

P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station
New York, N.Y. 10003

January 10, 1975

TO ALL ORGANIZERS AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Dear Comrades,

The Young Workers Liberation League held its third national convention in Philadelphia Dec. 13-16, 1974. Since the YWLL is the YSA's major opponent youth organization, it is important for YSA members to follow its development.

The YWLL convention was attended by 632 people, compared to 572 at their last convention in May of 1972 and about 400 at their founding convention in 1970. There were 213 delegates and 36 alternates present, as well as 152 YWLL members observing the convention. One hundred and ninety-four guests were also present, and this category includes CP members who are not in the YWLL. At their second convention two and a half years ago, there were 170 delegates, 29 alternates 202 YWLL observers and 69 guests.

Attendance at the sessions varied greatly. At the Saturday morning session, where the main report was presented, there were about 300 present. By Sunday morning about 600 were present, but attendance declined to about 200 by Sunday night and only about 100 were present for the sessions on Monday.

~~Two hundred and fifty Blacks~~ attended the convention (compared to 210 two years ago), 9 Chicanos (15 two years ago), 15 Puerto Ricans (18 two years ago), 6 Asian Americans (same as two years ago) and four American Indians. Three hundred of the participants were workers. 152 were college students, and 59 were high school students. Their last convention had 298 workers, 143 college students, and 46 high school students.

About half of the convention participants came from the Northeast with another fourth from the Midwest.

The YWLL leadership reported a growth of 25 percent since their last convention, and the "Main Political Report" placed their size at 1500-2000. It was reported that their size at the time of their founding convention was 300 and the YSA estimated their size at 1200 at the time of their second convention.

The "Main Political Report" to the convention was presented by outgoing national chairman Jarvis Tyner, and contained an analysis of both the U.S. and world political situations. The report, which is enclosed, outlines a major campaign of "struggle for detente," which has been a major theme of CP and YWLL propaganda.

The Black report was given by incoming national chairman James Steele, and much of this report was devoted to a historical description of the development of Black oppression. One small portion of the report was devoted to attacking the Dec. 14 Freedom March, which Steele characterized as a "routine exercise in left sectarianism."

Matty Berklehammer gave the organization report. This was focused on the activities of the YWLL and their projections. One theme repeated in all the reports, but particularly emphasized in the organization report, is what the YWLL calls the fight against "sectarianism" -- that is, making the YWLL easy to join, doing away with excessively high membership standards, etc. This was also a major theme of their convention two years ago.

There was little discussion of finances or distribution of their press. At their last convention they had projected a campaign for 5,000 subs to the Young Worker, which apparently never got off the ground. There were no such projections made at this convention.

The major external campaign projected by the YWLL is a campaign around "the right to earn, learn and live," focused around a youth unemployment bill that would provide one million jobs for unemployed young people. In doing this work the YWLL leadership emphasized building ties to all kinds of broad youth organizations and formations including groups like the YMCA and YWCA.

Although not presented as a central focus of activity, one YWLL projection was support to a call issued by the World Federation of Democratic Youth for demonstrations against racism April 4. The YWLL projected focusing these actions around Boston and Ford. How they plan to build these protests is unclear at this time.

Their convention did not discuss how the YWLL will relate to the 1976 presidential election campaign. However the Daily World has been on a major propaganda barrage against Democratic presidential hopeful Jackson for some time, tying this in to their overall campaign in support of the detente.

Workshops were held on Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, Asian and Jewish youth; also on young workers, college students, high school students, young women and internationalism. The purpose of these workshops was to discuss specific action proposals to be voted on by the convention, but many of the reports back from the workshops never reached the convention floor.

A new national staff, executive committee and central committee were selected during the convention. Their national staff includes six people, three of whom are new to the YWLL's national staff.

Overall the convention was spirited. As far as could be seen there were no substantial disagreements with any of the reports and

projections that were made. During the convention, however, sessions were often two or more hours behind schedule, and discussion time was cut back several times to make up the lag. As a result only one hour of plenary discussion took place.

The major public activity of the convention was a rally on Dec. 14, featuring Gus Hall, Jarvis Tyner, Gladys Marin (general secretary of the Chilean Young Communists), and Angela Davis. Attendance at the rally was about 1200 (the Daily World reported 2000) and the situation in Boston was mentioned only once, in a passing phrase. At this rally a collection of \$3,000 was taken up, including a \$1,000 donation from the central committee of the CP and \$600 from the "Philadelphia Anti-Imperialist Committee in Solidarity with African Liberation Struggles," as well as smaller contributions from various YWLL branches.

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The YSA intervened at the YWLL convention with a series of three leaflets keyed around the struggle in Boston. The first leaflet was a reprint of Andrew Pulley's open letter to the YWLL which was published in The Militant. The other two leaflets were similar in tone and content, urging the YWLL to solidarize with that weekend's protests and to endorse the national student conference that had just been called by the student committee.

The YSA also had sales of The Militant outside the hotel before the rally and rented a room in the hotel where an extensive display of Pathfinder literature was set up.

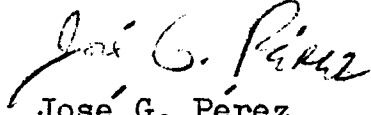
Although few papers were sold and many YWLL members would not accept leaflets, the intervention had a certain impact. James Steele in fact mentioned Pulley's open letter in attacking the Dec. 14 Freedom March during the Black report. YSA members were also able to get into discussions with some YWLL members around Boston, and several New England YWLLers arrived late at the convention because they stayed in Boston for the Dec. 14 Freedom March.

Contrary to the impression that might be received from the YWLL convention, the YWLL does not have a consistently abstentionist approach to the struggle in Boston. On the one hand they helped to initiate the Nov. 30 demonstration; on the other, they took a sectarian attitude towards the Dec. 13 teach-in and Dec. 14 Freedom March.

Work around the national student conference that has been called for mid-February, as well as around whatever ongoing anti-racist actions may be projected provides the YSA with an excellent opportunity to approach the YWLL about also participating in these activities. In doing this YSA members can engage many YWLL members --

especially their Black members -- in discussions around how to beat back the racist drive and other political issues.

Conradely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "José G. Pérez". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

José G. Pérez
YSA National Office

MAIN POLITICAL REPORT

[The following is the text of the report given by outgoing national chairman Jarvis Tyner to the third national convention of the YWLL on Dec. 14, 1974. The text of this report was distributed at the convention and the report was approved by the convention.]

Esteemed international guests, Conrades Hall and Winston dynamic duo, all our distinguished guests, our friends, conrades and delegates: I want to take this opportunity, on behalf of our central committee, our executive committee, and our national staff to warmly extend our most conradely, revolutionary welcome to all of you, to the third National Convention of the Young Workers Liberation League.

This third national convention comes at a very special moment. This is a very crucial moment for us. One need only take note of the dramatic changes and events that have taken place since our last national convention two years ago, to realize the crucial nature of the present political time of day.

