

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 8-B

[PLP guide for its work within SDS]

The following report on the upcoming SDS convention is based on a discussion held recently in the N.Y. student collective. The ideas in it, as well as any others, should be taken up at local student section meetings in each area prior to the convention. If this is done in adequate time, we will come to the convention adequately prepared.

We feel that this convention the party should attempt to accomplish the following:

I. Build PLP. Many people will come to the convention with at best a rudimentary understanding of the party's line. Many more will come with questions and disagreements. Others will show interest and agreement but will want to know more, etc. We can win most of these people closer to our outlook, the essence of which is the dictatorship of the proletariat. This will be accomplished primarily by selling literature (C-D, PL, Vietnam Pamphlet, Build a Base, Revolution Today, etc.) to those who attend the convention and by winning them to sell with us to workers before and after plenary sessions and workshops. Many students came closer to PL after they saw the response of the working class to our ideas in Detroit.

In addition, everyone in the party should do his or her best to put forth the line of the party in all situations at the convention. We should not rely on one or two "spokesmen" to put forth party positions on negotiations, nationalism, revisionism, socialism, etc.

II. Build SDS as a massive, militant worker-student alliance. Newsweek's attack on the Detroit demonstration was a highly conscious and contrived series of lies. The fact is that many workers and students will respond to the call for a worker-student alliance. This is true because the WSA and the WSA alone constitutes a viable strategy for defeating imperialism. It is the only winning line for a mass organization. Any other strategy must inevitably lead to collaboration with the ruling class and the eventual demise of the movement--eg. those sections of the anti-war movement that never allied with the workers.

Many people outside the party are confused and fail to understand what we mean when we speak of allying with workers. At a NY regional meeting recently someone said that although she agreed with supporting workers, she disagreed with the WSA as a strategy, "because it limits you to walking on picket lines when you should be fighting ROTC too." Some of this confusion stems from our past errors, and our persistent weakness in not fighting for working class politics in a broad, comprehensive manner. The way to correct all of this is to take a clear pragmatic approach designed to fight the administration and the ruling class on all levels. We have helped lead a number of struggles on campus this year which show clearly that the struggle against imperialism is inconceivable without an alliance with workers and vice-versa, eg. the fight against the Portuguese ambassador at UConn, etc. The point is that we shouldn't take it for granted that everyone understands this.

There will be a great deal of discussion around proposals dealing with racism, imperialism, male chauvinism, in addition to the main proposal on the WSA. We are trying to guarantee that a good proposal be written about each. Everything will appear in NLN. The main proposal, of which there were a number of criticisms, is being rewritten and sharpened up.

The principal vehicle for winning people to the urgency and potency of the WSA will be the action SDS should hold in Chicago on the last day of the con-

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vention. We should fight hard for this demonstration to center around unemployment and ghetto rebellions. Millions are not unemployed. Hundreds of thousands more are being laid off daily and weekly. The end is not in sight. Laird said that "the transition from the wartime to the peacetime economy" would entail the loss of another 2,000,000 jobs by April. This estimate is probably a load of supercoated bullshit. Unemployment is the sharpest single attack the ruling class is now directing against the U.S. working class as a whole. Naturally, the first to be effected [sic] and the first to rebel are the black and Latin Americans. Early this summer, the Wall Street Journal repeatedly

(see top line of a page in illegible) of this type would be a significant activity. It could be larger than Detroit and have more workers at it. We should win people to the idea of this demonstration before we go to Chicago. Unless SDS builds support for working class fights the workers will have no allies in the [sic] student movement.

III. The ruling class and the working class mix like oil and water. Many of the people who disagree with us about issues like the Panthers, the Young Lords, the Paris negotiations, or other aspects of our independent line do so because they honestly believe that you can "get away" with alliances with the CP or the liberal wing of the ruling class. We disagree. We believe that no progressive movement can ally with the CP or the liberals and remain progressive. This is what happened to the Panthers. When they first began, they said they were for armed struggle, for working class demands, for anti-imperialism, for alliance with white people, etc., Therefore, PL tried to help them and ally with them. Then, however, they made it clear that the alliance they wanted was not with the working class but rather with the CP and its lawyers, liberal politicians, Kingman Brewster, Leonard Bernstein, Safeway, etc. This made impossible for us to maintain an alliance with them. Our party tries to unite on specific issues with many people and groups with whom we may have considerable disagreements. We believe such unity is possible on a variety of demands--as long as it does not involve unity of thought or action with the class enemy.

