

# YOUNG socialist discussion bulletin

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## IMPORTANCE OF THE YSA'S SECURITY POLICY ON ILLEGAL DRUGS

by Mark Ugolini, Brooklyn

During the pre-convention discussion disagreements have been raised on the policy of the YSA prohibiting the use of illegal drugs by members. The objections that have been raised are incorrect and should be rejected.

The YSA is a political organization that seeks to help lead a socialist revolution in this country. We take this task seriously. Although in the course of the work we carry out we take full advantage of the democratic rights won from the U. S. government, we have no illusions about the real nature of capitalist society. We understand that the rulers of this country will not hesitate, if given the opportunity, to make use of its repressive apparatus to victimize radical organizations and movements for social change. Police attacks on political groups such as the Black Panther Party have been used to intimidate and demoralize their membership and destroy their ability to function.

For these reasons we see defending our organization from attack by the government as crucial. We prohibit members of the YSA from using illegal drugs because this would leave our organization open to needless victimization that could impair and possibly destroy our effectiveness.

\* \* \*

In a recent contribution entitled "A Contribution to the Discussion on the Marijuana Policy in the YSA" Calvin Vail, putting forward what he believes to be the major reason for changing our policy, states: "With the present YSA policy we are preventing many of these people from joining the YSA... It is clear that the main roadblock to recruitment is our grass policy." Vail's statement shows a misconception of what is required in building a revolutionary socialist youth organization.

The reason masses of American youth are not in the YSA is because most young people do not yet agree with our political program or the need for a multi-national democratic-centralist socialist youth organization.

We have pointed out the need to reach as many young people with our ideas as possible and to break down all unnecessary barriers and obstacles to recruiting to our organization. This approach, however, does not imply jeopardizing the security of the YSA. The number of recruits we might gain by dropping our drug policy certainly means little beside the possibility of attacks on the YSA that it would leave us open to. Putting our organization in this position does not help build the YSA at all, in fact, it cuts into the YSA's effectiveness by threatening its ability to function.

Our aim is not simply to build a numerically large organization, but to build an effective organization capable of putting our program into action. To build such an organization the YSA

has a number of requirements for membership besides the policy on the use of illegal drugs. In addition to requiring basic agreement on our political program, members of the YSA are expected to make a minimal financial commitment, to remain loyal to the YSA, and to act in a disciplined manner. We don't view these requirements as obstacles to building the YSA. On the contrary, we see them as necessary in the construction of a strong and viable political organization.

Vail's contribution attempts to skirt the question of security by asserting that "The grass laws are unenforceable. The only busts you hear about these days are pushers or very careless people." This is also false. Vail fails to recognize that police have in the past and will continue to use drug laws to harrass, frame-up, and imprison radicals.

It is instructive to look at the success the Houston city police have had in enforcing these "unenforceable" laws. In 1971, Lee Otis Johnson, a Black student leader at Texas Southern University, was framed-up because of his political activity on campus and given a thirty year sentence in state prison for the simple act of passing one marijuana cigarette to a plain-clothes cop. This is just one example of how we can expect these laws to be enforced against political activists.

Not only are these drug laws used in attempts to put radicals behind bars, but consistent attempts are also made by the police to use drug busts and the threat of harsh sentences to force young people to act as informers and provocateurs in radical organizations.

It is probably true that thousands of students who are not politically active use drugs and are not victimized for it. But for us to think the same would apply to us is simply avoiding reality. We should clearly understand that the activities of the YSA are not looked upon with favor and do not go unnoticed by the U. S. ruling class. It would be a dangerous display of naivete for us to assume that cops would not take advantage of any handle they were offered to destroy or limit the functioning of the YSA.

To drop our present policy on the use of illegal drugs would offer just such a handle.

An approach we can expect the police to take to our organization when given the opportunity is illustrated by the example of a police raid last year on a private party attended by YSAers in Houston. The police demanded entry to the house of a YSAer and arrested four comrades who were thrown in jail and charged with being "drunk at a private place." A fifth comrade was also arrested and charged with selling liquor without a license. When the police entered the house the first thing they did was to conduct a thorough search for illegal drugs. It isn't difficult to imagine what the comrades would have been charged with had drugs

been present.

Calvin Vail continues by assuring us that the cops would have a "difficult time trying to bust our organization" because the YSA is "a strong organization that could defend itself easily." In fact, Vail seems to think that our problems would be minimized because "sympathy would be with us and against them."

The notion that the YSA could "easily" launch a mass political defense effort around a drug bust has absolutely no basis in the real world. Even though it is true that many young people are in favor of legalizing marijuana, it is incorrect to think that masses of Americans view smoking dope as a fundamental democratic right and would be willing to support a defense effort around it. The reality is that drug busts simply are not viewed by most people as political victimizations.

Our best defense against police harassment or frame-up on drug charges has been to maintain our clearly stated, well-known position that prohibits the use of drugs by YSA members. It is precisely the existence of this strictly enforced policy that has made it difficult so far for police to use drug laws to victimize YSAers.

While missing the point on what a defense case around a drug bust of YSAers would represent, Vail implies that the YSA would welcome such an occurrence as an opportunity to win "sympathy." The fact is that we do not go around hoping that our members will be arrested so we can win "sympathy." A successful defense effort involves a great deal of time and money and it should be obvious that we do everything possible to prevent victimization of our members.

\* \* \* \* \*

The YSA policy on the use of illegal drugs is not, as Vail's contribution implies and others would imagine, merely a publicly-stated position that we are not really serious about enforcing. The opposite is the case. This policy is one that must be considered vital to defending the YSA from needless victimization and attacks by the government. It applies to each and every member of the YSA without exception and is a policy on which there can be no flexibility.

Any YSA member that fails to abide by this policy is endangering the security of our organization and cannot be allowed to remain in the YSA. This is the position we must reaffirm at the convention.

October 30, 1972

## ON THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND ITS ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS

by Harris Freeman and Joseph A. Soares, Atlanta

We request that comrades bear with us through the first section of our article. We think it healthy to reiterate our basic analysis of the student revolt for the purposes of the discussion.

The student revolt today is international in its scope, encompassing students in the post-capitalist, Third World and advanced capitalist countries. The ability of the student movement to link itself with other oppressed sectors in anti-capitalist struggles and serve as a catalyst for setting other social layers into motion is a testimony to the increased social weight and political importance of the student population.

For the purposes of this article in the YSA discussion period we prefer to deal specifically with the student revolt in the advanced capitalist countries (while realizing that the tactical organizational forms being proposed may be used in the context of the red university strategy in Third World and post-capitalist countries).

### The Changing Role of the Bourgeois University

The University, like any other institution of capitalist society, is designed to serve the needs and interests of the ruling class, not those of students and working people.

The university no longer functions simply as the training grounds for children of the ruling class, but instead serves to develop a more highly educated and technically skilled work force to meet the needs of modern capitalist, i. e., neo-capitalist society. This change in the role of the bourgeois university has resulted in:

1. an increasing influx of working class youth (especially in the United States) into the university
2. an increasing proletarianization of intellectual labor.

The necessity to subordinate the functions of the university to the needs of capitalist society coupled with the authoritative structure of the university system has provided the objective conditions making student alienation and revolt a permanent feature of the current radicalization. Even attempts to "streamline" or reform the university (to better meet the needs of modern capitalism) can only fuel and deepen student radicalism.

### Character of Student Revolt

"College students especially, because of their relative freedom from family or job restraints, their access to information, and the leisure time they have to read and discuss, are highly sensitive to issues of world and national politics." ("Development of the Current Radicalization", Young Socialist Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 12.)

The current student radicalization began and developed concurrent with the rise of the colonial revolution and the struggles of the oppressed minorities in the U. S. The examples of the Cuban Revolution, the struggle of the Vietnamese, and the events of May-June of '68 in France provided an impetus and orientation to the developing radicalization. The rise of the Black and Chicano nationalist and feminist movements provided students with still other areas of political struggle against a decadent and outmoded social order. Students have proven themselves capable of transcending the narrow confines of campus oriented issues and have shown themselves capable of linking up with struggles of the oppressed both in the U. S. and internationally. In fact, students, due to the uneven development of the radicalization (the disorientation of the working class and crisis of revolutionary socialist leadership) have been thrust into a vanguard role in the current radicalization.

It is no less important to restate that students hold a common position in capitalist society and are "...oppressed as students (emphasis in original) in institutions whose bourgeois structure, function and authoritarian administration generate widespread alienation and dissatisfaction. At the same time students have an interest in struggling against the war, national oppression, sexism, etc., because these central problems face students as well as society as a whole. These issues cannot be resolved on the campus alone. Thus, there is no contradiction between demands raised by students centered on their campuses or high schools, and students struggling around demands related to national or international issues. In fact, there is a logical connection between them." ("Political Resolution", Young Socialist Strategy for '72, p. 20.)

### Red University Strategy

It is the "logical connection" between the objective position of students in capitalist society and their need to politically transcend the campus that gives validity to the red university strategy as a tool of the revolutionary socialist movement.

"The revolutionary youth vanguard, to be effective, must put forward a program that transcends the campus in its goal, but at the same time includes it; that connects student demands with the broader demands of the class struggle on a national and international scale, that shows students how their own demands relate to these **bigger** struggles, are an integral part of them, and can help to advance them. The program put forward by the revolutionary youth must tie together the long-range perspectives and daily work of a revolutionist in the school arena. The program put forward by the revolutionary youth is one that mobilizes for struggle around the basic issues of the world class struggle and the needs of the student population itself (emphasis added)". (A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth, p. 16, Pathfinder Press.)

The red university strategy is designed to encompass student oriented struggles and transcend them at the same time. This strategy further explains the necessity of the revolutionary youth vanguard's intervention on a day to day basis in all the struggles of the student movement and not leaving "... certain kinds of struggles for the reformists -- we don't say that simply because reformists join a particular struggle with their objectives that we will not join it also with our methods and objectives." ("International Report" adopted by the 9th YSA National Convention, International Information Bulletin, A Discussion on the International Youth Radicalization, p. 29.)