What are these changes I speak of? When we convened in May 1972 we took note of the continued U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina. We also took note of the historic offensive of the liberation forces that was going on that very day. We talked about how the Nixon Vietnamization program was being smashed and how the pacification program was being destroyed and how the Nixon propaganda of 'hide the war' under the slogan of 'winding down the war' was being cut to pieces, by the forward thrust of the liberation forces of Vietnam. We took note of that historic moment and we said that we had to step the struggle to force U.S. imperialism to withdraw its troops from Vietnam. And we did just that along with all the peace-loving people of the U.S.

In February of the next year U.S. imperialism was forced to sign the Paris Peace Accord and withdraw the overwhelming majority of its troops from Vietnam. And though we have to continue the struggle to help consolidate the victory of the Vietnamese people, we can say that the withdrawal of massive U.S. troops from Vietnam was a major historic defeat for U.S. imperialism. These are the kind of dramatic changes that have taken place.

When we convened our last convention we extended our support to the liberation movements in the Portuguese African colonies, and vowed to extend that fight. Today as we gather, we enthusiastically greet the historic victory of the people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.

This is another dramatic change.

Related to this, is the fall of the 28 year old Salazar-Caetano Fascist regime -- the oldest fascist regime in the world. This was a dramatic victory for the people of Portugal and the people of the former Portuguese colonies, as well as a victory for all democratic, progressive, anti-imperialist people. We must also hail the fall of the fascist regime in Greece.

And we must mention the new isolation of U.S. imperialism world-wide and as reflected in the United Nations. This has meant new victories on the diplomatic and political fronts.

The fact that the South African racists were prevented from participating in this session of the UN is a major victory.

The fact that the UN has recognized the PLO as the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people and Israeli-Zionist imperialism is further isolated in the world and must move towards the peace table. The fact that the question of independence for Puerto Rico now enjoys the support of the majorities of the world. The recent victory of revolutionary Cuba in the recent meeting of the OAS, the fact that 80 countries now recognize socialist Cuba.

And, if you remember comrades, two years ago that arch criminal, Richard Milhous Nixon was still in the White House, and it was the Communist and League candidates that raised the question that these were the corporate godfathers -- that through corruption, bribery, extortion, conspiracy that Nixon was stealing the election. And we gave examples. And as we gather here today we can celebrate the victory; because the arch criminal and racist reactionary Nixon is no longer in office.

And we can say: wasn't it Nixon who publicly convicted Conrade Angela, when he called her a terrorist? And when we gathered in May 72 Angela was still in jail and we said that we were going to keep fighting until Angela was free and that Angela would be able to attend our next national convention. And Comrades, we can say that while Nixon almost went to jail we helped to win the complete exoneration and freedom of Conrade Angela Davis. This was a great victory for the entire progressive humanity.

These victories and more since our last national convention indicate the main content, the political direction of the world today. Today democratic, anti-imperialist, pro-socialist, forces are on the offensive and are registering at a stepped up pace, a series of historic victories. But as we know comrades, there are negative exceptions to report. Since our last convention, the antioligarchy, anti monopoly, anti imperialist Unidad Popular government of Salvador Allende has been overthrown by the bloody, fascist junta backed up by U.S. imperialism. Though we will speak more on this later, we just want to point out here the tremendous victory that was scored by our convention in that we were able to win a visa from the junta backers -- the U.S. state department, a visa which is unprecedented -- it actually says 'to attend the convention of the Young Workers Liberation League' -- was granted to our esteemed comrade, the Secretaria General de la Juventud Comunista de Chile, Companera Gladys Marin. This was a tremendous victory with world wide importance. This reflects the defensive posture of U.S. imperialism and the isolation

of the junta; it reflects the main content and direction in the world today. And it means that we must take offensive posture here in the U.S. if we are to win the victories that are surely to be won in the future.

But before we get into the question of program let us go deeper into the nature of this critical political moment.

New stage in general crisis:

Comrades, the basis for these and other important victories lies in the new stage in the general political crisis of world capitalism.

The first stage came with the development of the first socialist state in the USSR; the second stage being after the second World War with the establishment of the system of socialist states. We enter the third stage with the upsurge of national liberation movements and the process of destruction of classical colonialism and the further solidification of socialism by the establishment of socialist Cuba during the late 50's and early 60's. Since then the process has continued, reaching a new stage of multiplicity of many levelled crisis in nearly every sphere of bourgeois life (in economics, political and social spheres both domestically and internationally creating a new general decline of world imperialism), hence tipping the balance of forces more decisively in favor of socialism and national liberation.

This stage is reflected in the collapse of the cold war institutions, alliances, policies, ideologies. It is most dramatically and basically seen in the compelling forces of detente and the majority (in world terms) movement for peaceful coexistence; initiated by the USSR. It's seen in the defeat of imperialist aggression as in Indochina. The collapse of the capitalist world monetary system (the permanently floating dollar being in special crisis -- suffering two devaluations recently). The near bankruptcy of nearly every major capitalist nation; the fall of a number of the capitalist world's most prosperous banking institutions -- the final breaking up of the last vestiges of colonialism and the new relationship of independence developing between countries still under the domination of neocolonialism and imperialism. One need only deal with the oil producing countries new found independence and defiance of imperialism.

The mass resignations of one major capitalist head of state after another. First there was Nixon and Watergate and then there was Willy Brandt in the Federal Republic of Germany, then Italy, Japan and Britain, with France threatening. This reflects a world-wide crisis in bourgeois democracy. The new stage is seen in outrageously accelerated pace of inflation and unemployment that's common to all capitalist countries; the rapidly deteriorating standard of living and quality of life of the working class in the capitalist world. And what is significant is that the strongest of all the imperialist nations, the

United States, is unable to bail out its allies because the impact of the new stage has hit U.S. imperialism perhaps the sharpest. Where are the Marshall Plans going to come from?

Accompanying this is a deep-going crisis of anti-communism, racism and bourgeois morality and culture in general. This is all accompanied by new and more rapidly paced advances for socialism and national liberation forces -- advances for the youth, for all forces opposing imperialism. And a rise in working class movements.

Through all of this one must develop the highest understanding of the basic role of the USSR. The founding of the first socialist state some 57 years ago was perhaps the greatest event in all human history. It opened the way; it set the example for humanity to end once and for all the scourge of capitalism -- the parasitical process of exploitation and the racism, wars and repression, and colonialism -- all products of capitalism and imperialism. DuBois said, in 1926, "I have been to Russia something less than 2 months ... I stand in astonishment and wonder at the revelation of Russia that has come to me. I may be partially deceived and half informed. But if what I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears in Russia is Bolshevism, I am a Bolshevik."

As we said, the founding of the USSR marked the beginning of the epoch of the world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism.

Shortly after the revolution, Lenin predicted, "We shall succeed in catching up with these countries (meaning capitalist countries) faster than they ever dreamed possible."

Today the USSR accounts for a fifth of all the industrial output in the world. This was not accomplished easily. In fact, the world then dominated by imperialism made life very hard for the first socialist state. Sixteen nations, including the United States, invaded the USSR shortly before socialism was even solidified. Combine with a counter revolution within, the aim was to strangle socialism in its infancy. This failed. During the second world war the Soviet Union was again invaded by the German Fascists -- they lost 20 million of their citizens -- 90% of their housing and industry was destroyed in the European region. Yet the USSR rose like a mighty giant beating fascism on all fronts, all the way back to Berlin, making socialism possible as they advanced, especially in Eastern European countries, bringing a new stage in the general crisis of world capitalism.

