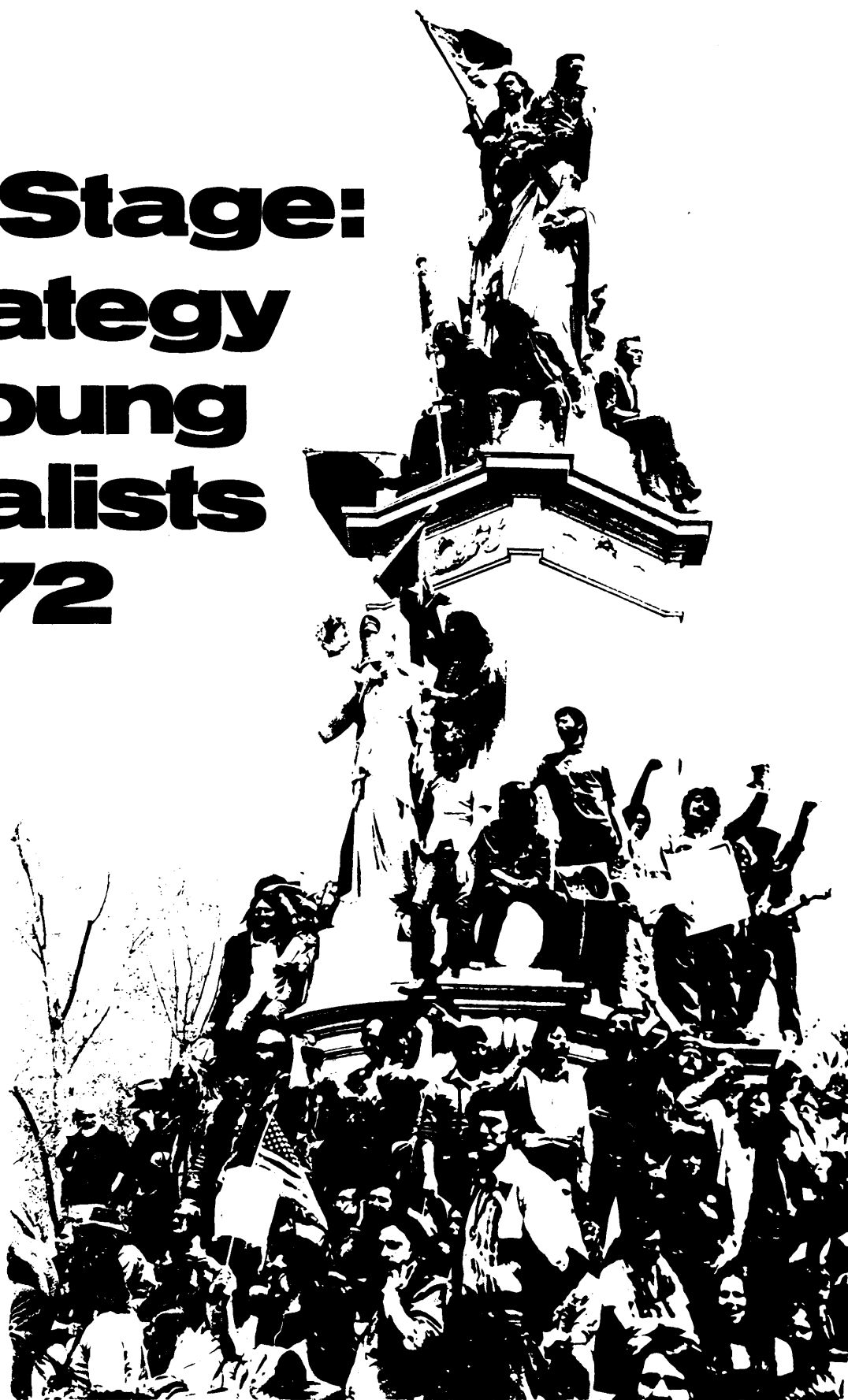


The New Stage: A Strategy for Young Socialists in 1972



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This draft political resolution was written for the Young Socialist National Convention to be held in the Civic Center Music Hall in Houston, Texas, December 28 - January 1. This resolution was drafted by the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Similar resolutions and discussion articles deal with the movement for Chicano liberation, the struggles of African-Americans for self-determination, and the high school, antiwar, and women's liberation movements. These initial draft resolutions, along with any others submitted to the convention, will be discussed and the general political perspectives outlined in them will be voted on.

The resolutions are being circulated prior to the convention to assure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities before the convention meets.

Young socialists from around the country are invited to participate in the written discussion and urged to attend the convention. Contributions to the discussion and inquiries can be sent to the Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

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The 1972 election campaigns are being waged in the midst of a growing crisis in American capitalism and a deepening of the current radicalization. The continued deterioration of the preeminent position held by U. S. imperialism at the close of the Second World War has forced Washington to launch an offensive against the living standards of the working class, and to radically revise policies strictly adhered to and defended by four consecutive administrations over the last quarter century concerning the international monetary system and the Chinese workers state. These moves, undertaken in the last half of 1971, reveal a further accentuation of the basic contradictions of American capitalism and will, in time, lead to a qualitative deepening of the new radicalization and its extension to large sectors of the working class. These developments emphasize the urgency of, as well as the opportunities for, the YSA taking significant new steps towards our goal of constructing a mass revolutionary socialist youth organization.

THE WAR

Since World War II, the United States has been the central imperialist power in the world attempting to contain and roll back the advancing world revolution. For the last nine years, Washington's relentless effort to crush the Vietnamese revolution, coupled with the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, has been the focal point of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution on a world scale.

The essence of the strategy of U. S. imperialism in Southeast Asia remains that of attempting to crush the national liberation forces and maintain a capitalist South Vietnam. Several developments, including the continued slow withdrawal of American troops, the lower number of GIs killed in combat, the announced withdrawal of the token New Zealand and Australian troops, and in particular the announcement of Nixon's trip to China, have been interpreted by many as proof that Washington has decided to get out of Vietnam at last. This judgement fails to take into account the lessons of the experience of deceit and treachery practiced by past administrations in regards to the war, explicitly revealed in the Pentagon papers. It also ignores the real and stated aims of the imperialists.

