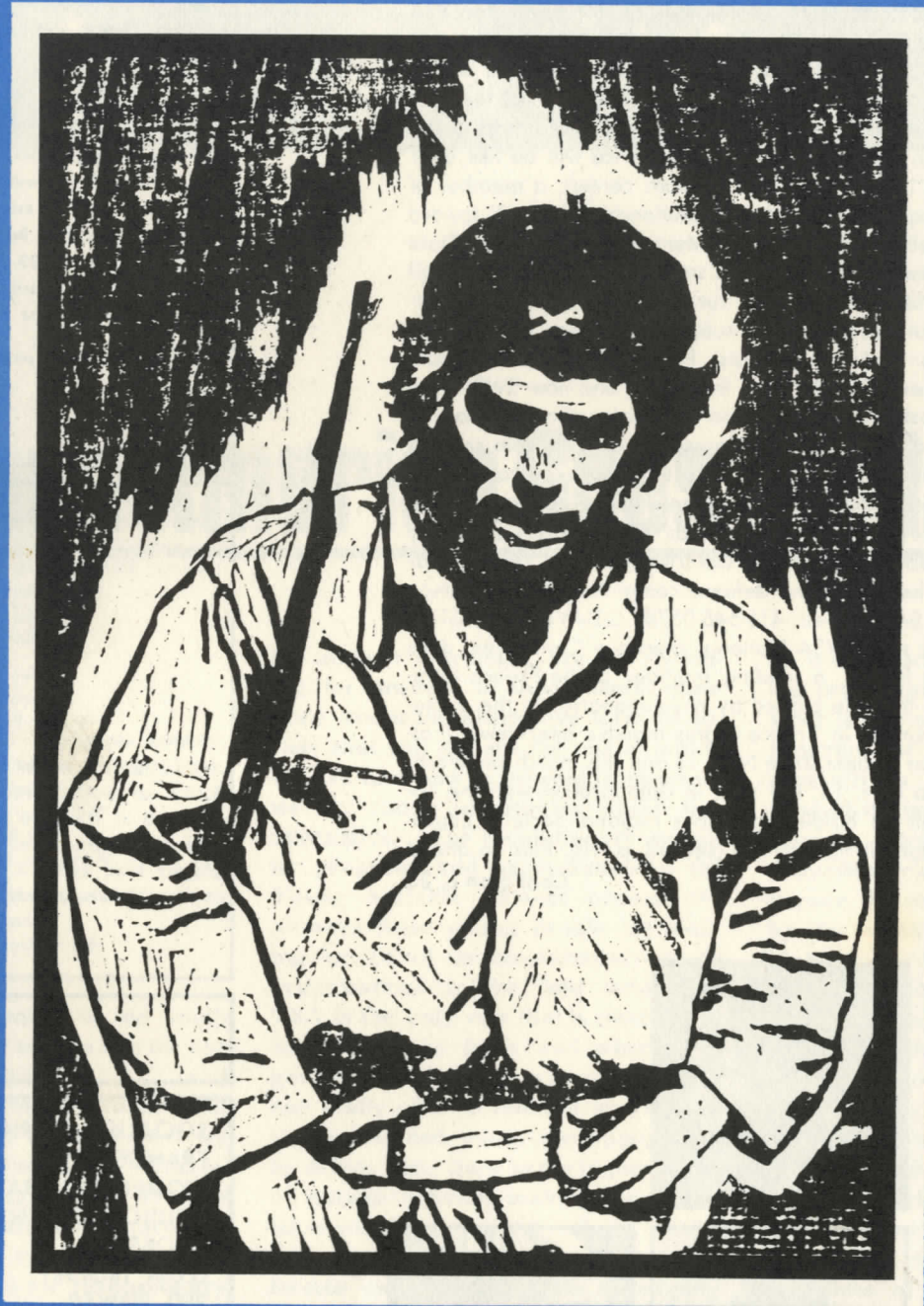


young socialist

November 1969

25 cents



**When America Goes Socialist; Trotsky; France; Red Power
Women's Liberation; Political Defense; Easy Rider**

□The woodcut of Che on the cover is by JOSE CAMACHO. This is the second original woodcut by this Chicano artist that the YS has printed. This and other posters can be ordered from La Causa, 1560 35th Ave., Oakland, Calif. □This month marks the 90th anniversary of the birth of one of history's greatest revolutionaries, Leon Trotsky. PETE SEIDMAN (top left), member of the YSA National Committee from Los Angeles, reviews two new publications by and about Trotsky in which he focuses on the relevance of Trotsky's ideas for the current generation of revolutionaries. □SUSAN CHRISTIE (top right), a member of the Manhattan YSA and a student at Hunter College, takes a look at the growing movement for red power among Indian Americans in her book review. She is part Cherokee. □LEE SMITH (bottom left), formerly the organizer of the YSA in the Twin Cities and currently a member of the Editorial Board of the YS, sketches what we can safely predict life in America will be like after the socialist revolution. □JOHN HANSEN (bottom center), a member of the San Francisco YSA, explains the YSA's revolutionary approach toward organizing a political defense. John is a student at San Francisco State College; he was an active participant in the strike initiated there last fall by the Third World Liberation Front. He is currently on appeal for a conviction stemming from that struggle. □The subject of defense is especially important because three Berkeley activists, Paul Glusman, Jack Bloom and Peter Camejo, former YSA National Secretary and now SWP organizer in Boston, have just gone on trial on conspiracy charges growing out of protests against attempts by the University of California regents to prevent Eldridge Cleaver from teaching a faculty-approved course last fall. The Berkeley 3 Defense Committee is organizing the defense around the slogans "The Berkeley 3 on Trial for Ideas" and "Fight Conspiracy Against Dissent." It needs funds badly. Contributions and requests for further information can be sent to the defense committee, 2158 Emerson Street, Berkeley, Calif. 94705. Tel: 415-548-0578. □DAVID THORSTAD (bottom right), a member of the YSA National Executive Committee, does the film review. □JEAN RAVEL, a leading member of the French Communist League, goes into the role played by revolutionaries in the evolution of the student movement in France in this month's interview. □Following the massive antiwar student strike Nov. 14 and the march on Washington and San Francisco Nov. 15, the YSA, in collaboration with the Socialist Workers Party, will be holding ambitious regional Socialist Educational Conferences throughout the country (see ad, p. 10). Plan to attend

Cont'd on p. 23



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Woodcut on cover by Jose Camacho
Mural on p. 3 by David Alfaro Siqueiros



When America Goes Socialist

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

—Marx and Engels
The Communist Manifesto

An increasing number of the youth taking part in mass actions like the one this month in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, originally brought into motion against the establishment by their opposition to the war in Vietnam, have begun to recognize that the war is only one manifestation of a thoroughly inhuman social system. Many of them sense the need for revolutionary change, and some are even consciously anticapitalist. But most of them, while they understand the important role of

By Lee Smith

the antiwar movement, are still searching for answers to fundamental questions about the alternative form of society that will replace the one in which we live and how to proceed from where we are today in bringing about this alternative. The revolutionary socialist program and organization of the Young Socialist Alliance provide the answers these young people are looking for. Of all the revolutionary youth organizations in the field today, the YSA is the only one that is clear about where it came from and where it is going. It is the only organization that can really offer to militant and revolutionary-minded youth the opportunity to devote their lives to the highest form of human activity: making the socialist revolution.

Revolutionary socialists in the YSA foresee and understand the developing stages of the struggle for socialism, and, on the basis of a program embodying their understanding, they intervene to consciously organize each of these succeeding stages. Because capitalism, suffering from prolonged crisis

on a world scale, cannot grant to working people many concessions they consider legitimate and even essential, the program of revolutionary socialism generally is a program for struggle around demands for these kinds of concessions—"transitional demands" which capitalism cannot satisfy, and which require, therefore, the taking of power by the working class in order to be realized.

While the formal program of revolutionary socialism does not embody a picture of what the future socialist society will look like, revolutionary socialists share a vision of that society, if only in its broad outlines. There is no reason to be concerned about the absence of precision on this question. We cannot know what the socialist generations will decide to do, but the general lines of development we are able to forecast give us confidence in the wisdom of their decisions.

What are these general lines of development that suggest themselves in the reality of today?



When America Goes Socialist

THE UPROOTING OF RACE DISCRIMINATION

In the immediate aftermath of the conquest of power, while the material basis for racism will have been smashed, and while we can safely assume that the heroic role played in the revolution by Afro-Americans and other third world peoples will have deeply shaken the racist ideas of many whites, some backward attitudes will persist for a brief time. During this period, we can expect forthright, decisive action by the revolutionary government to prevent the manifestation of race prejudice in any overt act of discrimination, as well as to rapidly remove existing inequalities in education, employment, housing and medical care. Many of the revolutionary leaders in the new government will be third world people. This will also be the time when blacks, Chicanos, and other minorities will be able to decide whether they want to partition the socialist republic into separate states or join with whites in a single, multinational revolutionary state. Whatever decision each group makes, bonds of solidarity will displace mutual antagonisms as all sections advance toward communism and new generations are born into a rationally and democratically planned economy of abundance.

THE FAMILY

The nuclear family will undoubtedly continue briefly after the overthrow of capitalism on a relatively broad scale. But even in this initial stage, we can predict drastic changes in the role of the family. Rapid development of a household industry, communal kitchens and dining rooms, free automated restaurants, free day care centers and free boarding schools will liberate women from the drudgery to which they are assigned under capitalism, allowing them to enter any field of work they choose, and making possible their active participation in politics on an equal footing with men. As with third world people, it is likely that many of the revolutionary leaders will be women.

Marriage will lose its legal sanctity. It is possible that legal (recorded) marriages and divorces could be handled by dropping a postcard in the mailbox. The prohibition against abortions will be scrapped and there will be free access to birth control for everyone beyond the age of puberty.

Over time, it is reasonable to expect that monogamous marriage and the nuclear family will wither away along with other institutions carried over from class society. Children in a socialist society will not "belong to" one set of biological parents, but will look upon all adults as their mothers and fathers. In turn, adults will view them as children of the whole community. During the years they require extensive care, training and affection, the children will be raised by professionals who choose to specialize in such work.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

The workers' state established by the revolution can move immediately to abolish on a world scale the majority of suffering caused by disease. This is so because the problem under capitalism is not in most cases that there is no known treatment or means of prevention, but instead that it is not profitable to make these available to the poverty-ridden victims. Beyond the abolition of diseases for which the cure is already known, vast resources and energy freed by the elimination of waste and military spending will make possible the conquest of diseases for which the cure is not yet known. The overwhelming emphasis of medicine will shift from treatment to the prevention of disease and the maintenance of good health. The mystique of American medicine which leads many doctors today to believe they rank somewhere above mortals and below the angels will disappear as more medical schools, training centers, clinics and hospitals are built, and as tens of thousands of revolutionary youth sweep past the ruins of arbitrary limits on the number of doctors to embark on medical careers.