Up to the present time we have seen the red university strategy partially instituted, in the form of the antiwar university in May of '70 in the U. S., or in total, as witnessed during the revolutionary upsurge in May-June of '68 in France. During these periods students have formed broad united front formations, i. e., strike committees, that have seized control of the universities and used them as organizing centers to reach out to other sectors of society.

Except for YSA student election campaigns, these periods of intensive political struggle have provided the only opportunity to raise our entire red university strategy or major portions of it. At times of a relative lull in the student movement the revolutionary youth vanguard has no opportunity to present the red university strategy (or at least its general dynamic) to the masses of students. This is due to the relatively small size of the YSA, in relation to the student milieu, which prevents us at this time from mobilizing significant portions of the student population under our own banner.

Given this situation in the student movement, how do we see the implementation of the red university strategy as an ongoing day to day struggle for student-faculty control, extension of political freedoms, free university education, Black, Brown and women's studies departments, etc., coming about? This question remains to be answered. To date no specific tactical proposals have been offered to explain how we see the realization of the red university strategy, i. e., its acceptance and implementation by the student movement. A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth does not discuss the tactical considerations of what organizational forms can best be used to realize the red university strategy (and for good reasons -- it is mainly a resolution to develop a strategy, not its tactical applications), except to say that the student movement will take various forms in its process of development.

It is the purpose of this article to more fully discuss the tactical organizational questions that are posed by the red university strategy and explain the role of the revolutionary youth vanguard (the YSA) in relation to this strategy and the student movement.

#### What Organizational Forms Can the Student Movement Take?

The YSA, in relation to the student population as a whole,

acts as the vanguard of the vanguard, i. e., of the student movement. The YSA is not a revolutionary party nor is it the student movement; rather it is a revolutionary combat organization of youth that strives to become the vanguard of the entire youth movement.

The student milieu, i. e., the campus community, no more constitutes the student movement than the Black community constitutes the Black Liberation movement. Rather, in both cases, the milieu is the basis for the movement.

Rather, the student movement to date has manifested itself through: various SDS type organizations -- Zengakurens (student unions) -- generally in single-issue united fronts -- in the instance of Third World or women's struggles, in organizations such as Black Students Unions or general women's liberation groups -- and lastly, during major upsurges in multi-issue united fronts for student struggles, such as the March 22 movement (1968) in France. The SDS type organizations, having no clear program and attempting to substitute themselves for a revolutionary party, were doomed to failure and disintegration.

The Zengakuren, for over a decade, acted as the organizational form of the Japanese student movement. However, from what we can judge, it lapsed into ultraleft and reformist politics for lack of an effective political intervention by revolutionary Marxist elements. (We would appreciate more information on the Zengakuren because our sources are very limited.)

Single-issue united fronts have proven extremely valuable but limited in scope. They are usually concerned with constituting the student component of a broad social movement, or serve as the form for student struggles around specific campus issues. They are limited and temporary by their character. Example: An SMC cannot constitute the student vanguard, i. e., movement (even though in the high school SMCs they found it necessary to broaden the organizations demands to include issues of democratic rights). Nor can united fronts on specific local issues provide the organizational form for the entire student movement, i. e., the struggle for the Red University.

Broader and more permanent formations such as Black Student Unions have provided the organizational structure for demands and actions around a broader program to deal with the permanent and multi-issued character of the Black student revolt.

The organizational form of the Black Student Union provides the basis for the struggle for the Black University. It acts as the vanguard of Black students. As the Black student movement's organizational form it also provides an arena for the YSA's intervention.

However, while the Black and Chicano student unions (and our intervention in them) can provide the forms for the daily struggle for the Black and Chicano University, it does not provide the basis for the implementation of the red university strategy in its entirety. Therefore, its limitations are in represent-

ing only a section and not the whole student movement.

During periods of massive upheavals we have seen the formation of multi-issue student united fronts such as the March 22 Movement in France, the National Student Strike Council in Mexico, and the strike committees of May 1970 in the US. These formations have generally been temporary, existing only during major political crises. But during that period they have provided an organizational form for the entire student movement and the struggle for the Red University. In fact, it has mainly been through these groups, during major upsurges, that the student movement actually exists as an entire movement. (We would appreciate more specific information on what happened to these groups after the upsurge.)

\* \* \* \* \*

All of these forms, to some extent, have expressed and represented different components of the student movement. But every one of them has limitations that stop them from providing the basis for the daily student struggle for the red university that we have always spoken of.

This is the major **omission** in A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth (Pathfinder Press, April, 1972). "A Contribution to the Discussion on the Worldwide Youth Radicalization", passed by the Political Bureau of the French Communist League, also makes this criticism. Despite the many disagreements we have with that article, we think they are generally correct in pointing out that A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth "... doesn't make any distinction between the student milieu and the student movement which greatly simplifies the tasks..." (International Information Bulletin reprint from 1968-71, p. 23).

The document (A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth) does speak of the use of united fronts and the need to leave the door open on these organizational forms. However, in order to prepare the revolutionary youth vanguard for its role in the student movement, we think it necessary to be more specific in discussing the theoretical and tactical organizational questions posed by the red university strategy.

We need to carefully consider what type of a student united front is needed for the permanent and multi-issued character of the student revolt.

We all understand that student control is a necessary part of the red university strategy, yet we have no clear picture of how students should struggle for it, or the vehicle needed to exercise that control. We presume that it would be exercised by a general student assembly, i. e., a student united front or soviet. But in the struggle for that control to date, we present only diverse single issue united fronts and/or broader formations for special sectors (Blacks or Chicanos) but no formations for the whole student population by whom that control must be exercised.

We have made no investigation of the need or usages of an

organizational form for the entire student movement. We are positive that the needs of the red university strategy demand one.

We feel this way because red university strategy projects taking up daily issues of student concern and also involving the students in broader political issues. No one organizational form to date, excepting the "upsurge" formations (March 22 movement), includes this broad strategy. (Of course, the YSA does, but it is the vanguard of the vanguard, and not the student movement.)

But why aren't the different single-issue united fronts on different local and/or national issues sufficient? First and most obviously, they are limited and temporary in character. Because they are limited and temporary, student radicals, without a socialist perspective, become easily disoriented by the character of the one united front because they are interested in other issues as well. They are likewise disoriented by the practice of forming, dropping, and reforming different single-issue coalitions because they do not hold the perspective that they are part of an ongoing inter-related struggle.

Lastly, it is simplistic to consider that the struggle for student control, any more than workers control can be won by different single-issue coalitions all growing around their single-issue demands until they all achieve their single-issue goals, link arms and form a workers state. Reality is and has always been much different.

The storming of the capitalist bastions on the campus and in society at large demand a united onslaught of the class as a whole.

Only the unevenness of class consciousness and the peculiarities of the American situation (the absence of workers moving strongly as a labor movement and the crisis of revolutionary leadership) produces the need of temporarily using different single-issue united fronts. They are used to win victories in order to deepen the radicalization and prepare the class through struggle to unite for the final battle that will decide who controls the state. (Just to give an example along this line: if there was a mass labor party in this country that championed the demands of Black people, Blacks and revolutionaries might think it sufficient for the Black struggle to have a Black caucus in this party and not necessarily form an independent Black party. The opposite is, of course, currently the case.)

We theoretically have always been armed with the strategy of such things as labor parties to unite workers as a class and a Black party to unite Blacks as Blacks, but never have we spoken of a formation for uniting in struggle students as students. (At this point we hear the quip that students are transitory and not permanent. Yes, as individuals, but the student population and the student revolt is not. It is not only permanent in character but growing in size.)

The struggle for the red university, unlike the fight for workers control, is placed on the agenda of today. A red university

can, of course, only fully exist under socialism. But a situation of dual power on the campuses can be a general feature today during capitalism. Without this possibility the whole perspective of using the universities to build the revolution is absurd.

Because it can be placed on the agenda as a strategy today we need the organizational form for this strategy now. Or else, we allow the spontaneous development of the radicalization to overreach its organizational forms. Our organizational conceptions for the student movement lag behind the radicalization, not in front of it.

This is not to say that immediately we must form such an organization for students. Our resources and the current ebb of activity on the campuses precludes such a course. Rather we care to theoretically arm our movement on this point in the style of Leninists and prepare us for intervention into such a formation as the situation allows. (And in some areas, as we will point out later, we see this possibility right now.)

We have not yet discussed in the YSA the concept of a general student action committee, i. e., a union.

We think this could be partially due to the well founded fear of SDSism; however the fantastic growth of that organization demonstrated the dynamic of the student movement to develop its own broad organizational form. It also showed that there are many, many radicals willing to take action around a student movement that are not yet ready to join a revolutionary socialist vanguard.

Despite our aversion to student multi-issue formations there have spontaneously in the past and present arisen student unions to fill the void. High School and college student unions have existed from New York to Florida.

In fact in Florida today the process of building a student union is under way at U. S. F. in Tampa with the explicit aim of becoming a state-wide formation.

We would like in our next section to take up the question and possibilities of a general student action committee, i. e., a union.

### The Student Action Committee

General student action committees have, as we pointed out, existed in the past during major upsurges. But they have also existed locally at different universities and in many high schools across the US, in the form of student unions. In France the high school action committees existed prior to and after the '68 upsurge. They were (from what we can tell) initiated around a few issues, such as the war; and grew to encompass a whole list of high school student demands. They acted as the major vehicle for high school participation in the '68 events, in which they played no small part!

We have heard from our own resolutions that the student revolt is permanent and multi-issue, but as comrades interested in a union concept we have also heard the accusations of a union being reformist or being only another SDS type group. We intend to answer these questions before moving on to what role a union could play.

Any formation could be reformist without our intervention. Workers unions, as Lenin pointed out, represent only bourgeois reformist consciousness amongst the workers; this type of organization and consciousness is the only one that develop "spontaneously". But as every comrade knows we see unions as an arena for raising our entire program and we fight to turn them into combat battalions in the class struggle. Why? Because they act as a united front for part of the class.