Since the burgeoning of the antiwar movement, there have been numerous gestures from Washington designed to derail and pacify antiwar sentiment. The first major effort was President Johnson's March 31, 1968, speech announcing the partial bombing halt, his retirement, and the willingness of the U. S. to enter negotiations. Following this was Nixon's campaign rhetoric of a "secret plan" which was to bring a "generation of peace." Third was the announcement of the beginning of partial troop withdrawals and the

"Vietnamization" of the war. Nixon promised that he had a timetable for the complete disengagement of American troops from Vietnam, though no definite dates were given, leading many once again to believe that the war was drawing to a close. Subsequent events again served to reveal the real intentions of American imperialism in Southeast Asia.

The invasion of Cambodia in the spring of 1970 was a major escalation of the war effort, one, Washington hoped, that could deal a powerful blow to the ability of the Indochinese to continue the struggle. The spontaneous mass reaction in the United States, however, forced Nixon to reverse his plans and retreat. The political impact of the explosion of antiwar sentiment and actions following the Cambodian invasion can be assessed even more clearly today in light of the changes in Nixon's war strategy since then. The May 1970 upsurge proved that U. S. troops could no longer be used for large-scaled ground actions in Indochina without the risk of even greater domestic upheavals--ones that might well extend far beyond the student sector. Astute defenders of capitalism have warned of the dangers of any such further escalations of the war. In an article in the August 8, 1971, New York Times Magazine captioned "Clark Clifford 'Sounds the Alarm,'" the former Secretary of Defense states that any major escalation of the war would lead to massive demonstrations aimed at the government and create a political crisis that could "tear this country apart." He is quoted as saying, "I am convinced that any escalation or reinvolvement would be traumatic for this country and would cause a crisis far worse than the one following the invasion of Cambodia...."

With his room to maneuver severely curtailed following May, 1970, Nixon announced further withdrawals, and a larger emphasis was of necessity placed on the use of stepped-up American airpower in support of Saigon troops. The futility of this tactic was clearly demonstrated last winter during the invasion of Laos. Even massive air support and limited American troops involved in the actions could not prevent a crushing defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese and Laotian freedom fighters.

These events highlight the dilemma the United States faces in Indochina: it is caught between the continued resistance of the Vietnamese people and the need for increased military force to crush that resistance on the one hand, and the growing power of the mass antiwar movement in the U. S. on the other.

Faced with the prospect of a major defeat, the United States has had to postpone its goal of overturning the North Vietnamese and Chinese workers states. Washington's strategy now is to buy time--to desperately seek some way to preserve a beachhead for imperialism in South Vietnam.

NIXON'S CHINA VISIT

Primary to Nixon's overture to Peking is the difficult situation in which the U. S. finds itself in Vietnam. The hope of American imperialism is that Mao will help it impose a Korean-type settlement in Vietnam. In light of the counter-revolutionary role played by the diplomacy of the Chinese leaders in the past and their latest crimes against the colonial peoples in relation to the revolutionary struggles in Ceylon and Bangla Desh, this possibility cannot be discounted.

Even though this new danger exists to the Vietnamese revolution, there are two factors that mitigate against it. First, it will not be easy to wring such a concession from the Vietnamese because of their disillusionment with the Geneva accords of 1954 and the scope of the massive upsurge for national liberation that has swept throughout Southeast Asia. Second, the international movement in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, which has grown enormously over the last six years, and which has been steered by the continual treachery and deceit of American rulers, will not cease its fight for the end of U. S. aggression until the U. S. is forced out of Vietnam.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U. S. aggression and the development of the American antiwar movement have been instrumental in advancing the forces on the side of world revolution and weakening U. S. imperialism. One of the clearest examples indicating an alteration in the world balance of power was the de facto recognition of the Chinese People's Republic by the United States, dramatically reversing a policy consistently followed by the U. S. since the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. The new U. S. policy is an admission of the advances made by the Chinese since overturning capitalism and establishing a planned economy. China has become an industrial and military world power, compared to the weak and defenseless country it was prior to its revolution. Also, the recognition of China by the U. S. indicates that Washington has been forced to temporarily set aside its long-held intentions of rolling back the Chinese revolution.

China, like any other workers' state, has full right to institute diplomatic and economic relations with any capitalist government. But there is an ominous catch in Peking's secret parleys with Washington that springs from the nature and aims of its bureaucratic rulers.

Mao's acceptance of Nixon's bid is motivated by the class collaborationist principle of "peaceful coexistence" in the pursuit of building "socialism in one country." Both the theory of "peaceful coexistence" and "socialism in one country," introduced by Stalin and faithfully adhered to by Mao, have been thoroughly discredited by history. The Vietnamese revolution itself, and the vicious aggression being waged against it by American imperialism, is a constant reminder of the impossibility of peaceful coexistence between the advancing world socialist revolution and capitalism, and

of the necessity of extending the socialist revolution in order to defend the gains already won.

THE WAGE FREEZE

Under the compulsion of steadily intensifying international competition, U. S. imperialism has been compelled to attempt to drive down the real wages of the American workers. The progressive erosion of U. S. capitalism's position vis-a-vis the other imperialist powers, especially Germany and Japan, has been exacerbated by the costs of the Vietnam war. The evolution of the economy in the past period demonstrates that Washington could not afford an extended war in Southeast Asia without attempting to sharply cutback the living standards of the American working class.

The main way in which imperialism has attempted to do this has been through inflation. A characteristic of capitalism in its death agony, inflation has been greatly exacerbated by the war expenditures. However, the lack of prowar sentiment among masses of workers, and the consciousness of what inflation is doing to their wages, have been reflected in increased worker militancy in fighting for wage increases to keep up with inflation.

