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These discussion articles and resolutions were written for the Young Socialist National Convention to be held in the Civic Center Music Hall in Houston, Texas, December 28 - January 1. They were written by members of the Young Socialist Alliance from around the country.

Similar resolutions and discussion articles will deal with other activities in which young socialists are involved. They 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, New York 10003.

GAY LIBERATION AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION	5
by John M. Williams	
MARIJUANA AND YSA	7
by Calvin Vail	
DECLARATION OF THE MINORITY TENDENCY	8
by Tom Peterson, for the Tendency	
TOWARD A MASS WORKING CLASS YOUTH MOVEMENT: A RESOLUTION ON PERSPECTIVES	9
by Larry C. , David D. , Carol M. , Dick M. , Tom Peterson, John Zanellotti	
RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION	12
BY THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE INTO THE GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENT	
by John M. Williams	

By John M. Williams

Unless revolution can initiate the total liberation of all oppressed people both in the areas of personal heritage (class) and ethnic origin (caste) then it is in reality only mass reform or maybe more correctly pseudo-revolution. To sell out or ignore an oppressed minority is in essence to be co-opted by the oppressor.

Gay people, then are of a gender caste as are women for we are oppressed solely because of our sexual identity. Gay people have been that oppressed minority that has been sold out in past revolutions. The fact that we consider the Cuban revolution for the most part a healthy revolution tends to indicate that we have given little concern to the gay Cubans who have received little social liberation from this revolution.

While liberation for Cuban gays seemed to have arrived in January, 1959 with the triumph of the new socialist revolution, within a few weeks all gay bars in Havana were shut down and a mass political movement of directing gays back in to the closets began.

While early attempts at isolating gays in institutions not unlike prisons failed, this only meant that the new "free" socialist state of Cuba had to seek a new way to separate gays from the masses of "normal" Cuban people.

In May 1971, Castro attended and endorsed a meeting of Cuba's First National Congress on Education and Culture which created a strong antigay statement that made clear the Cuban policy on gay people in that country. It was decided by this congress that while homosexuality should not be considered a central problem or a fundamental one in that society its attention and "solution" were however necessary. This basic attitude later evolved into the antigay laws that will later be discussed.

It is at this point however fairly easy to recognize the flaws in the Cuban revolution. The socialist regime in that country had taken a step in the direction of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. This misguided antigay attitude is all of course based on a dogmatic adherence to the institution of the nuclear family. The same antigay sentiments exist in the American Stalinist movement today. The members of this movement, who as their Russian counterparts have done, continue to label homosexuality as the by-product of the degeneration of capitalism.

This attitude then makes understanding of theory of pseudo or privileged revolution much easier i. e. , liberation for most but not all of the oppressed.

Gay liberation was not a struggle in prerevolutionary Cuba then, primarily because gays were incorrectly convinced that socialist revolution would automatically liberate them from the bonds of sexism.

Exactly what did happen in Cuba after the 1971 Congress on Education and Culture? First of all a study of homosexuality was made on the basis of its present-day scope and "antisocial" character. An in-depth analysis was made of the preventive and educational measures that were to be put into effect against the existing focuses, including the control and relocation of isolated cases, always with an educational and preventive purpose. It was agreed to differentiate between the various cases and degrees of "deterioration." Several measures which specifically stated the nature of sexual education in Cuban schools were initiated. They all involved a direction to the proper approach to sex or in reality the heterosexual approach to sex. It was also resolved that it would not be tolerated for "notorious" homosexuals to have influence in the formation of Cuban youth on the basis of their "artistic merits."

Consequently then a study was called for specifically to determine how to best approach the presence of homosexuals in the various institutions of the Cuban cultural sector. Homosexuals were transferred to other organizations where they would have no influence on Cuban youth through cultural activities. It was resolved that those whose morals do not correspond to the "prestige of revolution" should be barred from any group of performers representing Cuba abroad.

Finally, it was agreed to demand that severe penalties be applied to those who corrupt the morals of minors i. e. , deprived repeat offenders and irredeemable "antisocial" elements.

Anonymous letters written by Cuban gays to American gay liberation newspapers (anonymous because of feared repression) tell of the situation faced by gays in Cuban society, they speak of the isolation, abuse and "cures" that are induced upon gay people in Cuba.

So while every Cuban including women who were formerly oppressed under capitalism can look upon the Cuban revolution as a bridge to freedom, gays see it only as a new form of oppression under a nouveau banner of "socialism."

