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DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION

(The general line of this resolution was approved by the National Executive Committee)

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Capitalist society today offers young people an increasingly bleak future. Runaway inflation, deteriorating social services and mounting unemployment eat away at our standard of living. Whether in school or working a job, we have no control over the decisions that affect our lives. Black youth are offered the worst schools, housing and jobs, while racist mobilizations in Boston challenge gains won by the Black community in previous struggles.

The threat of war and economic disaster plague the world due to capitalism-- an economic system based on the private ownership of society's productive resources. For the

tiny minority of capitalists who control society, corporate profits must come first, while the basic needs of the majority of the population are placed last.

The Young Socialist Alliance is a multiracial revolutionary youth organization fighting for the socialist transformation of American society. Our perspectives flow from our analysis of the impending catastrophe of world capitalism and our commitment to the struggle for world socialism-- a society where exploitation, racism, sexism, and national oppression are eliminated. Under socialism, a truly democratic and human society can be created for the first time.

PART I: DEEPENING CRISIS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM

World capitalism is in a period of economic, social and political decline. The threat of nuclear annihilation, sudden economic breakdowns and shortages, famine and mass starvation, and the danger of a new global depression symbolize the inability of capitalism to meet the most elementary needs of humanity.

Because of the pre-eminent role of U.S. imperialism in upholding the worldwide capitalist system, major developments in any part of the world have immediate repercussions on U.S. policy. Each advance by the working class and the oppressed in other countries strengthens the struggle for socialism here at home, just as advances in the American class struggle contribute to the worldwide battle against capitalism.

Threat of war in Arab East

The menace of another full-scale war hangs over the Arab East, posing the threat of direct U.S. intervention and possible nuclear catastrophe. Since early September, Washington has mounted an increasingly belligerent anti-Arab campaign to drive back initial steps taken by the Arab regimes to gain control of their oil resources. Aided by increased U.S. arms shipments, Israel has ominously stepped up its war preparations, readying itself for its next major offensive against the Arab revolution.

The recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization by the Arab summit conference in Rabat and the reception received by PLO leader Yasir Arafat at the United Nations on November 13 reflected the growing international isolation of Israel. At the same time, Israel was wracked by its

gravest economic crisis yet, with harsh austerity measures sparking bitter protests by Israeli workers.

To counter these developments, Israel stepped up its shelling of villages in southern Lebanon, mobilized 75,000 reserve troops after manufacturing a Syrian war threat, and brutally suppressed demonstrations led by Palestinian high school students on the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

In the wake of these events, Newsweek magazine reported: "There is a strong feeling within the Israeli military establishment that their failure to win a decisive victory in the October war was the result of Jerusalem's decision to absorb the first blow. To avoid falling into that trap again, these officers argue, Israel has two options: launch a preemptive strike or try to provoke one of its Arab antagonists into an attack, to which a mobilized Israel would strike back with full force."

Both the U.S. rulers and the Soviet bureaucracy have attempted to bring about a settlement in the Middle East based on the continued existence of the racist settler-colonialist Zionist state. Under this pressure, the Arab regimes have announced their willingness to recognize Israel in exchange for an Israeli withdrawal from some of the territory occupied since 1967

Elements within the Palestinian resistance movement have bent to this pressure, but it will be extremely difficult for any Palestinian group to publicly adopt such a stance. The Palestinian masses, and the Arab masses as a whole, will never accept a "solution" that would perpetuate the

Zionist conquest of Palestine and the racist exclusion of hundreds of Palestinians from their homeland. The Palestinian people will continue their struggle for self-determination through the replacement of Israel with a democratic, secular Palestine in which Arabs and Jews can live in equality.

Throughout its history, the Young Socialist Alliance has played a unique role in opposing U.S. and Israeli attacks against the Arab revolution and in rallying support for self-determination for the Palestinian people. During the 1967 and 1973 wars, the YSA was the central force on the campuses to stand up to the Zionist war hysteria and publicly challenge Israeli aggression.

As the drive toward a new war in the Arab East mounts, the YSA will step up its efforts to oppose all U.S. aid to Israel and any direct U.S. military intervention. We will defend the Arab regimes against any imperialist attacks, which will include attempts to roll back the measures taken to lessen the control exerted by the giant U.S. oil trusts over Arab resources.