As to the SDS charge: The problem of SDS was lack of program and its attempt to act as the real vanguard. A union with a general national program on social issues and with a similarly common orientation to local campus issues would have a defined structure and role. This program would not develop all at once, or without our participation. In fact, our participation is crucial for the entire project.

In a student united front of this type, i. e., a union, we would fight like hell for the adoption of our entire student program. Why? Because for the students this formation in essence poses the question of campus power.

At this point the question is raised: If it generally has our student program, why have the YSA? Because, the YSA acts as the socialist vanguard. It contains the cadre and experience of accumulated struggle. It intervenes into all of the activities of youth and does not confine itself to any certain sector. It encompasses all of the sectors needed for a working class victory. It is no mere movement coordination center. . . it is the young Marxist hub of the revolution with the entire program necessary for a social revolution. Actually, the question is better seen once we turn it around and ask: Why have united fronts if we have the YSA?

(We would also like to mention that because of the actuality of workers unions the union concept has a defined nature, generally speaking, in most people's minds.)

A student union would not replace the YSA nor would it replace the necessity for single-issue united fronts. The union would build the different united fronts on the campus by supporting their demands and by setting up union fractions to participate in them. A union would not end the usefulness of single issue united fronts. In fact, we would need these groups to get and keep the union on the right track, in much the same manner that Blacks in the US would still need an independent Black party after the formation of a labor party.

A union would be able to provide the vehicle for permanently

dealing with student issues and the struggle for student control. It would not necessarily mean the end of student single-issue united fronts to act as the student component of larger ones (SMC vis a vis NPAC). But it is not ruled out that in the future on the campuses the union could prove sufficient by itself for mobilizing students around these issues.

Inside the union special interest groups i. e. women, Blacks, etc. . . would control their own caucuses to protect their interests.

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Specifically, in Jacksonville, Fla., a high school student union existed that became city-wide. It developed spontaneously around democratic issues, the war and racism. It endorsed the SMC and in its schools distributed SMC literature. The Afro-student Association that existed in one of the high schools participated in it as an organized group. It disintegrated because of lack of leadership.

In Gainesville, Fla., a university student union was formed around democratic student issues. It grew to two thousand in weeks. It too died for lack of a consistent orientation, i. e., leadership.

Today, in Tampa, Fla., a university student union is being formed by the large radical student milieu there. It is not leaderless nor programless. Its program is that of democratic student issues and a few major social issues. Its leadership is generally composed of healthy independents with slight ultraleftist leanings in the absence of our perspective. The elements forming this union last week held two actions on democratic issues involving over 800 students. This is the liveliest student movement we have recently seen. These same elements also participate in the campus' United Front Against the War which holds weekly meetings of 20-50 people (including high school students and community people) and weekly educational and/or picketing actions involving 75-200 people. They, by no accident on their part, have our orientation in the anti-war movement.

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Our own resolutions have depicted the objective basis for such an organization, in explaining the multi-issue and permanent character of the student revolt. In certain areas, such as Tampa, there is a sufficient ripening of the subjective factors as to allow such an organization to exist. We see this last part, the question of the subjective factors in considering such an organization the paramount question for empirical research.

Objectively the student movement needs such a formation. Therefore, it should be considered for our propaganda. But do the needs of the current stage and the level of the student consciousness allow such a formation to exist?

In certain areas we see this to be the case. In others, obviously not. But one important aspect of this stage must be considered. Because of the quiescence of activism the administrations are attempting to role back student gains. This allows

democratic issues on the campuses to take on once again a nationally explosive character. And for that type of a movement Tampa has already demonstrated the potential such an organization holds.

### Summary

Risking repetition, we would like to sum up by stating:

1. The objective conditions of the universities give the student revolt a permanent and multi-issue character.
2. Because students can use the universities as tools of the revolutionary process today, in the guise of red universities,
  - a. the struggle for the campus is immediate
  - b. it demands the participation of the entire student population (even though it will unfold unevenly)
3. Hence the embryo of the student soviet is also necessary for guiding the students,
  - a. the student action committee is necessary for the struggle
  - b. it has previously existed spontaneously as student unions in the U.S.
4. The attempts of the administrations nationally to role back victories provides an immediate and explosive character to democratic issues and the need for student organizations to defend rights and extend them.
5. We do not propose a national launching of any such formation but rather first theoretical clarity on:
  - a. the objective need for the red university strategy of such a formation and
  - b. the current needs of the student movement corresponding to the stage of the struggle and the level of student consciousness.

Only then should intervention be considered as the conclusions and circumstances dictate.

### Proposals

We would like to propose that a special literary discussion involving, if possible, an exchange of international information, be conducted along the lines of "organizational forms for students". And that the concept of a general student action committee be investigated further. That this discussion take place for three months before the plenum.

We would be interested in a wider accumulation of empirical data on local experiences with these formations. Especially on the question of our previous interventions, if any, into such formations.

We would further propose that if a discussion bears out our initial conclusions the plenum consider allowing local areas to probe according to their resources and the local relationship of forces any such developing or existing formations.

October 30, 1972



## A NEW DIMENSION FOR OUR CAMPUS PROGRAM

by Kurt T. Hill, Jamestown, N. Y.

According to Ernest Mandel, noted Marxist economist, the industrially advanced capitalist countries have been experiencing an accelerated process of technological change since the Second World War. This transformation is so fundamental that he terms it a "third industrial revolution." Mandel states that some of the specific features of this transformation are the continual expulsion of manual labor from traditional industry, and the reintroduction of intellectual labor into the productive process on a massive scale.

His model of "neo-capitalism" helps to explain the fact that one now finds many occupations formerly considered to be "professional" or "semi-professional" increasingly subject to the same conditions of work prevailing in the manual occupations. That is, one finds growing mechanization of tasks, standardization of personnel, employee interchangeability, and regimentation in these occupations.

Intellectual labor, which formerly was a service performed for a client by an autonomous professional, is being transformed into labor performed by skilled wage workers employed by large, bureaucratic industrial enterprises. Under neocapitalism, the high degree of technological sophistication necessitates an ever increasing intellectual work force to manage such complicated instruments of production.

The changing role of education in bourgeois society reflects these new needs of neo-capitalism.

Prior to World War II, colleges and universities in the United States had the principle function of preparing the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie for their adult roles as members of the ruling class. These institutions also provided training for the professional and managerial elites who were to serve as the faithful, well-paid servants of capital. A university education was a privilege reserved for the few. A simple grade school education was deemed sufficient for most blue collar workers, while a high school education opened the doors to the majority of white collar occupations.

Under neo-capitalism, however, this situation has changed dramatically. For example, in 1952, the percentage of the civilian labor force having eight years or less of schooling was 37.9%. In 1968, that figure had declined to 19.7%. In 1952, the percentage of the labor force holding a high school diploma stood at 43.3%. In 1968, that figure had increased to 62.1%. In 1952, the percentage of the civilian labor force with four years of college was 8.0%. In 1968, it had increased to 12.4%.

Thus the "education explosion" reflects the more fundamental explosion of technology, and the increasing dependence of neo-capitalism upon a highly educated work force possessing the necessary organizational and technological skills to

operate the streamlined, computerized instruments of production.

Of necessity, neo-capitalism has concentrated ever-growing numbers of intellectual workers in factories and offices. It has shattered the individual autonomy of many of these workers, and has thus facilitated the organization and unionization of formerly anti-union professionals and semi-professionals. Occupations which formerly sneered at unionization in favor of loose-knit "professional associations," have begun to seriously re-evaluate their positions. Trade unionism is taking root in such diverse occupations as engineering and teaching.

It is now clear, that under neo-capitalism craft unionism can be divided into two distinct groups: the manual crafts such as plumbing, construction, printing; and intellectual crafts such as engineering, teaching, research.

Historically, there have been two central aspects to craft unionism. One of these is occupational control, in which the craft itself essentially is responsible for the recruitment and training of future members. The other essential feature of a craft has been the lack of standardization of the work performed by this occupation. That is, total rationalization of that industry with minute divisions of labor has been retarded. This has permitted the craft worker greater occupational autonomy and creativity.

Taken together, these two aspects have had a mitigating effect upon the development of a sense of alienation on the part of the craft worker, and it has helped to make the craft unions generally much more conservative than their industrial union counterparts.

The old, manual crafts still possess extensive occupational control over recruitment, and have generally been able to resist degenerating into simple, repetitive jobs.

The new, intellectual crafts -- many former professions and semi-professions -- are increasingly unable to retain even a small degree of occupational control. Training programs are centered in the universities, and are outside of the jurisdiction of the intellectual crafts. In effect, the bourgeois university will continue to crank out as many teachers, researchers, engineers, etc., as the ruling class thinks it needs or will potentially need, even to the point of over supply. This is done regardless of the consequences to the occupational group in question.

In addition, industrial and educational bureaucracies, like all bureaucracies, aim at predictability. Predictability in such large organizations can only be achieved by standardization, which itself contributes to an atmosphere where the achievement of tasks is seen as independent of the particular individuals who perform these functions. This, in turn, contributes

to the growing compartmentalization of knowledge in the intellectual crafts, which is beginning to parallel the compartmentalization of knowledge in the intellectual crafts, which is beginning to parallel the compartmentalization of skills on the assembly line.

In assessing the potential of the new intellectual crafts, revolutionary communists must understand the Law of Uneven and Combined Development as it relates to contemporary craft unionism.

The old, manual crafts (at least the bulk of them), were established during a much different phase of capitalist development. Some of them, such as the printers' unions, are actually outgrowths of the old guild system. They were formed during a period preceeding the rise of industrial unionism. Thus their strategy is different than that of the industrial union, i. e., the maintenance of occupational control through the exclusion of unwanted competitors. This is accomplished by occupational control of recruitment and training for potential members of that craft. This occupational control assures craft members higher than average wages. It also helps to make them conservative, even reactionary, since they often exclude Third World applicants under the guise of attempting to "match labor supply with demand."

The intellectual crafts, formed under a much different phase of capitalist development, (neo-capitalism) must rely upon a different strategy if they are to gain occupational control. That strategy must be one of inclusion, of extending their control over if not the source (universities), at least over the supply of all potential members of the occupation.

