating the objective so as to tie it in with the current struggle in society as a whole. How can the battles over prevailing educational conditions be linked with the desired goal of completely transforming society? It is difficult for them to see how their fight as students fits into the general fight against capitalism. This is a source of frustration and of searches for shortcuts to the revolution which in turn breed opportunism and ultraleftism.

During the massive student protests in Yugoslavia in June 1968, the Belgrade students summarized their demands in the slogan, "For a Red University!" This striking formulation was extremely apt in the situation. The students meant that Yugoslavia is supposed to have a socialist educational system but that actually it has been shaped in conformity with the interests of the ruling bureaucracy. Consequently the Yugoslav students face problems that are quite comparable to those faced by students in the capitalist countries. To solve these problems, they demanded that the Yugoslav educational system be transformed to what it ought to be -- let the bureaucratic university give way to a "red" university.

The slogan was also advanced by radical students in some of the capitalist countries, and adapted to their situations. It may well gain wide popularity on the campuses.

"For a University that Serves the Working People -- for a Red University!" With this slogan, these radical students seek to answer the questions: "What kind of education shall students get? Toward what ends should this education be directed? Who shall control the educational facilities? What layers in society should the educational institutions serve?"

By the slogan, "For a Red University!" or "student power" in some countries they mean that the university ought to be transformed from a factory, producing robots, into an organizing center for anticapitalist activities, a powerhouse for revolutionary education, an arena for mobilizing youth in a struggle for the complete transformation of society.

The slogan epitomizes a program that transcends the campus in its goal, but at the same time includes it; that connects student demands with the broader demands of the class struggle on a national and international scale, that shows students how their own demands relate to these bigger struggles, are an integral part of them, and can help to advance them. The slogan facilitates tying together the long-range perspective and daily work of a rev-

olutionist in the school arena.

The "red university" slogan, as it has appeared on the campus up to this point, is a big advance over the slogans which refer to the narrower goal of student-faculty control over the university. The struggle for autonomy and self-administration is only one aspect of a rounded program aimed at helping students to understand the role of the university under capitalist domination, to educate them to the need for a socialist revolution, and to enlist them in the movement to bring the broadest layers of their generation into the struggle for that revolution.

The university as an instrument in the class struggle -- a "red university" -- is opposed to the liberal view of the university as a sanctuary of a privileged minority, holding aloof from the social and political controversies in the rest of society. The resources of the university should be made available to the exploited, the poor, and the oppressed. Students and faculty should have an absolute right to invite anyone they please to address them on any subjects they wish. They should be free to establish close ties with working-class organizations and parties, the minorities and the popular masses and become a source of information and enlightenment for them.

The concept of the "red university" has special application in reference to oppressed national minorities. The need for one or more leading centers of higher education has been felt at some stage by every powerful movement of an oppressed people for self-determination. In the struggle for national freedom in the epoch of the death agony of capitalism, a university shaped for the special needs of an oppressed nation serves as a symbol and an agency for developing national consciousness and national culture in a way most conducive to overcoming narrow nationalist limitations and giving the struggle an international perspective. For both democratic and socialist reasons, the demand for the establishment, extension, and improvement of such facilities under nationalist control must be fought for by the revolutionary vanguard.

In the United States, owing to the rise of black nationalism as an increasingly strong force among the Afro-Americans, the "red university" slogan appeared in the variation, "For a Black University!"

The insistence of black students upon greater access to higher education, upon control over the curricula, finances, and professors in independent facilities where they can study their own culture and history, and upon the inclusion of courses of particular interest to Afro-Americans in the general curriculum has led to uni-

versity and high-school battles from one end of the country to the other. The efforts to force the school authorities to meet the demands of the students from national minorities, the "Third World" students, which have been backed up by direct actions involving both black and white students and faculty members, have exposed the determination of the white supremacist rulers to maintain control over their educational factories. These efforts have also awakened many students to the revolutionary implications of black nationalism and the lengths to which the capitalist class will go to oppose the Afro-American struggle for liberation.

As is shown by its origin, the slogan, "For a Red University!" is similarly applicable to student struggles in the Soviet bloc. The universities in the workers states have acted as prime centers for expressing grievances of the populace against the bureaucratic regimes. In their recent struggles, the Polish, Yugoslav, and Czechoslovak students have advanced concrete demands stemming not only from their own particular problems but also from those facing the entire working class and its allies. Prominent among these have been the call for political freedom, workers control of production, and an end to social inequalities.

In the colonial and semicolonial countries the concept of the "red university" could readily be linked with the traditions of radicalism and the struggle to establish or to preserve university autonomy. There the students are now playing, as they have often done in the past, a role of first-rate importance in the struggle for revolutionary goals. They have undertaken actions that soon brought them into conflict with antidemocratic regimes, that soon involved issues going beyond the universities and leading to the mobilization of popular support among the workers, peasants, and other oppressed sectors of the people.

The battles engaged in by the radical students of Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia, Pakistan, Egypt, and a number of comparable countries show how universal this pattern is.

#### IV.

#### A Program of Democratic and Transitional Demands

The universities and high schools are all the more important because of the size of the forces involved. their mood of combativity, the actual struggles they themselves initiate, their location in the big cities where the greatest potential forces for revolution are assembled, and their readiness to include issues going far beyond the immediate campus issues. In addition to all this, experience has repeatedly shown how valuable the universi-

ties and high schools are, both as testing grounds for the education and development of the first contingents of young radicals and as sources of recruitment to the revolutionary party.

An impressive example of the possibilities opened up by a correct policy is provided by the international campaign in support of the struggle against American imperialism by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front which was organized by student militants in a number of key countries. To launch the solidarity campaign, international connections in university circles were utilized. Through the agitation and actions around this key issue, hundreds of thousands of students became politicalized and radicalized. The attempts to organize large numbers of students in demonstrations on behalf of the Vietnamese revolution frequently posed the right of the students to use university facilities for ends that outraged the authorities, bringing the students into collision with them. Political issues were thus brought to the fore in sharp form. These confrontations in turn mobilized more students in the defense of their democratic rights and further intensified the struggle.

The validity of the political approach outlined in the founding document of the world Trotskyist movement, The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International, has received a striking confirmation in the struggles involving the students. What is now required is to apply this approach in a better planned and more thorough way, working out a set of democratic and transitional demands for application in this field as it stands today.

Proceeding from the existing state of development and level of consciousness of the students, these demands should express their most urgent needs and grievances, directing them in the most effective way against the institutions and authorities that have come under fire from the students themselves. In mobilizing around such slogans, young militants can be led to understand the validity of the transitional program as a whole and become educated to the necessity of a fundamental change in the entire system.

The objective is to link the student struggles with the struggles of the workers and national minorities at their present levels of development and orient them toward a combined drive for state power, bringing into the struggle all the forces opposed to the capitalist or bureaucratic regimes.

Because of the decay of the capitalist system and the erosion of democratic conquests, made in some instances almost two centuries ago, many of today's student

struggles begin over the most elementary issues, such as the right of free speech. However, they tend to develop beyond this level quite rapidly, going beyond the campus, beyond the framework of democratic freedoms as conceived in the most revolutionary phases of capitalism in its rise, reaching into the economic area and bringing up problems that can actually be solved only under a socialist system. A clear understanding of this logical progression makes it possible to advance a consistent series of interlocking slogans that can readily be adjusted for particular situations. Above all, it facilitates the recognition of suitable slogans of this type originating from the ranks in combat, as in the case of the slogan for a "red university."

A combined demand for a free education and for a decent standard of living -- to which everyone has a democratic right but which can be provided only in a socialist society that has overcome the limitations of the capitalist system -- is offered in the following series of suggestions for students in orienting their actions:

(1) A university education for everyone who wants one, the full expense to be underwritten by the government.

(2) No maximum age limit on free education; no limitation on the number of years a person may continue in school, or resume school after dropping out, post-graduate studies included.

(3) Decent housing for students.

(4) An annual salary for all students adequate to their needs and safeguarded against inflation by automatic compensating increases.

(5) Guaranteed jobs for students upon graduation.

In the struggle by students for control over their own education, the following list has been advanced to one degree or another in various universities internationally:

(1) Abolition of government-controlled student organizations. Recognize the right of students to organize and govern themselves according to their own free choice.

(2) Hiring and firing of faculty members and administration officials to be placed under joint control of students and faculty.

(3) The students themselves to democratically decide what subjects should be taught.

(4) Abolition of the powers of pro-

fessors and administrators to arbitrarily penalize students.

(5) Freedom of political association among students and professors.

(6) The right to utilize university facilities to promote educational and cultural activities of direct interest to organizations of the working class, peasants, oppressed nationalities, and plebian masses.

In the struggle for political freedom on the campus, some of the following slogans have become central issues in major confrontations:

(1) University autonomy, either to be won or to be kept inviolate.

(2) Repeal of all laws infringing civil liberties. End the witch-hunt.

(3) The police and all other repressive forces to be strictly banned from entering university grounds and buildings.

(4) Dismiss all government officials responsible for victimizing students, workers, national minorities, political dissidents.

(5) Dissolve the special police forces and secret political police.

(6) Release all the political prisoners.

(7) Abolish the censorship, whether official or "voluntary," of the press, radio, television, and the arts and sciences.

(8) For freedom of the press, freedom of association and organization, freedom of speech, assembly, petition, and travel, and the right to engage in demonstrations.

In student struggles directly involving the national minorities, the fight for their rights comes sharply and specifically to the fore, as has been dramatically shown in the United States in relation to the struggle for black liberation. The issues arise most often around violations of democratic rights, or battles to establish them. They are not confined to the university level but extend throughout the educational system to the primary grades. Consequently struggles in this field affect the oppressed communities as a whole to a much greater degree than is the case with majority groups, and the issues are more easily seen as involving much broader questions concerning the perspectives of a national minority in a decaying capitalist society. Because of this, the possibility of student struggles having catalytic effects in the minority communities deserves special attention.

The slogans in this field can be summarized in the following categories:

(1) Recognition of the right of the oppressed national minority communities to control their own public affairs, including education from kindergarten up.

(2) Representation of national minorities on all policy-making or policy-implementing bodies of the schools.

(3) To combat racism and great-power chauvinism, truthful teaching of the history and culture of oppressed national minorities in all schools, with periodic review by educational committees elected by the oppressed national minorities.

(4) Unlimited government financed educational training through post-graduate study for oppressed national minorities.

(5) Establishment of adequately financed, independent, university level educational facilities under the control of national minorities.

A special area of concern to students is the relationship between the school administration and the giant corporations and their government. For big business and the military, the university constitutes an indispensable recruiting ground. Linked with this is the role of the universities in highly questionable research projects undertaken in the "public interest." In connection with antiwar campaigns, where a natural connection is easily seen, important struggles have been initiated in this area. Typical slogans fall into the following sequence:

(1) End the ties between the university and the military.

(2) Abolish secret research by the university for the government.

(3) Abolish secret subversion by government agencies of student organizations.

(4) Expose the ties between university officials and big business by publishing all investments, holdings, and contracted projects of the university and of all directors, trustees, and administration.

(5) Abolish research of special interest to big business.

(6) No recruiting of personnel on the campus by the big corporations.

(7) Lower the voting age and the age limit on holding public office. Old enough to fight, old enough to vote, and to have a voice in deciding public affairs.

In countries suffering totalitarian

regimes as in Spain, South Africa and elsewhere, the universities have repeatedly demonstrated their importance as incubating centers of organized revolt. The experience in Spain is now particularly rich in showing how the efforts of students to break the grip of government-sponsored student organizations and to organize along independent lines parallels similar efforts by the working class and interlocks with them.

Here the campus struggle centers around a single broad demand: "For university autonomy!"

As already indicated, this can readily be formulated in particular slogans that grade into slogans transcending the struggle on the campus and connecting up with broader issues involving the workers, peasants, and plebian masses in the cities.

The situation is symmetrical to this in most of the workers states. Here the student struggle naturally follows the orientation of pointing up the contrast between the official socialist ideology and propaganda and the lack of anything resembling the socialist democracy which Lenin stood for and explained in State and Revolution. As shown in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union itself, the sequence of demands tends to go as follows:

(1) Freedom of discussion on philosophical, cultural, and scientific questions. The right to express a critical viewpoint.

(2) Freedom to discuss historical questions. Let the truth come out!

(3) Freedom to discuss current political issues.

(4) Abolish the censorship.

(5) For the right to organize and demonstrate.

(6) No political persecution. Let the public, including foreign observers, be admitted to all trials.

(7) Freedom of travel.

(8) Eliminate the large degree of self-perpetuating social inequality and the special privileges of the bureaucracy.

(9) Return to revolutionary internationalism.

(10) Solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed in other lands.

Youth radicalism is not restricted to college and university levels. It has widely permeated the high schools and in

some places even the upper primary grades. High-school students in numerous countries have turned out by the thousands in the mobilizations against the Vietnam war and been among their most enthusiastic and energetic supporters. The high-school students organized in CAL (Comites d'Action Lyceen) played a major role in the actions before, during and following the May-June 1968 events in France.