Presently the Soviet Union has moved to a stage of constructing the basis for Communism. Through its achievements and advances the USSR has been the main source of material and moral support to the forces of national liberation and socialism throughout the world. Unselfish aid -- Fidel Castro says: "The Soviet state does not own

a single mine, not a single factory outside the frontiers of the USSR. Everything it has, everything it owns, every credit it extends, the aid it gives, all of this derives from its own natural wealth, from the labor and sweat of its people." ... "What would have happened had there been no socialist camp, had not the Soviet Union existed? The least that would have happened is that we would all have been wiped out. The least."

The Soviet initiative of detente is in full accord with the present balance of forces in the world today. It takes into account the deep going crisis in the imperialist world and the growing pressure to retreat and compromise on the part of imperialism. It takes into account the bankruptcy of the cold war ideologies, alliances, etc., and gives new foundation to all the struggles of the present world majority for peace.

The historic agreement signed between the US and USSR are of extreme importance to us. The extended trade gives real concreteness to the need to end the arms race and the cold war once and for all, and ties the two people's youth together on the basis of normal economic relations and interests.

It gives a new material basis for millions in our country representing all class strata especially the working class to struggle for peace.

With the continued Soviet aid to the national liberation movements, which is 'non-negotiable' as Comrade Brezhnev said, coupled with the process of detente, creates a new basis for new victory of national liberation. For example, detente has had a major effect on preventing the interference of NATO and U.S. imperialism into the affairs of the new anti-fascist government in Portugal. It creates the basis for the further isolation of the fascist regimes in Chile and South Africa. For the Caribbean it means the removal of Guantanamo from Cuba -- a growing recognition of Cuba by most states in the world and the removal of all U.S. bases from Puerto Rico -- it means making the Caribbean a nuclear free zone.

For the U.S. youth it creates the basis to demand an end to the \$100 billion military budget and the use of the funds to meet the vit needs here at home. As comrade Gus Hall placed it: "Each decisive moment in history has its point of focus, its decisive forces, its course of development. The essence of this moment, the balance of its forces, its direction, its currents and trends are all encompassed in the phrase, 'the struggle for detente.'

The dynamics of detente express the process, the historic shift in the balance of power at a time when the old system and its ruling class have lost their place of dominance to a new force representing a new social system and a new class that increasingly determines the

course of human events. Detente expresses a qualitative change in international class relations."

When one looks at the totality of the deepening crisis of world imperialism -- the growth and strengthening of socialism (new quality of life under socialism), the new recent victories for national liberation and defeats for fascism -- the total effects of the process of relaxation of tensions and peaceful coexistence, we can see an accelerated worldwide offensive for peace, national liberation, against colonialism and neocolonialism and for socialism.

Herein lies the basis for the recent victories and the offensive posture we must assume.

WFDY

In these crucial times our relations with WFDY, our ties with youth around the world, must be greatly strengthened. WFDY's recent 9th Assembly reflected the new moment and charted a course of struggle under the slogan of youth for anti imperialist solidarity peace and progress.

We want to take this opportunity to express our full support for the new program of WFDY.

In the Middle East, a danger zone for world peace, the Israeli Zionist-imperialist ruling class policy of aggression has reached a new crisis. The recent UN vote on the recognition of the PLO, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the support for the reestablishment of a Palestinian state illustrates this new crisis. The peace initiative of the PLO has a close relationship with the Soviet-initiated worldwide struggle for the relaxation of tensions and has placed the burden on the Israeli ruling class to reply favorably.

There is a new upsurge of struggle on the part of the people of Israel who are confronting outrageous inflation and unemployment due to the war-dominated Israeli economy. The recent statement of the PLO, condemning the hijackers of a British airliner in the Persian Gulf as "a desperate attempt to harm the struggle of our people ... as an irresponsible act" indicates a new level of unity within the PLO. There is a new level of unity among the Arab states as well.

We want to take this opportunity to express our deepest solidarity with the youth and people of Palestine in their just struggle for the right of self-determination. We call on our government to end its support of the Israeli imperialists. We condemn the racist hysteria being spread throughout our country against the PLO. We want to express our total rejection of the Israeli Zionist "claims" on the territory of the Arab peoples. We express our solidarity with

the progressive people and youth of Israel and especially to the Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Israel, who as a movement of Arabs and Jews, display the highest levels of proletarian internationalism and courage in their fight against their own imperialism. The way to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is for Israel to abide by the UN resolution # 242 and to remove all troops from the occupied territories and begin negotiations with the PLO and the representatives of the other Arab states.

In this struggle we have a special responsibility to force U.S. imperialism to end its support of Israeli aggressors. We must counter the racist anti-Arab hysteria that's being spread throughout our country. The Arab nations have a right to price and nationalize their own oil. U.S. oil monopolies created and got rich off of the so-called energy crisis. Up to now, for example, 40% of Saudi-Arabian oil is controlled by U.S. firms. U.S. corporations are pushing the price of oil up in this country and around the world and are trying to create a racist and anti-semitic hysteria by putting the blame on the Arab peoples.

We must counter this among U.S. youth. We must also make a special effort to win Jewish youth in the U.S. away from the imperialist trap of Zionism.

Vietnam

The struggle in Vietnam and Indochina is not over, Comrades. Though it was an historic victory to have forced U.S. imperialism to sign the Paris Accords, the struggle for full implementation of these accords rages on. Presently in Vietnam there are still thousands of U.S. military personnel posing as civilians and giving aid to the puppet regime of Saigon. Presently there are thousands of political prisoners in the Saigon jails. U.S. aid to the Saigon puppets remains on a massive scale. The violations of the Paris accords by the Saigon puppets occur daily. There is an upsurge of struggle by the people of South Vietnam in the cities demanding the removal of the Thieu regime.

We resolutely condemn the Saigon regime's repression against the Vietnamese people of South Vietnam. We call for the full recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam as the sole and authentic representative of the people of South Vietnam. We call for the release of all political prisoners in South Vietnam. We call on the U.S. Congress to cut off the multi-billion dollar aid it presently gives to the Thieu puppets.

We demand the withdrawal of all U.S. civilian, military, CIA, etc. personnel from South Vietnam and that our government uphold the Paris Peace Agreement.

We demand reparations be paid to the people of the Democratic

Republic of Vietnam and South Vietnam for the massive reconstruction of their country.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth has launched a new worldwide campaign to build another Nguyen Van Troi school in the liberated areas of South Vietnam. This campaign is of the highest significance for U.S. youth and students.

Cambodia

We hail the new victories being won by the liberation movements in Cambodia (F.U.N.K. and G.R.U.N.K.). Along with all patriotic forces the youth and students are playing a special role in their struggle against the Phnom Penh regime. There are almost 4,000 U.S. advisers in Cambodia. We must step up our fight to end U.S. support to the Phnom Penh regime and to support the just struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality being waged by the patriotic forces in Cambodia.