Medical care will be one of the first things made free to all by the revolution.

HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION

A major campaign of the victorious American revolution will be a crash program to provide every member of the society with a decent place to live. This will mean the construction of millions of light, clean, modern apartments to replace the decaying, squalid, pest-infested living quarters of people in cities all over the U.S. Along with housing, socialism will provide free, safe

and efficient mass transportation systems to reduce reliance on automobiles.

RECLAMATION AND CONSERVATION

The garbage the capitalists have dumped into the oceans, rivers, earth and atmosphere will pose a challenging problem to socialist science. We may suppose that great attention will be devoted to restoring and maintaining ecological balance. In line with this, there will undoubtedly be imaginative experimentation designed to find the most desirable combination of features from the rural and urban environments for human habitation.

POLICE AND PRISONS

Capitalist police, along with the whole capitalist state apparatus, will be smashed by the revolution. Workers' councils will exercise police power through a workers' militia so long as the exercise of police power remains necessary. Once the counterrevolution has been solidly defeated, capital punishment will be abolished forever. The horrible prisons existing under capitalism, while they may be used temporarily for those who oppose the revolution by force, will begin to be replaced immediately with rehabilitation programs that allow most law violators to remain at home during their sentence and with pleasant reform camps staffed by skilled psychologists and social workers. At these camps or resorts, prisoners will have privacy in their quarters and be allowed regular visits by their wives and husbands. They will have opportunity for education, recreation and productive work at the going wage. All those serving time when the revolution comes to power will have their cases reviewed and be released or reassigned to a resort. (The wardens and guards of capitalist prisons may be among the first assigned to these reform resorts.)

The capitalist courts will be junked in favor of workers' tribunals which will act according to a new and simplified code of socialist justice. Bourgeois lawbooks will be sent to the museum.

Eventually, even this softened coercive apparatus will be allowed to wither away, as the concept of crime recedes into the past.

“Freedom under capitalism consists of consciously recognizing the necessity for socialism and dedicating your life to its achievement.”



“LENIN SWEEPS AWAY THE FILTH OF THE WORLD.”

EDUCATION

Socialist schools will be radically different from the regimented, authoritarian schools we see in capitalist society today. Students and faculty will jointly administer the schools, just as they will participate in the government of society as a whole through their elected deputies to the soviets or councils that will administer the state and the economy. Along with an immediate and continuing upgrading in the range and quality of course material, we can project more free time for students all the way down to the elementary level for self-study of topics they wish to pursue, more boarding schools, more freedom for students to travel from one geographic area to another. Of course, there will be free access to education all the way to the postgraduate level.

In addition, there will very likely be special programs conducted for everyone—to teach languages for example, an area of backwardness in this country that will need to be remedied in an internationalist society.

THE MILITARY

A precondition for the victory of the revolution will be the revolutionary temper of the men in the armed forces; the revolutionary reorganization of the army, navy and air force will be part of the actual process of the revolution. Once power is secured, the new state may want to maintain at least part of these mighty forces under arms long enough to discourage resistance by the ruling classes in other nations to the revolutions that will occur there in the wake of the American success. After that the socialist societies of the world can begin dismantling their military

operations together, begin looking for means to dispose of the heinous chemical-biological weapons stockpiled by imperialism, and begin searching for new productive uses for nuclear energy.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

The revolution, in coming to power, will nationalize the major means of production and exchange, bringing into existence a new mode of production, based on social ownership of the means of production and collective appropriation of the social surplus product. While workers will continue to be paid wages in money to exchange for commodities during a long initial period, a socialist mode of distribution will eventually replace the old method as abundance overtakes scarcity and automation and cybernation eliminate human labor from the sphere of production. It is entirely realistic to speculate that, within a century after the insurrection, money and commodity production will have withered away as absurdities in an economy requiring no human labor and producing more than enough to satisfy the needs of everyone.

Long before this happens, workers will have ceased to have to pay individually for rent, food, medical care or transportation. The length of the work week will be sharply reduced immediately and very soon after that cut in half. The management of shops and factories will be in the hands of those who work there. Again, more than administering their own workplace, these workers will also participate in the administration of the whole economy and society through their elected delegates.

SOCIALIST MAN AND SOCIALIST WOMAN

The kind of men and women socialized in a society free from material

scarcity and the need to labor as a condition for survival will be like those written about by Maxim Gorky in *Mother*: "There will come a time, I know, when people will take delight in one another, when each will be a star to the other, and when each will listen to his fellow as to music. The free men will walk upon the earth, men great in their freedom. They will walk with open hearts, and the heart of each will be pure of envy and greed, and therefore all mankind will be without malice, and there will be nothing to divorce the heart from reason. Then life will be one great service to man! His figure will be raised to lofty heights—for to free men all heights are attainable. Then we shall live in truth and freedom and in beauty, and those will be accounted best who will the more widely embrace the world with their hearts, and whose love of it will be the profoundest; those will be the best who will be the freest; for in them is the greatest beauty. Then will life be great, and the people will be great who live that life."

THE FIRST STEP

The kind of freedom Gorky wrote about will only be possible in a society like the one sketched above. It is impossible under capitalism. Freedom under capitalism consists of consciously recognizing the necessity for socialism and dedicating your life to its achievement. In embracing that freedom, you help the entire family of mankind take the first step from capitalism to communism. You can take that step yourself by joining the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Evolution of the French Student Movement

JS: *What are the origins of the youth radicalization in France and what has been the evolution of the French student and youth movement since May 1968?*

A: Well, it is difficult to say because the student movement as we used to know it no longer exists. To understand this we have to take a look at some of its history.

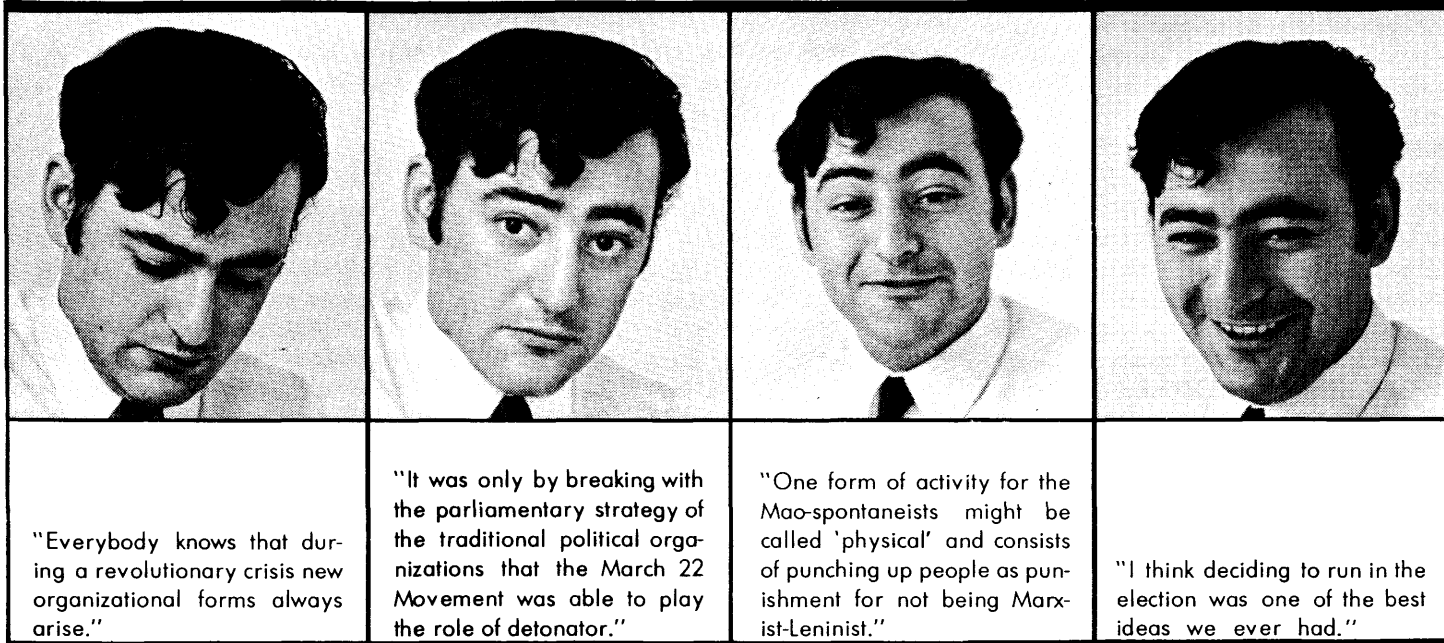
Before May '68, the student movement went through a deep crisis due to the lack of political perspectives after the end of the Algerian war. During the Algerian war the student movement was very strong. That was the most glorious time for UNEF [National Union of French Students], which was able to mobilize tens of thousands of students in street demonstrations oppos-

ing the policy of the French government during the Algerian war.

With the end of the Algerian war in 1962, the leadership of UNEF tried to find something else around which to mobilize the students. This was an experiment called student syndicalism, which was an attempt to build the student movement according to the working class pattern.

That experiment lasted from 1963 to 1967 and consisted of organizing two sorts of campaigns: the first one was an anti-imperialist campaign of opposition to the Vietnam war and the remaining possessions of French imperialism. These campaigns were the only ones to meet with any success. The second type of campaign was "syndicalist." These were campaigns against the educational policies of the French

JEAN RAVEL, COMMUNIST LEAGUE



government, embodied in the Fouchet Reform, named for DeGaulle's Minister of Education.

The Fouchet Reform is similar to reforms in other developed countries. Since the bourgeoisie can no longer be satisfied with the kind of studies the youth have been getting in the universities, it has to "adapt studies to modern life," which means adapt them to the economic interests of the ruling class. That is done by making exams much more difficult than before, so more students fail and are then rapidly thrown onto the labor market. It also means implementing short, "practical" courses of study which are useful to industry and big business.

So UNEF tried to organize demonstrations and permanent struggle against the Fouchet Reform. In doing so, it did not for one minute enter into the parliamentary game of the Communist Party, and in fact carried on its struggles to the left of the CP. Yet, did struggling against the educational policy of the government mean that it would fight the government's policy as a whole? Was UNEF a revolutionary, vanguard movement or was it a mass, vaguely anticapitalist movement? There were never clear answers to these questions.