At a certain point in the development of every revolutionary youth organization, its ability to organize, lead and win over decisive layers of high-school youth becomes a key test. Revolutionary socialist youth organizations must take the lead in organizing the secondary-school youth, fighting with them for their rights, and coordinating their activities with other sections of the anti-capitalist struggle. These young activists constitute an important element of the new revolutionary generation, for tomorrow they will enter the higher institutions of learning or go in large numbers into the factories where they will provide an invaluable ferment of militancy and socialist consciousness.

To put forward and fight for such slogans and goals effectively, to advance them in a way to take full advantage of openings and opportunities, requires a Marxist leadership that is politically alert, tactically flexible, and able to avoid falling into either opportunistic adaptation to the student environment or into ultraleft sectarianism.

## V.

### The Revolutionary Youth Organization and the Party

The experience of the world Trotskyist movement during the past few years has shown that its work among the youth can most effectively be carried forward through revolutionary-socialist youth organizations fraternally associated with the sections of the Fourth International but organizationally independent of them. Participation in other youth formations must be viewed as a phase toward the construction of such organizations.

The independent youth organization can attract radicalizing young people, who have not yet made up their minds about joining any political party of the left, and who are not yet committed to the Bolshevik perspective of becoming lifetime revolutionists, but who are willing and ready to participate in a broad range of political actions together with the revolutionary party and its members. It can serve as a valuable training and testing ground for candidates for party cadre status, and make it easier for them to acquire the political and organizational experience and education required for serious

revolutionary activity. Membership in the revolutionary-socialist youth organization enables young radicals to decide their own policies, organize their own actions, make their own mistakes, and learn their own lessons.

This form of organization also has many advantages for the revolutionary party itself. It provides a reservoir for recruitment to the party. It helps prevent the party from acting as a youth organization and from lowering the norms of a Bolshevik organization on discipline, political maturity, and level of theoretical understanding to the less demanding levels of an organization agreeable to the youth.

The scope of the current student radicalization presents an unprecedented opening for expanding the influence and cadres of the parties of the Fourth International. Hundreds of thousands of young radicals, no longer intimidated by the poisonous propaganda of Stalinism, are ready to listen with open minds to the views of Trotskyism. Tens of thousands have already accepted large parts of the Trotskyist program. Their aversion to Stalinism and the Social Democracy makes it possible for an honest revolutionary alternative to gain ascendancy among decisive sections of the new radicals. Substantial numbers of them can be recruited fairly rapidly into the ranks of the Fourth International.

## VI.

### Tasks of the Fourth International among the Youth

Three interrelated tasks are indicated by this analysis of the sweep of the radicalization of the youth. These are:

- (1) To win the leadership of the radical youth in the spheres of both ideology and action.
- (2) To build strong Marxist youth organizations.
- (3) To draw new cadres from the youth to replenish the ranks and supply fresh energy to the leadership of the sections of the Fourth International.

The Trotskyist youth have greater possibilities of leading substantial forces in action than any other tendency of the radical movement. In several countries they have already proved capable of initiating and directing movements of considerable proportions and significance. One example is the world-wide campaign undertaken in defense of the Vietnam revolution. Another is the role played by the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire in the historic May-June 1968 days in France. A third is the ideological influence of the

Fourth Internationalists in the movement led by the National Strike Council of the Mexican students.

No tendency can hope to root itself and become a respected factor among the radical youth that does not fully and audaciously participate in the front ranks of its ongoing struggles, whatever shortcomings they may have. The Trotskyist youth must set the example in practice, as well as in theoretical concepts and political pronouncements.

However, there is an abundance of activism, of readiness to struggle and sacrifice among the ranks of youth. What is most lacking in the new generation is theoretical training, political clarity, and a correct line of struggle. This side of the revolutionary socialist youth movement is of decisive importance for its further development. Growing recognition of this will become registered in the widening influence of Trotskyism. The superiority of the Trotskyist movement over its opponents and rivals comes from its sound Marxist foundations, its Bolshevik traditions, its programmatic comprehensiveness and correctness, its adherence to socialist internationalism. These features likewise constitute its chief attraction to radicalizing youth.

While spreading the ideas of Trotskyism among the youth with whom they participate in combat, the Fourth Internationalists must seek to construct a revolutionary Marxist youth organization that will systematically educate its members and followers in the methods, doctrines, and positions of the Trotskyist movement from its origins. All the results of activity among the youth can be jeopardized if the organizational requisite for this educational work is neglected.

Work among the youth is not an end in itself. It reaches fruition in the impetus given to the construction and reinforcement of the revolutionary parties that will be capable of leading the working class to victory. The sections of the Fourth International are as yet too small to lead the masses in their own name and under their own banner in a decisive struggle for power. Their work has a preparatory and predominantly propagandistic character.

Their task now is to win and educate decisive numbers of the radical youth in order to equip them for the greater task

of winning leadership of the revolutionary elements among the working masses. To fulfill that function adequately, the youth recruits must be thoroughly schooled in the organizational concepts of Bolshevism and its methods of constructing politically homogeneous and democratically centralized parties. This is the only means of overcoming the crisis of leadership which is the central contradiction of our epoch.

Government authorities the world over, whether in the advanced capitalist powers, the workers states, or the colonial world, are becoming increasingly concerned over the unrest among their youth which is becoming more and more unmanageable. Their worries are justified. This rising generation has already manifested a tremendous potential for radical activity and a powerful will to change the status quo.

Whoever succeeds in winning the allegiance of the most intelligent and devoted activists among the rebel youth holds the key to the future. For they will play a major role in making history and deciding the destiny of mankind for the rest of the twentieth century.

Insurgent students in a number of countries have already shown how their initiative in confronting the established powers can serve to stimulate struggle in other sectors of society. The young workers will be in the forefront of the movements to break the grip of the bureaucratic machines in the unions and will set an example for the older generation in their militancy and interest in revolutionary politics.

The Fourth International cannot afford to default in what is its central task today -- winning and assimilating the best of the rebel youth. A good start has already been made in a number of countries. It is now imperative to build on these achievements. This requires better coordination of the activities of the youth groups of the different sections and closer collaboration on such projects as antiwar and defense campaigns, and the development of new openings for the movement internationally.

The aim is to enable the Fourth International to become the recognized voice, organizer, and leader of the youth, who are called upon to advance the world revolution.



# Balance Sheet of the Student Movement

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[In our July 14 issue (page 723), we published a resolution entitled "Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International." This document opened a discussion on the subject in the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. The document below is a second contribution to the discussion. It is a condensation of *Cahiers Rouges*, No. 12, "Problèmes du mouvement étudiant," written by Daniel Bensaïd and C. Scalabrino. The condensation appeared in *Quatrième Internationale*, No. 38 (September 1969). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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1. The student movement in the 1960s was everywhere in the vanguard of the reviving revolutionary struggles. The particular political mobility of the student milieu arises from the accumulating superstructural contradictions of which it is the focus: the crisis of bourgeois ideology which affects the youth as a whole; the problems of employment, training, and professional careers which concern the intellectual workers; and the institutional crisis of the university.

2. A component part of the youth in general, the students were the first to be affected by the crisis of bourgeois ideology, which they are called upon to glorify and perpetuate. The bourgeoisie of the period of imperialist decadence is not the creative bourgeoisie that rose to power to accomplish its historical tasks. The values, morals, and history of this bourgeoisie can inspire no enthusiasm. The cause of the crisis seems clear—the youth cannot identify its hopes with those of the bourgeoisie, or tie its fate to this moribund class. This is all the more true because the values so much preached by the schools, the academies, and the authorities are denied daily by the crimes imperialism commits in its death throes. Los-

ing its morality and ideals, the bourgeoisie has replaced them with advertising slogans. It no longer seeks to inspire defense of the ideals of the rising bourgeoisie ("liberty" and "equality") but conformity to the robot image of the average consumer, the mediocre bourgeois of the period of decadence. No young generation can identify with this ideology. And more than any other young people—since they are the heir apparent and the appointed continuers of this tradition—the students experience the crisis of bourgeois ideology very intensely.

3. As future "professionals," the students are haunted by the problems of employment. In those branches where the professional perspectives are precisely defined, to be a future specialist is frequently synonymous with future unemployment as a consequence of the imperatives of continual economic reorganization. In the liberal professions, long years of study often culminate in beginning a slow climb in the restricted hierarchies.

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4. More specifically, the students find themselves in the center of a contradiction which they may strive to surmount but which they can never resolve because it involves the fundamental contradiction in the capitalist mode of production—the contradiction between developing the productive forces and maintaining the relations of production. This same contradiction bears on the universities which are compelled to respond simultaneously to two contradictory demands—(1) advancing the productive forces through a general increase in the level of skills at the price of an increase in the social costs of training; and (2) retaining the productive relationships through fragmentation of knowledge, discriminatory recruitment, and respecting the private profits of the capitalists as individuals. The bourgeoisie everywhere tries to deal with this contradiction by measures and reforms which themselves

are hybrid and contradictory and which perpetuate the institutional crisis and instability of the university.

5. The increasing needs for skilled manpower are bringing about a diversification of university recruitment and its extension to the middle strata. These strata, attracted by the prospects of assimilation into the upper classes, do not bring rebellion into the universities with them. But everywhere they are an element of instability. Caught between an insecure family background and an uncertain professional future, the children of the petty bourgeoisie on occasion are ready to make the authorities pay for the insecurity and anguish which is their lot.

6. The student population, rooted in the contradiction of the university, lacks both social and political homogeneity. Even if the time spent in school has been extended, even if the concentration of university complexes has reached immense proportions, even if the diversification of university recruitment and the professional careers open to students create stronger ties than ever between them and the rest of their generation in the high schools and factories, for all that the contradiction in the university system does not constitute an objective foundation for bringing the students as such over to the side of the proletariat and does not make the students natural allies of the workers. There are no homogeneous student interests to defend.

7. The student milieu has given birth to movements and political currents whose poles are outside the university, in the class confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the working class on the national and international scale. A part of the students have aligned themselves with the established order, whose benefits they are destined to share; another part have gone over to the proletariat. But there is nothing natural and spontaneous about this lineup, especially when the workers—deprived of revolutionary leadership—fumble and mark time.



8. This is why in the advanced capitalist countries the politicalization of the students has generally taken the path of anti-imperialist struggle. The students have not found the least perspective in the Social Democratic or Stalinist workers organizations in their own country, which have submitted to the status quo. As a result, the Vietnamese revolution provided a symbol and an example of the international struggle of the proletariat in which a part of the student population recognized what it was waiting for and which restored its hope.

9. Moreover, mobile, unstable, and continually renewed, the student milieu provides few openings for the working-class bureaucracies, above all at a time when the crisis of Stalinism and its ideology echoes that of the bourgeoisie. Thus the student movement represents the weakest link in the chain of political integration forged and maintained by the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaders to preserve the international status quo.

III

10. Shaken by the interplay of contradictions all of which come to a focus on the campus, the university population produced a powerful student movement. Impelled by the crisis of bourgeois ideology and of the educational structures, and inspired by the example of the colonial revolution, this student movement escaped the control of the working-class bureaucracies. The extreme contradiction in the universities has given the student movement an energy which has enabled it, alone and in spite of its isolation, to wage vanguard struggles distinguished by a revival of violent forms of combat, of direct action, in defiance of the political rules of the game accepted by the working-class leaderships.

11. However, the student movement by itself cannot deal with the contradiction of the university, which rests on the very foundations of capitalism. It is incapable of political and programmatic independence from the working class.

12. As a result, the student movement is torn between its revolutionary vocation and the objective limits of the university community, between

its mass character and its role as a substitute vanguard, at a time when, as the weakest link in the political system, it finds itself thrown into the vanguard of the struggles.

13. This is why the student movement cannot be analyzed as a distinct entity; one could only describe its fluctuations, often irrational and unpredictable. In order to understand it and give it political direction, it must be analyzed in connection with the variations of the coordinates that condition its existence and its development, for in itself the student movement has no history or memory. These coordinates are on the one hand the workers movement (the extent of its mobilization, the political forces which compose it) and on the other the development of the revolutionary vanguard, which is still in too embryonic form to really play a leadership role.

IV

14. The evolution of the French student movement illustrates the relationship between the student movement and the workers movement in a very complete way. After the Algerian war, in a period of relative quiescence in working-class struggles, the student movement became the guilty conscience of the workers movement. Against the spurious rationality of the bourgeoisie, it counterposed its own programmatic rationality — it relied on the power of reason and the word to unmask the contradictions of capitalism and demonstrate the validity of the socialist view without having to take into account a relationship of social forces caused by lack of mobilization of class.