What then is the alternative, the true analysis and perspectives to be taken by gay revolutionaries in the United States? The first and most obvious analysis is that the existence of true social justice in Cuba will be attained only with true social liberation of all oppressed Cuban minorities. If socialism is the system through which liberation for gays will come, it must be assured that gay people take part in its initiation during prerevolutionary times.

While many have labeled the gay liberation movement in the United States as petty-bourgeois, we only need to look at Cuba to see that in reality gays are now the victims of petty-bourgeois attitude, attitudes similar to those of the old capitalist ruling class. We have only to understand that the

overwhelming majority of gays are in the working class, struggling not only for economic liberation but also for social liberation. Some also tag the gay liberation movement "reformist." Look again at Cuba, to the reformist social laws that now oppress gays. In the United States during this years' Christopher street demonstrations in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles over twenty thousand gay people were in the streets demanding liberation. This is hardly the action of a reformist group.

Often the criticisms of gay liberation as a revolutionary movement do not come as a result of true dialectical thinking, but they are in essence nothing more than bases of sexism covered up with a little "political plaster."

Can the demands of the gay liberation movement be met under capitalism? If they cannot be met in Cuba under socialism it is doubtful that they can be met here in the face of capitalist bureaucracy. The legalization of antisex laws would not by any means totally liberate gays. It would not eliminate the powers of oppression expelled by the masters of the Judeo-Christian ethics which are the basis of the cultural structure of American capitalism.

The demands of gay liberation can be met only through a socialist revolution, but only through a socialist revolution in which gays play an integral part in the organization and direction of.

How then can the loose ends of gay reform and true revolution be tied together to form a strong revolutionary link? The best solution to this problem would be to work with the gay liberation struggles already existing. These struggles are the vehicles that will take gay liberation into the framework of the revolutionary movement.

Many activities within the gay movement seem reformist, which indeed many of them are. This is because they seek only to initiate what can be initiated for gays under capitalism, that does not mean that the movement feels that total liberation under capitalism is possible. The demands then as Trotsky would see them are transitional, they seek to begin in a reformist way but are in essence the products of democratic centralism which will evolve into a revolutionary structure. Gays will soon realize that total liberation under capitalism is not possible, and frustration and demoralization at attempts to reform the unreformable will eventually radicalize all gay people.

The activities of the gay liberation movement however are often not the activities of a politically coordinated group. This is because the platforms of correct dialectical thinking have not been laid into the structure of these movements.

It is important then that the correct political strategy and direction be initiated into the gay liberation movement. That means intervention by the Trotskyists into that movement. It is important that gay liberation not be discarded by the revolutionary movement in this country. It is imperative that we either struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people or we struggle for none. We must not make Cuba's mistake, we as socialists cannot afford to wear the masks of our oppressors after the revolution.

The gay people in this country and all over the world must be taken into the cadre of the revolutionary movement and into the streets with the masses of oppressed people to struggle for their liberation.

Cleveland
October 8, 1971

by Calvin Vail

Of all the movements in the present radicalization today, the Trotskyist movement has gained the most. This is because we in the Trotskyist movement have the best understanding of the current radicalization. We have grown to be the biggest force in the movement so far. But unless we have some changes we may not grow to be the mass movement we would like to be. The major change is our policy concerning marijuana.

One of the main factors in the present radicalization in this country has been the reactionary laws on grass. Grass has brought people into the radicalization almost as much as the war or any other issue. The use of grass has grown so high that the ruling class doesn't know what to do about it. There is big talk of legalizing grass these days and a movement is developing to legalize grass.

How does marijuana radicalize people? Just about all kids know that grass is harmless. So when the government tells their lies about grass and the people who use it the kids say "Wait a minute! This just isn't true!" So after catching Uncle Sam in this lie they start to question other issues in their lives like the war, racism, sexism, etc. only to discover they have been lied to all along. Few will dispute the role grass has played in the current radicalization. Then why the policy?

YSA supposedly does not want a member of our movement to be busted. This policy would still be valid if it would isolate our movement from the rest of the masses, but with the present attitude the masses feel about grass, this would win the sympathy from them.

The growing movement for the legalization of grass is winning the sympathy of the youth. What role will YSA play

in this mass movement? With YSA's present policy, we may be isolated to this movement. How can people be expected to understand if in one sentence we say we support legalizing grass and the next say that comrades in the YSA can't smoke grass?