Laos

Despite the April 5th negotiated settlement in Laos, thousands of U.S. military personnel still remain. This is in violation of that agreement. The April 5th agreement called for the removal of all U.S. personnel and for the formation of a new Provisional coalition government. This was a great victory. The fight is now for the full implementation of that agreement. We must demand that our government withdraw all troops and military personnel from Laos and that they abide by the April 5th agreement and the people of Laos be allowed to determine their own destiny.

Chile

To the youth and people of Chile: Your struggle has always had the support of all progressive people and youth in the United States. The victory of the Unidad Popular sent a wave of great inspiration to all progressive and democratic peace-loving people throughout the world.

U.S. imperialism, bent on destroying this democratically elected government, launched a vicious conspiracy to undermine the Popular Unity. Millions of U.S. taxpayers' dollars directed by Kissinger's 40 Committee was used by Fascist thugs and provocateurs to create a crisis in Chile. Every effort was being made to undermine the Chilean economy. Finally, U.S. imperialism's CIA engineered the bloody September 11 coup d'etat -- one of the most vicious fascist dictatorships in history forced on the people of Chile. They assassinated Comrade Salvador Allende -- who fought courageously to the end in defense of Popular Unity. Thousands of comrades and patriotic democrats were killed or forced into concentration camps. Books were burned. Men women and children were killed. All trade unions, democratic

organizations and political parties were outlawed. Universities were closed -- students and workers killed; workers fired en masse; great Chilean cultural figures were killed like comrade Victor Jara. It's now one year since the bloody hand of fascism gripped Chile. There are now 100 concentration camps, 30,000 political prisoners, tortures and court-martials without the right of defense go on daily; 35,000 students have been expelled from the university. Hundreds of thousands of workers have been thrown out of work. Hunger is widespread. Prices for basic commodities have increased as much as 1,000%. Thousands of Chileans have been forced into exile.

We must say, comrades, that this fascist junta would not be in power today had it not been for the backing of the U.S. CIA -- had it not been for the military assistance from the U.S. -- they would not have been able to have carried out the coup.

ITT, Kennecott copper, the U.S. state department are responsible for the plight of the Chilean people. They dictate to this fascist junta.

There is a massive resistance being waged in Chile, including labor strikes and protests; it has the wholehearted support of most of the world. The Chilean people and youth have made a special appeal to U.S. youth and people to end all U.S. aid to the junta. To wage a struggle to win the freedom of all political prisoners; to make our special contribution to the isolation of the junta world-wide.

We can say that we responded quickly after the coup and organized demonstrations against the fascists.

We now participate in a nation-wide movement in solidarity with Chile. It is a movement that has done much to pressure the state department to end its support for the junta. It's a movement that has isolated the junta from the people of the United States.

Such isolation has made it possible for our courageous comrade Gladys Marin to gain entrance into our country. We must, however, step up our efforts in solidarity with Chile. We demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalan (General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile) and the release of Clodomiro Almeyda, Vice-President of the Republic and a leader of the Socialist Party.

We demand the release of all political prisoners and the restoration of democratic rule in Chile. Down with the fascist Junta!

Comrades: the people of Chile are going to win against fascism - 40% of the 70,000-strong Chilean YCL is functioning; there is a big underground network functioning. Chile will win! Comrades, you know that the great poet-laureate, Comrade Pablo Neruda, died shortly after

the coup. Comrade Neruda, one of the world's greatest poets and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, was very ill before the coup. But the fascist coup, no doubt, hastened his death. His funeral became a great demonstration -- a great defiance of fascism. The crowd began to sing the Internationale -- in greater defiance. Then the people began to shout: "Long Live the Young Communist League of Chile." "Comrade Pablo Neruda is with us today and forever." "Chile will be socialist!" This reflects the spirit of struggle that will win in Chile.

We will deal with this later but it's necessary to make the point here. The Maoist misleadership of the People's Republic of China has shown their bankruptcy by their recognition of the fascist junta in Chile. This is out and out betrayal.

Africa

Africa is playing a very decisive role in world struggle. With the fall of the Portuguese colonies, the last vestiges of classical colonialism in Africa is being wiped out. This has created a new crisis for the Apartheid regimes of South Africa and so called Rhodesia. The victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique had a tremendous impact on the entire world. It showed how the highly organized, highly motivated national liberation movement, Marxist-led and with close relationships to the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union, can not only win its own liberation, but once again help to create the basis for revolutionary change in the metropolitan center, in this case Portugal.

The ability of the liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies to carry on a sustained struggle, because of the material support, largely from the USSR, and put increased pressure on the economic, social and political life within Portugal itself, helped to influence in a progressive direction in the armed forces movement, which ended in the total collapse of the oldest fascist regime in the world.

As we know, U.S. monopolies have multi-million dollar investments in Mozambique and especially in Angola. As we know, these countries surround the Apartheid republic of South Africa. The danger of South Africa, Rhodesia, and U.S. intervention to disrupt the process of independence is very real. The U.S. military had a relationship with the Portuguese through NATO and has a very close relationship with South Africa and Rhodesia. We must be more vigilant in our solidarity with the people of Mozambique and Angola. We want to express our full support for the fighting brothers and sisters in Frelimo and M.P.L.A., the real front line representatives of the people of Mozambique and Angola.

The death of the great Marxist-Leninist leader, Amilcar Cabral, was a blow to all progressive humanity. Cabral's leadership had an

an impact on the entire anti-imperialist movement. He influenced the thinking of progressive minded people from every corner of the globe, including a big impact on the movement in our country. His death was a tremendous loss. But, there is a living monument to Comrade Cabral in the establishment of the newly independent state of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, under the leadership of the PAIGC.

I want to take this opportunity to extend our warmest solidarity to the people and youth of Guinea-Bissau through our fraternal organization, the newly formed Amilcar Cabral youth League.

South Africa

The events in the former Portuguese colonies have also helped to spur on a new upsurge of the militant mass struggle in apartheid South Africa. Led by our fraternal organization, the fighting ANC, one of the oldest national liberation movements in the world, is making new gains.

U.N. Vote

The U.S. voted to retain racist South Africa against the overwhelming sentiments to kick these representatives of fascism out. We must put our maximum effort in the struggle to force the U.S. government to change its vote. That means we go out and help get the million signatures. Now we have a new vehicle -- the anti-imperialist movement that has launched a campaign around one million U.S. signatures to expell South Africa. We are in complete agreement with the anti-imperialist movement. As well, we support all those independent African states that struggle against neocolonialism, those pursuing a non-capitalist road of development, such as Somalia.

International Solidarity

In South west Africa the Liberation struggle against the racist white minority in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia, and South Africa are scoring new victories. These racist regimes have formed an alliance which continues to increase their dominance over the African people. By unifying their military power and promoting various resettlement programs for Blacks (Bantustans) and programs aimed at settling large numbers of European and U.S. whites on the minerally rich land project such as Cabora Bassa and Cunene Dams are aimed at creating the conditions to facilitate the process. U.S. firms can be heavily counted among those who have big investments in such projects.

We demand an ending of all U.S. trade (economic relations), involvement, etc. in that part of the world, as in line with the sanctions by the UN.