After his previous recessionary policies had failed to dampen labor's determination to fight for higher wages, Nixon took direct action. With his August 15 speech, counting upon and receiving complete support from both capitalist parties, he launched a direct attack upon workers' wages through the wage freeze. The wage freeze is to be followed in "Phase Two" with wage controls designed to further lower real wages.

While the exact timing cannot be predicted, it will be the effects upon the consciousness of the mass of workers of the assault upon their real wages by the capitalist class through its government, combined with the impact of the political and social issues already raised in the course of the radicalization, that will result in a growing politicization and radicalization of masses of workers.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION

The tempo of the current radicalization is increasing, and recent events have set the stage for its extension to even broader sectors of the American population. These developments occur within the context of the continued growth of the mass movements and struggles characteristic of the radicalization, and the emergence of new struggles.

Most significant in this respect has been the broadening and simultaneous deepening of mass sentiment against U. S. aggression in Indochina. This fact, expressed most clearly in the mammoth April 24 antiwar mobilizations in Washington D. C. and San Francisco, has also been reflected in every referendum and poll which has posed the question of the war.

Acknowledgment of this fact is reflected in the actions which are taken--as well as those not taken--by Nixon and the other warmakers in their pursuit of a military victory in South Vietnam.

The basic contradictions of U. S. capitalism have been expressed most sharply--and have been exacerbated--by the Vietnam war. Thus, the war remains the central question in American and world politics.

The entrance of new movements into the current radicalization, many given impetus by the struggle against the war, have in turn strengthened the antiwar movement. The independence of these various movements is one of the chief characteristics of the current radicalization. Each is a response of a particular sector of the population which suffers a particular form of oppression in capitalist society. Each of these movements has its own demands. Nevertheless, the war is an obstacle to winning the demands of all of these various movements. It is for this reason that we encourage activists in the movements for social change to include in their overall fight the struggle against the war.

In addition, the impact of the antiwar movement has been a major factor in the developing militancy within the trade unions. Many workers have come to recognize the centrality of the fight against the war to the defense of their standard of living, and are pressing their unions to join the antiwar movement.

The success of the independent contingents of labor, women, Blacks, Chicanos, high school students, and gays in the April 24 actions was a valuable lesson about the nature of the current radicalization. These contingents, based on the united-front type character of the antiwar movement, were successful in mobilizing large numbers of activists involved in the various movements primarily because the war is a burning issue affecting all sectors of the population. Moreover, the contingents were successful because the coalition concept reflects and acknowledges the independent thrust of the major social movements.

Since the women's liberation movement emerged as a major new political force on August 26, 1970, growing consciousness of the oppression which women suffer in capitalist society has been expressed in the appearance of feminist organizations on college campuses, in high schools, and in many communities around the country, the growth of women's caucuses in professional organizations, unions, etc., and in the rapid development of the national campaign to repeal all laws that restrict or deny women's right to abortion.

The emergence of a campaign focusing on an issue vital to all women and aimed at mobilizing masses of women to achieve its goal is an historic step forward in the new stage of the fight for the liberation of women. The favorable initial response to the abortion law repeal campaign

from hundreds of women's organizations, trade unions, church groups, Black and Raza women, professional groups, etc., indicates the willingness of large numbers of women to wage a militant struggle around the basic right of women to control their own bodies. The abortion campaign is not only a struggle against one of the most fundamental ways in which women are oppressed--it also provides a vehicle for drawing large numbers of women who are not yet involved in the feminist movement into independent mass political action. Through their involvement in this campaign, these women will become more conscious of many other aspects of the oppression of women in capitalist society.

Many women, especially in the high schools and on the campuses, who organize and build this campaign, will become revolutionary socialists through the course of this struggle.

The impact of the struggles of African-Americans and national liberation struggles around the world upon other oppressed nationalities in the United States has helped spur the growth of Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Asian-American nationalism. Manifestation of this deepening nationalist sentiment is evident in an organized form in virtually every institution of capitalist society--even the most restrictive such as the high schools, the armed forces, and the prisons. Large-scale rebellions in the ghettos have occurred in Puerto Rican communities this past summer, and in the barrios as well. Reparations for 400 years of superexploitation and genocide are being demanded by growing numbers of militant Native Americans. The struggle of the Vietnamese, the antiwar and other struggles in Japan, the weakening of anticommunist hysteria directed against the Chinese revolution and the obvious advances it has made as opposed to other Asian nations remaining under the heel of world imperialism, and the racism directed against Asian-Americans in the U. S.--are all factors giving rise to a new generation of militant Asian-American youth.

Several developments in the past year such as last spring's high school struggles in certain major cities protesting the effects of the budget cuts, the angry reaction to the persecution of freedom fighters such as Angela Davis, George Jackson, and the Attica rebels, are striking examples of the deepening nationalist sentiment in the Black community. Yet the lack of an authoritative leadership united in an organized national movement capable of mobilizing the Black community in struggles around issues of Black control of the Black community has stunted and held back the African-American struggle. Constructing this leadership remains the most urgent task confronting the African-American community.

The most significant political developments in the nationalist movement in the past year have occurred in the Chicano liberation struggle. Central to the growth of this movement has been the development of independent

La Raza Unida parties based on the Chicano communities, and the Chicano Moratoriums against the Vietnam war. These important developments have set an example to other nationalist struggles. In addition, the emergence of Chicana feminism in the last year reflects an even further strengthening of the Chicano movement as a whole.

For several years, as the radicalization deepened, the anger of those officially outcast from society, forcibly separated, and cruelly mistreated in inhuman prisons has mounted. The politicization of the prison population is reflected in the increasing amount of radical literature penetrating the walls and being written by prisoners themselves. Discussion clubs and groups have been formed to study radical and Marxist literature. Black nationalist sentiment within the predominantly Black prison population is a major factor in the politicization of the prisoners. In addition to the brutal racism characteristic of the prisons that has spurred on the growing militancy of Black and Raza prisoners, the growing drive for the extension of civil and human rights outside of the prison walls by Blacks, students, Chicanos, women and others, and the impact of the antiwar movement especially on returning Vietnam veterans who wind up in prisons, has helped politicize prisoners. As the Attica rebellion demonstrated, white prisoners have also been drawn into this process.