In order to accomplish this task, the strategy of the intellectual crafts must take on the aspect of Combined Development -- of going beyond traditional craft unionism and becoming part of what industrial unionism was at its beginning: a movement for general social change.

To illustrate the potential of intellectual trade unionism, let us take one occupation -- teachers -- which has little control over either occupational recruitment, or working conditions.

There are thousands of qualified, though unemployed, teachers in the United States today. It is obvious that such a situation does not contribute strength to the bargaining positions of teachers' unions. Any sustained strike by such a union could very well be undermined by a readily-available jobless force of qualified scabs. This is particularly true during periods of recession or depression, such as we are now experiencing, when any job is difficult to obtain.

A posture of exclusion by a teachers' union would not make sense, since that occupation does not control the source of supply -- the universities. Thus, in order to insure that jobless teachers are not used as strike breakers, any rational union

must go beyond simple craft unionism and incorporate demands of a transitional nature. Such demands should include the concept that a sliding scale of hours and wages be incorporated into any contract negotiated with boards of education. This would permit the employment of the jobless without lowering the standard of living of any teacher. Also, demands such as guaranteed jobs upon graduation for all education majors, would possess a transitional character. Such a policy of inclusion would assure this intellectual craft of jurisdiction and control of all members and potential members in this occupation.

At the same time, full employment for all teachers and potential teachers would necessitate the development of new sources of revenue to finance such an undertaking.

Presently, the great bulk of revenues for the payment of teachers' salaries and benefits, and for the financing of the entire educational system itself, is based on the property tax. Yet property accounts for only 8 percent of the nation's income. Liquid assets such as stocks and bonds are the real source of wealth, accounting for more than 75 percent of potential taxable wealth. It is thus necessary to reverse the trend where one of the smallest forms of wealth -- property -- accounts for more than 54 percent of public education income.

A demand that stocks and bonds (bourgeois wealth) be taxed instead of home property (the primary "wealth" of working people) is obviously transitional, and it possesses an important implication.

In order to realize these demands, a teachers' union must seek out allies in the communities in which they live. Increasingly these potential allies reside in the Black and Third World communities of major metropolitan areas. To obtain such allies, the union would have to champion the demands of the oppressed nationalities for community control of education, and the decentralization of authority.

Both groups would thereby benefit: the teachers would gain full employment and occupational control along with a reversal of bureaucratic standardization imposed by large, centralized school systems. The Third World communities would benefit by controlling a key institution in their neighborhoods. It would be a victory which would open the way for other community control issues.

The results of such a struggle would also be a victory for the revolutionary socialist movement, since the demands for a sliding scale of hours and wages, guaranteed jobs for education graduates, community control, etc., would be made upon the ruling class and its institutions. Such a victory would set an example for the rest of the working class, which would be more receptive to the demands of the Transitional Program.

In summation, one can say that under neo-capitalism craft unionism reflects the Law of Uneven and Combined Development. When the old, manual crafts were established in the 19th and early 20th Centuries, the rationalization of the productive

process was at a much lower level than it is today. Many manual crafts were outgrowths of the guild system, and retained many of that system's features such as occupational recruitment and training. These generally favorable aspects gave the manual crafts a conservative, exclusive attitude. They became, in the words of Eugene V. Debs, "the aristocracy of labor." In the 1930's, they generally resisted attempts by militants to pressure them into leading the unionization efforts in non-craft occupations. This reluctance to lead the fight for unionization of industry was in good measure responsible for the formation of the CIO, the expression of a higher form of unionism, industrial unionism.

The new, intellectual crafts, however, were principally forged as a response to the unique conditions of neo-capitalism. Having been formed at a much later stage of capitalist development, the intellectual crafts do not possess the privileges of the manual crafts, such as occupational control over the recruitment and training of new members. To achieve such control, they must take on a dynamic, not static, character, through raising transitional demands that go beyond simple, transitional craft unionism.

To be successful, the intellectual crafts must become part of a mass movement for social change, following the example of the CIO during the middle 1930's.

#### The Role of the YSA

What role, if any, can the Young Socialist Alliance play in assisting the development of a militant intellectual craft unionism based on a transitional program?

The college or university campus is the principle operating center of the YSA. The campus is also the training center of the intellectual crafts. This simple fact permits YSAers to have frequent contact with many potential members of the intellectual crafts -- an advantage which the average members of these unions do not have. We are therefore in a position to promote the concept of a united struggle of union members, the unemployed, and the potentially unemployed presently receiving training.

The focus of such a struggle must be a program of transitional demands which would meet the needs of all three components. Demands such as a sliding scale of hours and wages, guaranteed jobs upon graduation, free university education, and unemployment compensation for first-time job seekers would form the basis for such a program.

Although it would be quite difficult for YSAers to attempt to organize support for such a program in the intellectual craft unions, and among those presently unemployed, such organizing could be done on the campus. Students facing the bleak prospects of unemployment upon graduation would undoubtedly be fertile ground for the concept of a united struggle.

In order to be effective, a nation-wide organization com-

posed of the potentially unemployed must be constructed on the campuses. A program of action without a vehicle to transmit its message is meaningless. Such an organization, basing its program on transitional demands, would be extremely important in helping to convince the intellectual crafts of the necessity of waging a united struggle.

However, can the YSA with its limited cadre and financial resources create such a campus organization? The answer is no. The YSA cannot artificially create such an organization even though it is desperately needed. What the YSA can do, however, is educate students of the necessity of such a nation-wide organization. At this time, propaganda, not agitation, is our key task.

There are several precedents in the YSA history for such a propaganda campaign. One of the most important is our concept of the Red University. For a number of years prior to the May, 1970 anti-war upsurge, the YSA conducted systematic propaganda on the campuses explaining the potential of such a strategy. When President Nixon invaded Cambodia, one of the first major campuses to adopt the anti-war university concept was the University of California at Berkeley, a school in which the YSA has considerable political authority. Hundreds of other colleges quickly adopted the Berkeley model. Over night, this variant of the Red University strategy was transformed from a propaganda slogan into an agitational slogan for millions of youth.

If Dr. Mandel's analysis of neo-capitalism is correct (and I believe it is), the long-term prospects for capitalist stability are highly unlikely. After 25 years of unequalled expansion, neo-capitalism is entering a period of crisis and decline. It can no longer guarantee intellectual workers meaningful employment upon graduation.

Thus, the objective conditions for a nation-wide organization of potentially unemployed college graduates are already present. What is lacking is the subjective factor -- correct leadership with a correct program -- something which only the YSA can provide.

Finally, should the YSA make this propaganda campaign the primary focus of its campus work? Again, one must answer no.

Even though the rumors of a settlement of the war in Southeast Asia are increasing, the primary task of a revolutionary communist youth organization remains the defense of the Indochinese revolution. The war remains the center of the world-wide anti-capitalist struggle. As revolutionary internationalists, it is our duty to continue to build actions in the streets demanding that the imperialists withdraw immediately, totally and unconditionally from Southeast Asia.

The Black and Chicano struggles for self-determination are central components of the coming American socialist revolution. We must do all that we can to assist these domestic liberation movements, and strive to give them political leadership.

The Womens' Liberation movement continues to be a direct challenge to the cornerstone of bourgeois society -- the nuclear family -- and we must continue to wholeheartedly support its demands. If anything, YSA activity in support of this movement must be increased in the coming period, not decreased. Tremendous new possibilities for revolutionary socialists are being opened up this spring through the International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization.

Thus, I am not proposing that we abandon our present political orientation. I am proposing that we incorporate another dimension of struggle into our present Campus Program. Already the Program includes several elements which will take on increasing importance as the economic situation in this country continues to deteriorate, e. g., guaranteed jobs upon graduation, open admissions, and free university education.

The concept of a united struggle of union members, the unemployed, and the potentially unemployed is a necessity for the coming period. The possibilities of such a struggle, waged with transitional demands, deserve thoughtful consideration by the membership.

October 30, 1972

REGIONAL WORK  
by Lee Artz, Detroit

This contribution draws on the experiences, discussions, and lessons of the National Midwest Team during the first six weeks of campaigning in Southern Indiana, Southern Illinois, Kentucky, West Virginia. In those first six weeks we established two locals, two SMCs, two YSJPs, 15 people joined the YSA, and another 7 asked to join. It is apparent by the tremendous gains that all of the 17 YSJP teams have made that the potential of growth for the YSA is phenomenal. The region is fertile ground which is easily plowed by a little Trotskyist labor.

Because of the enthusiasm generated by the SWP election campaign and the highly concentrated activity of a large number of YSAers the gains of the YSJP teams far surpassed those of normal regional work. But it is clear from the tour that regional work has not been more successful largely because of a low consciousness towards regional work, inconsistency, and haphazard organization. The logic of which has meant that the relationship within many regions is often one of directives from regional centers to the regional locals and at-largers. It is necessary to review the regional apparatus, its purpose, function, and problems that must be overcome to insure the greatest possible growth of the YSA.

Several points are readily apparent about the regional apparatus. Regional work is one of the tactics we use to build the YSA. Without regional work the SWP would not have been on the ballot in Kentucky. The electors were at-largers and mostly campaign supporters. Regional work builds the YSA geographically, numerically, and in experience and authority in the radical movement. It broadens participation in the antiwar, feminist, black and other movements. One of the few places in the U. S. not to be run by the ultraleftists during the spring antiwar activities was in Carbondale, Illinois. Regional work of the YSA was the basis for helping to create the SMC in Carbondale originally. Especially relevant are regional campuses where we are often the only radical organization. We must gain hegemony on the left if we are to help lead the American socialist revolution. The YSA's role is to gain hegemony especially among students.

The region has no decision making authority within the YSA. Dues and sustainers are voluntary. The regional apparatus is established to increase the coordination of resources. Regional centers must give political and organizational help to the newer and more inexperienced YSAers. YSA growth in the region makes possible a broad forum for our speakers and ideas. It increases our capacity to raise funds. In Huntington, West Virginia, YSAers obtained \$800 in speakers fees, for Evelyn Reed. Regional locals make it possible to contact students never before reached. Also, regional locals have been helpful in the growth of the regional centers themselves. The main benefit is that it increases the effectiveness and range of our ideas on a national level.