15. In the period of reviving workers struggles, the student movement, inspired by revolutionary groups that had broken from the Social Democracy or the Stalinist movement, rediscovered the reality of the workers movement and the possibility of linking up with it. In this period, the student movement constituted itself either as pressure groups acting on the workers movement or as supporters of the workers movement. As a pressure group, the student movement acted through liaisons with the unions on common problems (training, employment); as a supporting force through populist movements inspired by Maoist groups. During this period, the

developing student movement slipped into the preexisting structures of academic vocational associations where it found an ideological forum and a vaguely unionist rubric that legitimized its attempt at hybrid unionism.

16. The student movement could not remain forever on this tight leash, drawn behind a workers movement under Stalinist or Social Democratic domination. It had to either submit and return to the bosom of the "democratic" forces or rely on the resources of the student population and alone, or at the risk of isolating itself, take the initiative and try to upset the status quo in the class struggle. The student movement was driven to this choice. Economic struggles that were halted or diverted as they ran up against a state speaking in the name of the "national interest" seemed increasingly futile. Thus, the mobilizing structures taken over from the vocational interest-group associations seem too constrictive. The example of the March 22 Movement at its birth was typical. Along with this movement, the vanguard groups took the initiative of combining the fragmented political activities of the student movement into an anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, and antibureaucratic movement. After this turn, the student movement ceased to follow its natural channels; it was organized by the vanguard groups which defined its role and its objectives, no longer in accordance with campus criteria but in accordance with the general relation of forces, an overall evaluation of the class struggle. In this altered form, the student movement acquired the means to play the role of a temporary substitute vanguard, of accelerator or detonator of the class struggle, more by its exemplary forms of struggle than by its programmatic content.

17. Once the workers movement began to struggle, the student movement could not continue to play its role of substitute vanguard by giving an example of determination and courage. The workers cannot limit themselves to moving through the tactical breaches opened up by the students. They need strategic perspectives and slogans which the student movement, incapable by itself of going beyond a certain level of political comprehension — that of petty-bourgeois radicalism — cannot provide. In the face of

this problem, the student movement yields to the revolutionary vanguard.

## V

18. The temporary vanguard role played by the student movement is not a novelty requiring any revision of Marxism. Already Engels, Trotsky, Mao Tse-tung hailed the vanguard role played by the students in Austria in 1850, in China in 1919. This role merely testified to the fact that the bourgeoisie was no longer vigorous enough to make its revolution and the proletariat was not yet mature enough to lead its own. Today, the vanguard role of the student movement is no longer a sign of the insufficient objective maturity of the proletariat but of the bankruptcy of its Social Democratic or Stalinist leaderships.

19. It is no less true that the student movement can only play this role with the perspective of a linkup very shortly with the workers movement. Without this perspective, the student movement is condemned to maintain an impossible balance between its revolutionary function and its mass character, continually pulled by reformism on the one side and ultraleftism on the other. This contradiction can be resolved only by constructing and developing a revolutionary organization capable of transcending the student "point of view" and offering a strategic design, an organization capable of playing a vanguard role in the workers movement as well as in the student movement.

20. Building such an organization demands qualities of doggedness, of perseverance, of firmness, which are far from inherent in the fickle, unstable, and unremembering student population.

This is why we see the flowering in the student movement of a gamut of ideologies that are just so many escape routes from the fundamental task of building the revolutionary organization.

21. An early variant of these ideological evasions consisted in the dynamics of a group, a phase of introspection in which the student movement searched for the reasons for its political impotence in its own lack of consciousness. A subvariant was populism by which the movement endeavored to efface itself by doing penance in the service of the masses—

all under the theoretical aegis of Mao's thought. Introspection and populism are the infantile deliriums of the student movement.

22. Anarchism and spontanéism are its adolescent deliriums. Incapable of surmounting the contradiction in the student movement (between its revolutionary role and its mass character), the anarchists prefer to deny this movement outright. For them the student population is sociologically petty bourgeois; consequently there can be no revolutionary student movement, only anarchist militants intervening in the student milieu by direct action and propaganda of the deed. The objective is, by means of the question of violence, to radicalize this student petty bourgeoisie still tainted with a squeamish humanism. The objective is to draw the student masses into the wake of an activist minority. But since the "solidarity" of the mass of students is associated more with sentiment than political consciousness, it would be futile to try to give it an organizational form.

23. As incapable of resolving the contradiction as their anarchist cousins, the spontanéists dissolve the student movement in the cultural revolution. For them the students are a natural ally of the proletariat. The only obstacle in the way of revolution is the lingering fascination of decaying bourgeois ideology, the cop everyone carries in his head. Through a spiritual conversion, termed cultural revolution for the occasion, everyone must drive the cop out of his head. In this way he comes directly to the revolutionary movement (without class distinctions) and not to the student movement. In a word, between the student under the spell of bourgeois ideology and learning and the revolutionary militant there is no longer any place for an overly encumbering student movement. The problem is thus removed but not solved.

24. The common denominator of these student ideologies is an antiauthoritarianism which combines the student movement's awareness of the hoax of the strong state and its resentment of a hated father figure. The student movement blames the bourgeois society which has nourished it and educated it for betraying its own teachings and its own precepts and covering up this betrayal by an omnipresent and arbitrary state authority.

To this betrayal the student movement reacts by seeking a new antiauthoritarian humanism into which it dissolves the class struggle. And since it does not have the means of carrying out a proletarian revolution by itself, it contents itself with a "cultural revolution." It attacks culture by preference because it began by sustaining itself from it. Mao-spontanéism is the most all-inclusive cocktail of student ideologies in which populism, spontanéism, and antiauthoritarianism blend. All these ideologies converge on one point and that is to reject the revolutionary organization which threatens them as their own negation.

## VI

25. In the period when new vanguards are emerging from the youth radicalization, these vanguards find a favorable environment for growth in the student milieu. Since they are too weak to confront the bourgeois regime directly or to compete with the recognized working-class leaderships, the student movement offers these organizations shelter and protection. By its mass mobilization, the student movement compensates for the vanguard groups' weakness. During this period these new vanguards are primarily student groups regarding themselves as parricidal offspring of Stalinism or the Social Democracy. It is only through transforming themselves that they can link up with the Fourth International which is the bearer of the strategical acquisitions that constitute the alternative to Stalinism.

26. This transformation enables the incipient revolutionary organization to raise itself to the level of an overall strategic understanding, and to finish off the student group outlook that perpetuates the social and political characteristics of the student movement. The revolutionary organization must be virtually torn out of the student movement.

27. The student movement as such has neither memory nor history, it is absorbed in ephemeral actions, in acts of bearing witness, in spectacular demonstrations. In contrast, the intervention of the vanguard is not spectacular. By organizing and training militants it weaves the fabric of the political memory of the student movement. It is the mast that bears the sails of the student mobilization. It is vertical with respect to the hori-

zontal dispersion of student agitation (anarcho-Maoist agitational focuses). Through the improvisations of the student movement it traces the coherence of its own revolutionary design. The balancing of the student movement between reformism and ultraleftism cannot be broken except by the hammering intervention of the revolutionary organization.

## VII

28. The development and reinforcement of the revolutionary organization does not mean the end of the student movement but a change in its function. In the early period, the student movement, because of specific conditions in the universities, was in the lead of the youth radicalization. The development of a revolutionary organization makes it possible to reconstitute the student movement, which is foundering in repetitious actions dictated by its contradiction, into a movement of the youth in general. This broadening is a precondition for increasing the mass movement's capacity for struggle. It has been made possible by modifications in the relationship of forces between the vanguard and the state, between the vanguard and the bureaucratic working-class leaderships.

29. The basis for such a youth movement lies in the struggle against the regimentation of youth. This regimentation begins with vocational training in all its forms (high schools, universities, apprenticeship, technical education). It includes the housing, transportation, and working conditions imposed on youth; the organization of amusements, culture, competitive sports, all the repressive recreational structures offered to the youth (scouting, camps, athletic clubs); and sexual oppression. Finally this regimentation culminates in the army, the last stage of integration into bourgeois society.

30. The youth, not having gone through the great defeats of the working class, does not bear the burden of this dead past. It is a profoundly powerful element of political renewal and is shaking the bureaucratic yokes.

31. The mass youth movement we have to strive to develop must be distinguished, however, from the youth affiliate of a revolutionary organization. Such a youth affiliate assumes the existence of an already

strong revolutionary organization.

## VIII

32. The attempts to define a strategy for the student movement as such have generally ended in failure. The strategists of the Critical and the Negative Universities, as these terms indicate, reduce the student struggle to an essentially ideological struggle against the bourgeois university. As soon as the student movement moves on "from the criticism of the university to the criticism of society," it is faced with problems of revolutionary strategy that only a vanguard can resolve.

33. In a parallel way, revolutionary trade unionism in the student milieu leads into reformism. You cannot restrict yourself to applying in limited areas an all-encompassing design which you have the means to carry through only in the universities. This way you end up with the slogans of student control, even student management, in the universities and high schools, which, in isolation from the overall situation in the class struggle, are thoroughly reformist.

34. Any attempt at a student strategy is thus liable to a double trap. On the one hand, there is the danger of reformism, of patching up the system under the pretext of a partial transitional strategy applied to the university. On the other hand, there is confrontationism which is only a policy in bits and pieces.

35. The Red University is not a slogan. Like workers control, it is a general theme of struggle which should be filled out by concrete slogans in specific situations. The Red University is not an institution that can be counterposed to the bourgeois university; it is a movement of struggle by which the vanguard seeks to direct the student movement as a permanent striking force against the system. The Red University is not a line for the universities but the tactic of the vanguard in the universities, a subordinate part of its overall strategy.

36. The university slogans of the organization may attack the problems of professional training by demanding flexible training and a guarantee of employment at the level of skill acquired. But the implementation of these slogans requires the mobilization

of the workers movement, in which the embryonic vanguard does not hold the initiative. That is why the slogans centering around the theme of workers control of education retain a propagandistic character.

37. Incapable of an overall strategic program, the student movement can meet the bourgeoisie's university policy only by organizational resistance (maintaining the independence of the movement and opposing participation in collaborationist structures) and tactical political initiatives laid out by the vanguard in accordance with its evaluation of the political conjuncture as a whole.

These initiatives revolve around three major axes—support of workers struggles, support of anti-imperialist struggles, and the struggle against regimentation. It is under this last heading that struggles for freedom of expression, political organization, and against the bourgeois educational policy fall.

## IX

38. A student trade union as a means of struggle is a scheme that could have reality only in a consciously defined framework of student self-management. The reformist workers organizations, anxious to humor their allies, have maintained this myth of the autonomy of student demands. The student trade-union structures fly into bits as soon as political struggles revive. Moreover, united mass political organizations of the student movement, such as the FUA and the March 22 Movement were in France, can have only a temporary existence. Based on specific tactical agreements, they must disappear or fossilize once strategic problems come to the fore. Caught between the slow attrition of the student-interest organizations and a nostalgia for united political organizations, the student movement runs the risk of fragmentation into fiefs (Italy) or atomization.

39. The most favorable organizational outlet for the student movement presupposes already quite powerful revolutionary organizations. In this case, a process of cartelization develops. The breakup of Zengakuren provided an example of this which will not prove an exception. The revolutionary organizations, which alone are capable of resolving certain strategic

and practical problems (like demonstrations which at a certain threshold of confrontation require a degree of discipline and organization that does not come naturally to the student movement), will reorganize the mass movement around their own political initiatives.

X

40. The student movement and the youth radicalization cannot be considered simply as a windfall for the vanguard, which can win the youth involved over to its program and recruit new elements among them. This youth radicalization, in which the student movement occupies a prime position, enables the vanguard to alter the relationship of forces between it and the bourgeois state and the working-class bureaucracies. The specific role of the student movement offers the still weak vanguard a margin for maneuver, an opening to get a foothold in the political arena, to carry

out its initial experiments without being under the double fire of the bourgeois and bureaucratic repression. In this sense, the student movement is playing a precise and specific historical role.

41. But this opportunity for the vanguard is also a test. It cannot be satisfied to profit from the student movement. In order to play its role, the vanguard must grapple with the student movement, organize it en masse, engage in a continual polemic against its spontaneously generated ideologies. Ceaselessly threatened by opportunism of the left and right, the vanguard must have enough theoretical firmness to resist the ideological pressure of the movement and enough political understanding of the conditions of struggle left by the breakup of Stalinism to get in step with the movement without dissolving itself in it. The road is difficult; no verbal schematism can make it any easier. But it is by this route that the resurrection of the revolutionary vanguard will come.

42. If this phenomenon holds true

primarily for the advanced capitalist countries, it is often true also for the colonial countries and for the forces destined to carry out the political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated or deformed workers states. In the colonial countries, the student movement often combines the characteristics of the Western student movement and the classic features of a liberal intelligentsia struggling against imperialism. In the degenerated workers states, the rise of the student movement is often based on the defense of freedoms rather than anti-imperialism, but the political characteristics of this movement also offer striking similarities, both in its role and its limitations, to the student movement in the advanced capitalist countries.