The eloquent assertions by prisoners during the Attica rebellion of their humanity and their desire to be treated as human beings testified to the mood of rebellion sweeping the entire society. The September 9 statement of the Attica prisoners captures the essence of this attitude: "We are not beasts, and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. . . . What has happened here is but the sound before the fury of those who are oppressed."

The Attica rebellion, recorded as the largest in American history, along with numerous demonstrations, strikes and other activities in prisons around the country since then, have confirmed that political activity among prisoners is a permanent new feature of the current radicalization. While many reforms in existing prison conditions will be won from the rulers of this country in the struggles ahead, the fundamental causes giving rise to the protest movement in the prisons indicate that nothing short of the destruction of the prisons will stop this revolt--a task that can only be accomplished with the abolition of capitalism and the creation of a socialist society.

The outrage triggered by the slaughter at Attica in the Black and Puerto Rican communities and on the campuses, and the actions of solidarity with the prisoners in the form of demonstrations, mass defense rallies, and speakouts, is also a new development. The immediate identification with and support to the prisoners' struggle on the part of thousands of students displays in yet a new way the inter-relationship of the different struggles emerging in the new radicalization and the impact they have on each other. The blame for the massacre was immediately placed exactly

where it belonged--on the government. Links between crimes committed by the capitalist government in Vietnam, in the Black communities, on the campuses, were readily summed up in this series of place-names: Mylai, Kent, Jackson, Attica.

In another pillar of capitalist society, the armed forces, the radicalization continues to deepen. So much so in fact, that many commanding officers have admitted that their troops cannot be trusted to go into battle in Vietnam. The bourgeois press has concentrated on the widespread use of drugs and the demoralization of the troops. The demoralization in the armed forces is not an insignificant development. It is symptomatic of the growing unwillingness of GIs to cooperate with the U.S. government and its aggressive adventures. However, the media's emphasis on things like the use of drugs in the army tends to obfuscate the facts about the extent of the political movements developing within the armed forces.

GI antiwar sentiment is expressed in the proliferation of underground papers, in the formation of GI antiwar organizations, and in growing active duty GI contingents in mass antiwar actions. On the battle front itself GI antiwar sentiment has found expression through the wearing of black armbands in solidarity with antiwar actions organized in the United States and even demonstrations demanding that the war be ended. The significance of widespread GI antiwar sentiment was recognized by the Vietnamese when they announced a policy of not firing upon antiwar GIs. In addition, refusals to carry out orders, sometimes by whole units, which once made sensational news, are now admitted to be common occurrences. This development itself is no small factor in the considerations of the war strategists. Not only must they weigh the domestic impact of large-scale land operations by U.S. troops in Indochina, but they cannot fully count on the willingness of American soldiers to carry out such fighting for them.

Strong Black nationalist sentiment is rife within the armed forces as well. In western Europe, large organizations encompassing Black GIs from virtually every base are fighting the racist treatment they are subject to as Black GIs. In both South Korea and Saigon Black GIs have demonstrated in solidarity with Angela Davis.

In June, 1969, a routine police crackdown on a gay bar in Greenwich Village, New York, sparked several days of militant street actions by homosexuals in protest of constant police harassment and victimization. This is recognized as the beginning of the gay liberation movement. Since then, militant gay organizations have emerged on campuses and in cities across the country, and actions demanding the end of legal and extralegal harassment have marked the two anniversaries of the 1969 "Stonewall Riots."

This new movement, unprecedented in history, arose in response to the oppressive conditions under which gay

people are forced to live in capitalist society. It was spurred on by the questioning of fundamental tenets of bourgeois society characteristic of this radicalization, especially by the women's liberation movement.

Revolutionary socialists unconditionally support the struggles of homosexuals for full democratic rights, including full civil and human rights, and against all forms of discrimination and oppression that they are forced to suffer under capitalism.

* * *

The American ruling class today faces the deepest radicalization of the twentieth century. None of the basic institutions or policies of capitalist society, from the patriarchal family system to its wars, are exempt from scrutiny and criticism. Under these conditions reactionary moves taken by the capitalist government must be either cloaked in Orwellian rhetoric or totally concealed from the public. But its hand is being forced and its double-dealing becoming exposed so that more and more people are convinced that its interests run counter those of the great majority. Washington's deceit and treachery in Vietnam has served to educate masses of Americans to the true character of the government. The most recent big lie, which did not stand for even 24 hours, was that the Attica inmates had massacred the hostages.

The proliferation and growth of social movements against various evils of capitalism prior to the mass radicalization of the working class will hasten its radicalization and cause it to begin on a higher level. In addition, as the radicalization extends to broad layers of the working class, it will bring powerful new forces into these movements and give them a mighty impetus.

The demands fundamental to these emerging social movements cannot be met within the framework of capitalist society. Capitalism cannot end the national oppression of African-Americans, Chicanos, or Puerto Ricans. It cannot end the exploitation of workers which is the fundamental mainspring of the system itself. It cannot grant the liberation of women. It cannot end the oppression of gay people. It cannot cease to be imperialist. It cannot tear down the prisons walls because its prisons are part of the system of organized force and violence--the capitalist state--which is designed to protect the wealth and position of the ruling class and the very system of class rule. And, given the sharpening of the contradictions of world capitalism, it cannot grant the large-scale social reforms necessary to decisively reverse the current radicalization.

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

Student activists on the campuses have been in the forefront of the current radicalization. They spearheaded the initial organizing in the Black liberation movement and remain in its vanguard today. Students have played a key

role in organizing and mobilizing antiwar sentiment since 1965, and have been in the forefront of the women's liberation movement as well. Increasingly, younger students from high schools and junior high schools are playing central roles in these movements. Students have set the pace in struggling against manifestations of capitalist oppression and the repressive conditions they confront on the campuses and in the high schools as well. The role of students in advancing the current radicalization to its present stage indicates the impact which the radicalization of this sector of the population has on political developments in modern capitalist society.