There are many lessons from the YSJP tours. The most significant is that there are literally thousands of radicals on the U. S. campuses. In Indianapolis, we spoke to a student, who, at the end of the day said, "At 2:00 I supported McGovern, at 4:00 I endorsed the SWP campaign, and at 5:30 I asked to join the YSA. I didn't know there was an organization that I agreed with on almost every political question!" Even more impressive were the students who were supporting Hall or Spock because they were fed up with the Democrats and Republicans. All of them were impressed with the SWP campaign platform and changed their support to Jenness and Pulley. One woman agreed with us on every question and joined the YSA. Radicals around the country often form local organizations. When they see our national perspective and decision-making process they are influenced to change. The Gazebo Collective in Louisville saw the need for a national movement and 3 of them joined the YSA. These examples are only a few of the many that the 17 YSJP teams could cite. They are sufficient to illustrate the response we got on every single campus we went to! The radical students were only lacking a perspective; it was widespread belief that "their" campus was the most apathetic in the country. They always changed their position after they saw our successes.

YSAers in the region have a slightly different background than many in the centers. Their contact with the YSA was direct, immediate and based on their existing thinking. If our ideas matched theirs, or came close, they joined. That is very good and illustrates the depth of the radicalization; we can go to any campus and find youth who have arrived at many of the conclusions our movement is based on. What that also means is that they have seldom worked with us in the mass movements. They are not aware that we recruit in large numbers from the mass movements. They see those movements in a different light, and occasionally counterpose them to the building of the YSA, because their inexperience coupled with their isolation from the majority of the Trotskyist movement makes many of the tasks we carry out seem out of place on their campus. Education on our movement is limited and often they want to read the "heavy stuff," neglecting to be grounded in why we see the defense of the Vietnamese revolution as our central task, etc. Our regional comrades are very sincere and enthusiastic by and large, but many of these problems hamper their effectiveness and development as revolutionaries.

The regional center, organizer and traveler build the YSA by educating and giving political leadership to the YSAers in the region. They are well aware of the tasks before our movement and know its potential, but they lack understanding about the particular situation at regional area campuses; information that cannot be found in the regional center. One common orientation of regional work has been to urge YSAers to "come to the

center." The attitude is based on the obvious fact that the center is involved in more activity than the locals, but it tends to devalue the importance for the regional YSA locals. A regional center that does not delve into the local situation, learn from and work with the local YSAers, will try to overcome that inefficiency by giving sideline directions, "raise your sub quota, build the SMC, get some honoraria, send in your regional sustainer, etc." These are all correct requests, but they must be linked inseparably with an understanding of local resources, political situation on the campus, and most importantly, the enthusiasm of the local YSA. If not, the requests will demoralize and ruin the exuberance of new YSAers. If the main orientation is on the center and little regard for the regional local then the obvious impression is, "What worth is the YSA here?"

In summary the problems often are:

1) New YSAers that do not see the great importance of our work in all areas, (i. e., Militant sales, building the SMC, etc.) can learn it from the regional center, but,

2) Regional centers are often uninformed of the local situation, unable to motivate local YSA, and direct them instead, which ends in,

3) Disillusionment and discouragement, a questioning of the YSA as an organization, inactivity or even resignation.

Undoubtedly, this is not so serious as to mean the decline and fall of the YSA, but solving these problems will mean the faster growth and better response in growing numbers of radical students on regional campuses, who are looking for solutions to problems of society. The result is the type of success many of the YSJP teams had this fall. And anything we can do to improve or increase favorable contact with radical youth is necessary to learn.

The National Midwest Team did not have a unique pattern of operation. We knew that Militants sell, that the SMC can be built on any campus in the U. S., that large numbers of students are interested in the SWP campaign. We set an example by our activity. After we had done so YSAers and sympathizers were enthusiastic and active. When we arrived at a campus we sat down with the YSA and found out the political situation on the campus. The best motivation is by concrete example. In that way we pushed everyone we met, but we did not pressure them.

It is necessary to put the resources and political leadership of the regional center to work with the resources and situation of the regional locals. The regional center has numerous forums, classes, etc., that are used to bring sympathizers around our ideas. The regional center, the regional locals and the YSA as a whole would benefit from conferences held in local areas. They would increase the impact of the YSA in the region. Regional educational conferences should be held in the region,

when possible. The regional organizer could work with the local YSAers in building the conferences. The regional center must also function as an educational center with materials, topics, speakers, etc. Regional work must build the region first, then the center, which will build the YSA nationally.

The regional organizer and traveler must be on the road in constant contact with the locals. Also, if possible, special blitz teams should be sent out after registrations, before conventions and conferences. With short 3-4 day visits by a couple of YSAers the goal of consolidation and recruitment is more easily reached. Organized well in advance the blitzes could not only give valuable experience to YSAers from the center but enhance the regional work in antiwar, women's liberation, black work and other struggles we are involved in.

The growth of the YSA is not only linked to our politics, but how well we can effectively organize our reach-out work. It is still a period when the YSA must go to the radicals with our ideas. And we will.

November 6, 1972

## ON COMRADE ROTHMAN'S "YOUTH CULTURE"

by Mark Lause and Robert Trudelle, Houston

This contribution to the discussion is in reply to the earlier document of Comrade Marty Rothman of the Los Angeles local whose "Youth Culture" analysis may be found in Discussion Bulletin No. 1.

### I. What is the "Youth Culture"?

In order to give body to the concept of a classless formation with revolutionary character, we must first find a material basis to "cement together" such a grouping. Cde. R gives us the cement in his concept of "cultural identification". With the forewarning that it is "always changing", he leaves his initial effort to scientifically define "youth culture" with the following content: "The process occurring primarily among youth during the last two decades, . . . of rethinking, and re-evaluation of the norms of class society". An "international phenomena of protest", it is "an always changing process which has the goal of arriving at a more humane society. It is a protest against reality based on the discrepancy between what exists and what could be."

Depending on one's definition of "humane", this multi-class phenomena would encompass such "revolutionary" formations as the J. D. L., Christian revivalists and Satanists, the Jaycees, and the unorganized youth who flush cherry bombs down commodes, following in the earlier traditions of Y. P. S. L., goldfish swallowers, and the fascist youth. Indeed, this amorphous new spectre of revolution certainly does "lack any definite boundaries" and is "confused, contradictory, and often despairing". To confuse things further, Cde. R notes that it is "neither restricted to youth nor adhered to by a majority of young people." Like Topsy, it "just growed," and like Wohlforth's "phantom capitalism", it's just there! While orthodox Marxists prefer to rest their arguments upon the solid ground of materialism, Cde. R offers to teach us how to walk across the waters.

In the course of the development of class society, we have seen certain artistic, linguistic, literary, and social reflections of oppression, alienation, and societal disintegration. They have arisen from and are part and parcel of capitalist society in general. They could not exist without such a material base, and by no means constitute a separate culture. The working class and its allies cannot develop a proletarian culture under the iron heel of capital. (Read Trotsky on the "Proletcult".) Culture does not rest upon metaphysical abstractions. The culture, like the ideology of any society, is that of the ruling class and is but a superstructure on the materialist bedrock of the mode of production, the relationship to it of the various social classes, and the method of exchange.

"Youth culture" cannot be classless; it belongs to one class or another. Despite Cde. R's minimization of its short-

comings, we as class conscious workers find less the embryonic culture of the proletariat, history's next ruling class, than a reflection of the bourgeois ideology which permeates society as a whole in the "youth culture" with its metaphysical orientation, anti-social rebelliousness, utopian counter-institutionalism, and central focus upon one's individualism. To what class would Cde. R assign his "youth culture" and to what class belongs his "cultural identification"?

### II. "Norms" and "Forms" of the "Youth Culture"

None of the "wide variety of forms" of this anti-status quo rebelliousness cited by Cde. R are necessarily real expressions of any revolutionary, or even radical reformist anti-capitalism. We have met numerous long-haired young men who thoroughly enjoy physically attacking homosexuals. One of us, a member of last year's sub team argued at length with the staff of an "underground" paper which oriented its sales to local business leaders. ("We'd rather reach one businessman than ten students because he has the power to change things.") Rock and roll is enjoyed by millions all of whom we doubt will find themselves allied to the revolutionary movement. Drug use has become so widespread among all social classes and along all sections of the political spectrum that we feel it has hindered radical activism; drugs are now overtaking orthodox religion as the opiate of the masses. Fashion changes are less the result of the flow of American radicalism than the whims of the garment industrialists who grow no less rich by this form of "protest". Thus, we not only find ourselves forced to agree with Cde. R that "the forms change with the time" but must add that their meaning varies from place to place, class to class, from individual to individual. We feel that these particular forms have whatever content or lack of content attributed them by the individuals using them, and nothing more. As to what most individuals mean by their hair styles, we remain uncertain.

Nevertheless, Cde. R declares that these cultural forms are "invested with the content of rebellion against the status quo of class society". We wonder how Cde. R has entered the minds of this mass of individuality to unearth this information, but, as he has already placed mind over matter, we must join him in the Aquarian Cosmic Consciousness of the Pepsi Generation to further explore the subject. Are the manifestations directed against the existence of class society, or against the cultural superstructure. Even when injected with political rebellion, we question the character of the rebellion. Was not Menshevism "invested with the content of rebellion against the status quo" of Russian class society? Were not the Kronstadt anarchists? Are not the Stalinists? Were not the Nazis? This rebellion, we are told, is "directed against" a number of "outmoded values" as well as the "status quo" in general.

"Bigotry" is the first. Thus, our rebellion is joined by the

N. A. A. C. P., the P. L. P., and the World Council of Churches armed with their petitions, anti-racist leaflets, and ecumenical liberality. And may the Supreme Deity of the last named palsy the hand that dares pen a word of the young, long-haired, pot-smoking racist who, every bit as much as the short-haired "redneck" worker holds an ideology that is a millstone about the neck of world labor.