YSA's policy is also keeping a lot of potential YSAers out of the YSA because they want to be able to continue to enjoy getting stoned. Our high schools are full with grass. In my school well over half the school turns on and the rest of the students are either in full solidarity with it or don't care. This is just the nature of the high schools. Many of the high school readers of The Militant who are close to the YSA can't join because they smoke grass.

YSA still hears about the time when it had that horrible policy of excluding homosexuals from our movement. Gay comrades had to hide the fact that they were gay. That policy has led to some distrust from people who don't understand YSA. Our present grass policy is doing the same.

What about comrades who live with either brothers or sisters who smoke grass or live with friends who smoke. Are they expected to leave their home? Or what about the comrades who have close relationships with people who smoke? Should they break off these relationships? Should comrades have to tell their friends "No I can't go out with you tonight because you're gonna smoke grass?" These are pretty big things to expect of comrades.

This document could go on forever and still be incomplete with arguments on our policy, but I have tried to point out just a few reasons why YSA should change it's policy.

Durham
November 2, 1971

The document presented by the Minority Tendency is a counter resolution
on the tasks and perspectives for the YSA.

for the Minority:

Tom Peterson
Lower Manhattan YSA, NYC
November 17, 1971

By Larry C. , David D. , Carol M. , Dick M. , Tom Peterson, John Zanellotti

I. THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE TASKS CONFRONTING OUR CONVENTION

Beginning with August 15 a new situation has opened up. On this date President Nixon fired the first shot in this new period of class war. This new stage in the international class struggle is characterized by the surfacing of all the contradictions of the capitalist system which were built up underneath the "stability" of the boom period. What has surfaced now is the intense world financial crisis, raging out of control and capable of precipitating a collapse even more disastrous than the fall of 1929.

In order to survive, the bourgeoisie must now drive back the working class and destroy the gains which it made during the long and hard years of struggle. What is posed now before the working class is the choice between fascism or socialism.

This crisis deepens as well the crisis of Stalinism and all those bureaucratic agents of capital that fed off the boom period. This crisis brings to the surface and exposes the fraudulent theories which have been based upon the belief in the permanency of the boom.

The prediction made by Trotsky before his assassination at the hands of Stalin's agent has been completely verified: The second imperialist war opened the flood-gates of an unparalleled revolutionary crisis; a crisis which still continues unabated and indeed has intensified in this period, despite the ebb and flow of the international class struggle.

Only the absence of revolutionary leadership has permitted capitalism to survive--with the full collaboration of Stalinism and reformism. However, imperialism has not been able to inflict an historic defeat on the world working class.

The crisis of imperialism has intensified and deepened; the equilibrium between the classes upon which the Soviet bureaucracy rests has been destroyed. The revolutionary movements of the 1950's and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 expressed in terms of the proletarian revolution the dual crisis of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy.

At the Bretton Woods Conference, the bourgeoisie embarked upon a deliberately inflationary course which they hoped would bring stability and contain the militancy of the working class. These agreements did not reflect a position of strength, but of weakness.

With the sharp crisis of capitalism, these very agreements which served to prevent trade war have now been thrown out the window by Nixon. The de-facto devaluation of the dollar and the 10 percent tax on imports has opened the stage for trade war, bringing with it the opening of a new period in the international class struggle.

The major factors constituting and explaining the relative strength and duration of the capitalist boom period were the technical changes in important sectors of industry, the expenditure of billions of dollars in armaments, and of course the export of American capital. But all of these factors taken together do not constitute a base, or prepare a base, for a new stage of capitalist development which could have overcome the basic contradictions in capitalism discovered by Marx, and analyzed in their further development by Lenin. However, this conception is very evident in the new "theory" of Mandel and others. These so-called "Marxists" proceed from the abandonment of the historical role of the working class and base their analysis and theories upon the surface stability of capitalism during the boom period. Thus they reject Lenin's basic conception--that of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. A stage which is dominated by wars and revolutions.

According to Mandel and Co. , the technical changes which have taken place since WW II laid the basis for a "Third Industrial Revolution." This new industrial revolution is the source of a new stage of capitalism, specifically "new-capitalism," which would be more capable of utilizing the powers of the state (e. g. control of the economy through legislation, etc.) and, eventually, through a series of "structural reforms," take this process into socialism.

While it is true that these technical changes have set the basis for the development of productive forces on an unprecedented scale, in the period of imperialist decline, these changes increasingly threaten the destruction of these same productive forces. Capitalism can only develop under the signs of parasitism, destruction and barbarism. These and other changes in production methods cannot be contained within the framework of national and private property relations. The development of the means of production on the one side, and the private ownership of those means of production and national frontiers on the other, provide the contradiction which is at the base of the class struggle. The two world wars were nothing but the revolt of productive forces confined by national frontiers.