The tremendous expansion which American capitalism experienced following the Second World War, along with its scientific, technological, and industrial advances, necessitated more highly trained and efficient members of the working class as well as better trained administrators and functionaries of the state bureaucracy. This has been reflected in the dramatic expansion of higher education and in the changing composition of the student population.

In 1950, an estimated 2.1 million students attended colleges and universities. By the fall of 1971, this figure had reached 8.5 million, representing not only a fourfold absolute increase but a large increase in the total proportion of all young people who enter college. In order to provide the facilities needed to train these young people hundreds of huge new mass production campuses were built and already existing colleges expanded. Although three-fifths of the 2,500 colleges are private institutions, 70 percent of all college students attend public schools. This indicates that the massive influx of high school students into colleges and universities in the past 20 years has been channeled into the cheaper institutions of higher education, constructed and expanded to satisfy the demands of capitalist expansion following World War II.

Currently 45 percent of all first year college age youth enter college as compared to 30 percent in 1960. Furthermore, close to 60 percent of all high school graduates are now entering college.

A corresponding expansion has taken place in the high school and junior high school population as well. Today there are over 20 million students in junior and senior high schools. Of these, 15 million are in grades 9 - 12. These figures represent between 98 and 89 percent (the higher figure for grade 9, the lower figure for grade 12) of all youth of high school age. (The variation of nine percent reflects the progressive push-out rate.)

Although 1971 figures are undoubtedly higher, in 1969, the percentage of all youth between the ages of 18 and 19 who attended either high school or college was 51 percent. For African-American youth the figure stood at 45.5 percent. For the 20 - 21 year old age group, the figures stood at 35 percent for all youth and 26 percent for African-American youth.

Because of the increased social weight of students and the

emergence of the student movement as a significant feature of the struggle for social change, revolutionaries have to put forward a strategy which can advance its mobilization and political development. At the same time this strategy must aim at developing links between student struggles and the class struggle as a whole.

The history of the student movement shows that the struggles in which students have engaged have not been isolated from or in opposition to issues arising in the class struggle as a whole. On the contrary, students have consistently been in the midst of these battles. The role of students in building a massive opposition movement to the imperialist war is the clearest example. The question is how best to consciously link student struggles with those of the working class, oppressed nationalities, women, etc., and orient them towards understanding the necessity of overturning capitalism.

The student population is diverse in its class and national background, and levels of political development. Nevertheless, as students in universities or high schools in a decaying capitalist society, they have a common position. Students are oppressed as students 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 campuses 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.

Struggles around open admissions, Black, Brown, or women's studies, freedom of political organization and action, an end to campus complicity with the war, and many other issues around which students have mounted significant actions, are closely tied to the interests of the great majority of Americans. The fight for open admissions is important for working class youth, particularly for Black, Brown and poor youth. The establishment of study departments controlled by students that can teach the true history of the oppressed and serve as organizing centers for Blacks, Chicanos, and women are important aspects of the overall struggle of the oppressed for their liberation. Past struggles and the revelations of secret government documents have exposed the fact that the universities have served as important centers for the government's war and counterinsurgency research. Mass struggles which have taken place aimed at ending campus complicity with the war effort have played an important role in educating students about the true nature of both the war and the universities in capitalist society, and have aided in the mobilization of larger numbers of students in actions against the war.

Issues around which high school students have organized and taken action are also closely linked to the interests of

broader sectors of the population. High school students have fought around many of the same issues as college students. However, high school students face special problems which do not exist to the same degree on college campuses. High schools have been more directly affected by the deepening economic crisis and the resulting slashes in government spending on education. This has hit high schools in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities the hardest. In addition, because the high schools are structured in a much more totalitarian way than most colleges, the fight for the right to political organization and action is a key issue in the high schools. Thus, high school struggles relate very directly to the needs and interests of broader sections of the population; and, in fact, many have shown in action the potential for linking up with the broader struggle for Black and Chicano control of their communities.

The objective thrust of these struggles and the new student activism is towards student control of their educational institutions. This thrust runs directly counter to the purpose of high schools and universities in capitalist society.

In bourgeois society, the resources and facilities of the schools are mobilized to mass produce literate and skilled workers, technicians, teachers, scientists, managers, and apologists for capitalism, and to inculcate students with bourgeois ideology. But the logic of student struggles is to wrench the schools away from these functions and turn them into centers to advance their own struggles and those involving broader sectors of the population, that is, into red universities and high schools. This necessitates the transformation of education itself to serve the needs of the masses as opposed to those of the ruling class. In the course of campus and high school struggles many students have come to understand the necessity of gaining control over their education and their educational institutions in order to utilize its resources to aid the anticapitalist struggles. At the same time they are coming to the conclusion that this can only take place with the overthrow of the system which the high schools and colleges are designed to serve.

During the upsurge which swept the nation's campuses and many high schools following the invasion of Cambodia by the United States and the murders at Kent State and Jackson, the objective thrust towards a red university was concretized in the strategy employed by the great majority of strikers on a whole series of major campuses--"Shut it down! Open it up!" That is, all business as usual on the campuses ceased. Few, if any, regular classes were held. Instead the classrooms, student newspapers, campus radio stations, university printing facilities, large meeting halls--virtually the entire physical plant of the campuses, or major parts of them, were taken over by the students and utilized to organize and mobilize students into action in protest of the invasion and the murders. Students did not simply boycott classes and march off the campuses to the factories. Rather, at the same time that they shut down normal functioning on the campuses, students took over the institutions and utilized them as vast organizing centers,

turning them into powerful engines of antiwar activity. Moreover, they did not only use this base to organize students, although that key task was done. From the antiwar university a massive reach-out campaign to labor unions, the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, and various community groups was organized. During the height of the upsurge in May, 1970, many campuses were temporarily out of the hands of bureaucratic administrators. At many schools mass meetings of students and faculty made the decisions, and because of the scope of the upsurge the administrations had little choice but to comply.