We call for full independence and majority rule for all the countries of southern Africa. We express our solidarity with the ANC

in South Africa, Zapu in Zimbabwe and SWAPO in Namibia.

Cuba:

Cuba has always been of special importance to us. The first free territory in the Americas. Recently, a new breakthrough has developed in the breaking of the U.S. imposed economic blockade of Socialist Cuba. Cuba now has relations with 80 countries, worldwide -- and has recently established relations with its neighboring states in the Caribbean: Guyana, Trinidad, Tobago, Jamaica, and Barbados, for example. The breakthrough represents a further defeat for U.S. imperialism -- it was a case of isolating the isolators -- and forcing a whole new independent relationship between Cuba and other Latin American states.

Now is the time to bring maximum pressure on U.S. imperialism -- to completely break the cold war blockade against Cuba. We support the work of the Venceremos Brigade which has and will do much to bring the inspiring message of socialist Cuba back to millions of U.S. youth.

We view the work of the Brigade as of great importance and must increase our support of this noble work. The world-wide success of relaxation of tensions means that in Cuba, the U.S. Guantanamo military base must be removed. It means the normalization of relations with Cuba.

At these times when the sugar monopolies are carrying out their massive rip off -- the prospects of cheaper Cuban sugar is being welcomed by millions of U.S. citizens. This is one benefit normalized relations with Cuba could mean.

We want to wholeheartedly support the offer of the YCL of Cuba to host the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students. To hold the World Youth Festival in Cuba will have a tremendous impact on the young people of the U.S. We must prepare early and work hard to realize the broadest delegation to the next festival no matter where its held -- but especially if its socialist Cuba.

Puerto Rico is very important to us also. Puerto Rico is a direct colony of the U.S. U.S. imperialism severely oppresses the people of Puerto Rico. Today, they are aiming to destroy the ecology of Puerto Rico through the building of the superport. One quarter of Puerto Rico's land is occupied by the U.S. military.

There is a new upsurge of workers' strikes. The upsurge is meeting with the repression of the colonial government. We condemn the repression of the working class in Puerto Rico. With the new United Nations resolution of declaring Puerto Rico as a colony, this means that a majority of the world supports independence for Puerto

Rico. Our aim is to step up our struggle to win once and for all an end to the colonial oppression of the people of Puerto Rico.
Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!

We support the youth and students of Europe in their struggle to make their continent a zone of peace. As you know the two world wars were initiated in Europe. As well we extend our fraternal greetings to all Young Communist Leagues of the Western European countries. And in a particular way to the YCLs of France and Italy who are moving rapidly towards the taking of workers' state power.

We extend our special greeting to the students and youth of Ireland who are in a fierce battle for national liberation. We condemn the chauvinistic anti-Irish hysteria being spread by the government of Great Britain. We express our special greetings to the fighting John Connelly Youth League, our fraternal organization.

To all the youth of Latin America whose lives have been made so difficult by the dominance of U.S. imperialism over their countries. We share a common border with the people and youth of Mexico. Our struggles are closely related. We must develop closer ties with the youth of Mexico to more effectively fight U.S. imperialism's exploitation and oppression there, and express our solidarity with their struggle for the rights of youth and students.

We want to take this opportunity to express our solidarity to the fully-liberated youth living under socialism, especially the youth in the U.S.S.R. Their contribution to the struggle of youth world-wide can never be repaid. Their enthusiastic work in blazing new horizons in economic, cultural, social spheres of life -- gives great inspiration to us. We want to take this opportunity to express our warmest fraternal solidarity to the 34 million all-union Leninist Komsomol.

DOMESTIC SCENE

The new stage in the general political crisis of imperialism is vividly expressed in the deep-going crisis within the U.S.

For the youth, the crisis has been most deadly.

The United States is now in the midst of a full-blown cyclical crisis of overproduction. In short, not a recession, but a depression. A depression which has as a unique feature the combination of outrageous inflation with massive unemployment. On both counts youth are hit hardest.

Presently, the cost of living is rising at a rate near 15% annually. In areas of vital necessity like food, rents, medical care, the increases are even greater. For the young worker -- the young family -- inflation is forcing a sharp decline in their eating habits, social life, etc.

There presently are nearly 4 million unemployed (18-24 yrs.).

This accounts for nearly ½ of the total unemployed. 200,000 auto workers have been laid off recently. Most of them are young. There are new layoffs in steel and nearly every other basic industry.

The fight for the right to earn is vital to youth's survival.

In Education: There has been an absolute decline in college enrollment this year, with a particular decline among Blacks, specifically youth.

The federal government, since Nixon, has made multi-million dollar cuts in education, across the board, leading to a deterioration of the entire public school system.

Youth must fight for their right to learn.

What does the Ford administration offer to meet this urgent crisis?

To beat inflation he offers us his "W.I.N." program -- a program that's guaranteed to whip the people now! It will actually cause more inflation. You know the line -- "Eat less," "Buy less," "Grow vegetable gardens" (imagine in N.Y. or Philly!), "Survey your garbage" Comrades, he was speaking before the Future Farmers of America (whose futures are awful bleak) and telling people to plant their own garden -- surprised they didn't boo him. This program was an insult to those young farmers, as it was to the entire population of the U.S.

What is the real situation? Take food. The price paid to the farmers for their crops and live stock has actually gone down over recent years -- that's why all the militant protest by the Farmer's Union. Why has what they get diminished when the food gets to the supermarket at prices which are sky-high and keep going up? Now if the farmers aren't getting it who is? -- The big food monopolies are artificially raising prices to get higher profits -- and they are getting it too: 1000% rise in profits in the sugar industry.

They say Arab oil is the problem. But the cost of oil hasn't gone up nearly as much as food and other items. Besides, what about the oil from the U.S.? I think it's the majority that's consumed. That's priced higher too. Why isn't Ford insisting that they lower the price?

U.S. monopolies have made 40 billion dollars off inflation. They aren't about to end it -- they're getting rich from it. But Ford tells you and I that we have to sacrifice, that we're too affluent, and prosperous. This is a shame!

To meet the youth unemployment problem they came forward with the proposal for the sub-minimum wage -- 75% of minimum wage for

youth. This is to help create jobs for youth. You know who backed the bill -- McDonald's -- because they're for super exploiting the labor of largely teenage youth. The sub-minimum wage is part of a program that will pit young workers against their parents in competition for jobs. This will make youth a special weapon against organized workers. Sub-minimum is only part of the whole program aimed at removing health and safety and other protective laws for youth employment connected to this program.

They're planning to not increase the educational opportunities for youth, but in fact to give the task of educating the youth over to private industry -- in a massive work-study program -- where money for education would go to a factory owner through a voucher system. You could continue your education or not -- it would be up to you! It's aimed at accommodating to the great lack of funds for education, as opposed to a massive program to vastly expand the educational needs of youth. It's aimed at accommodating to the great lack of funds for education, as opposed to a massive program to vastly expand the educational opportunities for youth. It's aimed at accommodating to massive youth unemployment and underemployment, because capitalism, due to its crisis-anarchistic nature, creates massive unemployment -- especially for the young.

All of Ford's programs have one purpose -- to guarantee the full protection of profits for Big Business.