Another thing which led to the failure of the experiment in student syndicalism was UNEF's strategy of mobilizing students around issues relating to them alone. For instance, while it wrote and distributed lots of texts explaining that the ideological end of education was to teach the ideology of the ruling class, it did not sufficiently draw the lessons of the nature of the state in France under DeGaulle.

UNEF tried to remain the kind of social pressure group that it had been during the parliamentary stage of the political power of the bourgeoisie during the Fourth Republic. What it did not realize was that the Fifth Republic represented another stage, that of the strong state. First of all, it did not understand that its methods in no way endangered De Gaulle's strong state. Secondly, the leadership of UNEF was never clear about the nature of Stalinism. Even if it did not have the same methods as the Stalinist parties, it never understood the difference in approach that they could have and that we could have with the Communist Party and the Communist youth inside UNEF.

A further difference between their conception and ours was their illusions about the potential of a mass movement without a revolutionary party. They did not believe in the political role of the vanguard. For them vanguard was the same as grouplets, impotent political bodies, factional struggles. This, then, is briefly the experience of what we call the student syndicalist left.

When it became obvious that the student syndicalist left had been such a failure that it disappeared, UNEF was bureaucratically taken over by the youth group of the PSU [Unified Socialist Party], which is a sort of left social democratic, centrist party. The ambiguity of UNEF was very suitable to the ambiguity of the PSU.

JS: What role did revolutionary socialists play in UNEF?

A: We intentionally did not play a role in UNEF until a certain point.

The best work that Trotskyists could do in the youth radicalization in France during the early sixties was inside the UEC [Union of Communist Students], the youth organization of the Communist Party. You have to understand that this Communist youth organization was the most advanced political organization in France at the time. It was quite strong, with around 4,000 members around 1963. The level of the political and ideological discussion inside it had no comparison with anything else in France at that moment.

After our expulsion from the UEC and our birth on Easter 1966 as the JCR [Revolutionary Communist Youth], we organized demonstrations of support to the colonial revolution and especially the Vietnamese revolution. It was only in the fall of 1967 that we began to deal seriously with the problem of UNEF and with campus activity per se. We carried out several big propaganda campaigns around the Fouchet Reform and the government's educational policy. And we made a serious analysis of the student milieu, and dealt very closely with the problem of how to join the student struggles with those of the workers.

In November 1967 occurred the first mass student demonstrations since 1963, the first to bring in high school students. The JCR played a big role in organizing these demonstrations. As

the leaders of the UNEF section of Nanterre, we were able to organize a big strike at the end of November 1967, as well as a strike committee of students both inside and outside of UNEF.

The University of Nanterre was on strike for ten days. Though on the whole this strike was not an immediate political success, in a long-range sense it was announcing something else, which we were not aware of at the time.

In 1967-68 the French student movement was very divided. First there was UNEF, bureaucratically led by the PSU. Second, the JCR. Third, the FER [Federation of Revolutionary Students]. Fourth, the Maoists, though they were not really involved in the student movement because their analysis was that because of its social origins, the student movement was petty-bourgeois and that student revolutionaries had to leave the university and go and serve the people.

Following these big demonstrations in the fall of 1967, the social atmosphere in France was very tense and there were many wildcat strikes. It was in this atmosphere that the March 22 Movement in Nanterre came into being. This movement, which was formed by some JCR comrades together with Daniel Cohn-Bendit, represented a very important development in the life of the student movement.

The March 22 Movement was an example of the detonator role the student movement was able to play two months later. Just like the student movement as a whole two months later, it refused to go along with the traditional political life of the workers' organizations and the traditional parties. It broke completely with what we call pure trade unionism.

It was only by breaking so suddenly and so completely with the parliamentary strategy of the traditional political organizations and with the pressure group strategy of the traditional student movement that it was able to play the role of detonator. Later, the student movement organized mass street demonstrations whether it was forbidden or not. Because of its militancy, it became a movement for all youth who vaguely felt they were against the regime and who, during the political crisis in May '68, joined the student movement because it was organizing political struggle against the regime.

"The action committees which grew up during May '68 were a new organizational form which reminded you of the Russian Revolution. I am not saying that we had soviets in France in May '68, but these action committees certainly could have become soviets."

JS: What kind of impact did the crisis of May '68 have on the student movement?

A: Well, for the first time in four or five years, UNEF regained a certain strength—not because of any inherent qualities, really, but because it served as a rallying point since its name was widely known, and because inside it were politically organized tendencies that were able to mobilize. UNEF was able to group people not on the basis of a program but of action. Thousands came to its demonstrations who had never before participated in any political demonstration.

We participated in the demonstrations of May '68 both as Trotskyist members of the JCR and as members of UNEF. Everybody knew who we were and that the defense guards and marshalls for the mass demonstrations in the early part of May '68 were the defense guard of the JCR, the Trotskyist movement.

The action committees which grew up during May '68 were a new organizational form which reminded you of the Russian Revolution. I am not saying that we had soviets in France in May '68, but these action committees certainly could have become soviets. They were totally spontaneous formations which many students joined because they understood that they had to participate in the revolutionary crisis, but who either did not know about or did not want to join UNEF or the traditional political groups. Everybody knows that during a revolutionary crisis new organizational forms like these action committees always arise.

What we had some difficulty understanding at that moment, however, was that the action committees were going to decline so rapidly. When the revolutionary crisis was building up, political life was easy to understand, in a way, the political activities to carry out were so obvious. Everybody knew more or less what to do. It was simply obvious. Activists found their political life in the street, inside the uni-

versity departments, in the factories, in the fight against bourgeois repression.

When it became obvious that the bourgeoisie had recovered, that DeGaulle by his good luck had reversed the relationship of forces, and that the question of taking political power was no longer on the agenda, the entire student movement changed in nature. It became the exact opposite of what it had been some weeks earlier. No longer was everything obvious. Consequently, all the political problems and especially the organizational problems took on more and more importance.

In those conditions a big demoralization set in, especially in the student milieu and in the action committees. Little by little the March 22 Movement began to decline. A kind of mindless activism arose which pretended to still be in a revolutionary situation after it had passed.

It was at this point that spontaneism really began to grow. If spontaneism has taken on such an importance in France, it is due to the fact that everybody understood that the revolution had been betrayed by the Communist Party, and those less politically advanced people made an identification between the Communist Party and *any* political party. Spontaneism, therefore, was a strong reaction against the betrayal of the Stalinist party.

The spontaneists did not want any organization to stop the revolution from taking place, and they thought that if only there had been no political organization in France in May '68, the great mass mobilizations could have won the battle against the bourgeoisie.

JS: What are the different tendencies in the student movement in France? What influence and weight do they have?

A: First of all, there is the Stalinist organization, the Union of Communist Students. It has organized a tendency inside the dying UNEF which it calls "UNEF for its renewal." From *their* point of view this tendency has been an organizational success. It has

brought together several thousand students. But who are they? The Stalinists themselves, of course, who lead it. The others include the traditionally apolitical students, who were formerly organized as tendencies in mass organizations opposing UNEF since they considered it to be too political. One of these was an organization created by Michel Debre in 1961 when he was Prime Minister to oppose the anti-imperialist struggle of UNEF because Debre was for a French Algeria.

The Communist youth organization has become completely reformist in the most right-wing sense of the word. For instance, it demands more buildings, more money, more clever courses—in a word, it is fighting for a better university within the capitalist system. It simply wants a better university. All French students want a better university, so it has a lot of students with it, you see. That's part of its rightist degeneration.

Edgar Faure, the French Minister of Education, has an educational reform which he calls "participation" and which means that the teachers, the professors, the students, and the high school students participate in councils which run the universities and high schools together with representatives of the school administrations and the government. These councils, of course, have no power at all. Yet, this Faure Reform could never have been applied if the Communist teachers and students in "UNEF for its renewal" had not fought so strongly for it.

Another tendency is the Mao-spontaneists, who are against any form of organization. They have grown considerably during recent months, though I am not sure they will continue to do so. One of their main forms of action is to pretend to kill from time to time. This is no joke. So badly do they want to unmask the bourgeois teachers, the "revisionists," as they say, that they have organized to physically fight the traitors, etc. They also attempt to gain a foothold in the factories with their super-proletarian tendency to "serve the people" and "be under the command

"If spontaneism has taken on such an importance in France, it is due to the fact that everybody understood that the revolution had been betrayed by the Communist Party."

of the workers," totally lacking any political perspective. They have three sorts of activities: first, what might be called "physical" activities, and which consist of punching up people as a punishment for not being Marxist-Leninist; second, pure trade unionist activities for economic demands; and third, without any relation to the other two, promoting the cult of Mao Tse-tung and Mao Tse-tung Thought.

But you can't create a real program with that, and that is why I think that although they may not disappear, they will not remain a political force for a very long time.

I am not speaking about the true Maoists because they don't deal at all with the university, because the university is "petty-bourgeois." They are the most backward Stalinists you can conceive of. They approve of the Moscow Trials, Stalin's concentration camps and they have begun a determined fight against Trotskyism. They can see that we are growing, and unlike the good old days, the relationship of forces is no longer in their favor.

For some months now, the Trotskyist movement, which is called the Communist League, is no longer a purely student movement. As a result, the student movement is no longer our main preoccupation. This in no way means that we are going to disappear from the campus. We know what the possibilities are of radicalizing the youth, and especially the student youth, but we are no longer a student group.

Obviously we have to be present in the universities, we have to organize students. The question is around what issues, and for what goals? We think there is a very small possibility of recreating a mass, purely student movement, as UNEF was during the Algerian war. Rather, we believe that each ideological pole will try to organize its own more or less mass student organization.

JS: Last spring the Communist League ran Alain Krivine for President of the French Republic in what was a very lively campaign. What was the reaction of French youth to his campaign?

A: This campaign met with a very enthusiastic response, especially among youth. You have to understand that this was the first revolutionary campaign on this scale since the immediate post-war period. It was the first time that a revolutionary militant appeared on TV before tens of millions of workers, the first time that a revolutionary organization had printed hundreds of thousands of leaflets and posters. I must say that it was even a joke among us how many millions of francs the government had spent helping to advance the cause of revolution.

JS: What did the campaign accomplish?

A: The first gain was political. Perhaps not for us directly, but for the political education of thousands of people who discovered that there was an organization fighting the capitalist regime and the bourgeoisie, an organization which was not at all on the same level as the traditional political parties but which was really revolutionary.