The May upsurge subjected the three main strategies put forward in the student movement to the test. The ultraleft strategy, most consistently put forward by the Progressive Labor Party, opposed utilizing the campuses as organizing centers for the antiwar upsurge on the basis of the belief that students could not accomplish anything. This course was rejected by the mass of students. At the opposite pole were the reformists who wanted to corral students into support of liberal "peace" candidates of the bourgeois parties.

Both of these strategies have common features. Most importantly, both reject the revolutionary strategy of mobilizing students to utilize the facilities of the campuses in a way that can affect those forces that hold decisive social power.

Revolutionary socialists in the YSA advance demands in the student movement that can mobilize students in struggles around their own needs and that link these to basic issues of the class struggle. These demands are part of a strategy leading to the struggle for the transformation of the campuses and high schools into weapons in the class struggle--organizing centers for mobilizing youth in a fight for the complete transformation of society.

This strategy was adopted and supported during the May upsurge on many important campuses around the country in the variant of the antiwar university. The wide acceptance which this strategy received was due to the fact that it flowed logically from the situation students found confronting them.

Once the strike had become general and successful, the key to advancing the struggle became that of winning a base for further organization. The next step was for students to struggle to gain control of as many of the facilities of the universities as possible. In some cases this occurred in the high schools as well. The degree to which schools were taken over varied greatly, depending on the intensity of the upsurge and the leadership that emerged. What was significant was not how much of the physical plant of the schools was actually taken over and put at the service of the antiwar movement, but the conscious drive on the part of the students to "open up" the schools under their control and utilize them as organizing centers.

At the heart of this strategy of the red university and the red high school is a correct appreciation of the role and poten-

tial of the student movement, as well as its limitations. On the one hand the concept is a positive affirmation of the power which a massive student movement today has to transmit radical ideas into other sectors of the population and draw them into struggle. On the other hand, this strategy proceeds from the acknowledgment of the fact that it is the working class and the oppressed nationalities which hold the power decisive to the overthrow of capitalist society and the victory of the socialist revolution. The students can be powerful allies and reinforcements to these basic forces.

In the year following the May upsurge there were no actions equivalent to the intense activism which swept the campuses and high schools then. There was, however, a great deal of student activism in the mass movements, which have their main base on the campuses. The rapid growth of the women's liberation movement during this period awakened thousands of women to their oppression through teach-ins, actions, and consciousness-raising groups. The SMC built the largest student turnout in any single antiwar action to date on April 24. Chicano students were active in building La Raza Unida Party and supporting its candidates in municipal elections. There were student actions in protest of the U. S. sponsored invasion of Laos--some very large--and protest teach-ins around the Jordanian events in the fall of 1970. There was a wave of high school actions in major cities last spring. In addition, the ability to significantly increase the circulation and subscription base of the revolutionary socialist weekly, *The Militant*, during the last year, primarily on the campuses and in the high schools, reflected the growing interest students have in socialist ideas.

Contrary to the pronouncements of a deep lull and an "eerie tranquility," since May, 1970, there have been a significant number of large-scale student rebellions on the campuses. A report released by the American Council on Education in late September, 1971, refutes the commonly accepted assessment of the period since May, 1970, as being without a large amount of student activism. The report states that nearly half of the campuses in the country experienced protest actions, and that 20 percent of the country's campuses experienced at least one "severe" protest. The real reason, the report states, that it seemed as if a lull had set in on the campuses, was that only 10 percent of the campus actions which occurred were reported in the national press. An interesting point made in this report was that the bulk of the actions took place in less well known public schools, Roman Catholic colleges, and two year private schools.

The student movement in the United States, which dates from the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964, now has a history of more than seven years of struggle. In that time, the radicalization has intensified and new issues and struggles have emerged. As the current radicalization has deepened, student struggles have become universal. And now, the extension of the radicalization into the high schools will lead to a college population that received its first lessons in struggle in the high schools.

All of the evidence indicates that the campuses will remain

centers of struggle that will in fact become even more important as the radicalization deepens. We can expect that as the decay of imperialism begins to hit students more directly, mass student struggles will emerge around new issues. Other parts of the YSA's Program for the Student Revolt will come to the fore, such as the demand for guaranteed jobs upon graduation, and annual salary for all students, etc. Furthermore, we can expect that there will be an intensification of the drive to defend gains which students have won, or will win in future struggles, from the right of freedom of political activity without reprisal, to the right to utilize university and high school facilities for progressive social and political purposes.

The main arena of the YSA's activity remains the student movement. While centering most of our activity on college campuses, as the process of radicalization has deepened in the high schools the YSA has been able to play a more significant role in building the mass movements there and winning ever larger numbers of high school activists to its ranks. It has been in the student movement that the YSA has been able to play a central role in initiating struggles and building the militant student wing of the developing mass movements. It has been on the campuses and in the high schools that we have been able to greatly increase the circulation of the ideas of revolutionary socialism through sales of our press and literature, holding classes and conferences, and confronting the ideas of the opponents of revolutionary socialism. As a result, the YSA has emerged from a small and isolated grouping in the early sixties to become the largest and fastest growing radical youth organization in the country.

Central to our efforts in building the student wing of the mass movements and the YSA itself has been the strategy of the red university and the red high school. The struggle to consciously link up the student movement with the struggles of all the oppressed, to gain the use of the facilities of the educational institutions to serve as a weapon in the overall class struggle, and to bring students to the understanding during the course of the battle of the need to gain control of their institutions, is the essence of the transitional concept of the red university and the red high school. It is from this strategy that our work flows. It is within this framework that all our activity in the student movement takes place.

Although during the May upsurge we were able to witness the actual implementation of the red university--in the variant of the "antiwar university"--for only a short period of time on a number of campuses, the fight for the red university and the red high school is a constant one. In building the antiwar movement YSAers lead the fight for the concept of the antiwar university, that is, to utilize the campus as a base for organizing the student sector of the antiwar movement and reaching out to organize and mobilize others. In helping to build a powerful campaign for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws, the YSA seeks to help organize women students to reach out and draw women from the community, the labor movement, from church

and professional groups, etc., into the campaign.