Ford's programs refuse to touch the 100 Billion dollar military budget... but he asks us to sacrifice. This again shows that struggle for relaxation of tensions has a big bread and butter relationship to youth, besides not wanting to fight any more wars.

What do the Democrats propose? Wage and Price Freeze.

To freeze wages under these conditions of the workers being behind will be devastating. The workers must be able to catch up. To freeze prices means little unless workers catch up. Besides, aren't the "wages" of capitalists the profits, not prices?

The people are responding. We have to view with the greatest positiveness:

-the present level of contract rejections among U.S. workers -- young workers.

-Coal strike -- coal workers in Alabama unions demanded an end to importation of South African coal.

-Election of Ed Sadlowski to biggest district in the Steel Worker union. Against Abel's no-strike agreement.

-In New York recently a few places were offered by the Electrical Workers. At least 1500 young black and white youth lined up for 2 or 3 days for 255 places. That was, in essence, a spontaneous demonstration of youth.

-Of course, the great November 16 demonstrations, the first national actions around inflation and unemployment. They demanded a roll-back of prices, rents, utilities and massive job creation. Thousands united in an anti-monopoly program. The press reported that there were 100,000 people around the country. And this is only the beginning.

We must tie in the Youth Rights Campaign to this national movement.

Youth's right to earn, learn and live is under tremendous assault. We must organize our offensive here to move millions of youth in concert with the working class.

RACISM is the main weapon of the ruling class to defeat any offensive. Indeed, the struggle must be stepped up against racism to guarantee that there will be an offensive. Jim Steele's report will deal with this more fully.

What happened in Boston is part of monopoly's plan to place the blame for the poor conditions of white workers on the people most victimized by those conditions -- on Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, Asian-Americans -- specially oppressed. The plan is to divide white and Black teenagers; it is aimed at dividing white and Black workers; it is to push the dissatisfaction of the workers to the right -- towards fascism. All over our country there is a stepup in open activities of the Nazi, KKK, and other racist and fascist groups.

This is a turning point for our country. If we cannot organize youth to fight we may face severe setbacks on all fronts.

Earlier we mentioned the crisis of anti-communism, racism and of bourgeois ideology in general. This is evident internationally in the isolation of U.S. imperialism. Domestically, they are bombarding youth on all fronts, economic, political etc. But there is a special effort on the cultural front. The mass media glorifies the Nazis, glorifies the Klan, glorifies the lumpen proletariat. Super Fly is a big hero. And Super Fly "don't have no job." The mass media glorifies racism. Take the new television shows. What about Chico and the Man. Even Good Times has democratic content but the racism comes through. Nihilist, apolitical philosophies are pushed. "You do your thing, I do mine." "If you are a racist, it's a right as long as you're a nice guy." "You might be a fascist but that's your right." "Do your own thing!"

All this is the ruling class glorifying ignorance; they glorify the principle of no principles. Drugs and alcoholism are pushed as a way out. The youth associated with Hare Krishna are dancing in the streets. All this diverts youth from the struggle. This is an

an example of the ruling class going down and trying to drag everyone down with it. The natural instincts of youth is to struggle. We must launch a cultural offensive to win youth to the high level of the culture of humanism. To win then to a disdain of injustice and oppression. To win then to the culture of anti-racist unity -- the culture of struggle. We must develop forms of song, dance, poetry, art and physical culture in the context of struggle.

The convention must launch a new era of mass youth struggle, along with the working class and other progressive forces. This will make the mid-70s a decisive turning point in the history of the U.S. revolutionary movement. The upsurge is going to come. Will it be the spontaneity of the 60's or will it be as highly organized as the working class rooted struggles of the 30's -- the struggles that won social security and built the CIO. What we do now will greatly determine this question. The decisive new ingredient is the youth rights campaign which I will discuss later.

There are other ideological blocks to struggle. Maoism is "total betrayal." While the world anti-imperialist forces are on the offensive, making historical advances, Maoism is "open betrayal". It is the most vocal and consistent anti-Soviet trend. It openly supports NATO and has declared itself for the strengthening of NATO. This is total bankruptcy. For some time China has been trading with Rhodesia and South Africa, importing 70,000 tons of Rhodesian chrome annually, while they have an unfavorable balance of trade with the capitalist countries (80% of their total trade is with the capitalist countries), they have an overwhelmingly favorable balance of trade with the developing countries, primarily in Africa. Clearly, in its relationships with the developing countries China is following a line similar to the imperialists.

Maoism is chauvinistic. The internal policy of great Han chauvinism has been well documented by comrade Winston in his book, "Strategy for a Black Agenda". To accuse such world leaders like Amilcar Cabral, Fidel Castro, and our heroic Vietnamese comrades of being used by the USSR is insulting to the highest degree. It is rank chauvinism.

Maoism is attractive to some U.S. youth. They feel it has a militant tone. But frankly, slogans like "Countries want freedom, nations want liberation, people want revolution" and "The world is in disarray and that's good", don't tell anybody anything. These slogans don't tell anyone to anything, actually it counsels passivity, the world's in disarray and that's good, so lay back. Maoism and imperialism is in disarray but not the world.

And that chump Irwin Silber! His rank opportunism is evident in his position on Chile. When the popular unity government was in power he did nothing to help them. He consistently criticised them. And now he has the nerve to sit up in his apartment drinking martinis and

telling the Chileans how to conduct their revolution, that they should fight to every last man. This is in keeping with those types who sat up in their penthouses drinking martinis and telling the Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans and Asian Americans that they should pick up the gun and fight to every last Black, Chicano, Puerto Ricans, Native American and Asian American..

Mao does not represent the interests of the people of China. Is it in the interests of the people of China to support NATO? Is it in the interests of the people of China to support the Chilean junta? We think not! The people of China, the working class will, without a doubt, recapture their revolution.

Anti-Sovietism is weak, it's out of step, it's in crisis. It drove Maoism to imperialism. It is out of step with the main direction of the world revolutionary forces. If we take the offensive on this question, in step with the world offensive, anti-Sovietism can be decisively defeated.

The Maoists, the ultra-right, the "liberal" capitalists and the Trotskyites have formed an alliance in their anti-Sovietism. Take all the to-do about "freedom of speech" in the Soviet Union. Freedom of speech is not an abstract question. Freedom of speech for the slaveholder means oppression and misery for the slave. Freedom of speech for the fascists means genocide. Freedom of speech for the Shockleys and Jenses means superexploitation and oppression for the 30 million Black people. Those declassed elements, descendants of the landed aristocracy, represented by Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn! The logic of their freedom of speech means a return to poverty and oppression for the Soviet people. Their "freedom of speech" means an end to the struggle for detente which therefore advocates war. These ungrateful anti-socialist elements are getting rich through the CIA as long as they keep spreading their anti-Soviet slanders and remain in the Soviet Union. They are cold-war con men.

League

Nationally our League is in good health -- ideologically and politically we have the best line and approach to struggle of all the left groups. This reflects big progress; I must say impressive progress over the last five years.

1. The League has grown to be the largest left youth group.
2. The League remains the most unified and consistent -- in its political line and its ability to hold together and solidify branches
3. The League has the deepest roots among all strata of youth, but especially among young workers and specially oppressed youth.
4. The League has the most developed program and mature approach to struggle.