The rebellion against "militarism" and "bureaucracy" can be easily amalgamated with that against "authoritarianism". While recognizing the progressive aspects of such an attitude, we must warn Cde. R of the anti-social content therein. Will not the Dictatorship of the Proletariat be authoritarian? Of course, a "new" revelation has touched many in the "youth culture" milieu. "Communism" is "liberation" and "liberation" is "freedom for the individual", "the right to control one's own life", or so reason many young radicals. They then make the mistake of climbing down the same ladder they climbed up: "Freedom for the individual" is "liberation" and "liberation" is "communism". The struggle for socialism, communism, utopia -- what have you -- is reduced to everybody "doing their thing". Such is the thought process of sizable sections of the "youth culture" milieu as inherited in the fine traditions of Godwin, Warren, Proudhon and Bakunin.

Has this rebellion against "private property" yet occurred or is this a prediction? Outside of a number of scattered, ill-functioning communes, we see no such challenge and in this isolated context we see it challenged only in the limited scope of utopian socialism. Cde. R is more likely referring to the numerous cooperative enterprises engaged in domestic handicrafts. The return to the simple life! Back to nature! Smash the nasty, polluting machines and the alienating factories and we may then march proudly backward to a medieval mode of production where we may find the feudal mentality of these rebels against reality more appropriate. While these idealistic rebels may question the utility of science or modern technology, we do not feel that these alternatives question private property. To the contrary!

"Traditional religion" is under attack by the more politically dangerous neo-Christian revivalists, more dangerous because their activities stem from a zealous fanaticism rather than from habit. Indeed, for the thousands upon tens of thousands who have discovered the "one way", the very forms Cde. R uses to describe the rebellion against class society by youth (i. e., long hair, the quest for peace, rock and roll, etc.) here express a rebellion against the status quo from quite a different angle.

"Status seeking"? Oh, come now! The form may have changed but not the content. "Puritanism"? Unfortunately, not so much as we have hoped. "Aesthetic conformity"? Again, we see that the form has changed much more than the content.

### III. The "Youth Culture" and Revolutionary Politics

In the beginning of his contribution, Cde. R quotes George Breitman of the SWP that "changing attitude to morals", the "re-evaluation of sexual norms" and "the many varieties of escapism" enable us to perceive "the beginning of the breakup of the authority of American capitalism". This classical "argumentum ad hominem" backfired. As Cde. Breitman ably pointed out, these cultural norms are a part of the superstructure of bourgeois society.

We are living in an age of social disintegration in which humanity as a whole suffers under the heavy, dying hand of capital. These cultural forms of alienation and disaffiliation with American society are often assimilated by masses of disgustingly contented youth.

After establishing what is, at best, a tenuous defense of cultural revolutionism, Cde. R warns us to avoid "a sectarian attitude toward the cultural (less politically conscious) side of the youth radicalization." He claims that we already "accept these modes as positive experiments." Remarkably enough, he assures us that the counterculturalists, cultural "revolutionists" such as Roszak and Reich are "not any real problem" and estimates "roughly" that a mere "handful of Yuppies and Anarchist" fall into this category. Aside from its total absurdity, this serious inability to critically analyze the "youth culture" results in gross falsifications.

Argues Cde. R, "the 'cultural' side of the radicalization cannot be separated from the 'political' side" and, therefore, "the terms 'world-wide radicalization', 'youth radicalization' and 'youth culture' can be used interchangeably". Carried to its logical extent, such a view would replace V. I. Lenin with Robert Owen, Petrograd with New Lanark.

The YSA, he declares, is not "apart from, above or unaffected by the 'cultural' currents which sweep around us". Cde. R's contribution is an example of the theoretical validity of this point. Unlike the old days "when Trotskyism was a tiny political movement" (!!!), today we have the new periphery of the "youth culture" to serve as "our recruiting ground" and "the milieu in which we swim".

He mistakenly views "the practice among feminists of cutting their hair, wearing pants, not wearing bras, and insisting upon specific language changes" as though they were political decisions of our movement than matters of personal preference. We strongly resent his characterization - "humorously" or not - of our women comrades as "cultural feminists". Are our Black and Raza comrades then "cultural nationalists"? Are we all then "cultural revolutionists"? Cde. R, you trod the toes of Lenin!

His allusion to our interventions in "consciousness-raising groups" misses the point of such interventions which are conducted to prod the politicized elements in such groups into activity.

At the root of all of his errors there is a screaming misedu-



cation. While, claiming to reject the view that "revolution will be made merely by transforming the consciousness of individuals", Cde. R supports this view in every other section of his contribution.

Cde. R's naive, Owenite approach to members of an alien class milieu, that they are "not hardened enemies but honest people" is reminiscent of Fourier's appeal to the French nobility. Yet his boldest pretension of Marxism lies in his assertion that: "Unlike science, cultural topics cannot be defined in an absolute manner. Cultural currents are often amorphous, contain contradictory elements, and extremely difficult to define."

What anti-Marxist prattle! We recommend to Cde. R: Engels' Socialism: Utopian and Scientific; and, to further his comprehension of "science" which is composed, like cultural trends, of "amorphous", "contradictory elements" which are "extremely difficult to define", Engels' Dialectics of Nature. Wherein lies Cde. R's claim to be a scientific socialist, a social scientist? If this section of his contribution is neither a misstatement nor a misprint, we refute any such claim. Equating objective reality in society to aesthetic subjectivism, he writes that sociological and cultural phenomena pose "the same problems that are posed in a discussion of art".

For all of Cde. R's obsession with a "new", "youth" oriented approach to class struggle, his army of misconceptions raise the same tired old chants of Bernstein, Kautsky and Thomas: Reformism! In dealing with the misconceptions Trotskyists once had concerning the new radicalization, Cde. R writes that "First there would be a socialist revolution led by the workers, and then, the other problems would be dealt with".

Forgive us, comrades, if we stubbornly cling to this old-fashioned notion until Cde. R enlightens us, along with the entire international working class movement by presenting an analysis of how capitalism has changed so radically as to now be reformable. We are curious to know if he plans on adding anything significant to the bibliography of revisionism beyond his current contribution.

#### IV. Conclusion

Cde. R's motive is the desire to "reverse the trend of grossly unmet projections for growth that we have experienced in the past two years". But the quantity he is obviously striving for would spell a total abandonment of our recognition of the need for quality. Boldly our comrade has warned us to "banish all remaining vestiges of small group insularity and head decisively away from sectarianism"! Wishing to find "our own movement within the context of a process much broader than the confines of a few thousand political activists", in the "context of a milieu of millions", Cde. R equates "cultural identification" with the struggle for a new social order.

All we need do is declare our "complete acceptance" of the legitimacy of Cde. R's "youth culture", submerge ourselves entirely in it, and we will grow. Then the YSA, "by

its sheer weight" would be "the central pole of attraction of the entire radicalization". Thus, if we substitute conscious radicalism and political education with cultural identification, the attraction of a Marxist-Leninist approach with Newtonian laws of gravity, we will become a mass organization.

In conclusion, we hold that the individualistic forms of Cde. R's "youth culture" are not in all (or even most) cases expressive of social discontent. They neither comprise a separate or distinct culture nor are they equivalent to the world-wide youth radicalization. Vanguard organizations should take such contributions with a barrel of salt. While it is healthy that comrades raise discussions concerning utopian and reformist learnings, we hope that, to the discordant aires of "Revolution No. 9", Cde. R consigns the notions expressed in his contribution to the "dustbin of history" where he found them.

November 7, 1972

UTILIZING THE FORUM SERIES  
by Mary Nell Bockman, Atlanta

In preparing for the fall forum series, the Atlanta forums committee felt the importance of assessing the successes and failures of past forums and finding out what made them either good or bad. Forums in the past have not been as successful as they could have been. They did not attract large numbers of people and were not geared to topics of local interest. We set out to change this and to establish the Militant Bookstore Forum as a regular gathering for the expression of radical ideas.

The most important aspect of creating a good forum series is the balance of the topics that are chosen. Local controversial topics appeal to a great number of people. Events of national importance, such as the elections also tend to draw. Panels and debates attract a larger audience than a single speaker. Speakers who have particular credentials, such as lawyers, professors, candidates, and so forth, add legitimacy to a panel. It's important to line up your speakers in advance and remind them of the engagement a few days beforehand.

After the topics are decided on, the next step is to publicize the series as a whole. An attractive leaflet listing and describing the topics should lay the basis for contacting speakers and doing campus publicity. A brochure can be printed to introduce the series to prominent individuals, and to ask for funds. Mailings to the campus and underground press, enclosing an article about the series, can prove fruitful when followed up on an individual basis.

However, publicizing the series as a whole cannot be substituted for publicizing each forum individually. A leaflet should be ready, a week in advance, listing the title, speakers, a description, and logistical information. These leaflets should be distributed at regular places: campuses, coffee houses, campaign headquarters, as well as special places relating to a specific topic. A mailing should be sent out each week. The list should consist of contacts from every fraction and committee, and should be revised regularly. Sub blitzes are excellent times to introduce the forum and to get interested people to sign the mailing list.

The gains to be made from carrying out regular forums are tremendous. In the area of recruitment, for example -- contact dinners can be organized before the forums, and can insure the highest level of participation in the forums. Not only are we drawing activists closer to our movement, but we are also exposing the radical movement as a whole to our ideas. The financial gain from the forum series can be considerable and consistent. Forums are a major part of the Atlanta branch budget. The person at the door should be experienced, and should understand the importance of getting money from everyone who attends the forum. The forum series in Atlanta is also a valuable source of education for comrades. And lastly, as I

previously stated, the series should be a forum for debate and discussion within the radical movement. The forums can serve to build not only our movement, but the mass movements that we participate in.

In Atlanta, we have turned the situation with our forum series around. We have an average of 55 people attending the forums on a regular basis, and we have had as many as 68 people at one forum. Our weekly profit is significant. And now the Militant Bookstore Forum is seen by many radicals as a concrete field for socialist ideas.