Understanding the role and the limitations of the youth radicalization is one of the keys to advancing the sections of the Fourth International and developing the world movement itself from a propagandistic International to an International rooted in the masses and capable of responding to the new tasks of the period.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION  
ON THE WORLDWIDE RADICALIZATION OF THE YOUTH

[Resolution passed by the Political Bureau  
of the French Communist League]

Preamble

Before drawing a balance sheet of the French experience concerning the radicalization of the youth, we should recall the three fundamental points of disagreement between the draft resolution presented by the United Secretariat at the World Congress and the article published in No. 39 of the review (Quatrieme Internationale).

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1. Characterization of the Period

At the Ninth World Congress, it became clear that there was general agreement that a turn had occurred in the international situation. The victorious resistance of the Vietnamese people, the upsurge of struggles in Palestine, in Southeast Asia, in Pakistan, the resumption of revolutionary activities in Latin American (Mexico, Argentina), the appearance of vanguard militants in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, and finally, the great struggles of the French and Italian proletariat, these have been the principle manifestations of this turn.

However, it is not sufficient to declare that there has been a turn and that this turn has resulted in better "objective" conditions for us. Besides this, it is necessary to draw the strategic and organizational consequences for the Fourth International; not simply content ourselves with "profiting" from the turn, but to deepen it, to accentuate it while we transform ourselves.

On the strategical plane, the resolution on Latin America in favor of armed struggle and the break from entrism in Western Europe testify to this change. On the other hand, the resolution on the youth appears to us to strike a false note in its strategic conceptions as well as its organizational consequences.

"The work of the sections," reads the last part of the resolution, "has a preparatory and mainly propagandistic character." (p. 16 of text) We think that precisely this preparatory and "mainly propagandistic" work becomes insufficient in relation to the size of the tasks in the coming period; that it is necessary and possible, even with limited forces, to take the initiative in action and in revolutionary mass agitation, at least in areas concerning the youth. This is not a meaningless difference of "points of view," or "nuances," etc. The conception which assigns to the sections

"mainly propaganda" activities implies a whole strategic course for leading the youth.

This course, which is expressed in the program of the resolution itself, could be summarized in the following way: the vanguard, full of wisdom, perched upon the heights of piously accumulated theoretical acquisitions, contemplates the revolutionary field: suddenly on this field there appears the unforeseen mass of youth, which the vanguard tries to describe in its habits and political behavior; after which the problem will be: "how to bring leadership to this movement and how to win over the best of them?" (p.1) Answer: (a) it is necessary to give the youth a good slice of the transitional program, that corresponds to their immediate aspirations and forms a bridge to revolutionary objectives; (b) it is necessary to gain from the youth new cadres for the vanguard.

On this level of generalities, it is neither false nor true, it is simply formal and abstract. One finds here all the themes belonging to the Fourth International when it was isolated in the period of the cold war and of the ebb of the world revolution, driven into a defensive position where it was difficult to preserve its acquisitions. It is a question of, on the one hand, popularizing the program and winning influence ("tens of thousands of youth have already accepted large parts of the Trotskyist program", p. 15), and on the other hand, to increase the primitive accumulation of cadres ("a substantial number of the youth can be recruited....", "it is necessary to draw new cadres from the youth," p. 15).

The main objection that can be made to this course in the coming period is that it perpetuates the relationship of the vanguard to the mass movement as an exterior force. The interchange between the two is limited to ideological influence in the sense of vanguard-mass (the vanguard groups have "made their mark on the theoreticians" of the movement, p. 8) and to individual recruitment in the sense of mass-vanguard (the vanguard groups have all "won adherents," p. 8). What has disappeared is the whole dialectic of the organizational relationships between the vanguard and the movement of the radicalized youth. This lack was not fatal in the preceding period; it could even have been necessary for the protection of the vanguard. Today, in the period of offensive that is opening

up, this lack could put the vanguard out of the game.

## 2. A Transitional Program for the Youth?

Besides the criticisms made in the preceding section, the idea of elaborating "a program of transitional and democratic demands" is in itself faulty.

The authors of the draft resolution have recorded the slogans and themes of student mobilizations in order to classify them by categories. The result of this is an ambiguous catalog of slogans more than a program for struggle. If it is true that the slogan for freedom of expression can be shared by the student movement of the advanced capitalist countries, the people's democracies especially, and the colonial countries, still the slogan "university autonomy should be achieved or maintained inviolate" seems, on the other hand, to be more than questionable. If it has a real meaning in the colonial countries, still it is hard to see what the content of this demand could be in the advanced capitalist countries: either a reformist content (that which the Faure reform gives to this slogan in France: autonomy permitting the adaptation to regional conditions, to local industries, etc.); or a conservative content: that of defense of the liberal bourgeois university (to maintain the autonomy "inviolate"). For us, it is not a question of repeating again and again the theme of autonomy but of posing every time the question: autonomy in relationship to whom?

In fact, as a catalog of demands, the program proposed by the document only juxtaposes bourgeois-democratic demands (on civil liberties) with university demands whose formulation is obscure when it is not openly reformist. What is the meaning of an "annual salary for all students adequate to their needs"? The term "salary" might very well be a demagogic concession to the thesis of "student labor"; as to their "needs" ... of what nature? And who determines them? "Guaranteed jobs for students upon graduation" -- good; still it is necessary to specify "the level of skill reached" and then discuss who is to guarantee this employment, who is to determine needs with regard to hiring workers. "Joint control by students and faculty over the hiring and firing of faculty members and administration officials" -- this formulation, much too imprecise (what is the "faculty"?), opens the door to camouflaged comanagement, etc.

Indeed, this juxtaposition of democratic themes and university demands doesn't have much that is transitional about it. It is based, on the one hand, on a debatable presupposition: the presupposition that the politization of the student movement follows a pedagogical pro-

gression, proceeding from immediate interests to apprehension of historic interests, whereas actually the student politization is determined from the outset by extra-university factors, by the political context as a whole. On the other hand, this program for the youth follows a curious conception of the "propaganda" utilization of the transitional program.

In the draft resolution, the program of "democratic and transitional" demands is the worm to catch the fish, the carrot to lead on the donkey. "If you bite at the worm, if you follow the carrot, I will show you the real transitional program in its entirety." There is the essence of the matter. Through this mini-program, the students will be "led to understand the validity of the transitional program in its totality" (sic!) (p. 12). This course is one of gradually unveiling the program as an instrument of recruitment more than as an instrument of struggle. That is the essence of the propagandistic utilization! Operating in this way is not without dangers, however.

For if we in France have practiced the tactic of construction of the organization from the periphery toward the center, it is not true that a strategy was elaborated from the periphery to the center. It is not true that the student movement should be mobilized for transitional goals if you don't have the capacity to make this mobilization unite with a mobilization of the workers. We have, in the course of three years of struggle, adopted the firm conviction that at the present stage there is no strategy for the student movement, there are only initiatives and tactical political slogans for the student movement, subordinate to the overall strategy of the revolutionary organizations. We will return to expand on this point.

## 3. For an Analysis and not a Description of the Radicalization of the Youth

But to limit the student movement to tactical initiatives, isn't that yielding to the most empty empiricism, since these initiatives must each time be concretized as a function of the country and of the precise conjuncture?

Such misgivings would be legitimate if one contented himself with the ideas furnished by the draft resolution. Indeed the draft collects and synthesizes information on the student movement; it describes certain characteristics of the youth. Never does it present the framework or the coordinates which make possible a political analysis of the youth movement. By failing to provide the elements for such an analysis, the draft repeats empty, wordy generalities, inspired by correct principles but for which the concrete conditions for application are not made precise: "a Marxist leadership is

needed, politically alert, supple in tactics, capable of avoiding both opportunistic adaptation in the student environment and adaptation to ultraleft sectarianism." Because the draft produces no real analysis of the student movement, it contents itself with noting its bad instincts (opportunistic adaptation, ultraleft sectarianism); because the draft does not make clear the real roots, it gives no means to fight them, except with the athletic-psychological qualities of the vanguard, which must be "alert" and "supple" (!) It's that simple.

For us, the student and youth movements cannot really be analyzed except in their relationship to two points of reference: the workers movement (political composition, degree of activity and of mobilization) on the one hand, and the vanguard organization on the other hand (implantation, development; in this case the relationship between the movement and the vanguard can also be a relationship of forces). It is only by always specifying the variations in the relations between the youth movement, the workers movement and the vanguard that one can give a concrete analysis of the student movement and define tactical political initiatives for it.

Because these two coordinates are lacking in the draft resolution, it evades all the most difficult problems of the youth movement.

- it loses sight of the radicalization of the youth by only taking up the student movement.

- it doesn't make any distinction between the student milieu and the student movement which greatly simplifies the task: since there is no movement between the vanguard and the milieu, the vanguard has a monopoly of thought and of political expression. Things happen differently in reality.

- although one cannot really speak of a mass movement or of a process of radicalization if one stops short of the forms of organization adopted by the movement, the draft is more than reserved on this question. The masses do not exist politically short of the organized forms of their struggle. This difficult problem of the organizational forms of the youth movement is barely touched on.

In conclusion, we think that the draft resolution says either too much or not enough. To encompass the international radicalization of the youth, it has to give up going into details. Consequently it remains pragmatic and descriptive in the area of analysis. On the other hand it is too precise in the area of strategy, proceeding to premature and improper conclusions before having defined the possibility and the framework of a strategy for the youth and the student movement.

As far as we are concerned, we propose to write a balance sheet mainly of the European student movement and to analyze more precisely the situation in France. This document is to be considered a contribution to the discussion. Finally, we will summarize our conclusions in the form of theses on the radicalization of the youth, for it seems dangerous and false to us to be more precise if one intends to encompass the problem on an international scale and to avoid extrapolating from a particular experience.

Along the lines of the preceding critique, we will distinguish four main parts in our analysis of the student movement and the radicalization of the youth.

First we will try to place the specific characteristics of the student movement onto the foundation of the radicalization of the youth.

Second, we will show by means of the historic path of the French student movement the variations in the relation between the student movement and the workers movement, the political consequences and the strategical problems that result from it.

In a third section, we will define the political contradictions of the student movement and the manner in which they can be resolved in the transformation of the relationship between the student movement and the vanguard organization.

Finally in the last section we will draw a balance sheet of the French and European experience concerning the specific role of the student movement, the themes for mobilization, and the organizational forms.



## INTERNATIONAL REPORT

(Adopted by the 9th National Convention of the YSA, December 28, 1969)

by Caroline Lund

I think we should be very proud and honored that we were able to bring such a great number of international comrades here to our convention this year. This is a great step forward for the world Trotskyist movement. We have to intensify this kind of international collaboration with our comrades abroad. YSAers who can take vacations to other countries should do so whenever possible. They should get to know the comrades there, get to know their problems, attend their conventions, their conferences and meetings, and try to bring them here to our conventions. It is especially important that we here in the center of world imperialism maintain the greatest possible international collaboration with socialists all over the world.

This report will center on the resolution, The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the 4th International. I know comrades have many other questions, and are very interested in developments in the international revolutionary movement that are very important, such as the Arab revolution and many other things that I won't be able to go into here. Since we are voting on the resolution on the international youth radicalization, that's what this report will center on.

Later on tomorrow, in the international panel, we will have reports on the political situations and the concrete activities of our comrades in other countries, and comrades can ask questions then about the concrete situations there.

The resolution, The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the 4th International, was put before the last world congress of the Fourth International by the United Secretariat.

At the congress itself some criticisms of the resolution were raised by some European youth comrades, especially some young French comrades. But these criticisms had not been written down at the time of the congress. The congress therefore decided to open a discussion on this resolution in the world Trotskyist movement. The congress did however unanimously decide to adopt the central practical conclusion of the document: that work among the youth was the central task and test facing the International at this time and all sections of the International should mobilize to intervene in it.

Since the world congress, the comrades in the leadership of the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth

International, have written down some of their ideas on the youth and student movement and their criticisms of the Secretariat resolution. I will take up some of these criticisms later.

The resolution was written for revolutionary socialist parties, not primarily for a youth organization. But it embodies the general line that the YSA has been following in our work in the student movement.

It should be clear that because we take a vote on the general line of the resolution this does not mean the discussion is closed for us. A discussion will continue in the Fourth International on the youth question, and we hope that contributions will be made to amplify or enrich the resolution.

Also, the fact that we are voting on this document does not mean that the YSA is affiliated to the Fourth International. Both the SWP and the YSA are prevented by reactionary laws from belonging to the International. But we can choose to agree with ideas from the Fourth International, such as are in this document and can maintain the warmest fraternal relations with our comrades who are fighting for socialism all over the world.