Together with Arab students and other groups on the campuses, the YSA can help organize picket lines, rallies and other protests to oppose Zionist terror raids against Palestinian refugee camps. Through campus meetings, sales of the socialist press, and other educational activities, we can explain to students why there will be no lasting peace in the Arab East until the Zionist state of Israel is replaced by a unitary Palestine through the victory of the Arab socialist revolution.

In working with Iranian students, the YSA will continue to support the Committee for Intellectual and Artistic Freedom in Iran, which is organizing protests against the repression, torture and execution of dissenters by the Shah's regime.

The detente

The detente between U.S. imperialism and the ruling bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China was largely brought about by the impasse facing U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. Unable to militarily crush the Vietnamese revolution, Washington turned to Moscow and Peking for aid in pressuring Hanoi and the NLF to accept a "peace" settlement that preserved the capitalist regime in South Vietnam.

Nearly two years after the signing of the Paris accords, an estimated 200,000 political prisoners continue to languish in the jails of the brutal Saigon dictatorship. Massive U.S. economic and military aid to South Vietnam insures new attacks against territory held by the NLF, while Moscow and Peking have cut back their meager aid to the liberation forces.

This fall, mounting protests in South Vietnam have increasingly isolated the Thieu regime, but the presence of 24,000 U.S. military "advisors" remains a central factor in preserving a capitalist regime in Saigon. Wherever possible, the YSA will help organize protests to demand a complete U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, the cutting off of all American aid to Thieu, and the release of the political prisoners in South Vietnam.

In Laos, the collaboration of U.S. imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracies led to the establishment of a capitalist coalition government, despite the fact that the revolutionary upsurge had placed the Pathet Lao in control of four-fifths of the country. The U.S. is also utilizing the detente to press for a pro-imperialist settlement of the conflict in the Arab East.

For the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China, the detente is a long sought-after tool in their attempt to find a way to preserve the world status quo. By seeking "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, Brezhnev and Mao hope to strengthen their parasitic rule and head off any possible challenges to their privileges by the Soviet and Chinese workers.

The counterrevolutionary essence of the detente, however, brings grave danger to the workers states and every struggle of the oppressed. Stalinist betrayals-- whether in Indochina, the Arab East or elsewhere-- only embolden the imperialists to undertake new military adventures that can lead to world war and an all-out offensive against the Soviet Union and China.

Despite the setback to the struggle in Indochina made possible by Nixon's counterrevolutionary pacts with both Brezhnev and Mao, the detente cannot hold back new upsurges in the class struggle. Working people and the oppressed will continue to rise up against exploitation and national oppression.

The YSA stands for a political revolution by the masses in the Soviet Union and China to oust the privileged bureaucracy and institute workers democracy. The dissident movement in the Soviet Union reflects the ferment against bureaucratic rule that will spread among broad layers of the Soviet population.

The YSA will participate with other forces in the radical movement in protesting the imprisonment of Soviet, Eastern European and Chinese dissidents. The international protests last May on behalf of former Red Army Major General Pyotr Grigorenko were crucial in winning the release of this prominent Marxist opponent of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Capitalist economic crisis

The energy crisis last winter demonstrated in the sharpest

way the interdependent character of the world capitalist economy and its vulnerability to sudden shocks and dislocations. The weaker competitors of U.S. imperialism, such as Italy and Britain, were dealt staggering blows, while Japan's economic "miracle" evaporated.

Hardest hit by the economic crisis have been the masses in the colonial and semicolonial countries. World food shortages-- artificially perpetuated under capitalism --have left hundreds of thousands dead in the sub-Sahara African countries. Hundreds of millions more are threatened with famine and starvation in India, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Laos, Haiti and scores of other countries.

World inflation has reached the highest levels since World War II, with rates ranging from 16-25 percent in France, Britain, Italy and Japan to far higher percentages in semicolonial countries. Wheat and rice prices have tripled in the last two years, oil prices have quadrupled, and the cost of most raw materials and manufactured commodities continues to soar.

The instability of capitalism's international financial system is underscored by the growing number of bank failures, including the ominous collapse of major banks in the U. S. and West Germany.

The danger of a new world depression is heightened because of the growing tendency for economic downturns to synchronize in the advanced capitalist countries, unlike the development of previous recessions in the post-war period which did not simultaneously hit the major capitalist economies.