Second, there were many workers who agreed with us and were even enthusiastic about Krivine's campaign but who did not vote for him because they felt that his campaign would just be a sudden explosion and after that nothing. They now know that was not the case. Their progress has been ideological, but not always organizational. Even though they may have disagreed with the leadership and political policies of the CP, they may not have dared to break with it.

Nonetheless, we have won over and recruited a lot of militants who, after the defeat of the revolutionary movement in May '68, could see that the struggle was indeed continuing and that we were one of the most, if not the most important tendency to do so.

Krivine's campaign clearly showed everyone that the Trotskyist movement was not made up only of intellectuals and students, but that it was a rounded revolutionary organization dealing with all sectors of the French population. As a matter of fact, since Krivine's

campaign we have become a political pole capable of organizing not only the students, but also working-class youth. Without any doubt, it was a big step forward in building the organization from which we shall build the revolutionary party.

Krivine not only spoke on the same mass media as the bourgeois candidates, but he was also able to speak to the workers of Renault, one of the main plants in the Parisian suburbs and a stronghold of the Stalinist party. It is a testimony to the impact of his campaign that an old leader of the Communist Party has just written a book entitled *Trotskyism and Anti-Leninism*. The Communist League is now known by millions of people (not all of whom are Bolsheviks, of course) as a political pole capable of organizing and even leading struggles.

JS: How, concretely, in your work as revolutionary socialists, do you encounter spontaneism? How does ultraleftism present an obstacle to the development of a revolutionary movement in France?

A: Ultraleftists are activists in the French sense, that is, they act without thinking about why they act. They have no political perspectives. They act because they have to prove first of all to themselves that they exist. They mix up all kinds of things.

For example, following Krivine's campaign there was a big confusion and division among the Maoists about it. Some said, "Krivine's campaign was naturally opportunist because Trotskyists are by their very nature opportunists, but since Krivine is not an enemy of the people, we should have given him critical support." A few Maoists said that. Some of them, in line with the old Stalinist traditions, said, "The Trotskyists are against the working class, Krivine is a little petty-bourgeois intellectual who has never had anything to do with the working class, and since Trotskyism is against the working class, always has been and always will be, we are against Krivine's campaign and we denounce Krivine's campaign." That was the Maoists.

Now for the Mao-spontaneists, who are more or less anarchist: "To run an election campaign is to be integrated by the bourgeoisie. Trotskyism went so far to the right that it left the revolutionary scene, was captured on the battlefield of the bourgeoisie, and now Krivine is just a part of the extreme left wing of the bourgeoisie." He is a little to the left of the "revisionists," as they say, but on the whole he is of the same nature because he wants to have his picture on the wall, to give press conferences, he wants his organization to become an election-oriented organization and to participate in bourgeois political life just like any other bourgeois organization, etc., etc.

What these people did not understand at all was that it was the biggest opportunity French revolutionaries had ever had to gain a mass audience. They didn't see that you can use the means offered us by the bourgeoisie in order to promote the aim of revolution. In short, they are not political because they don't understand that what is important is the political content of the campaign. We reached thousands of people through this campaign who would never have been reached by *any* revolutionary group or newspaper through the ordinary means at their disposal. And that counts a lot. Part of our task, after all, is to be known by those people, though of course it is only a beginning. Once you are known by the people you can continue to deepen your roots. But you have to be permanently and closely in contact with the most politically advanced of those people.

What the spontaneist groupings especially did not understand was that appearing in an election does not prevent one from organizing struggles. They forget that first of all it is important not to remain a little group known only by ten or twenty or perhaps two hundred militants, but to be known by the masses. The division they saw between participating in the elections and organizing struggles shows how limited their political horizons were. Every little group claims that it wants to reach the masses, but to reach them you have to make use of the means at your disposal. This election campaign was one of the most marvelous means we had. I think de-

cidng to run in the election was one of the best ideas we ever had.

YS: What are the perspectives for the revolutionary movement in France?

2: Political life in France at the moment is very unpredictable so it would be risky to make predictions. What we will be able to do, however, and what we will have to do is continue to develop as the revolutionary Marxist pole we have become since May '68 and Krivine's campaign. That means continuing to play a leading role in the student and high school student movement, and especially sinking deeper roots in the workers' movement, which is decisive in the final analysis.

We shall also expand our means of propoganda. Our weekly newspaper

Rouge, for example, will probably soon have a press run of 75,000. Our goal is for this to increase to 100,000 by the time of our next convention. We will also be expanding our theoretical publications, and plan to begin publishing books this fall.

Our main perspective, of course, is to build a revolutionary organization so that if another crisis like May '68 happens, and we think it will, we will be able to play a decisive role throughout the country, in the main plants, in the decisive places of work. We are working now to be in a position then to put forward the slogans and perspectives for action that will prevent the revolutionary movement from being disappointed as it was in May '68.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES

During the months of November and December, the revolutionary socialist movement is conducting several educational conferences in different parts of the country. These conferences are directed toward such topics as Imperialism, Vietnam, Cuba and Palestine; Black and Chicano Liberation; Women's Liberation; Reform and Revolution; Electoral Action and the History of the Revolutionary Movement. Participating in these conferences are such leaders of the socialist movement as Jack Barnes, Paul Boutelle, Peter Buch, Peter Camejo, Linda Jenness, Tom Kerry, Derrick Morrison and George Novack. Dates are listed where they are available. For more information about the schedule and location of the conference in your area, contact:

AUSTIN, TEXAS
University of Austin
Dec. 6, 7
Contact: YSA, Rm 354
Texas Union
U of Austin 78712

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
Nov. 28, 29, 30
Contact: YSA, 1702 E. 4th St.
Los Angeles, Cal. 90033

BAY AREA, CALIFORNIA
Contact: YSA, 2338 Market St.
San Francisco, Cal. 94114.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
New York University
Dec. 5, 6, 7
Contact: YSA, 873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

BOSTON, MASS.
Nov. 1, 2
Contact: YSA, 295 Huntington Ave.
Boston, Mass. 02115

ST. LOUIS, MO.
Nov. 28, 29, 30
Contact: YSA, 2986-A Lawton Pl.
St. Louis, Mo. 63103

CLEVELAND, OHIO
Contact: YSA, 13900 Euclid Ave.
East Cleveland, Ohio 44112

SEATTLE, WASH.
Contact: YSA, 5257 University Way, N.E.
Seattle, Wash. 98105

WASHINGTON, D. C.
Dec. 6, 7
Contact: YSA, 4103 Davis Pl.
Washington, D. C.

CONTINUE THE FALL OFFENSIVE



**Best revolutionary
youth group going.
JOIN.**

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA. . .

clip and mail

Young Socialist Alliance
P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

- I want to join the YSA
 I would like more information

Name

Address

City

State Zip

Phone



WOMEN LOOK AROUND YOU!

The leaflet reproduced on these pages was distributed to incoming freshmen at the University of Florida by the Gainesville YSA.

Welcome to the University of Florida campus. Today a special meeting was prepared for you to hear from various women's organizations at our university, among them Mortar Board, Panhellenic Council, and the cheerleaders. These women will tell you about the opportunities available at the U of F for you to be recognized for excellence socially, scholastically, and personally.

HOWEVER, there is no representative from a women's liberation group speaking to you today. You will not hear about the REAL status of women on this campus, about the exploitation of women students. This will be told to you here.

Your first introduction to your status will be during your first weekends on the campus. You are made to feel an outcast if you do not have a date, as if something is wrong with you if you are seen downtown on a weekend night alone, with a friend, or a group of women. This is further emphasized on football weekends. You are made to feel you cannot go to a Gator game without a date; therefore, you miss the game. At halftime, women dance down the field as Gatorettes, dressed in brief costumes, for the sole purpose of looking sexually attractive to men.

The exploitation of women on this campus is also demonstrated by the Miss and Mrs. U of F, Homecoming Queen, fraternity sweethearts, Gator Girl in the *Alligator*, and fraternity little sister organizations. Women are put on a pedestal as a commodity for men to approve, admire, and "buy." You must starve yourself, have the latest fashions, hair style, and make-up in order to be the IDEAL college woman. As a consumer commodity, you are forced to be on the competitive market with other women, thus alienating you from your sisters in the struggle for women's equality.

Sororities are one source of this exploitation. You must have the right line, glamor, the right clothes and money in order to become a member of this elite group. If you are "lucky" enough to get a bid, from this point on your life is not your own: you are told whom to date, what to wear, when to study, when to eat, when to meet, where to go, and what time to be there. More than once in your college career you will see the "epitome of sisterhood" deteriorate into backstabbing and cattiness.

Look around you! How many women professors do you see? How many women are even encouraged to obtain a doctorate degree? Another example of the degrading position of women in this society. How many

of you are on scholarship? Wait a minute—how many of you are on a scholarship other than one for nursing or teaching? Women, traditionally, are considered less desirable scholarship risks because "they are only here to look for a husband." Your counselors and instructors look upon you in this light and therefore encourage you to be a nurse or a teacher. What a great profession for a woman! You learn to work with children or with sick people: what great preparation for your life as a slave to a man and children.

Your instructors also have a subtle habit of discounting or ignoring any contribution you might make to class discussion, especially in mixed classes. You will soon learn that it is best for a woman to keep her mouth shut!

If you are in the position of having to earn part or all of your expenses sometime during your college years, you will inevitably be asked the question, "Can you type?" You are not considered more capable than that no matter how much education or how many degrees. AND FURTHER-MORE, you are supposed to be thankful if you get a clerical job.

In addition, as part of the university working force and the Gainesville work force, you will, in most cases, be paid less than a male for the same job, because you are a woman. There are many places in Gainesville that will not even hire co-eds, but will hire high school male students instead.

These discriminatory practices against women at the U of F campus are indicative of the society as a whole—a society that is in the grips of an economic system that not only oppresses the majority of the population for the benefit of a few rich families and corporations, but every woman regardless of background or race.

Look around you!! Look for the manifestations of your oppression, now that you are a woman student on the U of F campus. If you identify with this oppression or would like more information on the women's struggle, write to the Young Socialist Alliance, Box 13157, University Station. The YSA is a youth organization which works for the end of discrimination against women, the end of racism, and the end of aggressive wars against oppressed people who are struggling for self-determination.

"The quarrel will go on as long as men and women fail to recognize each other as peers. . . . He [man] would be liberated himself in their [women's] liberation. But this is precisely what he dreads. And so he obstinately persists in the mystifications intended to keep woman in her chains."