The purpose of the resolution is to analyze the phenomenon of the student and youth revolt which has arisen on a world scale; to draw the lessons from the real experiences of our comrades around the world in this movement; and most importantly, to turn the whole Trotskyist movement toward this new opportunity. It projects as the main task of all revolutionary socialist organizations to mobilize and lead the youth against the capitalist class, and to win the youth to revolutionary socialism and Leninism.

First I will summarize the content of the resolution, so everyone recalls clearly the general lines projected by it as to what revolutionaries should do vis à vis the student and youth movement

The first major section of the resolution analyzes the common worldwide objective basis for the youth revolt, especially its most dynamic component at this stage, the student revolt and also the common characteristics of this movement.

The resolution explains two main objective bases for the youth radicalization:



First, the ever increasing proletarianization of intellectual labor and the university explosion.

Second, the crisis of imperialism and the rise of the class struggle symbolized by the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions, and the appearance of large revolutionary currents outside Stalinism and the Social Democracy.

The resolution documents how the student population of the world has tripled in the recent 15-year period. The reason for this university explosion was explained by Ernest Mandel in a speech he gave to a mass meeting of French youth on the eve of the night of the barricades in May, 1968. He said:

"What the student revolt represents on a much broader social and historic scale is the colossal transformation of the productive forces which Marx foresaw...: the reintegration of intellectual labor into productive labor, men's intellectual capacities becoming the prime productive force in society."

The university explosion, based on the increasing level of skill needed by the millions of workers employed by today's capitalism, has created a social layer with new importance. The social weight and role of students has changed, and this will be a permanent condition from now to the victory of the revolution.

Marxists should always be interested in such changes in social layers and their bearing on the class struggle.

Most students, especially in the U.S., now have the perspective of being higher paid wage earners, and the university is an institution of capitalism designed to prepare them to be good workers. The authoritarianism and hierarchy of the universities, mirroring the authoritarianism of capitalist society is one of the factors producing alienation and revolt among the students.

Since the university is an institution of this society, it reflects in its own way the contradictions of capitalist society. The problems of the university of course cannot be solved fully without a socialist revolution. The students feel alienation from their studies, they feel they have no control over their education, they feel they are being molded to fit into a machine which is alien to their needs and full human development.

The university explosion has occurred at the same time as a rise in world revolution, and is both a reflection of it and an integral part of it. Our generation of youth has seen imperialism

in a constant bloody battle around the world, and increasingly here in the U.S.A. to maintain its exploitation and oppression and to attempt to crush revolutionary movements which arise.

Connected with the rise in the class struggle is the crisis of Stalinism and the social democratic parties. These reformists fear the rise of independent revolutionary struggles.

A good example of how the Stalinists hate any independent struggle, even in another country, could be seen in the interview with the Polish student in the July-August Young Socialist. He explained the reaction of the Polish bureaucrats to the French events in May and June 1968 and especially to the French students. The bureaucrats pointed out in a newspaper that the French students made fun of some nationalistic symbols of France, like the tricolor flag, in a magazine they put out. The bureaucrats wrote:

"Under these symbols the best sons of France lost their lives in the last war." They continue, "The magazine is edited by the anarchist followers of Cohn-Bendit, the same people who think that patriotism is an obstacle blocking the route to mankind's happiness. They are the same people who, consequently, say such things as 'We are all German Jews,' teaching the youth to scorn their own country and forgetting to tell them that such scorn is first and foremost a form of self-hatred."

In the interview, the Polish student gave a good explanation of how international revolutionary events hurt the Stalinists:

"The reason for this lower level of internationalist consciousness in Poland," he explained, "lies in the way the people get news about developments in the world revolution. The news is very biased. It tries to conceal the importance of these struggles. The government's motive in this is explained perhaps by its realization that each revolution which is autonomous -- uncontrolled by the Kremlin -- serves as an important example for people under the domination of the bureaucratic regime, an example for breaking up bureaucratic monolithism in the Eastern European countries."

So the combination and interaction of changes in the universities, the increasing number of students, their destiny to become intellectual laborers for capitalism, plus the rise of world revolution, entailing the crisis of imperialism and its wars, the crisis of Stalinism and Social Democracy, all have interacted to produce the phenomenon of a student movement which has connecting links and many common features with the

young workers and soldiers and high schoolers of its generation.

The student movement is an international phenomenon and every country which is affected by the world market is pressed to one degree or another to expand its education system to keep up with and take advantage of the development of technology.

Along with the common objective causes, the resolution describes some of the characteristics common to the student movement in all countries.

The major weaknesses of this movement (pragmatism, not understanding the nature of Stalinism, a tendency to identify Leninism with Stalinism, and sometimes a tendency to utopianism and looking for solutions on an individual scale), these weaknesses derive from the conditions under which the student movement arose. The student movement has again and again bypassed the mass Social Democratic and Stalinist parties through independent action. But since the students had no mass revolutionary party to learn Marxist traditions from, it is understandable that the students would have these weaknesses.

On the other hand, the student movement has important strengths: first, it is a political movement. Students are concerned with broad political questions and not just their own narrow lives. Second, it is internationalist. The best example is the way the anti-Vietnam war movement was embraced by the students as an international struggle. Another strength is its anti-authoritarianism, or in other words, its independence. Youth don't accept the authority of their parents or the authority of the capitalist or bureaucratic state to control their lives. Most of them more and more hate all institutions of the family, private property and the state. And finally, the students are groping toward Marxism; they can be convinced to join the side of the working class.

In addition to ultralefts, spontaneists, like SDS, which are short-lived organizations, all the major tendencies in the working class movement tend to appear in the student movement, the Stalinists of the Kremlin or Maoist variety, the Social Democrats, and we, the revolutionary Marxists, also have to be there. We have to intervene and try to win over a movement with strengths like these.

To build our organization as an independent force, we have to intervene in two ways:

- 1) Ideological struggles against the reformist or ultraleft tendencies; and
- 2) fighting for united fronts and mass action, to demonstrate the effectiveness

and correctness of our political program in practice.

The second major section of the resolution projects our transitional strategy for the university which is summed up in the concept of the red university.

The red university concept is an attempt to apply the transitional approach, which is the basic approach of the world Marxist movement. This approach was explained in Trotsky's pamphlet, The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the 4th International which was adopted by the founding conference of the 4th International in 1938.

Our transitional approach is in contrast to both the reformist approach and the ultraleft sectarian approach. The reformists attempt to limit all struggles to the confines of the general status quo of capitalism. On the campus, reformists try to limit student struggles to narrow university issues, keeping them isolated from broader issues, especially extra-campus issues involving mass struggles. They always put forward only a minimum program, never leading from immediate struggles toward the struggle for socialism.

Some ultraleftists, on the other hand, put forward only a maximum program: socialist revolution, and dismiss struggles for immediate improvements as reformist. On the campus, the ultralefts either say that struggles on the universities are useless and students must go to the workers ("Serve the People"), or they try to substitute the action of a small group of "true revolutionaries" for mass action, with no regard for the mass of the students.

What reformism and ultraleftism have in common is that neither is oriented towards helping to change the consciousness of the masses and to mobilize masses in anticapitalist struggle. This is what we want to do, and we do it with a transitional approach. That is, we go to different sectors of the people engaged in struggle no matter what level they are on, we fight with them and lead struggles in their immediate interests, trying to link their struggles to the struggle for socialism both by using transitional demands, by linking democratic demands to transitional demands, and by using our whole transitional program in a propagandistic sense to show the progression of our demands and where they lead to.

What is projected in the resolution is a program of democratic and transitional demands which all fit into the concept of a red university. Let's first be clear what are democratic and what are transitional demands.

Democratic demands are demands which were won or partially won, or at least raised as part of the process of the bourgeois revolutions. Democratic demands include such demands as national self determination, land reform, political democracy, civil liberties, the rights found in the Bill of Rights. These rights supposedly belong to everybody, to the exploiters and to the exploited.

Transitional demands usually contain within them a preview of socialist policies or a consciousness of the exploited masses as opposed to the exploiters. Take, for example, the transitional demand for a workers defense guard, to protect a strike. This demand is closely connected to the democratic right to self defense, but it contains the concept of the oppressed organizing as a power against the oppressors. Thus it leads to the concept of a red army, a workers army against the capitalist class. Or the transitional demand of a sliding scale of hours and wages, which has been taken up in a partial form in the demand for 30 hours of work for 40 hours of pay and the escalator clause. This demand gives a preview of the socialist policy of lowering the work time as productivity increases, or output increases, but still providing the means for a good life. On the other hand, it is a demand for the immediate well-being of the workers right now, under capitalism, their defense against inflation and the growing threat of unemployment.

The red university concept is transitional because it seeks through a set of partial demands, progressing in their implications, to bring the campus into the struggle of the workers and farmers for social change and revolution.

The red university does not mean the university should be a utopian island--where revolutionary ideas are discussed among students, patiently coexisting with capitalism. The main idea in this concept is that the university is not outside or above class society but an instrument of it. We say it should not be the instrument of the ruling minority but an instrument to better the lives of the majority.

This strategy enables us to deal with the problems of the university, the ways in which the capitalists try to use it to their purposes, but it also takes into account that the problems of the university cannot be solved outside of linking students with mass struggles off the campus and eventually, of abolishing capitalism.

Also, this strategy is the best possible way of linking the students to the rest of their generation as well as

to the masses of workers. For instance, the demand for the right of everybody to a free university education would appeal to young workers, high school students, and to workers who are parents and who want their children to have a good education. In Mexico, you remember, one of the demands the students raised and were fighting for was to be able to use university facilities to teach and assist peasants and workers who had come to ask the students for aid. In the United States we have seen this concept raised in the struggle for a black university.

So the Red University strategy fits into the ultimate aim of revolutionists which is to link student struggles with those of the workers and national minorities into a combined struggle for power.

I have been referring to the Red University as a strategy. That is what it primarily is. But it also can be used as a slogan if the struggle has reached a certain level. In a tremendous student explosion in June 1968 at Belgrade University, which I think first raised the slogan of a red university, the struggle was on a very high level. The Yugoslav students were calling for a 25% increase in the minimum wage for all workers, an end to bureaucratic privilege and to the extreme stratification of wages, and for greater socialist planning as opposed to dependency on the free market. They wanted their university to be a real communist university, a red university, fighting for policies to strengthen the socialist side of the economy rather than being subservient to the privileged bureaucracy.

Finally, the red university strategy takes into account the changed social weight of the universities. Educational institutions now have quite a bit of power, influence and facilities which can be of significant help to the revolutionary struggle.

The program of democratic and transitional demands given in the resolution have come from living struggles. In summary, they include the right of everybody to an education and to a decent standard of living while attending school; democratic student-teacher control of the university; self determination for national minorities in all spheres of education; the concept that educational institutions should not serve big business or the capitalist government; abolish capitalist conscription and rights for soldiers.

These demands and the strategy of the red university lay the basis for a revolutionary socialist youth organization to be in the leadership of a massive

student movement which has important links with other sectors of the youth. There are two sides, as I said before, to our fighting for this program and winning the leadership of the youth: first to mobilize the students in mass, non-exclusive democratically-run united front movements, and second, ideological struggle for our ideas and recruitment to the revolutionary youth organization.

Now, this new youth radicalization centering on the campus and the high schools as analyzed above, implies certain tasks for the Trotskyist movement.

First the youth radicalization means there exists the objective basis for independent revolutionary youth organizations which would be in political solidarity with the revolutionary Marxist party.

This revolutionary youth organization should not try to substitute for a revolutionary party. It should attract the growing layers of youth who are just coming to revolutionary ideas. These youth will want their own organization, organizationally independent and democratic in choosing its leaders and policies. The youth we want would not accept a front group like the CP often starts, or an organization which belongs to a party because it is financed by it, like the Young People's Socialist League is dependent on the Socialist Party.

Such an independent revolutionary youth organization can most effectively intervene in the youth radicalization, working in political solidarity with the revolutionary party, and providing a place where youth can learn about Bolshevik traditions and then decide if they want to join the party. This is the kind of youth organization the YSA is.

Of course, in some countries the Trotskyist forces are still too weak to launch a youth organization, or they may choose a tactic of working in some larger youth or student organization with the objective of building out of it a revolutionary socialist youth organization. But the resolution says that the strategy in all countries regardless of immediate tactics should be to build both a party and an independent youth organization because this is the most effective way we can intervene in this new radicalization.

The second main task cited by the resolution is for Trotskyist forces all over the world to jump into and take advantage of the opportunity afforded us by the youth radicalization. We must win over the vanguard of the class struggle, which appears now among the youth. We must win the students away from the dead-end policies of our opponents and we can only win them by intervening and leading the student and youth struggles, putting our politics into practice.

Now I will go on to describe and then consider the criticisms of this resolution raised by the leading members of the Communist League in France. I think it will be worthwhile to take up these criticisms because a resolution can always be more deeply understood for what it says when it is the object of criticism or controversy.

First I will try to summarize the main points of the criticisms from the leaders of the Communist League. You can find the two articles containing these criticisms in the latest discussion bulletin.