Italy today is on the verge of bankruptcy, the British economy is in its deepest crisis since World War II, and the U.S. recession is deepening. A leading Japanese trade minister predicts a major Japanese slump in 1975 and warns, "Were Japan hit by a recession, we should be prepared to face a large-scale depression in Europe and the United States too."

Interimperialist competition sharpens the economic crisis of capitalism, as the specter of new trade wars develops. Protectionist measures have already been adopted by Italy and Denmark, despite their membership in the Common Market. The U. S. also adopted export restrictions for soybeans and import limitations on Canadian beef and pork.

The ruling class in each country is more and more compelled to step up its attacks on the working class to try to drive down real wages and increase productivity. New wage control schemes-- whether called a "social contract" or an "incomes policy" -- and other deflationary measures have already brought about rising unemployment in the major imperialist countries.

Rarely before has the irrationality of the capitalist system demonstrated with such force the necessity for its replacement. The threat of economic catastrophe, mass starvation and the ever-present danger of nuclear holocaust testify to the urgent need for a planned, rational economy.

Fall of Portuguese and Greek dictatorships

Throughout Western Europe, working people have resisted the monopolists' drive to place the brunt of the economic hardships on their backs. Major strikes and political demonstrations have rocked country after country. In Portugal and Greece, important new opportunities have opened up after the fall of right-wing dictatorships.

Portugal's failure to defeat militarily the liberation forces in its African colonial empire had exacerbated its economic weaknesses and spurred mass emigration and domestic unrest. To pave the way for a neocolonial solution to its costly colonial wars, the Portuguese military ousted the Caetano dictatorship in April 1974.

With the fall of the 48-year-old rightist regime, a massive upsurge by the Portuguese workers is unfolding. An obstacle in the path of the revolution, however, is the class-collaborationist leaderships of the Portuguese Communist and Socialist parties, who have participated in a popular-front capitalist coalition government, thereby holding back the workers' upsurge.

In Greece, the November 1973 student and workers upsurge prepared the way for the resignation of the Greek dictatorship during the July 1974 Cyprus crisis. The isolated military junta was unable to weather the pressure of the Turkish-Greek conflict. Like the other poorer countries in Europe, Spain has been hard hit by the economic crisis, and a new rise in workers struggles in Spain has shaken the Francoist dictatorship.

Colonial revolution

With the fall of the Portuguese dictatorship, important concessions were won by the African masses in Portugal's colonial empire. Because of the strength of the liberation forces in Guinea-Bissau, independence was recognized by the new Portuguese government on September 10, 1974, although the Portuguese still refuse to withdraw from the strategically-located Cape Verde Islands.

In Mozambique, increasing strikes, demonstrations and mass support for Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) compelled the Portuguese to sign an agreement setting independence for June 25, 1975. This was a step forward but at the same time new dangers face the people of Mozambique under a coalition "government of transition" where the Portuguese control the military and police, while

Frelimo administers other governmental functions.

In Angola, Portugal's wealthiest and most developed colony, a ceasefire has been instituted, but no agreement for independence has yet been reached. The nationalist movement in Angola is divided into three rival guerrilla organizations, while the 500,000 Portuguese settlers have been the source of repeated attacks on the Black population.

In the struggle against colonialism, it is only the independent mobilization of the masses of workers and poor peasants culminating in the establishment of a workers state that can ensure full national and social liberation. Throughout the colonial world, experience has shown that formal political independence under capitalism cannot end imperialist domination or qualitatively improve the lives of the masses.

The concessions already won in the former Portuguese colonies -- together with the recent overthrow of the corrupt Haile Selassie regime in Ethiopia -- will inspire Black freedom fighters around the world and the ongoing struggles against the racist white-settler regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The YSA can help organize educational forums, picket lines and other activities to win support for the struggle for Black majority rule in southern Africa and to protest the role of U.S. imperialism there.

During the past year, massive struggles have also erupted in India against the severe food shortages, rising prices and government corruption. In January 1974, a 24-hour general strike paralyzed Bombay and the state of Maharashtra, in February the government of Gujarat collapsed after student protests sparked a statewide upsurge, and in October there was a turbulent three-day general strike in the state of Bihar. The new rise of workers struggles in India was also testified to by the militant national railway strike in May that was crushed by the Gandhi government.

In South Korea, the Park dictatorship is facing increasing public opposition to its brutal suppression of democratic rights. In September, 4,000 students gathered for a prayer meeting at the Ewha women's university to demand the release of South Korean political prisoners. Then after an outdoor protest mass of 15,000 in October, 5,000 Catholics marched through the streets until attacked by police in the largest anti-government outpouring in South Korea since martial law was imposed two years ago.