— *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK
EQUAL ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN ALL FIELDS
WRITE WOMEN BACK INTO HISTORY
BIRTH CONTROL DEVICES AND INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO ALL
REMOVAL OF ALL RESTRICTIONS ON ABORTION
FREEDOM FROM RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHILDREN SO THAT
WOMEN MAY BE PROFESSIONALS. NURSERY AND DAY-CARE
CENTERS
END THE CONSUMER PRODUCT STATUS OF WOMEN

These are the struggles for equality of women.



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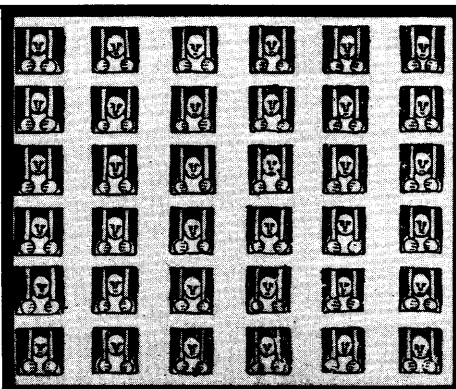
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These are the struggles for equality of women.

Sectarianism and lack of clarity on the question of legal defense is not a new phenomenon. Many Wobblies, for example, opposed it, incorrectly thinking it would detract from IWW organizing efforts. Today, ultraleftists sometimes call defense a "bull shit issue."

The YSA has gained valuable experience in defending itself against attacks by the ruling class. Its Marxist approach to defense as detailed in this article has not only successfully protected its membership, but has also led to a strengthening of the revolutionary movement.

HOW TO ORGANIZE POLITICAL DEFENSE



With an ever-increasing number of radical activists facing arrest and court trials, and with the growing repression of the struggle for black and third world liberation, the question of political defense is becoming increasingly important. The ability of radical groups to defend themselves today will often determine whether or not they are here tomorrow. As the need for defense grows sharper, so do the differences between a Marxist concept of political defense and that of such ultraleft sectarian tendencies as the Progressive Labor Party. The debate is not an idle one, for the stakes involved are human lives and, in many cases, victory or victimization for the entire movement.

THE BACKGROUND

The history of the Trotskyist movement in the United States, insofar as

political defense is concerned, is a long one, traceable to the early 1920s and the role played by people like James P. Cannon and Rose Karsner in the International Labor Defense committee, which was organized by the Communist Party. In the ensuing fifty years, the Trotskyist movement has participated in hundreds of committees, defending men and women who, in spite of whatever political disagreement they may have had either with each other or with us, had one thing in common: all were political victims guilty of no other crime than that of fighting a repressive, barbaric system rooted in inequality and exploitation.

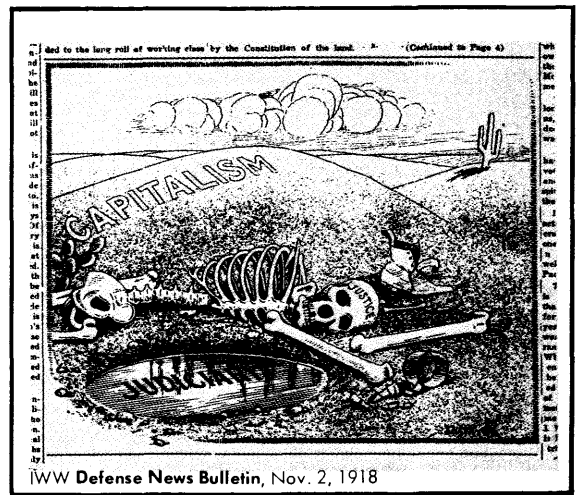
Two of the most famous of these defense efforts were waged on behalf of Leon Trotsky in the wake of the infamous Stalin purge trials and the Minneapolis Twenty-Eight. The latter were Trotskyist and trade union leaders, Cannon among them, who were accused of sedition under the 1940 Smith Anti-Subversion Act, the first statute since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 to make mere advocacy of ideas a federal crime.

Our efforts in the defense of Trotsky were no small factor in the eventual "not guilty" verdict rendered by the Dewey Commission. This verdict not only cleared Trotsky of all of the charges concocted by Stalin, but helped expose the true nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In the case of the Minneapolis group, the defense campaign did not avert a conviction and jail term, although thanks to its efforts the jail term was relatively short. And it is no small matter that despite the efforts of the government and the Communist Party — which not only did not support the defense but actually called for the conviction of the defendants — a massive defense was built involving organizations representing over three million workers thus defeating the government's plans to shatter the SWP.

In itself such an achievement was considerable. Yet the defense went far beyond this. The courtroom testimony of Cannon is one of the finest examples of a principled political defense ever conducted. It effectively turned the prisoner's dock into a public forum to articulate in plain terms the principles

By John Hansen



of socialism and the Trotskyist movement to tens of thousands of workers. Cannon himself wrote, "The trial was by far our greatest propaganda success."

Even the brief history of the YSA has had its full share of examples and successes in the field of political defense. The most notable of these was the victorious case of the three Bloomington YSAers who were accused of plotting to overthrow the government of the state of Indiana by violence. More recently, we have participated in the defense of various socialist and anti-war GIs, among them Howard Petrick and the Fort Jackson Eight.

All of these defense campaigns contained three key components which make up the guiding principles behind the YSA's entire approach to defense. These are a correct understanding of the nature of the courts and democratic rights, the nature of the political defense committee, and the nature of political defense in the courtroom.

THE COURTS AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Most radical activists understand that the courts, like all other institutions in capitalist America, are instruments of the ruling class. Although they maintain the illusory facade that everyone is equal before the law, in reality they use the legal system to defend the interests of those in power. It is the duty of every activist to dispel any illusions held on this score by student defendants and newly radicalizing youth.

This in no way means, however, that the movement should ignore the legal aspects of any defense case. As Cannon wrote concerning the Minneapolis trial in 1940, where the very existence of the Socialist Workers Party was at

stake: "It was not our duty to facilitate the work of the prosecution, but to make it more difficult, insofar as this could be done without renouncing any principle. . . . Naturally, we decided to utilize to the fullest extent each and every legal protection, technicality and resource available to us under the law and Constitution. A party leadership hesitating or neglecting to do this would frivolously jeopardize the legality of the party and show a very wasteful attitude indeed toward party cadres."

At the heart of this readiness to use every legal means available is not a belief in the fairness or the impartiality of the American judicial system, but rather a thorough Marxian understanding of the nature of American bourgeois democracy.

Whatever democratic freedoms the American people, the labor movement and Afro-Americans now enjoy were not generously bestowed upon them as free-will offerings from the good-hearted possessors of property and power. They had to be torn from the ruling class through bitter and prolonged battles, and sometimes with arms in hand. Laws protecting our rights are written into the Constitution and federal and state laws not because they in any way benefit the ruling class but because they have been fought for and won through struggle.

Such democratic victories are, of course, not static. The ruling class, through a variety of means, both in and out of the courtroom, is constantly attempting to erode these rights. This is precisely what groups like PL do not understand. Considering all democratic freedoms and rights to be a ruling-class plot to subvert the "true struggle," they are quite willing to see such "revi-

sionist" rights as freedom of speech and assembly and freedom to organize go by the board. What PL refuses to recognize is the fact that the democratic, constitutional and legal rights of the American people are the most valuable political acquisitions of their past struggles. They are an indispensable instrument of struggle against any encroachment, assault or erosion by the forces of reaction.

Three points, then, need to be stressed: 1) the courts are neither impartial, fair, nor, for that matter, even lawful; 2) no serious movement can afford to ignore the legal aspect of a defense; and 3) legal rights are not gifts of the ruling class but have been won in struggle and must be defended in struggle.

One of the key aspects of such a struggle is the involvement of mass numbers. Only the pressure of mass publicity and support can defend and extend democratic rights. Only the pressure of aroused masses can force the capitalist courts to maintain existing rights. The creation of such mass pressure is the job of the defense committee.

THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The legal defense committee is one of the most crucial and at the same time one of the least understood aspects of waging a political defense. Yet the existence of a well-organized and functioning legal defense committee is a prerequisite for the creation of a mass support movement which can exert the greatest possible pressure upon both the court and the jury. The committee is the vital link between understanding the role of the courts and waging a political defense inside the courtroom.

The principal concept underlying the defense committee is that it be non-exclusionary. It is crippling and self-defeating for a defense campaign to be conducted in a sectarian or exclusionary manner. Appeals for support should be based not upon agreement with the ideas or activities of the defendants, but upon their democratic right to hold their ideas.

Why is this the case? Why don't we insist, like Progressive Labor, that all those participating in a defense agree with the politics of the defendant? The answer flows both from a sense of tactics and from an understanding of the political reality in America.

Tactically, the reason is obvious. The greater the numbers involved in the defense, the greater the likelihood of an acquittal. The situation is directly analogous to the YSA's attitude and work in the antiwar movement. As revolutionary socialists, we understand that the real solution to wars like the one in Vietnam is the overthrow of capitalism and the substitution in its place of a system based upon human needs not profit. The majority of the American people, for a number of reasons, do not yet agree. This is unfortunate. Marxists, however, deal in reality, not subjective fantasies or wishes. We work, therefore, to build the antiwar movement on the basis of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam, realizing that a victory for the Vietnamese liberation forces, while not dealing with the final problem of capitalism, is nonetheless a defeat for American imperialism.

It is similar with defense work. While the majority of the American people may not necessarily agree with the political views of each defendant, they do have an interest in protecting the rights for which the working class has fought in the past. They recognize that these rights are not gifts, but major political victories.

When the majority of the people come to agree with the views of the YSA, we shall not need defense committees. We shall then make the revolution and abolish the courts. Until then, however, we must work in defense as in the antiwar movement, on the basis of united-front coalitions around single issues, in the defense of class rights. And each victory for the movement in the courts

will represent a small but important defeat for the American ruling class and its aims.

As important as the above considerations are, however, there is yet another and perhaps even more vital factor involved. The political reality is that attacks on the democratic rights of any section of the movement are inevitable precursors of attacks on the radical and vanguard movement as a whole. Once this is understood, the slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all" takes on its full importance as an approach to defense.

POLITICAL DEFENSE

A frequent charge leveled at the YSA by ultraleftists is that we reduce all struggles to the level of free speech. In the case of political defense, the attack takes on the variant that we attempt to suppress the politics of the trial in order to obtain a lighter sentence.

