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RADICAL STUDENTS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The Students for a Democratic Society National Council convenes in Berkeley at a time when the student movement is more radical than ever before. Berkeley students mounted a solid strike overnight in response to the cops on campus this year, whereas two years ago administration provocations were many and negotiations dragged on for weeks before the campus rose to mass action. Michigan students are determined to bind their administration to an overwhelming referendum against cooperation with the Selective Service System. Students on many campuses are protesting everything from rising tuition to the multiversity's crass complicity with capitalism's war-bent power structure.

Yet when the Berkeley strike recessed in a draw at the end of last quarter, a deep frustration was released in another spontaneous outbreak; protest by absurdity, replete with black masks and yellow submarines. Throughout the strike, the students were aware of their virtual isolation in society, if not on the campus itself, and this expressed itself in the end in strong feelings of "student (as opposed to "campus") community". The solidarity which the students and teaching assistants of Berkeley proved themselves capable of was excellent, but the isolation and frustration which launched the day of "masskoercion" go as

2 YEARS IN THE ARMY OR 5 IN JAIL?

To seek a confrontation with the government at this time on the issue of its power to draft people can only lead to disaster. Individual or moralistic escapes from the hard fact of a draft may suit individual desires; but even an organized effort to resist the draft ignores the nature of the present class-dominated state apparatus and the central function of the draft in that apparatus.

The government, so long as it remains the government, has the ability to force men to kill and be killed to carry out its policies. The modern state on occasion requires ar-

deep in the movement as its radicalism, and will not be overcome without a complete change of orientation.

The frustration of the student movement is bred within its nature as a student movement. The more radical students become—the more they seek to find the roots of the social ills of war, racism, the multiversity, etc. --the more they must become aware of their own lack of objective weight or social power with which to bring about a new social order. The radical student has nothing but his ideals, his ideas, and his ability to organize. The demand of student power, while correctly pointing out the function of the university for American capitalism, fails to realize that a true community of scholars cannot become a reality so long as the university exists in the context of that capitalism. Many people in the Berkeley movement who talk of renewing the struggle next quarter freely admit that the calling of cops or national guards to the campus, either by the administration or the state government, is a definite possibility, but few dare to admit what would happen then: the bayonet would rule on campus with an undeniable finality.

Students can stay away from classes and even threaten the ruling class with the loss of something vital to it--its yearly crop of
(continued on inside pages)

mies of millions, and the draft system is needed to provide these men. To strike at the draft is to strike at the very heart of the state. Yet the movement today is certainly a long way from having the force to oppose the state effectively in this way. In 1917, the Russian working class and peasant-soldiers, organized in the soviets as an opposing center of power, were able to confront the war policies of the Provisional Government when a whole section of the army refused orders from the government and came under the authority of the Petrograd
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FACED WITH THE CHOICE, THE ARMY IS

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Soviet. Thus the strength of the soviets was increased, and it became easier and more necessary to overthrow the old government several months later. Only in such situations of dual power is a challenge to the armed force of the state effective.

The army is not free from those same conflicts between classes which beset society itself. It is very convenient for the government to divide those who first become disaffected with the war (a section of students) from the great bulk of young workers who have to fight the war: this is a major function of the student deferment privilege. The 2-S is therefore not only an unjust class discrimination, but it is also a big obstacle contributing to the isolation and frustration of anti-war students who want to speak to working people. Black working people in

particular have no interest in fighting a colonial war in Vietnam or elsewhere; we should begin to explain this by demanding that the government abolish the student deferment. Working people, who are already beginning to feel the costs of this war, are more likely to understand the students' anti-war message if the anti-war movement seeks to involve them in a struggle against the student deferment. Such a struggle should not and cannot be waged by individual actions, but only by building a large protest of students and others collectively to demand the abolition of the 2-S classification.

For the great bulk of working class youth, there is and can be no escape from the draft. They will go into the army. The army is a machine, but it depends on the action of people. The army should be made up

of as many other "uncolored" people as possible. It should not be so

As a long-term approach to revolution, the experience of the 1960s shows that the forms of struggle that have taken place to date are not sufficient to oppose and to make

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COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS: Faculty and Students at RADICAL STUDENTS AND THE I

willing apologists--but they cannot in any way coerce the barons of destruction to cease. They can only invite the bayonets on themselves, in the hope that the rulers will collapse before the threat of their future inability to function without trained intellectual lackeys. But there will be no collapse on the part of the rulers; only increased determination and application of force. Prostituted apologists and silent partners in imperialism have been many amongst American intellectuals, and there is no reason to assume that there will not be more. Meanwhile, the students, even given the extent to which they can create a "counter-community" to alienated society, are in no way able to set up an alternate power which threatens the continued control of the ruling class over the functioning of

society. Only the working class, in the Russian Revolution (and in embryo in the Hungarian Revolution) has been historically able to set up a dual power in society capable of both smashing the old regime and taking over, through its own democratic councils, the day-to-day functioning of society.

There are many reasons for this which are beginning to be discussed within SDS in such articles as Toward the Working Class, by Moody, Eppsteiner and Flug. The working class, for one, does not have to be organized; it is already organized by its conditions of work in large plants, warehouses and stores. Workers must organize to present a united front to the boss not only because they are brought together in one place by him every day, but more importantly, because they are constantly forced into a

struggle of conditions of work and authoritarian

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As a long-range strategy, when the army approaches a mass of about 5 million men, revolutionists will want to go through that experience with the other members of our generation. The fact that men put on uniforms does not cause struggle to cease. Fights have taken place and will again take place to abolish the privileges of the officers, to increase the freedom of speech, to oppose racist attitudes and practices, and to make the army democratic.