To further point out the absurdity of these revisionist theories we may examine the "theory" of the "permanent arms economy." This theory maintains that capitalism can stabilize itself by increasing outlays on military preparation. It is true that this factor, arms spending, contributed to the post-war boom. However, these expenditures have also brought their own series of contradictions which have assumed vast proportions in recent years. In conjunction with the sharpening struggle of the working class they have tended to force wages up, thus acting as a contributory factor to the inflationary pressures afflicting all the capitalist countries. These pressures have been bound up with the maturing crisis in the monetary system of the world. This crisis was further aggravated by the war in Indochina. A war which was largely financed by printed currency. This deepened the already chronic problems of inflation and undermined the stability of the dollar. This mishap

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was not the result of an oversight of the capitalists and their government, but a recognition of the strength of the working class and their unwillingness to finance the war.

What the revisionists have labelled "stabilizing factors" were, in reality, adjustments of the economic mechanism to the strength of the working class.

The ability of the government to intervene in the economy has been seen by revisionists and reformists as providing a way out, that is, to overcome the contradictions of the capitalist system. This provided directly the opposite. Temporarily securing full employment and relatively high wages (despite rising prices) the adoption of Keynesian economic techniques has inadvertently built up the fighting spirit of the working class. It is this spirit and the strength of the working class which, despite the reformist and Stalinist leaders, is now decisive in pushing the crisis of the economy to its conclusion which in turn finds its direct reflection in the crisis confronting the labor movement and the bureaucracy.

Not one of the so-called "stabilizing factors" to which the revisionists and reformists have attached themselves can in any way overcome the contradictions of capitalism. On the contrary, these contradictions have been sharpened over the years and will have to resolve themselves in the coming period.

From now onward imperialism can only maintain itself by destroying all the conquests of the working class in the advanced, colonial, and semi-colonial countries. Every day hundreds of workers and peasants are murdered in Indochina by American imperialism and were murdered in Indonesia. We are witnessing the same today in the Sudan. In Africa and Latin America, bloody repression by the civilian and military regimes in the service of imperialism spreads. We have the example of Bolivia where the fascists have been successful in disbanding the Popular Assembly and initiating a reign of terror against all working class tendencies.

After the collapse of its plans for the stabilization of the national bourgeoisie, this is the final solution employed by American imperialism to halt the disintegration of the economy and society in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and dam up the revolutionary current within these countries.

In the advanced capitalist countries the working class is no less threatened. The attempt of the imperialist governments to bring the labor movement under its direct control by incorporating the trade unions, directly or indirectly, into the state, grows out of the necessity for the bourgeoisie to destroy all independent organizations of the working class. The Industrial Relations Act in Britain and the wage freeze and Pay Board in the U.S. are part of this process. For imperialism to survive it must now move against its own working classes.

The working class is not going to allow itself to be stripped of its hard-won gains. Imperialism is fighting for its life against a working class which has not known defeat for a whole genera-

tion. Class struggles on an international scale are inevitable. On the agenda is social revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution against the bureaucracies in the workers' states. The final outcome of this struggle will depend on the absence or presence of disciplined, revolutionary leadership, of Trotskyist leadership on a national, and, above all, international scale.

Stalinism is the principle counter-revolutionary force within the workers' movement. This period requires a sharp and bitter struggle against Stalinism and what it poses for the working class--defeat and subordination to capitalism through reformism. This must be fought against on every front; through this process a Labor Party must be constructed, one that is independent of both Stalinism and petty-bourgeois politics.

The heart of this fight will be in the trade unions. Now Nixon must seek to break the unions. This is why the fight for the labor party and for general strike action against Nixon is so vital. The role of the YSA must be to fight for such a perspective among youth--student and working class--and to aid in bringing this program to the trade union movement.

II. THE THEORY OF NEW RADICALIZATION

The theory of the new radicalization flows directly from Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism, and more specifically from his theory of a new working class. The new working class is composed of students, technicians, etc., in other words it is composed of the petty-bourgeoisie.

The central contradiction in society is no longer irreconcilable struggle of class against class, but rather, a psychological struggle around questions of alienation. It sees the alienation of the petty-bourgeoisie as the motive force of the radicalization of the working class.