Their first major criticism seems to be that the resolution tries to project a strategy for the university, for the student movement, which the CL comrades think is impossible. They say that students have no common interests to defend, that they revolt as citizens, not as students, around general political issues, not university issues. The university-centered issues, they say, can be too easily taken over by the reformists. Then they say that the student movement can't be analyzed as an entity in itself, but can only be analyzed in relation to or as an adjunct of the workers movement and of the vanguard organization, or revolutionary party. They think that the students' struggle is dependent on the workers' struggle, to the extent that students should not be mobilized around transitional demands unless it is certain that the workers will join their struggle, otherwise the students will be smashed and victimized. Therefore, they allege, it is impossible to make a transitional program for the student movement.

Their second main criticism is regarding the nature of the period or stage the Trotskyist movement is in now. They think the resolution is wrong in characterizing this period as primarily a "preparatory and propagandistic" stage, and counterpose the idea that it is a period when we can be taking the initiative in mass struggles.

Thirdly, the CL leaders criticize that the resolution does not explain the "concrete conditions for application" of the transitional program. They think it is meaningless to say, as the resolution does, that revolutionary leadership must learn to be flexible in its tactics but firm in holding to its principles. They think this is just a vague generality.

The criticisms raised by the CL comrades are the attempt of a section of the Trotskyist movement to grapple with real problems that we face in our work in the youth movement. But these criticisms have similarities to attitudes which we often come across in the student and radical movements in the United States. The tendency, first to depreciate the significance and power of the student

movement, and secondly to warn against "co-option" and the danger of reformism. These two attitudes are characteristic of some ultraleft currents in our student movement, especially the wings of SDS.

Many students, after they first see the correctness of Marxism, downgrade the importance of the student movement because they now correctly see the decisive importance of the working class. But we can't let this subjective reaction get in the way of us seeing the objective importance of the student movement.

Now let's go back and consider some of the most important questions involved in these criticisms. There will not be enough time to go into all the questions raised in the criticisms; I will have to try to pick out the most important.

First, the question of whether it is reformist to struggle for university-centered demands. The CL leaders, in an article submitted to the international discussion on the youth radicalization which was printed in the YSA discussion bulletin No. 2, write the following:

"Revolutionary trade-unionism in the student milieu leads into reformism. You cannot restrict yourself to applying in limited areas an all-encompassing design which you have the means to carry through only in the universities. This way you end up with the slogans of student control, even student management, in the universities and high schools, which, in isolation from the overall situation in the class struggle, are thoroughly reformist."

In another article they wrote, directly criticizing the youth resolution, they say, "Indeed, as a catalog of demands, the program proposed by the resolution only juxtaposes bourgeois democratic demands and university demands of which the formulations are obscure when they are not openly reformist."

We agree completely that university issues should not be isolated from broader connected issues -- and that is the whole meaning of the youth resolution and the Red University strategy.

On page 16 of the youth resolution in pamphlet form, there is a discussion of the reformist danger. The resolution says: "The reformist tendency maintains that students should concern themselves primarily with narrowly-defined university issues -- grades, courses, the quality of education, living conditions, narrow campus politics. They see struggles around such issues in isolation from the crisis of capitalist society as a whole. They counterpose such limited struggles to the inclinations of the politicized students themselves to take up issues of key concern to the world, such as the war

in Vietnam."

Later, on the same page, the resolution continues: "The revolutionary youth vanguard, to be effective, must put forward a program that transcends the campus in its goal, but at the same time includes it; that connects student demands with the broader demands of the class struggle on a national and international scale, that shows students how their own demands relate to these bigger struggles, are an integral part of them, and can help advance them." That is what the program of democratic and transitional demands contained in the resolution is designed to help accomplish.

We combine struggles around campus issues with the issues of the broader class struggle, and we try to mobilize students around both kinds of issues. We do not leave certain kinds of struggles for the reformists -- we don't say that simply because reformists join a particular struggle with their methods and their objectives that we will not join it also with our methods and our objectives.

We don't put preconditions on the level of a struggle, even one that starts out fighting for the simplest of reforms, before we can join it. The incidents which gave rise to the student explosion in Czechoslovakia, which then led to the tremendous upheaval in 1968, concerned a student fight for adequate lighting in the dormitories -- the demand to replace crummy light bulbs. Hardly a high level demand! This movement was brutally attacked by the police, and a process was set in motion which resulted in the downfall of Novotny and the beginning of the political revolution. It's that process that we are interested in, that transitional process we want to help further and guide along.

It is possible for reformists to try to use narrow university demands in an effort to derail or destroy a movement which is already fighting for general political demands. A good example in the United States was the efforts of the Communist Party and others to derail the antiwar movement, specifically the SMC, by counterposing to antiwar work, struggles for issues they said were closer to the students, like dress restrictions in the high schools. This was the approach of the High School Union in New York City, which was led by CP types and which counterposed itself to the student antiwar movement.

We have to be able to recognize when such issues are being used by the reformists to take a struggle backwards, but we don't say that the struggles for such demands are necessarily

reformist and cannot mobilize students.

In New York we opposed the attempt of the CP to destroy the SMC by counterposing school-centered issues, but we didn't oppose fighting around these demands in the high schools in addition to and connected to building the high school organizations to fight against the Vietnam war.

In struggles over university-centered questions we must be there, fighting with the masses of students and counterposing our revolutionary methods to the methods of the reformists.

The second question we should look at is whether or not students have common interests to defend; does the university itself generate anticapitalist revolt, or do students radicalize only around national and international political questions separate from the campus.

Here is what the comrades of the CL write about this:

"Even if the time spent in school has been extended, even if the concentration of university complexes has reached immense proportions, even if the diversification of university recruitment and the professional careers open to students create stronger ties than ever between them and the rest of their generation in the high schools and factories, for all that the contradiction in the university system does not constitute an objective foundation for bringing the students as such over to the side of the proletariat and does not make the students natural allies of the workers. There are no homogeneous student interests to defend."

In their second article, they say:

"It [the juxtaposition of democratic themes and university demands] is based, on the one hand, on a debatable presupposition: the presupposition that the politicization of the student movement follows a pedagogical progression, proceeding from immediate interests to apprehension of historic interests, whereas actually the student politicization is determined from the outset by extra-university factors, by the political context as a whole."

There is little disagreement on this last point. I think the resolution is crystal clear on the dominant importance of national and international issues as the source of the worldwide youth radicalization. In fact, the resolution says, and it's underlined, "The efforts of the imperialists to maintain their exploitation and oppression and crush revolutionary movements have been the prime factor in radicalizing the youth in both the advanced capitalist countries and

the colonial countries."

But it is also clear that the student movement very often begins around university-centered issues. The reason that students radicalize as students is that the contradictions of capitalism which generate the general class struggle are reflected also in the universities, because they are institutions of society and instruments of the ruling class or bureaucracy.

A basic result of the contradictions of capitalism, which is generated in the universities as well as in the working class, is alienation. Students are alienated from the capitalist structure and policies of the university. They feel that the university is designed to fit them into the capitalist system, to its advantage, no matter what they want; they feel they have no control over their lives. Also, they see that the university is directly used by the capitalist class, for instance, to carry out war research and to teach ROTC. Before November 15 in Denmark, students found that the university was housing a NATO military installation, and this led to an important mobilization of students that also gave a push to the antiwar movement.

To say that the university does not produce anticapitalist struggles is to fall into the same error as the theory that the university is an ivory tower, above class society. It is an instrument of class society, and the students will become more and more aware that this is true.

So what interests do students have in common, as students? First they have an interest in learning the truth. This means they should oppose the compartmentalization and mystification of knowledge; they should have the right to consider all theories, including revolutionary theories and Marxism; they should have the right to hear all views; students have a special interest in freedom of speech and expression; they have an interest in eliminating mechanistic examinations, competition for grades, memorization and all substitutes for encouraging students to really search for the truth.

Students have an interest in the right of everyone to an education and a decent standard of living while they are going to school.

They also have an interest in the freedom to act politically while they are students, the right to hold meetings, demonstrations and build political, social and cultural movements in the universities and high schools.



They have an interest in making the university serve the interests of the majority rather than the ruling minority. And finally, like all non-capitalist sectors of the population, they have the interest to link themselves to the revolutionary struggle to abolish capitalism.

The course of the student movement itself refutes any idea that students move around general political issues only and not around university-centered issues. There are dozens of examples which could be given of the connection between the two. At the London School of Economics a major demand of the students in last winter's protests was to end the ties of the university with South African companies.

In Belgium and in Quebec, massive struggles have taken place for the right to have educational institutions which use the language of the oppressed nationalities. In Santo Domingo last spring students had mass demonstrations demanding greater appropriations from the government for education. In Kenya also last spring 1,800 students were expelled from the university for demanding their right to invite opposition leader Oginga Odinga to speak at the university.

Certainly all of these demands are connected with greater social and political issues, but they also directly concern the universities or high schools, and can mobilize masses of students.

The third question posed in the CL criticisms is whether the student movement is capable of having a strategy. In their article printed in discussion bulletin No. 2, they write: "Any attempt at a student strategy is thus liable to a double trap. On the one hand, there is the danger of reformism, of patching up the system under the pretext of a partial transitional strategy applied to the university. On the other hand, there is confrontationism which is only a policy in bits and pieces."

I think the actual struggles of students have shown that even though the mass of students may not fully understand Marxism, they can in practice see that Marxists have the solutions to the problems they see; they can follow a Marxist leadership. We project the concept of the Red University as the strategy for the student movement, even though we don't always use the words "red university" but can explain the concept in many different ways connected to each particular situation.

Consider the struggle of the Mexican students in the fall of 1968, for instance. The Mexican comrades have written that the Mexican students in 1968 did not have

to fight for demands such as student-professor control, democratic liberties on the campuses, and university autonomy. These demands had already been won, and in this sense the universities were little islands of more or less political freedom in the midst of a police state. What the students saw from the beginning was that the rights they enjoyed must be spread to the rest of the people. The movement began, however, over the question of police invading the university and beating up and arresting student leaders, that is, over the right of university autonomy that had supposedly been won. We shouldn't forget that the capitalist state cracks down on all democratic rights when it comes into a crisis. The students immediately drew up demands which included the following: free all political prisoners; against a law which enabled the police to arrest anyone contributing to "social dissolution;" for dismissal of heads of the police departments; and for dismissal of government officials who were responsible for the repression and killing of students.

As the struggle continued, however, the students saw that they needed to gain popular support if they were going to stand up to the government. First they constituted brigades of students who would go out into the workers neighborhoods and the peasant villages to explain to the people what it was that the students were fighting for. Then they attempted to draw up another program which could appeal to the masses of the people and win their support. This program, adopted by the National Student Strike Council, demanded: maintenance and improvement of the standard of living through immediate wage increases and through further increases commensurate with price increases; halting unemployment by cutting the workday; workers control to assure an equitable division of the profits; winning trade union independence and democracy through the formation of struggle committees elected directly by the workers; a union federation based on these struggle committees; and organization of peasant struggle committees to fight for cheap credit.

Could you say that the Mexican students were incapable of arriving at a strategy for their struggle? The Mexican students saw that to stop themselves from being arrested and killed by government repression it was necessary to attempt to mobilize the masses of the country around the issues most immediate to them as well as the issue of broad democratic rights; with the universities acting as an organizing center for this social change. They succeeded in mobilizing 700,000 people in one demonstration. I think that the comprehension that the Mexican students achieved was going toward a strategy, and one with

which revolutionary socialists would agree, as far as it went. It was heading toward a mini-program around which to begin to constitute a revolutionary party.

Or consider the students at Harpur College, where 1,300 students voted for our comrade Gary Wurtzel for student president. Even if they didn't agree with the YSA's whole program, these students voted for an openly socialist candidate whose platform was to end military and industrial recruitment on campus; to increase admission of black, Latin, and working class youth; an amnesty for anti-war demonstrators; the elimination of course requirements, final exams, and mandatory grading; and to make the student government a vehicle for mobilizing student support for social change.

During uprisings in Pakistan last year, the 5,000 students from Dacca University became the major leading force in East Pakistan. Their demands were for regional autonomy in East Pakistan, nationalization of all basic industry and banks, for political democracy, and for Pakistan leaving the SEATO and CENTO alliances.

I think these examples are sufficient to show that the student movement can develop a strategy which is neither reformist nor ultraleft.

The fourth important question raised by the CL criticisms is whether the student movement is so dependent on the working class movement that students shouldn't be mobilized for far-reaching demands unless it is certain that the workers will support them. They write, "It is not true that the student movement should be mobilized for transitional goals if you don't have the capacity to make this mobilization unite with a mobilization of the workers."

It is certainly true that students are a minority, and we must take into account the fact that not only can they not make the revolution by themselves, but that they will not be the central force.