5. The League has the strongest international ties -- World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and International Union of Students (IUS).

6. Of greatest importance is the multinational character of the League. It is better than any other youth organization. There is no token unity in the League, either.

We can say that within the League, the highest levels of struggle against racism and for unity are sought after.

History was made at our 2nd national convention when over 50% of the participants were non-white youth. This may not be fully appreciated, comrades.

This was an unprecedented achievement in the history of the U.S. left -- indeed it has important significance internationally. It elevates the national question, the struggle against racism and particularly helps to put it in clear view when one approaches the U.S. and world youth movements.

We've also said another important thing comrades -- we develop some of the finest youth cadres in the country. But in a special way, a special contribution has been made. The League has been the vehicle to bring forward a regiment of courageous, brilliant Black, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian youth.

Maybe some didn't know, but during the 60's radical meant white and militant meant Black and specifically oppressed. Theoreticians meant white; pragmatists meant Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian youth.

Anytime a Black or specially oppressed youth was head of anything, she or he was considered a token. The racist ruling class feared the League but thought the League would never make it -- the white leftists feared the League, and either ignored our Black and specially oppressed members or thought that at the slightest challenge we would retreat. NCLC worked on that basis -- so did the Trotskyites -- they were always up in your face if you were a specially oppressed youth. But they fou out! We beat them ideologically, theoretically and organizationally. Chauvinistically, they didn't think we could survive without their racist, paternalistic approach. They were wrong.

We have brought forward a regiment of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican Native American and Asian youth, whose leadership is not only firm and strong, capable among their particular national group, but who are giving a high caliber of leadership to the entire generation of U.S. youth.

This is part of the powerful accomplishments of the League. A further part of this is the strong international ties of the League.

We have concrete, harmonious ties with over 200 million fighting youth who are affiliated to WFDY. We also have good ties with the largest international student organization, the IUS. We have close fraternal relations with the youth of the USSR -- 34 million strong -- youth of Vietnam, youth of ANC, India, PAIGC, Korea, France, Italy, Canada, Puerto Rico, Cuba -- I could go on and on. We have friends and comrades in every corner of the globe. These are powerful comrades.

All this is possible because of our close fraternal ties with the CPUSA -- the vanguard of the U.S. working class.

The CPUSA is a party confirmed in the class struggle and in struggle against racism; a party that represents the very force of the science of Marxism-Leninism on the U.S. scene; a party steeped in proletarian internationalism; a party that has aspirations towards, and the ingredients to take state power.

Last September 1st marked the 55th anniversary of the CPUSA -- 55 years of fierce, heroic, courageous struggle which cannot be equaled by any other political party in the U.S. From our third national convention, on its 55th anniversary, we want to express our deepest appreciation and congratulations to our fraternal organization the magnificent CPUSA.

And so we can say that our League stands above all other youth organizations on the U.S. scene. We can say that in terms of high moral aspirations of this generation, that this is strongly reflected in the League -- the humanism, the dedication to peace and equality and social progress, prosperity -- to socialism -- which places a big weight on us individually and collectively -- but helps to create a young group of human beings of a new type, even under capitalism.

This is what attracts youth to the League. This is what has created a deep crisis inside bourgeois and petty-bourgeois radical groups.

Now all the petty bourgeois radical groups are trying to copy the League on questions of multi-national composition, struggle against racism, the decisive leading role of the working class, the respect for theory, the international ties. All of these groups try to copy the League. They (Trotskyists, assorted Maoists, etc.) can't achieve what the League has achieved because they reject the basis of strength of the League -- the correct understanding and application of the only revolutionary science -- Marxism-Leninism. Not Trotskyism, not Maoism, not right social democracy. No! Marxism-Leninism!

But the attempt at copying the League is significant. It reflects a level of the YWLL's hegemony among left youth. It also reflects a big defeat for the petty bourgeois, radical elements.

While the League has done much, made impressive progress, while in good health generally, we still have some serious ailments which prevent our moving forward to a new stage.

Sectrianism must be singled out as one of our major problems. We have had narrow views of our work. There has been a tendency on the part of the League to see itself as a junior Communist Party. There has been a tendency to try to duplicate the party, to work from campaign to campaign, to disperse cadre. This syndrome has been evident in our student work, as well as in other work.

These sectarian ways were adequate at a certain stage of our development. They were adequate to bring us to a League of 1500 to 2000 members in several stable branches. However, our organization has been largely a League of agitation rather than action. Our work has demonstrated a basic lack of concreteness. Although we have developed a core of cadre, League militants, the League cannot continue to operate in old ways. If we are to reach our potential of being a League of mass action, we must change.

Nature of Change

The theme of our thesis: "For a League of Mass Action" is the key to change. The essence of the qualitative change we must make is in the Youth Rights Campaign. The Youth United for Jobs formation is perhaps the most important development in League work in the last 2 years, perhaps in the history of the League. The development of a movement around the youth employment bill is also one of the most important developments in the League since it's inception. This must be understood, comrades, we must give it the strongest emphasis. Why? Read the thesis carefully. This is the first time we really define and most importantly move to implement our basic concrete youth program. Again, it is the most important work we can do now.

Without this basic program all other work will be out of focus, will be work in general and will be without real direction. Without the implementation of our youth rights program, we can't realize our long-range strategy of democratic youth unity. And we will remain without concreteness. This youth rights program is really the foundation for the existence of the youth League, or the young Communist movement. The tendency to duplicate the party is inherent in a situation where the youth League does not have a basic economic program for youth. This applies to youth vanguardism too.

Let me give examples of how the youth rights campaign can enhance our work. There is a tremendous rise of racism in our country. The classic situation is in Boston. The reactionaries there are attempting to offer a right fascist alternative in a time of crisis when the people are looking for a way out. Again, placing the blame on Black people. And in the electoral struggle, the aim is to create a basis for a majority movement for George Wallace in that area. Whose aim

is to win the White House for Wallace, or at least move it towards the right. And the level of electoral and political independence among the masses of people; in many cases, is not on a high enough level where they can decipher, not a critical kind of independence. This why a fascist, a John Birch Society head, up in Alaska, almost got elected. Even in regards to the left. The fact that a Trot candidate in Ohio got all those votes for Governor. The level of independence is not that critical. Therefore the attempt to demagogically appeal to that to take it to the right is a very real thing. Now comrades, we can say that racism is morally wrong; we must yell that to the house tops, and develop the question of the moral appeal to the masses of white people, to masses of people in general on the question of the inhuman, barbaric immoral nature of racism. But I think we have to do more. We cannot stop fascism with just generalities. Concreteness is necessary. To turn from a defensive position to an offensive position. To go on the offensive means to win the masses of those White Youth there in South Boston to a program in alliance with the Black and Puerto Rican communities up in Boston. You know, this turning the defensive into the offensive is very significant. The Angela Davis campaign you might say from its inception tended to be defensive. But what turned it to the offensive was Nixon and Reagan who were running scared. And the offensive was the key to victory for freeing Angela Davis. Our offensive is seen in the Youth Rights campaign. The struggle against racism must be tied in concretely with the fight for jobs for Youth. For example, 80% unemployment in South Boston.