The theory of the new radicalization states that as the radicalization continues it would draw the working class and its social weight and force behind it. This subordination of the working class to the struggles of the petty-bourgeoisie is a dangerous trend that must be confronted and defeated by our movement. The petty-bourgeoisie is thrown into a crisis as the irreconcilable contradictions between capital and labor burst through to the surface.

In this period the petty-bourgeoisie must follow the leadership of the working class or fight the working class, by going over into the camp of the bourgeoisie. Before August 15, the theory of the new radicalization was incorrect, but now this theory is not only incorrect but is suicidal for both the YSA and the working class. In this period of imminent class struggle this theory is totally reactionary.

III. TOWARDS THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH

In order to construct a revolutionary youth movement, we must turn away from the "new radicalization." We cannot mobilize youth to overthrow capitalism on the basis of surface

reflections of the class struggle and subordinate the working class to middle class movements. We must turn to the working class and to its most dynamic section, the youth.

Central to this must be a turn to Black and minority youth in particular. The racism perpetrated by the bourgeoisie is a divisive tool, and makes the Black minority youth bear all the worst of capitalist oppression in its most concentrated form. Unemployment, inferior education and living conditions find their most oppressive expression among minority youth. Because of this, these youth become the strata that can give the sharpest lead to the class as a whole. This means that the fight to bring a revolutionary Marxist program to these Black and minority youth is crucial to the development of a working class youth movement. This means a fight against the existing consciousness of the youth, for an understanding of dialectics. Only by combatting the reactionary ideology of nationalism, can this be accomplished. Nationalism delivers these youth into the hands of the bourgeoisie by attempting to isolate their struggle from that of the working class as a whole. Racism is a form of class oppression used by the bourgeoisie to divide the working class and disarm it. The way to combat racism is to bring the youth into the struggle to lead the class to power.

Precisely because the YSA has supported Black and other forms of nationalism, it is today the most white of all organizations on the left. The only road to bringing a large section of minority youth into the YSA is through an uncompromising struggle against nationalism for a working class perspective.

We cannot build the YSA on any other basis. Students can play an important part in this process, but not by reinforcing middle class illusions. Only by subordinating themselves to the struggle to bring Marxism to students against Stalinism and reformism and to go beyond the campuses to the working class youth can middle class youth break themselves from their class roots and play a role in building a working class youth movement.

This means taking the fight for a Marxist program into the working class neighborhoods, housing projects and schools. In this period, with the working class moving forward sharply against the new stage of attacks begun August 15, this fight, and only this fight, will be able to mobilize thousands and thousands of working class youth to give leadership, along with the revolutionary party, to the revolutionary struggle of the working class as a whole.

November 15, 1971

RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION BY THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
INTO THE GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENT

by John M. Williams

This resolution was written with the intent of being independent of and not counter to any previous resolutions.

- I. This motion advocates immediate intervention into the gay liberation movement under the following conditions.
 - a. That the basic framework of Marxist ideology be the fundamental beginning for a line on gay liberation.
 - b. That further and more specific positions be developed while actively participating in the building of the gay movement.
 - c. That specific intervention would include the active building of mass demonstrations as well as the building of gay organizations that have as their basis a democratic framework. This framework would then allow us to recruit and activate these organizations into the effective realm of the other mass movements.
- II. It is to be understood that this resolution advocates a formal intervention into the gay liberation movement and that it proposes developing complete line and strategy while actively building this movement. It is also

to be understood that this resolution is not an attempt at constructing a transitional program for gay liberation but is in essence proposing a full intervention with a partial line.

It is in the belief that a complete understanding of the strategies to take in this movement will only be gained through the immediate and total participation in its building.

- III. It is also to be understood that we would extract as much knowledge from the gay movement as we would contribute. The movement would be built around the oppression of gays in prison, in job discrimination, because of antisex laws, in schools and of course within the structure of the nuclear family. Gay liberation has now entered into the same areas as have the other oppressed layers of workers such as women, blacks, and chicanos. It is imperative that we recognize an immediate intervention into this movement as a necessary step in building a complete united front and thus a complete and functional vanguard party.

San Francisco
November 17, 1971

**Young Socialist Alliance
P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003**

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Come to the 11th Young Socialist National Convention in Houston

Thousands of young socialists from around the country will meet December 28-January 1, to discuss: how to build the antiwar, high school, feminist, student, and Black and Chicano nationalist movements; the wage freeze and the current radicalization; how to build support for the campaign of Linda Jenness for President and Andrew Pulley for Vice-President; how to make a revolution in the U.S.

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