But this is also true in a sense of other segments of the population. For example, the black struggle in the U.S., the struggles of farmers or peasants when they are not in a majority, or the struggles by a particular trade union or by workers in a particular city. The Minneapolis strikers in 1934 had to keep in mind that they couldn't strike out to take power and create socialism in Minneapolis.

But we don't tell any sector of the population which is struggling in the vanguard, ahead of the rest of the people, that they must hold up their struggle because they can't win alone. We don't tell the black people, for instance, that

they should wait to mobilize in struggle until the white working class moves.

At the center of this problem is the law of uneven development. The fact that the mass of exploited people never move all at the same rate; there are always some sectors out ahead of the others. But this fact just means that we must be politicians; we must learn to gauge what are the correct demands to bring forth, and how best to mobilize masses; how to win as much support as possible from the rest of the people and to minimize the possibility for victimization so that we can build upon victories. And there aren't any abstract formulas to tell you what to do in a specific case.

Now I want to deal with what I think is the most important criticism made by the CL leaders. That is, they say that the program of democratic and transitional demands found in the resolution has nothing transitional about it. Here is what they wrote:

"Indeed, as a catalog of demands, the program proposed by the resolution only juxtaposes bourgeois democratic demands and university demands of which the formulations are obscure when they are not openly reformist. What does this mean: 'an annual salary for all students in relation to their needs'? The term 'salary' can well be a demagogic concession to the idea of 'student work'; as for 'needs' -- of what nature? And who determines them? 'A guaranteed job for students after receiving their diploma,' well and good; it would still be necessary to specify 'at the level of qualification achieved' and to then discuss who is going to guarantee this employment, who is going to determine the needs for materials and man-power. 'Nomination of faculty members under the joint control of the faculty and the students': this much too imprecise formulation (what is 'the faculty') opens the door to forms of co-management in disguise, etc.

"Indeed, this juxtaposition of democratic themes and university demands doesn't have much transitional about it."

Now let's consider further the question of whether demands dealing with the universities and high schools can be transitional demands. I think everyone would agree that after the socialist revolution, the socialist government would have a program for the universities. Many changes would be made, to eliminate all those structures and practices in the universities which served capitalism, and introduce new structures and new content to education in line with making the universities serve the masses of the people and the workers state.



Demands concerning the university can be transitional in two ways: they can give a partial view of what educational institutions under socialism will be like, what these changes would be. And secondly, they are transitional because they can -- and have -- mobilized students against the capitalist state. They can mobilize them in a way that can link the students' struggles to the working class, in whose interests these demands are, and set an example for working class struggles.

Take the demands dealing with ending the ties of the university with the military and big business. These demands are based on the democratic concept that the university should be controlled democratically, by the majority of the people, rather than by a minority. On this foundation they project a view of what education would be like under socialism; they raise the idea of a society not immersed in wars, with a military machine perverting all spheres of life including education; they raise the possibility of a society without capitalists trying to turn everything to their own profit. And these demands can mobilize students against the capitalist class, against capitalist wars, against imperialism.

Now let's look at the demand for an annual salary for all students. The CL leaders criticize this, saying "what needs" do students have, and "what work" do students do.

The point of this demand is that not only students who have well heeled parents should be able to get a good education, as is still the case, for example, in France. Even in the case where a university is supported by the state so that tuition is eliminated, simply the cost of living and supporting himself or his family will prevent a poor youth from getting an education. What needs do students have? They need food, housing, books, child care facilities if they have children. And these needs can be determined most accurately by the students themselves.

In Cuba students receive an annual wage to cover their needs.

Of course, many students have certain privileges, and don't have to work as hard or under as bad conditions as most of the working class. But education as properly understood should not be a privileged, exclusive soft occupation, but an exacting, challenging and universally inclusive one, a preparation for being able to contribute most fully to the betterment and progress of mankind. Part of the root of the international youth radicalization is that more and more students are beginning to see education in this light.

There have been numerous struggles carried out by students for a decent standard of living. In Nigeria three weeks ago, students demonstrated for better loans from the universities. Six Congolese students were killed last spring demonstrating for higher grants for students from the university. In Argentina earlier this year, we should remember that the incident which touched off the student demonstrations which led to the massive struggle of the whole working class against the dictatorship was an increase in prices in the university cafeterias.

Then the CL leaders ask "but how are demands for a decent standard of living and for guaranteed jobs after graduation going to be provided? Who is going to guarantee jobs to the students?" They mean, I assume, that it is very unlikely that the capitalist class will give in to demands such as these. That is always a characteristic of transitional demands, that they are very difficult for the capitalist class to grant. That's because they go against the special rights the capitalist rulers reserve to themselves and toward socialist policies. But this doesn't mean that transitional demands cannot be won for a time, or partially won. The whole concept behind the transitional approach is not to separate immediate, winnable demands from the full, maximum program for socialism, but rather to link immediate demands with socialist demands. This transitional approach is more successful for two reasons: one, it makes it possible to mobilize masses in an anticapitalist direction, beginning from the most immediate needs of the masses, and second, the transitional approach is best able to change the consciousness of masses of people of the need for socialism, in the course of the struggle.

I would like to describe one more example of a struggle which has been going on in the last few weeks in Belgium, to illustrate how the types of demands given in the resolution have revolutionary potential. In Belgium they have a type of educational institution which is in between the level of a high school and a university. These are called non-university higher education, and they train various kinds of technicians, interpreters, social workers, and other occupations. They are something like the Junior Colleges in California. These schools have been set up quite recently, as part of the education reforms going on all over Europe to streamline the educational process, to strip down studies as much as possible to an understanding of the practical work, and to fit the needs of capitalists for various kinds of skilled workers. Also, the capitalist class prefers this kind of stratification of the educational system because it makes the

students ready to fit into the hierarchy of the companies they are to enter, and helps to fragment the student movement.

A massive movement has begun among the schools for social workers. It started in a few social work schools, and swiftly spread to all of them in the country, uniting the two major national groupings in Belgium, the Flemish-speaking and the French-speaking schools. Now this movement has also been joined by other types of schools in the non-university higher education system, and has made contacts and gained support in the universities.

Here is a summary of the demands of these social work students:

First they demand democratization of the university, student control over policies and content of the education. They demand that students have a veto over any education reform laws proposed by the government. They demand freedom of expression, and the right to hold meetings on the campuses.

After a mass demonstration, the social work students occupied the main hall of the nearby university -- which they are excluded from -- writing on the black boards "University Open To All."

Secondly, they demanded a longer course of studies for social workers. At the present time they have a three-year program, and the government wants to cut it down to two years, while the students want four years. They want their diplomas to be worth more, like a university diploma. And they want jobs guaranteed after graduation.

After a process of discussion which the students say really began after the May-June 1968 events in France, these students have developed a critique of the whole social policies of the government. They say the government does not want a real social work policy and it doesn't want good social workers who really understand capitalist society. They point out how the social service field is completely understaffed and incapable of dealing with social problems. In addition to permitting this understaffing, the government wants to cut their study time so they cannot have a rounded education.

These students have also come to the conclusion that the whole end, or purpose, of social work, as taught to them, is wrong. They say they are taught always that the end is to reintegrate people who have problems into the society as it is. But the students realize that there are good reasons for what they are taught is social disintegration and asocial behavior, like workers' strikes and protests. They don't think the

solution is to "reintegrate" these people into the society as it is, but to search for the real reasons for social discontent and struggles. They say they don't want to be used as an instrument of the ruling minority to be cops over their fellow workers.

To show that they want to support the working class struggles rather than be divided from them, the students have joined demonstrations of striking workers. The student leaders explain that they think education should be toward the end of serving the interests of the majority of the people rather than the ruling minority.

And these students have been fighting in a very militant manner, mobilizing thousands in mass demonstrations, stopping the education minister's car and forcing him to answer their questions, and uniting as much of the students in other schools as possible, cutting across the national lines which until recently have divided the Belgian student movement.

I think this struggle of the social work students in Belgium illustrates how the very demands contained in this resolution, democratic and transitional university-centered demands, combined with our whole transitional program, can link together to form the basis for a profoundly revolutionary struggle.

The struggle of Quebec students last October (1968) was similar to the Belgian struggle. The students involved were from technical schools, and they were demanding the right to enter the universities, and guaranteed jobs.

Democratic demands, as we saw in considering the Mexican student struggle, are not less important than transitional demands, and become combined with transitional demands.

Marxists are the best defenders of bourgeois democratic demands because they are steps forward for humanity. They have been won by the people through mass struggles, and are important aids to the continuing workers' struggle. Because of the decay of capitalism and the erosion of democracy which was won in the past, and because of the inability of capitalism any longer to carry forward and complete democratic tasks in the colonial world and elsewhere, this means that struggles for democratic rights often lead to most revolutionary developments.

A good example of this process was the struggle in Pakistan last spring. This struggle was initiated in West Pakistan, where the students were fighting to abolish what were called the University

Ordinances, which said it was a crime for students or professors to interfere in politics. It forbade student political demonstrations or meetings, and even contained regulations like one making it a crime for male and female students to talk with each other on the campus. The students' demands were for the overthrow of the dictator Ayub, for democratic rights on the campus and in society as a whole, freedom for imprisoned student leaders, police off the campus, and the reduction of university fees. These mainly democratic struggles of the students touched off a deep-going uprising of the masses, especially in East Pakistan.

These examples of student struggles illustrate how the linkage of democratic and transitional demands actually exists; it is inherent in the situation and tends to come out in the process of a struggle. This is because the university is part of society, and university problems relate to general social problems.

It is our job to be present in these struggles, which will be spontaneously generated, to explain clearly the linkage and bring up demands which will lead to higher levels of struggle.

Just one more example to show how democratic demands lead naturally into transitional demands and how we must fight for them both together. In the black struggle in the U.S. we put forth the democratic demand for the right of black people to self-determination. Following from this, comes the democratic demand for the right of black people to control their own schools and universities. And following from this, we come to the demand for the right of black people to use educational institutions to further their liberation, to discuss and teach revolutionary theories and Marxism. This is a transitional type of demand, which raises the concept of fighting against capitalism. We could see how this progression of demands worked out in P.S. 271 in Brooklyn, where the teachers were using The Militant and Young Socialist in their courses.

Now let's go on to another important question raised by the CL comrades: what is the nature of the stage or period we are now in? Here is what the resolution says about this question: "Work among the youth is not an end in itself. It reaches fruition in the impetus given to the construction or reinforcement of the revolutionary parties that will be capable of leading the working class to victory. The sections of the Fourth International are as yet too small to lead the masses in their own name and under their own banner in a decisive struggle for power. Thus, their work has a preparatory and predominantly propagandistic character involving limited actions."

Here is what the CL leaders think about this: they write, "We think that precisely this preparatory and 'mainly propagandistic' work becomes insufficient in relation to the abundance of the tasks in the coming period; that it is necessary and possible, even with limited forces, to take the initiative in action and in revolutionary mass agitation, at least in areas concerning the youth. This is not a meaningless difference of 'points of view,' or 'nuances,' etc. The conception which assigns to the sections 'mainly propaganda' activities implies a whole strategic course for leading the youth.

"This course, which is expressed in the program of the resolution itself, could be summarized in the following way: the vanguard, full of wisdom, perched upon the heights of its piously accumulated theoretical acquisitions, contemplates the revolutionary field; suddenly on this field there appears the unforeseen mass of youth, which the vanguard tries to describe in its habits and political behavior; after which the problem will be: 'how to bring leadership to this movement and how to win over the best of them?' Answer: a) it is necessary to give the youth a good slice of the transitional program, which answers to their immediate aspirations and makes a bridge to revolutionary objectives; b) it is necessary to draw from the youth new cadres for the vanguard.

"On this level of generality, it is neither false nor true, it is simply formal and abstract. One finds here all the themes belonging to the Fourth International when it was isolated in the period of the cold war and of the ebb of the world revolution, driven into a defensive position where it was difficult to preserve its acquisitions."

To me this section was a little unclear, but I think the main objection to the characterization in the resolution of this period as primarily "preparatory and propagandistic" and to the transitional approach of the resolution is that they think this somehow means abstentionism or isolation of the revolutionary organization from the mass of students and youth. But this is the opposite of what the resolution says and means.

There may be some confusion here about what could be meant by "preparatory and propaganda" period. What the resolution clearly says is that the period is a preparatory and propaganda one because we are faced with the major task of building mass revolutionary parties and youth organizations. This is the one condition lacking for world revolution, as was clear, for example, in France during the May-June, 1968 events. As our

comrades there have pointed out, the revolutionary situation was present, but a mass revolutionary party was missing. Even though we are on the way to building a revolutionary party in France, the revolutionary forces were still too weak to even come close to defeating the Communist Party and leading the workers to victory.

But in no way does the resolution imply one iota of abstentionism or of a suggestion that we should isolate ourselves from the masses. Just the opposite! The resolution repeats time and again that it is only through intervening in the real struggles of the youth and putting our program to the test of practice that we can hope to win youth to the revolutionary movement. The whole program of democratic and transitional demands are presented as a guide for active participation in the youth movement.