The YSA is committed to waging a principled political defense in which the issues involved are defended and explained. Involved in that political defense, however, are certain factors which should be taken into account if it is to accomplish its two-fold goal of a legal acquittal and outside political education and propaganda. These are the social and political setting in which the trial takes place, the level of consciousness of those whom the defense is attempting to reach, and the tone and formulations of the defense propaganda.

Although democratic and constitutional rights have been won through mass struggle, at the same time their very existence tends to create illusions in the existing system. Furthermore, the wealth of capitalist America has enabled it to maintain living standards of most workers well above those of any other country. These circumstances have not failed to affect the mentality of the American people. In their outlook they are far from revolutionary. Politics to them means voting for one or another of the capitalist parties. What specific tasks and what propaganda techniques do these conditions impose on a defense committee?

When radicals are put on trial, they should try to get a hearing for their ideas from the forum that a trial provides. This means that ideas have to

be simplified and made understandable to the American people. This does *not* mean that we adapt our principles to the backwardness of the American working class. It does mean that we make a serious effort to communicate with them by adapting our propaganda techniques. We must explain our ideas and goals in terms that will be most easily understood (it is not, after all, our purpose to erect unnecessary obstacles between the people and our ideas through the use of ultraleft rhetoric) and in terms which correspond to the experience of people in struggle. This is done through the use of defensive formulations.

Defensive formulations are an indispensable means for teaching people who will not be convinced by abstract theory but only by their own experience. People—even oppressed people—prefer to achieve their goals by peaceful means. In this they show good sense. What must be explained is that the ruling class will not allow them to achieve those goals peacefully, and that it will even resort to violent attack to crush the movement. Our task is to help prepare and organize the people to defend themselves and their rights. This applies to all kinds of struggles, whether third world, student or trade union.

In the courtroom, defensive formulation is the difference, say, between calling for "offensive violence" or for the right of self-defense. The latter is not only more accurate, but since it is easily understandable and able to rally broad support, it can make the difference between standing alone and being defended. Moreover, it is of no small importance that in a bourgeois democracy like the United States, defensive formulations help to mobilize opposition to the class enemy, and thereby to at least reduce the effectiveness of its attacks. Why should such advantages be thrown away?

Such a defense is, of course, not undertaken primarily for the twelve people in the jury box, but for the public outside the courtroom that is watching and, hopefully, learning. The vehicle for obtaining and communicating with this audience is the defense committee. Properly organized and utilized, it can be a vital tool not only against particular ruling-class victimizations, but against the ruling class itself.

“In their haste to flee Stalinism, the New Leftists rejected Marxism as well. Trotsky was able to explain Stalinism, not by abandoning Marxism, but by enriching it.”

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1939-40). Merit Publishers. New York, 1969. \$2.45.

LEON TROTSKY, THE MAN AND HIS WORK. Merit Publishers. New York, 1969. \$2.45.

Several years ago, it was the fashion among some circles in the New Left to attack Marxist ideas on the grounds that they were irrelevant and outdated; from these barren and sterile theoretical fields could come nothing of value. Today, fashions have changed. While skirts are getting shorter, the historical hindsight of the New Leftists has grown longer and longer. Stalin has been resurrected by some; pitched battles are even waged over scholastic interpretations of the Red Book. The fast splintering factions of SDS grasp at theory as do drowning men for straws.

In such an atmosphere, where Marxism is used as a weapon for internecine warfare the way cream pies were used in old comedy movies, the clarity and perspective offered on the tasks of revolutionaries by Leon Trotsky are of great value. To commemorate the 90th anniversary of his birth, Merit Publishers has issued two new books of essays by and about Leon Trotsky.

Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1939-40 is a collection of all the material by

Trotsky from these years already translated but not otherwise available in book or pamphlet form. *Leon Trotsky, The Man and His Work* is a collection of essays about Trotsky written by eighteen of his associates, including James P. Cannon, George Novack, Ernest Germain, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Radek.

A study of these writings can yield much of great relevance to the struggles in which revolutionaries participate today. In the antiwar movement, for example, two basic political positions have emerged as to what is the best way to fight against the war.

One, which is supported by the Young Socialist Alliance, holds that the antiwar movement should remain independent of the Democratic and Republican parties—that the best way to end the war is to build a mass movement unified around the single issue of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The Democrats and Republicans are the political defenders of capitalism and as such are inherently opposed to an antiwar movement which threatens the ability of the imperialists to rule in Southeast Asia. The antiwar movement also threatens the capitalists' ability to rule *at home*, since by revealing the basic commitment of both parties to the war it exposes for millions of peo-

ple the fraudulent nature of the two-party system. Hence, revolutionaries fight to keep the mass antiwar movement from being co-opted by the two capitalist parties. They oppose the antiwar movement giving support to any capitalist "peace" candidates, and they fight against any slogan like "negotiations" which concedes that the imperialists have any right to be in Vietnam.

The YSA builds the antiwar movement because it recognizes that thousands of people are radicalized by participating in action against the war. Revolutionaries welcome the antiwar movement because through it important layers of the population like the GIs and the working class can be brought into actions which are objectively anti-imperialist, and a significant portion of these forces can gain a subjectively revolutionary consciousness.

In contrast to this view is that put forth by the Communist Party. The CP wants to channel the antiwar movement into support for the liberal capitalist "peace" candidates. The Stalinists of the Communist Party advocate multi-issue demonstrations which can serve as a bridge to support for the programs of reform Democrats. They are hostile to the left wing of the movement, the Student Mobilization Committee, because they do not want to see the antiwar movement develop in the direction

By Pete Seidman

of mass independent political action; they have long abandoned that perspective. However, they are in a contradictory position. They favor mass action to the extent that it is an encouragement to the liberal candidates, but they fear it to the extent that it threatens to get out of control of the two-party system.

These two views on the antiwar movement have clashed sharply at various antiwar conferences. Unfortunately, even though the political questions involved in this dispute are very important, the issues do not always emerge sharply because those who wish to push the antiwar movement to the right politically try to cover up their policies either with organizational sophistries or ultraleft rhetoric. It's difficult to pin down someone who stands to gain from being evasive.

No matter what someone says, however, it is an understanding of what he does and has done that reveals his true nature. And Trotsky's analysis of the Stalinist role in World War II, some of which is contained in *Writings, 1939-40*, provides an historical framework which clarifies current debates in the antiwar movement.

Trotsky held the traditional Marxist view that World War II was a necessary consequence of the interimperialist rivalry for the division of the world which had erupted in World War I and which found only an unstable and temporary resolution in the Versailles Peace: "The chief antagonists on the European continent are Germany and France. . . . France attempted to keep Germany (not the fascist but the democratic one) in a condition of division and weakness. In this sense French imperialism was the midwife of German national socialism. On the contrary England, which was interested in breaking the European hegemony of France and its international pretensions, began soon after Versailles to support Berlin against Paris. *The re-arming of Nazi Germany would have been impossible without the direct help of England.* . . . Diplomatic machinations, juggling with the formula democracy versus fascism, sophism concerning the responsibility, can not make us forget that *the struggle is going on between the imperialist slave-holders of different camps for a new division of the world.*"

Here is how Trotsky stated the tasks for revolutionaries which flowed from this analysis: "Naturally there exists

a difference between the political regimes in bourgeois society just as there is a difference in the comfort between various cars in a railway train. But when the whole train is plunging into an abyss the distinction between decaying democracy and murderous fascism disappears in the face of the collapse of the entire capitalist system. . . . By helping their bourgeoisie against foreign fascism the workers would only accelerate the victory of fascism in their own country. The task which is posed by history is not to support one part of the imperialist system against another but to make an end of the system as a whole."

However, just as in today's anti-Vietnam War movement, the Stalinist policy toward the second world war was the opposite of this revolutionary position.

While Trotsky viewed the war as a conflict between imperialists, the Stalinists differentiated between the good capitalist democracies and the bad capitalist fascism of Hitler. Hence they put themselves in the illogical and self-defeating position of fighting fascism, but abandoning any fight against its cause, that is capitalism.

This Stalinist policy is very clear in the case of the Spanish Civil War: "Defending himself from Hitler and Mussolini, who strove to utilize the civil war in Spain in order to construct a bloc of four powers against Bolshevism, Stalin set himself the task of proving to London and Paris that he was capable of eliminating proletarian revolution from Spain . . . with much greater efficiency than Franco and his backers. Nobody strangled the Socialist movement in Spain more mercilessly than Stalin. . . . Everything was put into motion: a frenzied campaign of lies and frame-ups, legal falsifications in the spirit of the Moscow trials, systematic assassination of revolutionary leaders. The struggle against the seizure of land and factories by the peasants and workers was conducted, naturally, under the name of the struggle against 'Trotskyism!'"

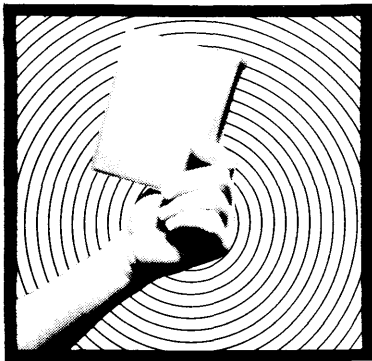
Later, however, Stalin determined that it would be more to the advantage of the Moscow bureaucrats to abandon their policy of a "United Front of the Democracies against Fascism" (sound familiar?) and "Collective Security" (which sounds good, but meant, in life, the cruel strangling of the Spanish revolution) for a pact with Hitler

Germany. Overnight, the Stalinist parties around the world changed their lines in accord with this latest turn of Kremlin policy. Now, they pointed out, all bourgeois states, fascist and "democratic," were essentially the same.

About this sudden shift, Trotsky observed: "And about the working class these gentlemen do not think at all. Meanwhile, the chaos provoked by the zig-zags of the Comintern in the minds of the workers is one of the chief conditions for fascist victories. It is necessary to penetrate for a moment into the psychology of a revolutionary German worker, who, in danger of his life, is leading the illegal struggle against National Socialism and suddenly sees that the Kremlin, which commands great resources, not only does not fight Hitler, but on the contrary, concludes an advantageous business deal on the arena of international robbery. Has the German worker not the right to spit in the faces of his teachers of yesterday?"