The red university strategy provided the guideline for our activity around the two special campaigns we waged this fall in response to major political developments. Immediately following Nixon's August 15 speech announcing his new economic policies and the imposition of the wage freeze, the YSA, in collaboration with the Socialist Workers Party, launched an intensive propaganda campaign aimed at introducing a class struggle program capable of countering the government's assault on labor to thousands of workers. Central to this continuing campaign is popularizing the concept of a congress of labor and raising the programmatic points around which a class struggle left wing will be formed in the trade unions. This campaign has been carried out primarily through massive sales of The Militant, statements, speeches, and material distributed by the SWP Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates and their supporters, through forums, mass meetings on the campuses, and by revolutionary socialists in the trade unions. Through this campaign we are able to reach thousands of workers with our class struggle program and educate thousands of students and activists in the mass movements about the nature of class rule and attract them to socialism.

Linking up the war with the fight against the wage freeze has been a crucial part of our efforts following Nixon's August 15 speech. Mass meetings on the campuses where trade unionists and students tied the issues of the war and the wage freeze together and called for massive and united antiwar actions this fall were organized by the SMC. Student antiwar activists sought out the endorsement of labor leaders, spoke before unions, and organized massive leafletting of factories, unemployment centers, union meetings, and other places where workers congregate. This activity represents a major step forward in drawing labor into the fight against the war and helps popularize a key demand of the overall program which the labor movement must adopt and fight for if it is to effectively fight the freeze--the immediate end of the war.

As Nixon continues the drive against the wages of American workers there will be a greater receptivity to the concept of a congress of labor and other points in the program that we put forward to combat the ruling class's assault on labor. Greater opportunities will also open to involve the labor movement in the fight against the war.

Less than one month after Nixon's announcement of the wage freeze came the Attica rebellion and the vicious assault by the guards and state troopers upon the prisoners. The YSA responded immediately by launching a major campaign designed to get out the facts about the Attica rebellion and provide a vehicle through which public outrage and protest could be expressed. The key to our efforts to build a massive united defense of the Attica prisoners was to utilize the campuses to organize mass meetings and teach-ins, gaining support and endorsement from a broad range of campus groups, and attempting to draw forces, particularly

from the Black and Brown communities, into supporting and building them. In some cases these teach-ins projected actions which were organized primarily on the campuses but were able to draw together a broad range of forces, including high school students and community groups, beyond the campuses.

These mass meetings in defense of the Attica prisoners all around the country provided an effective vehicle for students and others to express their solidarity with the Attica rebels and at the same time explain to thousands the true facts of the rebellion and the subsequent slaughter. The protest meetings and demonstrations resulted in a significant display of support for the struggle and rights of prisoners. The impact of both the Attica rebellion and the wave of solidarity actions that followed the slaughter dramatically affected mass consciousness about the oppression of prisoners in the present system and the legitimacy of their struggle. For many they also revealed the true nature of the government's "justice."

In addition to basing our work in building the mass movements and particular campaigns we wage on the strategy of the red university and the red high school, we also seek to utilize the campus as a base from which we can get the ideas and program of revolutionary socialism out to masses of people. The introduction of revolutionary socialism to students and activists in the mass movements is a vital aspect of all our work.

The greatest opportunity for spreading these ideas is provided by the participation of the YSA in the 1972 Socialist Workers Party national election campaign. The key to building support for the campaign will be utilizing the campuses to mobilize students in support activity. Through building Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley on hundreds of campuses and high schools we will be able to draw together a force capable of getting the program of the campaign out to forces beyond the student movement--to thousands of workers, to Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, to women, and to people active in the mass movements.

THE 1972 ELECTIONS AND THE TASKS OF THE YSA

As the 1972 election campaign progresses, politics in this country will focus on the contest for the presidency. The debate over the deepening crisis of U.S. imperialism and its effects will take place in the context of the national elections. Because of the monopoly maintained by the bourgeois parties on politics in this country, the majority of people continue to look to the Democrats and Republicans for answers to fundamental social problems. The radicalization and the developing social movements, however, have thrown up issues which the candidates of the bourgeois parties cannot deal with adequately and, unless directly confronted, will attempt to avoid altogether. They cannot offer solutions to the working class to end inflation, unemployment, social service cutbacks and the recession that will not call for workers to "tighten their belts." They in effect propose to cut even more deeply into

their standard of living. They cannot provide meaningful answers either to the questions and demands posed by Blacks, Chicanos, women or the millions of recently enfranchised young people who comprise the most politically active sector of the population.

By avoiding and opposing the issues and demands raised by the participants and partisans of the developing social movements, the bourgeois candidates will expose the true nature of their politics--politics based first and foremost on the preservation of the capitalist system. Thousands of young people will turn away from the Democratic Party hopefuls and will be open to the ideas and program put forward by the 1972 presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. The revolutionary campaign of Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president will focus on the burning issues confronting millions of Americans, supporting the struggles for social change, and actively building them through their campaign.

In addition, both candidates of the SWP are activists and fighters from the new generation of radical youth. Both became revolutionary socialists through their participation in the struggles in which American youth have played a vanguard role: Linda Jenness in the antiwar and women's liberation movements; Andrew Pulley in the Black liberation struggle and the GI antiwar movement. For all these reasons, there will be a greater receptivity among masses of people to the socialist alternative to the capitalist parties and candidates.

As revolutionary socialists, we harbor no illusions, nor encourage any, in the possibility of bringing about fundamental social change through the bourgeois electoral process. Rather, we view the revolutionary socialist campaign of the SWP as a vehicle through which we can help advance the independent mobilization and actions of the masses, while at the same time counterposing our ideas and program to those of the capitalist parties and candidates on the electoral front.