When you deal with these concretes and have a program with which to go to go to the youth in an area like South Boston, then and only then can you counter the racists and the fascists. Because obviously, they don't have a program around unemployment, jobs and so forth: and that's the path to exposing them. I think our work on many fronts; in the national defense movement, on international questions, in our support for the liberation movements in Africa, the fight to implement detente, the fight to cut the military budget, and so on, all take on a special significance when we have our Youth Rights campaign going.

The Soviets proposed a 10% cut right away in all military budgets. This money would then go to help the developing countries. So you look for a handle on how to take that to the masses of youth. Is there no better handle than to be fighting for a bill to create one million emergency jobs for youth and then in harmony with the Soviet proposal demand that the military budget be immediately cut by 10%. Isn't that how we concretely fight for internationalism among the youth? I think so.

Let me say the struggle to develop the United Front -- you know that we talked united front a lot in the past and we all agreed and then you got home you said, what should I go talk to this church about? They're not ready for anti-imperialism. And maybe you even went to talk to them and had a nice conversation and maybe they liked you but, then how are we going to get them to do something. How are we

concretely going to pull this united front together?

I don't think that there is any youth organization that pretends to speak to the problems of youth that would not support a bill to win one million jobs for youth. It gives us the basis for the broadest type of unity to be developed in our generation.

The Youth United for Jobs form which we should be orienting ourselves towards, building throughout the country, offers us an even greater vehicle to bring hundreds of thousands of youth around the league and into the struggle. You have to take troops when you go into united fronts. They want to know who you have behind you. You're talking good, but who do you have behind you? A lot of young people will join the league, but a lot more will join a struggle around youth unemployment. I know everyone is busy and you don't have time to build another organization. But I'll tell you, I insist that once we unfold our program and develop this form, the load on our cadre will be less, rather than more. Many more youth will come around and work, because they are willing to work. The ability to strengthen the total thrust of the League will be enhanced manyfold. So I think that we have to give this our most serious attention in the course of this convention. You know, our experience in New York was that recruitment went up at least 100% with the development of the Youth United Front for Jobs. At the November 16th anti-inflation demonstrations they had a contingent, and they have a contingent here.

If League branches develop such a form, it will be possible for them to double their membership in a matter of a couple of months. That is the nature of the situation in which we find ourselves. This is what I mean about taking the offensive.

What has been our method of recruiting youth? For the most part, this has taken place through people developing a certain interest in Marxism-Leninism; after a period of time, developing a certain interest in the league, studying and coming in. Often we recruit people who were in other radical groups and had attained a certain level of consciousness. They come into the League because it is an expression of a higher form. But doesn't our constitution state and isn't it important for the league that youth who is interested in Marxism-Leninism and who is willing to work around our program should be able to join the League? And wouldn't our recruitment be greatly enhanced if they didn't only hear what we say, but see what we do? What about those youth who are on the level of not knowing much about the ideology, but sees us doing things. You can see how the number of young people who are attracted to the league and want to come in can be increased 100 fold because we have a program and we can say that this is our program, and we are working to build a movement around it. This is the direction that we have to move in to build a league of mass youth action.

There is a rumor that we have moved away from industrial

concentration. Let me say that that is not so. Let me say that some of our shop work has been the most important work we have done since the inception of the League. In many ways it has offered a real breakthrough. We were able to develop shop work, rank and file work, move many young workers into industry and recruit young workers also. This work should be continued, intensified and raised to a higher level. I think, where it is possible, the aim should be to build league branches in the shops. But, you know comrades, the majority of the organization is not in the shops. Does that mean that they do not have a basic program of industrial concentration? Absolutely not! And, if we are dealing with the younger generation, the majority of the younger generation is not in the shops. And, where they are in the shops, there is a very low level of union organization. That's one reason why we are projecting the question of organization around fast food chains. The majority of youth will not come to the League from the shops. In fact, the majority of the young workers that we have recruited have come from other local forms, not necessarily from work in the shops.

But what does a program of industrial concentration mean to each branch? In a basic sense, industrial concentration means recognition of the central and basic role of the working class and it's industrial proletariat. Every League branch should have an approach towards a shop, towards a bus depot where transit workers are; and, even campus branches should have some relationship to campus workers, where they take the Young Worker, the Daily World or the Peoples' World, on a regular basis.

But an examination of the material from the thirties, and a study of the nature of this younger generation, indicates that the majority of branches are going to be community-based branches. In the thirties, we find that's precisely what they had and they certainly had a program of industrial concentration. This is a reflection of the youth question, of where the youth are. If the League focuses in on this, it will strengthen our work. This total concept of industrial concentration will strengthen and give greater clarity to our work in the shops. We are not moving away from industrial concentration.

I think we better be more vigilant about rumors. We are fighting to learn how it is applied in relationship to the youth question. Which would be different, for example, than if we were a junior C.P., which I think is a tendency. So we have to see that relationship. Our information is that in the building of the youth clubs, Youth shop clubs of the League in the 30's, there was always a program and a direction to do that, but there weren't that many actually built. We have to see how we can have a total approach to the workingclass and industrial proletarian youth in our generation. That's what's going to be necessary to prevent the ruling class program of using the youth in contributions to the working class.

That's our historic task, to win them to the side and in harmony with the workingclass. So we have to see how that works, continue our shop work, deepen it, intensify it, bring it to a higher level. Let's see how we develop our program, and the workers centers, and how that can relate to shop work. It is again necessary to give it the proper emphasis! We do not have a great enough appreciation for popular forces.

Just in passing, comrades, a word about the League uniforms. They're very important for giving a certain youth thrust to our organization. We need to develop these kinds of forms. What will it do to other youth who are not in the league to see an audience full of league shirts. It gives a certain sense of togetherness, of power. A lot of younger teenagers who will come to our organization do not find a home in the league, because we do not have such popular forms. We resist developing and organizing choruses and singing groups, sports teams. To satisfy the total needs of youth, we have to have such forms, you know, youth can't develop properly if you don't have outlets for physical and cultural development. Broadening and popularizing League forms is very decisive in developing a mass League. Finally, comrades, I want to read you a beautiful quote from Comrade Gus Hall's bible on how to "get" imperialism. This is a hell of a bible.

Quote from Gus Hall p 360:

"For a long time, our country has been on the level of technology and science to have laid the material basis for socialism. We have it already. And that's why the crisis is so severe in this country. Because, in many ways science has given us the basis to move on to a society of full abundance. But capitalism and imperialism prevents that. You know, historical materialism didn't stop after feudalism, although sometimes they teach it that way. And we now have the material basis for socialism in the United States.

"That's why the ruling class is becoming so anti-science, pushing all these old ragged theories. But science will win out, the development of technology will win out. There are tremendous events around the world. They are in a new stage; there is a new offensive around the world and it has been reflected here. History is fully on our side. This generation is going to see socialism in their lifetime. That's what the League is all about!"

Fini

[There are a large number of grammatical and stylistic inconsistencies in this text. These are as in the original distributed at the YWLL convention. Only the most obvious grammatical, spelling and typographical errors have been corrected.]