At present, it is more important for opponents of the war to stay out of the army if possible and organize among the general population as to the nature of this and future wars. But as the requirements of the army threaten more and more radical organizers

with the difficult choice of either going into the army or serving up to five years in jail, it would be preferable to go into the army. It is possible to be a more effective opponent of the war in the military than in federal prison, if those are the only choices left open. Prisons can hardly be considered the decisive forces of a society which can affect the outcome of war. Ability to communicate and fraternize with one's fellows in the army offers more opportunity than solitary confinement in prison. -D. R.

Only very slight injury can be done to the machinery of war of the ruling class by pacifism. This is best proved by the courageous but rather futile efforts of (Bertrand) Russell himself during the war. The whole affair ended in a few thousand young people being thrown into prison on account of their "conscientious objections".
-L. D. Trotsky, "On Pacifism and Revolution", 1926



Students at Berkeley Exchange Viewpoints on Power

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The working class, moreover, has social power which is at the very base of modern society because of its role in production. Industrial production is the heart of modern society. The ruling class and the whole society is dependent on production. When the workers withdraw their labor, not only does the factory stop producing and the profits stop coming in, but the whole society is affected immediately. Indeed, the working class has the power to bring the whole society to a halt, not merely that section of it with which they are immediately concerned. When war industry workers, such as Illinois munitions workers or airline machinists go out on strike, the war is

immediately threatened, and the federal government seeks increasingly to intervene "in the national interest".

While the multiversity is an important part of society and necessary to the proper functioning of the exploitative system, it is actually only an artifact of that system, created after the fact to service its growing needs and putty its cracks. Students experience a form of alienation, but it is only symptomatic in character of the basic contradiction of capitalism. They are offered substantial remuneration for their services, but they must sell their souls to a morally repulsive system. The alienation of the worker from the product of his labor, however, and the extraction by the boss of a surplus value, are defining characteristics of the whole system. On the

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basis of the workers' alienation, capitalist property relations are possible, and from surplus value comes the boss's profits and the insatiable drive for capitalist expansion which is at the heart of the international imperialist system. The day-to-day struggle of the workers to maintain wages and work conditions against the boss's continual attempts to increase his exploitation of labor is the heart of the class struggle in modern society, which alone can result in a revolutionary social upheaval. It is a struggle which the workers have an interest in winning, and for which they have incomparable power to bring to bear—including the power to completely reorganize society on a socialist basis.

How is the radical student to relate to all this? It is possible to try to adapt lessons and practices of the labor movement to the student movement. Carl Davidson, in *New Left Notes* of 9 September, proposes a "student syndicalist movement", while Berkeley students try (with some success) to get respect for their picket lines and allies for their strike from the labor movement. This approach, however, fails to solve the problem of the powerlessness of the students and the need of the working class to break out of the trap of bourgeois ideology. Students interested in linking their struggle in some way with the labor movement must recognize that only the working class can lead a movement of basic social overturn in modern society. Workers alone hold the power of social production upon which any reordering of society must be based. It is not enough to say that the working class "is a group that cannot be left out of" the struggle to revolutionize American society. The working class is the decisive factor in this struggle. It is presumptuous to expect, moreover, that workers will turn out to defend the interests of students involved in a dispute with the administration, and it is parochial to make the campus struggle—which is a symptom of the basic ills of modern society—into the vanguard of the fight for a radical reordering of society. The working class must be in the vanguard, and its interests and ideology must form the basis for a political struggle against the system which can unite all the day-to-day struggles of the masses.

It is to the question of building political leadership for this struggle that the radical students must turn. Moody et. al. ignore this most important need of the working

class movement today; the building of a revolutionary vanguard party. Radicals who admit that the working class is situated at the heart of society, that it has the power to revolutionize society, etc., but who dismiss the possibility of the workers ever "rising" in this period, should consider the necessary prior task of revolutionizing the labor movement. The ruling class doesn't just rule society as a whole, it also rules within the labor movement, through bourgeois ideology and false leadership—the "labor lieutenants of capital". Racism keeps the working class divided, while trade union bureaucrats keep the workers in the capitalists' hip pocket politically, by urging them to "play it safe" with the Democratic Party. Radical caucuses, connected and coordinated by the revolutionary party, must be built in the unions to combat the representatives of the ruling class within the movement and expose their true nature to the workers. The revolutionary party counterposes working class ideology--the concentrated historical experience of the class struggle--to bourgeois ideology; it seeks to raise the consciousness of the workers to an awareness of their interests as a class, by calling for a Freedom-Labor party, to represent workers' political interests. It generalizes, unifies and directs the struggle according to the experience of history. Through its fractions in ghettos, unions, campuses etc., it unites black power, rank and file insurgency, rent strikes, i.e., all the partial struggles of the masses for immediate demands.

It is one thing to say that the struggles of students and workers must be linked, but it is another to say that in order to do this, the students must adopt revolutionary working class ideology and seek to link the struggles through the building of a vanguard party. Yet this is what must be done. Students are powerless to change society with their understanding alone. They must take their understanding of society to the workers in the form of working class ideology.

-C. K.

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