The great majority of American people believe that social change can be brought about through the elections--by the election of the "right" candidate. Many of these people, however, are willing to take part in actions independent of the parties of the ruling class and objectively aimed against them. Taking part in a demonstration against the government is a first crucial step in developing a radical consciousness, and eventually breaking with the parties of the ruling class and arriving at revolutionary conclusions. Large numbers of people will nevertheless vote for candidates of the bourgeois parties, in the absence of a mass anticapitalist party. Precisely because the masses continue to give political support in the elections to the bourgeois parties, revolutionaries consider it crucial that the struggle to break people from reliance on the bourgeois parties, mobilize them in actions, and win them to socialism, be carried into the electoral arena. The campaigns of revolutionary socialists utilize the increased opportunities open during election campaigns to both publicize and build the mass movements against the evils of capitalism, and at the same time present the

socialist alternative to continued support for the capitalist parties.

There are two other approaches to which radicalizing youth are often attracted. The first is the ultraleft position calling for abstention from electoral activities. The policy of boycotting elections does nothing more than allow the capitalist parties and candidates to totally dominate the electoral field, without any alternative to their perspective being put forward. This position is held by many confused young radicals who have come to recognize that there is no real choice between the Democratic and Republican parties. But it also reveals a lack of understanding of the central task confronting revolutionaries today--breaking away workers, African-Americans, Chicanos, women and students from supporting the capitalist parties, and constructing a mass revolutionary socialist youth organization and party which can lead the fight for working class power in this country.

The second approach, which conforms to the level of consciousness of far more radicalizing young people, is that of the conscious reformists. They not only support liberal candidates of the bourgeois parties in elections but counterpose this support to building the mass movements independent of the capitalist parties. Although not always abstaining from participation in or building the mass movements, these forces clearly view the mobilization of masses of people for action as subordinate to the promotion of liberal candidates.

This reformist approach is most consistently advanced by the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, which is in political agreement with and supports the CP. Their opposition to the revolutionary strategy on the electoral front flows from their identification of the interests of the working class with the interests of the conservative, privileged ruling bureaucratic caste in Moscow. The Communist Party and the YWLL see as their main task not the overturn of American imperialism, but rather as working to further "peaceful coexistence" between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist world, especially the United States. This lies behind their support to liberal Democrats and their attempts to channel the movements against capitalist oppression into relying on Democratic Party liberals who, it is vainly hoped, will ensure "peaceful coexistence."

This illusory perspective has proven totally bankrupt within only the brief history of the current radicalization. In their effort to defeat Goldwater "at all costs" in 1964, the CP lent their support to Johnson. The CP youth group at that time, the DuBois Club, actively campaigned in behalf of Johnson. While the CP was helping to corral the left into actively supporting Johnson as the "peace" candidate, he had already formulated plans for the major escalation of the war in Vietnam which occurred shortly after his inauguration, as the Pentagon Papers revealed.

Because of these reformist and class collaborationist policies, the CP and the series of youth groups that the CP has

attempted to build over the last eleven years, including presently the YWLL, have stood to the right of the masses of radicalizing youth. Currently, their campaign to have the antiwar movement adopt the slogan, "Set the Date," has not only put them to the right of the student movement but to the right of the majority of the American people who not only support, but in ever growing numbers are willing to act on, the demand of immediate withdrawal.

The Communist Party has announced a presidential and vice-presidential campaign for the 1972 elections. In contrast to this half-hearted campaign, designed to cover the CP's left flank during the elections while in reality giving backhanded support to liberal Democrats such as McGovern, the Socialist Workers Party has launched the most energetic campaign in its history aimed at winning thousands of new supporters to revolutionary socialism and furthering the mobilization of masses of people into action against the government.

Building support for the SWP campaign will be the YSA's central task in the coming year and the best means for furthering our work in building and defending the mass movements, for explaining and winning support for our strategies in these movements, for propagandizing the program capable of overturning capitalism, and for winning radicalizing youth to the YSA. By making activity in support of the SWP campaign our primary task and an integral aspect of all our other work in the coming year, we will be able to involve thousands of high school and college students in active support of the Jenness and Pulley ticket.

The establishment of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be the best vehicle for involving young people who are not yet willing to join the YSA in socialist activity. In addition to the efforts of YSJPer in supporting the SWP campaign and building the independent mass movements, many of the YSJPs will be able to run Young Socialist slates in college and high school student government elections. This will be another important way to build support for the campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley and get out the program of revolutionaries to large numbers of students.

Through our support work for the campaign we will be able to best advance our work in other areas as well. Central to building the campaign is the wide circulation of The Militant and the International Socialist Review through sales and an increased subscription base. It is through our publications that thousands of young people will be introduced to the campaign, and during the course of it be convinced of joining our movement. The circulation of The Militant and the ISR will increase greatly this fall through the drive for 30,000 new subscribers and the national campaign in which we are involved to increase sales. The importance of a revolutionary weekly publication like The Militant which can cover the burning issues of the day while at the same time discuss many other aspects of the socialist program was brought home forcefully to us in the opening weeks of

this fall when it became the major weapon in our campaign around the wage freeze and the slaughter at Attica. Through these campaigns we were able to introduce The Militant to thousands of new readers through sales at factory gates, in the Black communities, union meetings, unemployment centers, etc.

Both our activities in support of the SWP 1972 election and the sales of our press are vital to our work in defense of political prisoners, such as Angela Davis here in this country, and others abroad as well. And it is through our activity in support of the SWP campaign and sales of The Militant and the ISR that we will also be best able to continue our work in defense of the Arab revolution and the Palestinian struggle

for self-determination.

Never have the opportunities for advancing the revolutionary youth movement in this country been so great. As 1971 draws to a close, we find the current radicalization, already the most profound in this century, poised on the threshold of a major new advance. These unprecedented opportunities underscore the urgency of building a mass revolutionary youth group organized around a clear political program. Through carrying out the tasks we set for the coming year we will be able to win to our ranks thousands more of the devoted young militants of our generation who will be in the forefront of the coming battles for the socialist revolution.

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