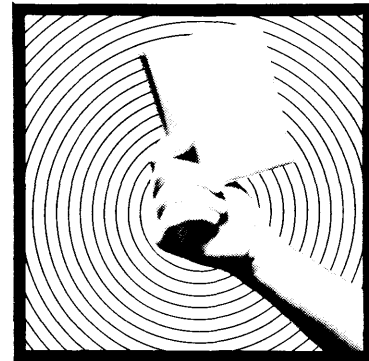
The line switched again, of course, when Hitler decided he no longer had any use for the pact and violated it. In the United States, the headlines in the CP paper changed overnight from the "Yanks are not Coming" to the "Yanks are not Coming too Soon." Once again, the Kremlin supported the "Democracies" against the Fascists. The American Stalinists used their influence to whip up support for Roosevelt and his war policies. They sold war bonds. Against militant trade unionists and even trade union bureaucrats under pressure from a dissatisfied rank and file, they vociferously supported the no-strike pledge, even wanting to extend it into the post-war period! When FDR ("The Democrat") used the Smith Act, for the first time in American history, to imprison the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party for taking a principled revolutionary position against the war and against support to the imperialist government which was waging that war, the Communist Party supported him.

The CP program during World War II, then, was one of uncritical support to the "Democratic" bourgeois governments against Hitler and complete subordination of the interests of the working class to the capitalist war effort. The perspective the Stalinists offered the working class was one of reliance on a "good" democrat, not one of organ-



WAVING THE RED BOOK . . .

"In an atmosphere where Marxism is used the way cream pies were used in old comedy movies, the clarity and perspective offered by Leon Trotsky are of great value."



AGAINST THE RED BOOK

izing for independent action, in the interests of the workers, which could lead to a struggle for power.

The policy they follow in the antiwar movement today flows from this same perspective and the program for the antiwar movement which they advocate would have the same result.

Today, only a socialist revolution in the United States will end the military grip of American imperialism on the third world. In the 1930s, only the victory of a revolution in one or more of the advanced capitalist nations could have stopped the imperialist rivalry between Britain, France, Germany, Japan and the United States which was leading inexorably toward world war. It was the Stalinist policies in this period which produced the defeats for the world revolution which made the war inevitable. Millions of people were disoriented and disillusioned because they mistakenly identified the Moscow bureaucrats as the true heirs of the October Revolution and so followed this leadership which kept them impotent in the dead-end policies of class collaboration.

During these years of defeat and confusion, Trotsky spearheaded those revolutionary forces who refused to abandon the perspective of proletarian internationalism and class struggle politics.

He was able to explain the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, the defeats of the revolutions in China and Spain, and the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany. He made clear the reformist role of the Stalinists in the politics of numerous countries around the world as they tried to channel the radicalizing masses of workers—who were fed up with the failure of bourgeois society in the pre-war period—into support for the liberal wing of the capitalist class. He also blasted away at the ultraleft errors of the Stalinists which paved the way for Hitler's triumph in Germany.

In carrying out this task, Trotsky

had to educate his followers on all the basic politics of Marxism—the class nature of the state, the causes of imperialist war, the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, the importance of dialectical materialism, the tactic of the united front, and the Leninist conception of the party. All these basic conquests of revolutionary theory had been distorted by the Stalinists to justify their class-collaborationist policies.

For the Stalinists, "theory" was an excuse for passivity, while for Trotsky, it was a weapon for the class struggle. Unable to defeat Trotsky on the field of ideas, the Stalinists resorted to an icepick in the back of his head. For despite their seemingly endless power, the Moscow bureaucrats feared the ideas of Trotsky and the Fourth International he had launched. In *Leon Trotsky, The Man and His Work*, there is an analysis of the GPU, the secret police organization of the Comintern, and how it was used to murder Trotsky. This arch-criminal example of the use of violence to resolve political differences within the revolutionary movement should stand as a grim omen over the Weathermen, PL, and RYM-II as they forge anew tin swords of theory and do battle against each other.

The class-collaborationist policies of the Stalinists and their undemocratic and murderous methods of settling political differences both inside and outside of the USSR, led a large number of people, including the forefathers of the New Left, to become disgusted and cynical about politics. Stalin would say, "Look at the Soviet Union, this is socialism!" The New Leftists replied, "If this is socialism, who needs it?"

As has been detailed in previous YS articles, however, in their haste to flee Stalinism, the New Leftists rejected Marxism as well. Trotsky was able to explain the rise of Stalinism and the defeats it had caused not by abandoning Marxism, but by enriching it.

Hence, Trotsky maintained a consistent and scientific point of view, while the New Left scurried empirically from cynical existential despair to elitist "New Working Class" theories to explain its disappointments. As James P. Cannon notes, by scientifically *explaining* the many grave political defeats suffered by the proletariat under Stalinist leadership, Trotsky laid the only possible groundwork for a realistic revolutionary optimism: "Of all the great men of our time, of all the public figures to whom the masses turned for guidance in these troubled, terrible times, Trotsky alone explained things to us, he alone gave us light in the darkness. His brain alone unravelled the mysteries and complexities of our epoch. The great brain of Trotsky was what was feared by all his enemies. They couldn't cope with it. They couldn't answer it. In the incredibly horrible method by which they destroyed him there was hidden a deep symbol. *They struck at his brain!*"

Trotsky recognized that bourgeois society was subject to periodic convulsions and upheavals and that though the working class would pay a heavy price for Stalinist misleadership it would also learn the true nature of this social-parasitic ideology. This would only happen if those who understood the nature of Stalinism and could project a revolutionary alternative to it organized themselves to carry out a determined ideological struggle against it and to show by example the correct course.

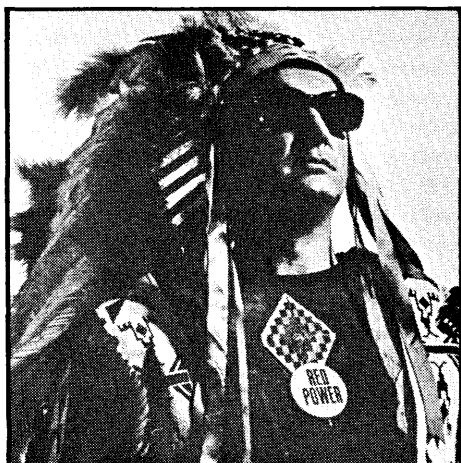
It is an ironic tribute to the New Left's inability to understand even its own history that in "rediscovering" Marxist theory under the pressure of a deepening radicalization, it takes it up in its worst Stalinized forms.

There is something pathetic and pitiable in the sectarian spectacle of Mark Rudd, Mike Klonsky and company repeating the ideological battles of the

past without attempting to grapple with the ideas of Leon Trotsky. His work can not only make the past useful to us by revealing what pitfalls we must avoid, but also points out the tasks which lie ahead of us—breaking the masses of working people away from the bourgeois parties and the reformist leaderships of the labor bureaucracy, the Stalinists, and Social Democrats; the establishment of independent organizations through which the oppressed national minorities can achieve self-determination; and building a multinational revolutionary socialist party which can lead the masses to power through the application of a program of transitional demands. These tasks are referred to as "jive" by the followers of Rudd, *et al.*, who substitute for *politics* the *slogan* (for this week) "The time is right for fighting in the streets."

Almost as if in reply, Trotsky wrote: "Small wonder that the sectarians of all shadings fail to understand. . . . They operate by means of abstractions — an abstraction of imperialism and an abstraction of the socialist revolution. The question of the transition from real imperialism to real revolution, the question of how to mobilize the masses in the given historical situation for the conquest of power remains for these sterile wisecracks a book sealed with seven seals."

Don't be a sterile wisecracker. If you're tired of watching the SDS lemmings drive each other into the sea, if you think that radicals have something more important to do than entertain in the Coliseum while the empire falls again—join the YSA and read these books.



"The growing movement for red power is another affirmation of the capitalist system's inability to deal fairly with national minorities."

THE NEW INDIANS, by Stan Steiner. Dell. New York, 1968. \$2.45.

For those who feel the American Indian has vanished, that he is culturally extinct, with his culture relegated to museums, I suggest you read Stan Steiner's book *The New Indians*. Not only will his narratives and his conversations with the "new Indians" convince you all is not quiet on the reservation, but you will better understand the importance of the American Indian struggle today.

It would be impossible to give one stereotyped definition of what Steiner classifies as the new Indian. One could be Finus Smith, the Cherokee founder of a full-blood organization in the hills of Oklahoma, long past the days of his youth, or it could be a young Assiniboin, who vows she'll be her tribe's first chairwoman. This is a movement without a generation gap for the most part. The young and college-educated add their experience in dealing with the white man's world to the traditional wisdom of the elders in the tribe. Together they are beginning to speak out and act, making it impossible for them to be ignored any longer.

For many it has been their experiences in the Army, college or the cities that led them to reject the melting pot advocates and to reaffirm their traditional way of life. They all hold in common the belief that for Indians to survive, they must gain control over their own lives. The cry for self-determination echoes throughout the pages of this book.

They also feel, and quite rightly so, that the white man could learn a lot from the Indian way of life. To them, their tribal way of life which thrives

on communal rather than private ownership is far superior to the free-enterprise, competitive system they are admonished to join. However, they do not negate the value of modern technology. As Vine Deloria, Jr., a Sioux remarked, "Having conquered their awe of the technology of Western civilization, the young [Indians] wish to master it, but not be mastered by it."

Steiner gives a scathing account of this country's shameful policies toward the Indians. He devotes an entire chapter to dispelling what he calls the Great White Father Myth. After reading through the list of horrors perpetrated on the first inhabitants of this country, one feels sure the title "Great White Father" came straight from Hollywood. Included in this chapter is testimony before the U. S. Senate made by a Lieutenant of the New Mexico Volunteers in which he gives a vivid description of the manner in which the Cheyenne were dealt with at the Battle of Sand Creek: "In going over the battlefield the next day I did not see a body of [an Indian] man, woman, or child but was scalped, and in many instances the bodies were mutilated in the most horrible manner — men, women and children's privates cut out, etc. One man [said] he had cut out a woman's private parts and had them for exhibition on a stick." Another participant made the following report: "The women and children huddled together, and most of our fire was concentrated on them . . . no wounded fell into our hands and all the dead were scalped." And yet, after all this, we still have liberals who want to return to the fine traditions of the American past. They need to study their history.

The decision to make the Indians wards of the government added another tragic dimension to an already reprehensible situation. The Bureau of Indian

Affairs, also known as the colonial office and considered to be staffed by Uncle Tomahawks, has proven to be a scandalous fiasco with its paternalism, opportunism and bankrupt policies. Established in 1824, it's the oldest bureaucracy in the government and has more government employees serving fewer citizens, proportionately, than any other. It has been administered by such people as Dillon Myer, former head of the Japanese-American Relocation Center camps during World War II. Its paternalism manifests itself in attitudes ranging from "The Indian is a wild beast" in the 19th century to former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall who said: "Let's give new leadership to the Indian people" and "do what is right for the Indian people." Obviously, neither of these views is acceptable.