November 8, 1972

USLA WORK  
by Lynn Silver, Upper West Side

The YSA has been involved for some time now in the work of the US Committee for Justice to Latin-American Political Prisoners (USLA). USLA work is a part of our international perspective. It is due to the particular sensitivity of the Latin-American governments to pressure from the US that our work can actually play an effective part in freeing the prisoners. It is in the same spirit that we have taken on the Ceylonese and Irish defense campaigns, although to a lesser extent.

USLA, which is now centered in New York, has been working mainly on the defense of the Argentine political prisoners. It has been during this campaign that USLA has gained the most experience in how to effectively organize and make concrete gains with the least people power.

Starting right after the Houston YSA Convention comrades began to work with USLA. We started out by doing general USLA work. We helped USLA obtain endorsers from the ranks of "personalities", professors, political and church organizations. We sold the USLA Reporter and in general disseminated information about the situation in Latin America. At this time we also began to make contact with the various Latino organizations in New York. In the early spring USLA decided to try to form a New York chapter. While the first meeting was not a smashing success, it did succeed in bringing together a nucleus of independent USLA activists who continued to give a tremendous amount of support to USLA. Having these people meant that USLA could broaden out its work beyond what the already over-burdened comrades could carry out.

In May the case of Casiana Ahumada, the editor of a Christian left magazine in Argentina, came up. USLA decided to take up the defense of Ahumada. We organized a meeting by contacting all the Third World, political, women's and church groups in New York. About 50 people from various groups came. We organized a successful demonstration and a pressure campaign. Casiana was freed. Through this campaign, which was organized with a minimal number of people, USLA gained a great many contacts as well as becoming familiar to the press.

Later on, in August, when the Trelew massacre occurred USLA had an active periphery which was able to help us organize the defense immediately. It was also this periphery which had helped with the general work of USLA, such as sales of the USLA Reporter, during the quieter periods. USLA was able to organize a demonstration, a press conference, and a petition around this.

In September USLA began the organization for the tour of Elena Rodriguez, an activist in the political prisoner defense movement in Argentina. From the beginning the tour met with an absolutely fantastic response from the campuses. Meetings were arranged on 11 campuses during her eight day stop in New

York. There was also a public meeting which was sponsored by the major left-wing Puerto Rican organizations in New York. Almost all of these meetings were arranged by independent contacts and supporters of USLA. USLA worked with Latin-American Studies departments and with Third World Students groups on the campuses. The committee was also able to collect a great deal of money from these campuses with little difficulty. The response to the tour in other areas seems to be just as good, if not quite so extensive. The incredible receptivity that exists for this kind of tour was shown by the fact that people called up from New Mexico and other areas who had heard about the tour from a PCPJ mailing and wanted to set up meetings.

While comrades did participate in the organization of the tour, a tremendous share of the local organizing in New York was done by independents. The tour served, not only as a vehicle for getting USLA in touch with the various groups, but also for the YSA to get in better contact with them. For example, the YSA was able to co-sponsor and to help build several of the campus meetings.

Some of the organizational concepts which I've described are things which should be tested out for work in other areas. The idea of a local USLA chapter, which we have had so much success with in New York, should be investigated in most areas. It is a form which can be organized with the help of only a few, or even one comrade, and effectively draw in other people from that area who would be interested in USLA work. Chapters are already being formed in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and in Boston. We expect that several more will be formed as the tour continues.

Comrades working with USLA who are Latino or who speak Spanish will obviously have certain advantages. If it is possible for Spanish-speaking comrades to do this, so much the better. USLA work, however, can be done by almost any comrade. Much of the YSA's participation in New York was and is done by people who don't speak Spanish.

USLA work will probably be one of our most effective means of recruiting Latinos. In New York we have been able to work with and to explain our ideas to many people who we have met through USLA work. An example of this is the work that we are doing in defense of the Puerto Rican and Dominican political prisoners. We work in these defense committees with groups and individuals who have never had any contact with the YSA or who have even been hostile to it. So far we have won about half a dozen people over to our ideas through USLA work in New York.

USLA work with Chicano and other Latino groups in other parts of the country, (especially the Southwest and California), would probably meet with as much, if not more, success than USLA has had in New York. We have found that in general, most people with an interest in Latin America (non-exploitative)

have been interested in and willing to work with USLA.

All YSA locals should be conscious of USLA work, not

only in terms of distributing USLA literature, but in the involvement and activity of comrades.

November 8, 1972

#### IN SUPPORT OF AT-LARGE VOTING AND DELEGATE SELECTION FOR YSA NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

by Kurt T. Hill, Jamestown, N. Y.

The Young Socialist Alliance is the most democratic youth organization on the Left. It is guided by the principles of democratic-centralism, with due emphasis on both aspects -- democracy in deciding organization policy, and centralism in carrying out such decisions.

Yet, even in the most democratic of organizations, there is sometimes need for improvement. This is presently the case regarding at-large voting for delegates to YSA conventions.

Although adequate provisions have been made for pre-convention discussion and delegate representation for all YSA locals, there are no similar provisions for discussion and delegate selection for at-large members. If one is a member of a local, one is assured that his or her voice and vote will be counted in the selection of delegates. This is not the case for at-large members.

Although at-largers have the right to present to the entire YSA membership any discussion papers on any topic which they desire, there is no provision which allows at-large comrades to vote on the resolutions in question.

The 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign has, among other things, resulted in increased at-large recruitment to the YSA. There are now a number of "clusters" of at-large comrades dotting the political landscape throughout the country. Often these clusters lack just one or two members to be fully constituted as locals. In other instances, at-large comrades are living near locals, but are too far away to systematically participate in these locals. As larger numbers of revolutionary youth join the YSA, the numbers of these clusters, and their proximity to each other and YSA locals will increase.

Therefore, I propose that the delegates to the 12th Young Socialist National Convention consider the following measures to rectify the problem of delegate selection for at-large members:

1) In the case that at-large members are living in reasonable proximity to existing YSA locals, such comrades should be permitted by the locals to participate in the pre-convention discussion and delegate selection. At-largers would participate in the discussion and voting on the same basis as members of that local. They should, however, inform both the local and the national office of their intent, in writing, immediately after the convention call has been issued by the NEC.

2) Where this is not possible, at-largers should be permitted to make arrangements with other YSA at-largers in their area for such discussions and delegate selection. In order for at-large comrades to elect a delegate, they must gather at least five comrades together, i. e., the same number of comrades that it takes to constitute a local. If more than five at-large comrades participate, delegate selection will follow the same pattern established by the NEC for larger locals.

In some at-large areas, this would mean that some comrades might have to travel a number of miles to participate, though this inconvenience might be mitigated by choosing a centrally located area. Again, at-large comrades wishing to engage in such pre-convention discussion and delegate selection should be required to notify the NO of their intentions, so the national staff will have a record of the meeting and the names of the comrades participating. Again, the number of delegates selected would follow the guidelines established by the NEC for locals.

If such a policy were followed, I am sure that it would not only rectify an undemocratic feature of an otherwise democratic organization, but would also give at-large members a greater sense of participation and responsibility.

November 8, 1972

EXTENDING THE PUBLIC FACE OF THE YSA  
by Cathal MacAree, Lower Manhattan

Since the August 1972 plenum of the National Committee we've been emphasizing the need for the YSA to extend its public face, to make our name and our program known to radicalizing youth. We've been doing this through such activities as selling the Young Socialist, running YSJP campaigns on the campus and running leading YSAers on local SWP tickets, and sending some of our national leaders on tour to build the YSA convention.

These are all good activities, and we should expand on all of them. There are two other things that we should do as well:

1. Have our own symbol

When the YSA first began we used the symbol of a clenched fist on a globe background. This symbol was later discarded for reasons we haven't been able to discover. Later, in late 1969-early 1970, we used the hands holding hammer and sickle designed by our French comrades. It was later decided that we didn't want this to be the official symbol of the YSA, mainly because there was never a conscious, official decision to this effect.

We need to have our own symbol to increase our visibility and to differentiate ourselves from other tendencies, particularly the Wohlforthite Young Socialists. We should use it on our stationery, the YS masthead, our banners, posters, buttons and campus campaign literature.

2. Demonstrate under our own banners

It goes without saying that we are the best builders of the mass movements. We've played a signal role in building such coalitions as SMC, WONAAC, etc. and in building the demonstrations called by them.

But when the demonstrations take place, where is the YSA?

Of course we're there with the YS and other literature, but we should also be there under our own banners.

Redbaiters frequently distort our role as active builders of WONAAC or SMC as a Machiavellian manipulation of them. We should have a visible YSA presence at mass actions so that this slander is not given credence it does not deserve.

Recently in New York City NPAC sponsored picket lines against Nixon and Agnew when these criminals spoke at campaign rallies on Sept. 25 and Oct. 13 respectively. The New York Times reports for both actions mentioned Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), which mobilized under its own banners, on an equal footing with NPAC. YAWF, naturally, didn't do anything to build the NPAC action but was mentioned in the Times and was filmed for television simply because they were

visible.

One of the reasons groups like YAWF attract a number of young radicals is their intervention under their own banners. It's true that a number of these young people are somewhat ultraleft, but there's nothing wrong with attracting these youth to our banners. Just as every YWLLer is not a hardened Stalinist, not every one around YAWF is a hard-core ultraleftist.

Of course, we're not proposing an orientation toward YAWF or any other tendency. We are merely citing what happened as an example of how we could benefit by carrying our own banners at demonstrations.

Having motivated our proposals, we'd like to put them in the form of a friendly amendment to the main political resolution:

(I) That the YSA National Office accept designs and suggestions for an official symbol from YSA members; that a final decision be made at the Spring 1973 plenum of the National Committee;

(II) That the YSA have its own banner(s) at all independent mass actions, with the slogan(s) of the action and "(name of local) Young Socialist Alliance", as well as our symbol (as soon as it's adopted) on the banner(s).