This is what distinguishes the present SDS from the old SDS as led by Klonsky, Coleman, Dohrn, Rudd, et al. The "old" SDS was not a progressive movement. It was a rightwing movement, because the outlook of its leadership was to ally with the CP-SWP-liberal troika. We never united with RYM. We fought them every step of the way, and although we made many errors, our principal strategy was correct; ally with workers--never build an organization based on unity with the ruling class or its agents. If you ally with the rulers, you cannot ally with the workers, and you are doomed to fail. We worked within the old SDS to win as many people as possible away from the leadership, smash [sic] the leadership, and transform the organization into a united front from below. By and large, we succeeded.

One of the consequences of this success is the re-emergence of semi-organized rightwing forces within the present SDS. Today's SDS is a progressive organization. It has functioned as an ally of the working class for nearly two years, and during that period, it has never sought to unite with the CP or the liberals. The essence of the new, burgeoning right is that it wants to do this. The least that can be said is that there is a great deal of precedent for this move, not only in the U.S. student movement, but in fact throughout the international communist movement. At present, the idea of unity with the enemy takes many forms: the Panthers (the idea that the Panthers should become the "main thing" or that SDS' weaknesses stem from not having united with the Panthers in the past), student power (see Build a Mass SDS proposal in ___), support for "na-

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tional liberation" movements (a tendency among certain people to replace struggle against imperialist research or ROTC with "endorsements" of AL Fatah or other "anti-imperialist" groups).

We raise this point now not because there is a major anti-communist threat inside SDS (although some more advanced rightwingers will attempt to bait and discredit us) but rather because the whole ideological question of unity with the enemy creates enormous temptations for many honest people. One of the enemy's greatest weapons is his ability to use his agents to convince the masses that he is not the enemy. It is for this reason that we must raise this question inside SDS at the present time. If we can win many to this point-- and we believe that we can-- this will heighten everybody's understanding of the worker=student alliance.

SDS' potential among students is very good. It is the only national student organization that conducts any form of struggle on college campuses today. By one means or another, the bourgeoisie has been able to smash everything else. SDS survives and grows because it has chosen the correct path of conducting the class struggle on the side of the working class. We should conduct sharp ideological struggles to guarantee that it does not deviate from this path.

IV. Take a long-term approach toward those who disagree with us. The discussion in point (III) above was not intended as a primer for fighting the right but rather as an outline for winning the center. The vast majority--probably 95% of the people attending this convention are at this stage winnable. If they are not winnable at this convention, they will be winnable in the next few weeks, months, or years. The fact that we do not want unity of action with the bourgeoisie or its stooges doesn't mean that we consider as enemies all those people outside the party who don't agree with us 100% on everything. This may well be true even of some people who disagree with us sharply about certain issues and who have taken organizational steps to oppose us. Naturally we should not be naive and entertain illusions about people who want to smash us, but at this point, this isn't the main error we are in danger of committing on this score. We should do everything within our power either to win people over or to neutralize them when they are not winnable. Many who are not now close friends are potential friends if we take a correct approach to them. Some who are potential enemies will not go all the way to the right if we take care to try to keep them in the center. The party already has many enemies. It doesn't particularly need to create superfluous ones. We should fight hard on the issues-- i.e. having the demonstration against unemployment rather than against ROTC primarily or the repression of the Panthers, but we should also make it clear that we want the primary aspect of the relationship between ourselves and those who disagree with us on these issues to be unity-- at least [sic] in the clear majority of cases. There are, in reality, very few people who take orders directly from Gus Hall or the Kennedys.

If we spend the next two weeks working hard for the convention, we can bring many people to it, have a significant action at it, advance the worker-student alliance, and return home as part of the organization that will conduct class struggle on a higher political and organizational level of unity with workers and minority students. We can also win many workers and students over to our party's ideas.