For too many people, including the Indians, the Great Society's War on Poverty has been a cruel joke. It has not eliminated poverty; the 40 to 80% unemployment rates still survive, as do the unbelievable incomes of \$105 to \$1,200 per year. Initially, there were mixed reactions ranging from enthusiastic hope that somehow the program would erase the grim statistics that plague them, to those who felt the program was *partial* payment for the land taken from them. Roger Jourdain, tribal chairman of the Red Lake Chipewas was on the right track when he asked, "Where did you get your money for your government programs? And your riches? From us! You acquired the richest resources we had. It was our land that made you rich." Perhaps a definition of O.E.O. in the National Indian Youth Council's glossary sums up what the Indians were faced with—"a state of confusion." OEO represented another unyielding bureaucracy for the Indians to hassle with, which was stamped with the same paternalism of the BIA. With no substantial changes in the living conditions of the Indians, the War on Poverty can be added as one more dismal failure on an already lengthy list.

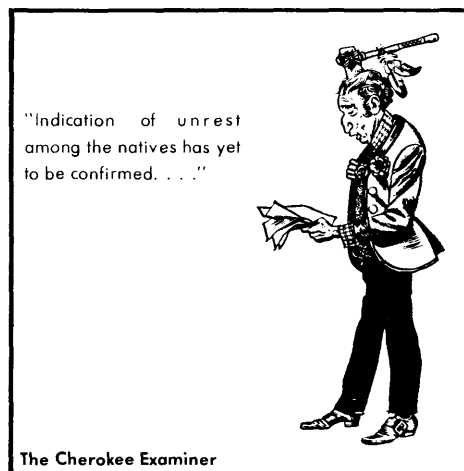
As could be anticipated, the good Christian missionaries, who for hundreds of years have been determined to Christianize the Indians, were not overlooked. The point was well made that religion is an integral part of the lives of Indians, they are not just Sunday worshippers. Religion is just one more area in which they've discovered the emptiness of the white man's world.

That the traditional religions have survived, in spite of thousands of Christian emissaries and in some instances government repression, is a testimony to the richness of the Indian cultures. The return to the traditional religion and ways is an important facet of the new nationalist revitalization of the Indians. Unlike religion in a capitalist system, a progressive role can be played by it in the Indian effort for self-determination. It is something that can unify many Indians, and at the same time reinforce the tribal values, which often directly challenge the accepted values of the dominant society.

Proponents of women's liberation will find the chapter devoted to women especially interesting. It gives an excellent historical account of the role Indian women have played and also illustrates the impact "Western man" has had on the highly honored and respected women who headed the matriarchal clans. Not only were they met with a society that did not take women into account, which in itself was a blow to their status, but they were met with the triple oppression afforded to non-white women in this country. For example, the U.S. Army in the late 1800s named the sitting target on its shooting ranges "The kneeling squaw." Despite the pressures of capitalist society, many Indian women still enjoy much of the old esteem and when one glances at contemporary struggles involving Indians, more often than not women will be playing a leading role. Organizations of Indians frequently have women at their heads.

Some of the Indians interviewed in the book expressed feelings of tribal solidarity with the Vietnamese and other third world peoples. Mad Bear Anderson, who at the personal invitation of Castro led a delegation from the Six Nations of the Iroquois to Cuba spoke of bringing the Indian movement and the black movement together. Most of these and similar sentiments, however, were offered by individuals. The book does not indicate much of the general mood of Indians on these issues. In any event, for Indians to identify with revolutionary and potentially revolutionary struggles is politically very significant.

The growing movement for self-determination, often called red power, is another affirmation of the capitalist system's inability and failure to deal fairly with the national minorities within its borders. It also renews a longstanding challenge to the economic relations that



have marked this country from its inception.

One need only study this country's history to realize that its policies toward Indians were by no means accidental. They represented a conscious effort to destroy the Indian cultures and economic system which were diametrically opposed to those of the young capitalist society. It was necessary to physically remove the Indians, if not by genocide, then by stripping them of their lands and isolating the greatest number on reservations. This country could not tolerate within its midst a tribal people who had no concept of private ownership of land. The inevitable clashes came, and the white man appeared to be the victor.

The revival of the old challenge is tremendously important. It comes at a time when peoples all over the world, including other minorities in this country, are struggling for self-determination. Revolutionaries must take note of the new Indian movement and understand the implications it represents. For too long the Indians have been considered unimportant and for the most part were not taken seriously. Steiner makes it clear that the Indians are no longer willing to tolerate the status quo, that they do not think the white man's world is so great, and that they are taking matters into their own hands.

The struggles which Indians are spearheading across the country, as well as their moves toward tribal unity, effectively demonstrate this. Support must be given to these efforts. A greater effort must be made to educate people about the real significance of the role played by the American Indian in the history of this country and about the emerging role he will play in the future.

—SUSAN CHRISTIE

"You know what, Billy, we blew it. Good night, man."

EASY RIDER. Directed by Dennis Hopper. Starring Hopper, Peter Fonda and Jack Nicholson. Written by Fonda, Hopper and Terry Southern. Produced by Peter Fonda. Columbia Pictures.

Easy Rider shows how Captain America and his sidekick Billy pursue life, liberty and happiness, and in the end lose all three. In other words, it's an all-American film.

Captain America, American flag on his back and on his gas tank, and Billy, decked out like a Daniel Boone frontiersman, strike out across America on snazzy motorcycles purchased with their profits as dope pushers. Their odyssey in search of individual freedom takes them from LA to Mardi Gras in New Orleans. En route, they pass by lots of See America First scenery; stop at a ranch and at a hippie commune in New Mexico; are thrown in the pokey for adding their color to an otherwise dull American Legion parade in a small town; are joined by George, a delightfully cynical alcoholic ACLU lawyer and son of a wealthy local family, who buys freedom from jail for all three of them; are beaten by southern rednecks, who kill George; take a bad acid trip in a New Orleans cemetery with expensive, if not high-class whores; and finally are shot to death by rednecks.

The film was not made to appeal to the incorrigibly insensitive and narrow-minded. Nor was it designed to appeal to the intellectually rigorous. Rather, it is aimed at that large majority who either out of vaguely conceptualized feelings of rebellion or intellectual sloppiness fall somewhere in between.

The film is not so much a coherent statement about anything as it is a

collection of experiences and impressions, some quite memorable, like the scene when Captain America and Billy attempt to turn George on. It is a series of moods, refreshingly naive and comic (horsing around while riding down the highway), tense (waiting in vain to get served in a cafe filled with hostile rednecks), introspective (in the whorehouse, and most of the time). For people whose minds are liberated and are therefore able to think from the heart down, *Easy Rider* no doubt swings. But this fact, in spite of the film's successful box office, is also its main drawback.

You frequently can't be sure that Hopper and Fonda actually know what they want to say. You get the impression that sometimes they are trying to say something but that they are too inarticulate to pull it off. For instance, after reaching Mardi Gras and taking the bad acid trip, Billy says to Captain America, "We did it, we did it, man. We're rich now." The thoughtful reply: "You know what, Billy, we blew it. Good night, man." This could mean either that Captain America is on the verge of giving up his hippie-like existence, or that he has decided to return to the New Mexico hippie commune. Or might this comment simply be Captain America's mundane reflection on an unsatisfying trip to Mardi Gras? Whatever the case, the ambiguity of what is apparently a statement of central importance is made irrelevant by the *deus ex machina* ending.

Captain America and Billy are like modern-day Lewis and Clarks, self-indulgent adventurers out to discover America and themselves anew. The comparison is frequently made between them and supposedly kindred figures in America's past. This parallel is explicit in

the ranch scene when the camera shows the rancher repairing a horseshoe while they repair a motorcycle wheel. Both the rancher and the hippie on wheels are really after the same American Dream, you see. That Dream is articulated by Captain America when he tells the rancher, with embarrassing paternalism: "It's not every man can live off the land, do your own thing in your own time. You should be proud." Once he and Billy have closed their deal in dope near an LA airport and thrown away their watch (Get it?), they too can proceed to attempt to do their own thing in their own time.

Since they are true blue Americans, just following the Declaration of Independence, you'd think they'd get away with it (After all, Thomas Jefferson may not have pushed dope, but he did own slaves). Yet they don't. George (who in real life would have probably been a head like them, not an alcoholic) tells why: This used to be a great country, but everybody chickened out. Now they're not going to let Captain America and Billy make it great again because they represent freedom, and since "it's pretty hard to be free when you're bought and sold on the market place," liberated people arouse fear in the enslaved. In the final scene, stunning and beautiful in its brutality, they are destroyed by the enslaved victims of the system, punishment for having raised their solipsistic, ineffectual challenge. This is pathos, not tragedy.

This is the most coherent thematic statement of the movie. (There aren't many.) The enemy of individual emancipation is discovered to be the ordinary, racist southern white, who apparently symbolizes the American working class. The real exploiters play no

—By David Thorstad

role at all in this dirty business. (Furthermore, the fact that Captain America and Billy participate in the process of exploitation as pushers does not even occur to them. Part of living the American Dream seems to hinge on maintaining one's purity and innocence to the very end.) The solution is self-evident, and unmistakably liberal: Change the ideas in men's heads, and both the individual's and society's freedom can be acquired.

Captain America and Billy buy their freedom (or at least an illusion of freedom) on the same market place that enslaves the mass of Americans in whom Hopper and Fonda see the enemy. Of course that is not to defend the backwardness of southern rednecks. Nor, however, does it excuse the inability or refusal of Hopper and Fonda to come up with any solution, except the most facile, to the rottenness of American society.



ys misc.

Cont'd from p. 2

the one nearest you. □Don't forget: YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION, Dec. 27-30, Minneapolis, Minn. (see ad, back cover). This will be the biggest, most dynamic convention in the history of the YSA. Coming at the end of a successful fall offensive that the YSA has actively participated in and helped to build, the convention will be a time for evaluating our work in the past year and laying plans for continued struggle against the capitalist system in 1970. □The photo on the left is the front cover of a recent issue of *Al Hadaf*, published by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. It reproduces part of a YSA poster with the explanation: "New tribute of solidarity in support of the Palestinian revolution, distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance in America."



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(Signed)
Helena Hermes
Business Manager

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