November 9, 1972

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RESOLUTION BY HARTFORD LOCAL

RESOLVED: That that policy of the YSA that encourages comrades from smaller locals to move to larger cities and locals be amended so that any comrades leaving the smaller locals be replaced immediately by the larger local. This on the grounds that said policy as it now stands is hurting not only the smaller locals, but the YSA as a body nationwide, as the YSA, in this era of nationwide radicalization cannot afford to exist only in the large cities.

November 9, 1972

ON PUERTO RICAN WORK  
by Mark Friedman, Brooklyn

The growing radicalization amongst today's youth on an international scale has had a profound effect on Puerto Ricans in the United States. The Cuban and Vietnamese Revolutions, the anti-draft movement in Puerto Rico and the protests around the U. S. shelling of Culebra, (an inhabited island off the coast of Puerto Rico being used as a target by the U. S. Army), as well as the historical struggles of Puerto Rican militants and nationalists on the island have been a major factor in the radicalization of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

The oppressive conditions that Puerto Ricans have been forced into in this country have fueled the radicalization of Puerto Rican youth. Discrimination in the armed forces, on the job, in education, housing and health care have been a focus of increased political activity. Demonstrations by significant numbers of Puerto Rican students and community residents against the jobs for Incentive programs (welfare recipients being forced to work at menial jobs for the same monthly allotment they would get from welfare), against the war in Vietnam, in defense of Latin American and Puerto Rican political prisoners (Humberto Pagan, Carlos Feliciano, etc.) and a demonstration in front of the UN demanding the UN place Puerto Rico on the list of existing colonies are examples of Puerto Rican political activity. The demonstration at the UN, organized by such groups as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, (formerly Movimiento Pro-Independencia), El Comité, Puerto Rican Independence Party, Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (formerly Young Lords Party), and others was important in helping to explode the myth that Puerto Rico is a commonwealth. The radicalization and militancy of Puerto Rican youth continues as they realize their national oppression under capitalism and as the capitalist government increases its attacks on the working class and student population - especially on the oppressed nationalities.

The Brooklyn Young Socialist Alliance has over the past year recognized the importance of the growing Puerto Rican movement and has made a conscious orientation to Puerto Ricans in the high schools and on college campuses. Specific projections were made in terms of material distribution and concentration through the 1972 election campaigns; the Jenness and Pulley campaign on a national level and the campaigns of John Hawkins and James Mendieta on a local level. The large number of Black but especially Puerto Rican endorsers (1/3 of the total collected) are a result of this orientation. Endorsers were regularly contacted about campaign activities, YSA meetings, classes, forums, YSJP events, anti-war and women's liberation activities. Through this work we have developed a good number of Puerto Rican sympathizers. On the campuses, especially Brooklyn College and New York City Community College, this has been coupled with extensive sales of Pathfinder literature, Young Socialist sales, and a focus on oppressed nationalities in sub sales. Forums on the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Feliciano and Pagan defense cases, and the

work carried out by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), such as the Elena Rodriguez tour, the Casiano Ahumada picket, have been essential in establishing a Latino periphery and in giving us a better understanding of the Puerto Rican and Latin American political movements.

Through our work in the independent movements, particularly through the SMC, NPAC and WONAAC, we have been conscious of the importance of getting endorsements and participation from Latino and Black organizations for the actions carried out by these movements. Through this emphasis we have seen increasing numbers of Puerto Ricans actively participating in the Nixon and Agnew anti-war picket lines held in New York, the Oct. 26 picket line, and the Nov. 4 demonstration called by a coalition of Black and Puerto Rican groups around support for the 7 point peace plan and an end to national oppression. As well as, support for and participation in the New York Abortion Hearings and campus building actions for them. We have generally seen that Puerto Ricans compose a large percentage of militants on the campuses.

The greatest tool that we had for intervention and propaganda work in the Puerto Rican movement has been our support for the SWP election campaigns -- particularly the Mendieta campaign. Over 15,000 printed, bi-lingual leaflets were distributed. We also distributed special statements by the candidate on issues arising in the community or in the schools. Campaign materials focused specifically on conditions within the Puerto Rican community -- the problem of drugs, education, non-Spanish speaking personnel, in civil institutions, sanitation, prices, etc. One important demand was U. S. Out of Puerto Rico.

Soon after the Mendieta campaign broke out onto the campuses and communities a number of Puerto Ricans from the Ft. Greene community were attracted to the campaign and the ideas it focused around. They were running for the Ft. Greene Board of Directors, (a local community elected board to supervise the distribution of OEO and poverty funds to different organizations and services in the community), and wanted to run on our program. It was through working with them on their campaign platform that we recruited three of these Puerto Rican community activists. Their platform was modeled from the Black and Chicano transitional programs -- using many of the same demands and adding others relating to the existing conditions in the Ft. Greene Community. We later used much of this program in the Mendieta campaign. It addressed itself to the drug problem in the community and the need for a community controlled police force and re-habilitation centers; an end to the tracking system and for bi-lingual education on all levels; Spanish speaking personnel in all the institutions in the community; support for the demands raised in the High School Bill of Rights; community tutoring programs and crash

training programs for Black and Puerto Rican personnel; make public the financial records of the factories and stores, for community elected price committees to police prices in the community; adequate sanitation and extermination facilities and services; the establishment of a housing committee to investigate, tighten, and enforce the existing minimum housing codes. The program stressed the need for massive mobilizations of the Black and Puerto Rican community to implement even the most modest of the demands.

Through this campaign we broadened our Puerto Rican periphery and were able to set up a special series of classes on Puerto Rican history and revolutionary nationalism -- geared to our new comrades and close periphery.

At Brooklyn College, the center of activity for the Brooklyn YSA, Puerto Rican students have been active in anti-war activities and played an important role in support of "a woman's right to choose." This participation includes sponsorship, endorsement, speaking, leafletting, budget fights and organizing. Important leadership positions by the Puerto Rican students (president of the student government and others on student government) in the fight against the Jewish Defense League, (a right wing Zionist and terrorist organization, paramilitary in character, based at Brooklyn College, whose head is Meir Kehane), has been crucial to the break-up of the stifling conservative atmosphere existing on campus. The struggle against the Zionist forces on campus took a great step forward last spring with the student government election campaign. The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, which had fielded a slate of candidates, withdrew and gave critical support to the "Third World Federation Slate", (an independent nationalist slate), because we recognized the importance of this electoral battle (Zionist vs. Nationalist) in the goal of breaking the political hegemony of the Zionists. This fall the fight is continuing in the form of budget hearings and allocations -- with the center of it being the right of all political and left-wing organizations to be funded and also the debate over the exorbitant sums of money (\$40,000) being demanded by the Zionist groups -- \$5000 directly to the JDL.

Deteriorating conditions within the Puerto Rican communities will contribute to the radicalization of Puerto Ricans and increase the struggles for community control. One such fight for community control of the schools is taking place in New York school district 1. District 1 in the Lower East Side is overwhelmingly Puerto Rican, Chinese and Black. The composition of the community school board has over the past few years changed to more and more reflect the community and the aspirations of residents in the community for control over their own schools. Opposed to this struggle for community control has been a reactionary alliance of the Albert Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers, three Jewish social action federations, the Anti-defamation League, the Jewish Labor Committee, and the American Jewish Congress.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have clearly stood in support of Luis Fuentes, (Puerto Rican superintendent under attack), and the community school board.

Mass meetings and rallies in the community have been held. Our comrades have been intervening in these meetings with campaign material from local and national candidates. Local SWP candidates issued a position paper in support of the fight for community control of the schools and raised the demand for community controlled funding and to demand more money for the schools from the government. A fraction has been set up to intervene and to cover the struggle for the Militant. Specifically we have been working in the Coalition for Education which is organizing a city-wide speaking tour for Luis Fuentes. This tour, set for the beginning of December, will be extremely important in winning city wide support for the fight in District 1. Broad coalitions will have to be organized on campuses, high schools and communities to help build the meetings and carry out regular educational work. A united front of Black, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Haitian, Caribbean, Asian, and Chinese students and groups would be the best formation possible to insure the victory of the District 1 fight. All three New York locals will be organizing meetings for Luis Fuentes and in defense of the school board.

The 1973 election campaigns will again be our best instrument for intervention into the Puerto Rican movement. Particularly important will be bi-lingual material and the working out of a program directed towards Puerto Ricans, using the lessons from the Black and Chicano movement and our transitional programs for these movements.

Forums on the campuses and the headquarters on the Puerto Rican movement and defense of Puerto Rican militants will be increasingly important in the process of broadening our Puerto Rican periphery. Militant, YS and ISR sales will rapidly expand our influence in the Puerto Rican liberation movement, help us to gain new members, solicit articles from Puerto Rican activists, and cover Puerto Rican activities. It will enable us to extend participation of the Puerto Rican community in the independent movements and lead in the direction of us finding out more about different Puerto Rican organizations and political trends and tendencies in the movement. All of this will further enable us to map out an orientation to more concentrated work in the Puerto Rican movement.

A conscious effort to involve the Puerto Rican activists on the campus and to draw in the broader Puerto Rican community in the upcoming anti-war demonstrations, the fight around the defense of the New York abortion law and the International Tribunal, will be key to the continued recruitment of Puerto Rican militants, and the development of well-rounded and experienced Puerto Rican cadre.

The Young Socialist Alliance and the Trotskyist movement have increasing openings in the Puerto Rican movement for the advancement of our ideas and recruitment to Trotskyism -- the only working class perspective that will lead to the solution of the national question. Our membership should follow the Puerto Rican press, participate in united fronts with Puerto Rican organizations where possible, find out more information about Puerto Rican groups, make special efforts to sell our press

and literature to Puerto Ricans. Comrades should educate themselves on the history of the Puerto Rican movement -- not only in the US, but the history of the nationalist movement on the Island. The relationship between the movement here in the US and on the Island will be important in the fight for community control and the liberation of the Puerto Ricans on the island.

It will only be through the recruitment of Puerto Rican militants to Trotskyism that we will be able to play more of a leadership role in the struggle of one of the most oppressed sectors of the population -- and undoubtedly an important sector in the coming American socialist revolution.

November 10, 1972