It is never correct to abstain from the political life of the country; even if there is just one revolutionary socialist alone in a fascist country, he doesn't abstain from struggle. The CL comrades imply that the Fourth International was just sitting on its perch of Trotskyist theory and observing the political field during the cold war period of the 1950's. I do not know about other sections of the International but the American Trotskyist movement was not abstaining from struggle. Even during the height of the witch-hunt, the Socialist Workers Party was carrying on a campaign against McCarthyism. SWP members were collecting signatures in the streets in order to put the SWP on the ballot to run election campaigns; and the SWP was carrying on the case of the legless veteran, the defense campaign to prevent Jimmy Kutcher from being fired from his job just because of his membership in the SWP. And it was fighting in the unions against the witch-hunt.

We agree completely with the CL comrades that this period is one of a rise in the world revolution, and the student movement is the first stage and harbinger of what is to come. We must enter and strive to lead these struggles because that is the only way to building the mass revolutionary socialist parties which are the main condition lacking to make a socialist revolution.

If it was true that in some sections of the International during the 1950's the revolutionary movement was isolated from struggles going on, then we agree with the CL leaders that this must be changed and all sections of the world Trotskyist movement must have a policy of intervention -- of unity between theory and practice.

The next criticism of the CL comrades is that the resolution is insufficient because it does not spell out how

to apply the program of transitional and democratic demands. Here is how they put it: "Because the draft produces no real analysis of the student movement, it contents itself with verifying its bad instincts (opportunist adaptation, ultraleft sectarianism); because the draft does not make clear the real roots [of these bad instincts] it gives no means to fight them, except with athletic-psychological qualities of the vanguard, which must be "alert" and flexible (!) It's that simple."

The concrete conditions for application of the program contained in the resolution are not spelled out because they can't be. In each different situation we have to think out which demands to raise, where to make concessions or to make a retreat, and when to stand firm. A resolution can only set forth a political line, but it can't substitute for thinking and political experience and judgment.

Also, in each country revolutionaries must analyze the particular conditions and movements they have, and write resolutions for their own work, but they can do this based on the general line of this resolution. For instance, the YSA program for the young campus, which was printed in the Young Socialist.

But this resolution is for the whole world. It tries to analyze the common objective characteristics and roots of the youth radicalization, taking into consideration the struggles that have arisen in all three sectors of the world revolution, the advanced capitalist countries, the colonial or former colonial countries, and the workers' states.

I want to deal with just one more of the criticisms raised by the CL comrades. They say that the student movement has reached a new stage; that after going through experiences such as the May-June events in France, the Pakistan, or Argentine events, the students will come to a realization that the student movement as a movement is at an impasse because they see they must either wait for the workers to move, or attempt to substitute for the workers, which is impossible. Therefore, say the CL comrades, the student movement will begin to polarize into the various political currents and the student movement will recede into the background while the vanguard groups come to the fore. They cite as an example the break-up of the Japanese Zengakuren into many different tendencies.

I think they are right that this process does occur for one layer of students who go through an experience of a massive workers mobilization which is stopped. But we don't speak to only one layer of students; we look to the student

population as a whole, which is continually being reviewed by new layers. It is a big mistake to identify one layer of students with particular experiences with the student movement as a whole, which is being generated continuously by objective conditions.

The development of the Japanese student movement and the break-up of the Zengakuren will illustrate what I mean. The Japanese student movement was one of the first mass movements which ushered in the worldwide student movement, with its mass protests against the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty in 1960. Up until 1958 the Zengakuren had been a federation of all Japanese student governments, and was controlled mainly by the Communist Party. In 1958 it broke from the CP, and went on to lead the mass demonstrations in 1960. But then the Zengakuren began fragmenting into many different organizations. These organizations were called Trotskyist by the CP, but most of them were of a "state capitalist" character -- that is, they considered the Soviet Union and China as having a kind of capitalism.

Then in about 1967 the new wave of student struggles began in Japan, but since the fragmentation of the Zengakuren there was no longer any mass student organization which could unite the students in struggle. What arose to lead these struggles were various kinds of united fronts or strike committees, commonly called "the non-sect radicals."

An example of this second wave of struggles in Japan was the university occupation movement which began at Tokyo University among the medical students and then spread to over 50 schools in Japan in the summer of 1968. This struggle began over university issues: the medical students wanted better pay and better working conditions for interns, who were until then treated almost like slaves. The other faculties joined in on the strike, demanding an end to the dictatorial powers held by the full professors and more voice by the students in running the university.

When Fred Halstead interviewed these students in the summer of 1968 on his trip to Japan, the student leaders of the strike explained to him essentially the concept of the red university, which they had arrived at on their own. They said "the university should be a training ground for revolution," "an engine for revolution." These students, the "non-sect radicals," would get 3,000 students to their strike planning meetings, and they were leading the struggle. The various Zengakuren groups generally supported the strikes, but on one of them had hegemony in the student movement.

So now we must not only look to the formal members of the Zengakuren groups as the student movement, but must look to the new layers of student revolutionaries who are ready to carry on struggles. We must try to build united fronts of the Zengakuren groups and the non-affiliated political students to carry out the struggles.

To sum up, then, the resolution is both an analysis of the worldwide radicalization of youth and a guide for the intervention of revolutionary socialists into the student and youth movement. It is based upon real experience, and is not sucked out of somebody's revolutionary thumb. Behind it is the experience of the student and youth movements of the last decade on an international scale -- from Tokyo to Paris, from Ceylon to Nigeria, from Prague to Belgrade, from Argentina to Canada, in all three sectors of the world revolution. This resolution will help members and future members of the Young Socialist Alliance to understand better the student and youth revolt in this country -- and at the same time enlarge our awareness of this phenomenon as a truly international one, and help us to intervene in this field on an international as well as national scale.

I want to end by discussing two concrete tasks which face us in the next period. First, a campaign to defend our comrades who have been arrested in Bolivia and in Peru. And second, our role in building the international antiwar movement.

Most comrades have, I'm sure, read in Intercontinental Press about the arrests of our comrades of the POR in Bolivia. Many leading comrades of the POR were arrested and tortured; now they are being held in prison with no trial. Because these comrades have not even been brought to a trial, there has not been much news about them, and the regime apparently wants to just keep them in prison and let them be forgotten there.

Unfortunately the public international legal defense campaign for our Bolivian comrades has not been really launched yet by the world movement, due to various reasons. But to start off the campaign the Bertrand Russell Foundation has agreed to provide lawyers, who will be able to go to Bolivia and get information about the situation of our comrades in prison and their families.

In Peru, comrades Hugo Blanco, Eduardo Creus, and Candela have been in prison now for six years. The international campaign carried out by our movement succeeded in preventing Hugo Blanco from being executed. Now, in both Peru and Bolivia there have been military coups

which have installed regimes that have put on a liberal anti-imperialist face, carrying out some land reform measures and nationalization of some U.S. companies. In Bolivia, the general Ovando was directly involved in the murder of Che Guevara, but now, as part of his left face, he even praises Che Guevara.

The new liberal regimes in Peru and Bolivia mean a good opportunity for us to put pressure on these regimes to release our comrades and all political prisoners, who were only trying to fight imperialism just like the generals claim to be doing.

As the international campaign gets started, we must mobilize to join in on this double campaign for the release of our Bolivian comrades, linked with the launching of a new campaign for freedom for Hugo Blanco and the other Peruvian comrades. This work is especially important for the American revolutionary socialist movement because Latin America is our government's colony. It's our responsibility to demonstrate that the American government is not representing us when it supports dictatorial regimes that murder, torture, and imprison people for their political beliefs.

Key to this effort will be our collaboration with the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, which has already been carrying out the defense of Hugo Blanco and of imprisoned political prisoners in Mexico.

Now I want to turn to a related but separate point, and that is the international antiwar movement and our obligations to it.

As the resolution points out, the new rise of the world revolution, in which the struggle of the Vietnamese has been a key element, has been an important factor in the international youth radicalization. In country after country -- from all the way down in New Zealand up to Denmark -- revolutionary youth have been inspired by the Vietnamese resistance to U.S. imperialism and have embraced the Vietnamese struggle as their own. Even the movement I referred to earlier in Yugoslavia, which raised the demand for a red university during the occupation of Belgrade University in 1968, that movement began as an anti-Vietnam war movement. We all know the tremendous potential of the antiwar movement in this country.

As a matter of fact, it has been the existence of the antiwar movement right in the United States, right in the heart of the imperialist monster itself, which has been a big factor in the rise of the antiwar movement on a world scale.

For the past period, however, for about the last year or so, there has been

a decline in the international antiwar movement, just as there was during the election period and the first period of Nixon's term in this country. But it lasted longer in the rest of the world. The Paris talks, Nixon's promises, the shift of bombing missions from North Vietnam to South Vietnam and Laos -- combined to give the illusion that the war was over or would be over soon. The bourgeois press all over the world, anxious to help defuse the antiwar movements in their own countries, presented the war as just about over. This was especially true in Britain, which has a very adroit capitalist press with a great deal of experience in reporting imperialist wars.

The impact of the October 15 and November 15 demonstrations, and the disclosure of the Song My massacre, have jarred people outside the U.S. into the realization that the war is not over. On or around November 15 there were new actions in many countries signaling a rebirth of the antiwar movement. In Copenhagen, Denmark, for example, there was a demonstration of at least 20,000 on November 15. The day before, partly as a direct response to the Moratorium, there was a very successful student strike against the war held in Copenhagen and another city. To get an idea of the scope of this action, we should remember that Denmark is a very small country, with only 4½ million inhabitants. Our comrades were in the leadership of this action, along with other forces. There were also the actions taken in France in spite of the ban on antiwar demonstrations issued by Pompidou, which you read about in The Militant. On October 25, a smaller but significant action of about 1,000 youth was held in Brussels, which brought a number of new young people around the revolutionary socialist youth organization in Belgium, the Young Socialist Guard. There have been a series of actions in Germany, and on November 23 there was one in Britain of 3,500, where our comrade Allen Myers spoke. Allen is presently on a tour of the far east for the SMC, and spoke at a December 15 action in Sydney, Australia where again our comrades were in the lead. You know better than I do the actions which took place in Canada.

Outside the U.S., the biggest action took place in Japan, against the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty and Prime Minister Sato's negotiations to return Okinawa to Japan but with U.S. bases on Okinawa intact. Hundreds of thousands of students and workers took part in those actions in mainland Japan and Okinawa. Both of these issues, of course, are deeply connected with the war in Vietnam. It is the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty which enables Japan to be used by the U.S. military for all its operations in the

Far East and especially Japan, and Okinawa is the major U.S. base in the Far East, for troops, supplies, B-52 bombers and flights of spy planes over North Vietnam, Korea and China.

In many of these actions, antiwar youth have combined slogans and demands against their own governments with the opposition to the war in Vietnam. In Australia and New Zealand this takes the direct form of calling for the withdrawal of Australian and New Zealand troops from Vietnam. In Denmark and Belgium, activists were demanding their governments cut ties with the NATO imperialist alliance. In Britain, our comrades have put forward the demand to end the complicity of the British government in the war, through the solid political support that Wilson has given to both LBJ and to Nixon, and in the name of the Labour Party, in the name of the British working class.

The new upsurge of the American antiwar movement will provide a powerful stimulus to the international antiwar movement. Our role as leaders of the left wing of this movement in the United States places upon us the obligation to help get the American antiwar movement conscious of the international role it in fact already plays, and to intervene more effectively in the international struggle. The SMC issued an international call for this fall's antiwar offensive. The SMC has sent Allen Myers on a world tour. These kinds of things we should encourage and systematize. There are more things we could be doing in this regard to give a lead to the movement internationally, like

providing information, materials, etc.

In so doing we will be acting in accordance with our internationalist convictions and program. Our internationalism is expressed in many ways. One way has been our defense of the Vietnamese right from the start -- we saw their struggle as ours, and our struggle for them as primarily a struggle against our own imperialist government which was carrying out that war. Another is our participation in working out a program of the revolutionary socialist international, for example in regard to the resolution we talked about earlier. We are internationalists both in thinking and in action, both in word and in deed. I am suggesting that we aid the SMC to step up efforts on the side of helping to coordinate international antiwar action. The tremendous growth of the SMC puts them in a position to be able to do it.

For we should make no mistake about it -- the Vietnamese revolution and the counterrevolutionary war against them spearheaded by U.S. imperialism remains the key focus of the class struggle on a world scale and here in the U.S. How that struggle goes will have a profound impact on the relation of class forces throughout the globe, and including right here in the United States. If we, together with antiwar forces throughout the world, and with the heroic self-sacrificing revolutionists of Vietnam, can stay the hand of imperialism in Vietnam, we will have given the whole world revolution a mighty impetus forward.