In Northern Ireland, the struggle against British domination flared up in October, as prison revolts touched off solidarity actions in Derry and Belfast. The protests demanded an end to the British-imposed internment system, which was introduced three years ago to allow for the unlimited detention without trial of political prisoners.

The YSA can help to defend these struggles and new upsurges as they develop through sales of our press, campus meetings and other solidarity activities. In particular, by working with foreign students studying in the U.S., we can often more effectively get out the truth about struggles in other parts of the world.

Defense of Latin American political prisoners

The recent revelations exposing the CIA's secret campaign to overthrow the elected Allende government of Chile underscore the importance of protesting U.S. imperialism's interference in the affairs of other countries and demanding the release of political prisoners held by U.S.-installed regimes.

Prior to the September 1973 military coup in Chile, the YSA helped expose attacks carried out against the Allende government by U.S. imperialism. At the same time we warned that the Chilean Communist and Socialist parties' strategy of class collaboration and reliance on the Chilean army would be unable to hold back the mounting rightist offensive.

Immediately following the coup, the YSA helped to organize demonstrations and campus teach-ins to protest the U.S.-backed reign of terror carried out against the Chilean working class by General Pinochet's dictatorship. By building the May 11 and September 11, 1974, protests initiated by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the YSA has continued its efforts to defend and secure the release of the thousands of political prisoners held today in the junta's dungeons.

The defense of the rights of the Argentine workers movement has also become more pressing in the past year, as the Peronist regime has escalated attacks on workers struggles. The sharp polarization in Argentina has bred increased right-wing terrorist attacks, including the murder of seven activists in the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) and Juventud Socialista (Young Socialists), Argentine co-thinkers of the YSA.

On November 6 the situation in Argentina deteriorated further when the Peronist regime declared a state of siege, which allows the government to arrest anyone it accuses of involvement in "subversive activities."

The YSA will continue to build support for activities in defense of Chilean and other Latin American political prisoners and against right-wing terrorism in Argentina during the next year. In particular, by building USLA the YSA helps to insure an ongoing response to political repression in Latin America.

Leadership crucial

To open the road to abolishing class exploitation and national oppression, mass revolutionary Leninist parties must be built in each country to lead the working class and its allies to power. In the U.S., the YSA supports and helps to build the Socialist Workers Party, the nucleus of the mass revolutionary socialist party that will lead the American socialist revolution. On a world scale, the YSA supports the building of the Fourth International, the world-

wide party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

As a revolutionary youth organization, the YSA particularly values our close collaboration with revolutionary socialist youth organizations in other parts of the world. By exchanging speakers, publications and documents and through our common activities and discussions, Trotskyist youth organizations can share many valuable lessons in building an international revolutionary youth movement that stands in solidarity with the Fourth International.

PART II: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION

The United States emerged from World War II as the strongest imperialist power in the world. Germany and Japan had been devastated by the war, while the economies of America's European allies were severely weakened. For the first time in history, the U.S. stood as the unchallenged economic, political and military powerhouse of world capitalism.

The American economy served as the bedrock for the reconstruction of Europe and Japan. U.S. imperialism also rapidly expanded into the colonial and semicolonial countries previously dominated by European imperialism.

At the same time, the survival of the Soviet Union during World War II and the subsequent overturns of capitalist rule in Eastern Europe and China were major blows against imperialism. In response to these setbacks, U.S. troops were stationed around the globe, and following the opening of the "Cold War" in 1947, the Pentagon launched its drive to "contain" and "roll back" the workers states. U.S. forces were sent into combat in Korea in 1950, and Washington intervened all over the world to overthrow regimes which met its displeasure. The U.S.-organized coups in Iran and Guatemala in 1953-54 were prominent examples.

The high productivity of American labor, together with the profits reaped from U.S. exploitation of the colonial world, enabled the American ruling class to grant substantial economic concessions to working people at home. An atmosphere of conservatism and reaction prevailed within the U.S., as the McCarthyite witchhunt and prolonged economic expansion undermined the radical movement and labor militancy.

Civil Rights Movement

Basic contradictions within American society, however, spurred challenges to the status quo even during the height of the prosperity of the 1950s. With the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott in 1956, Black people began to challenge the entire edifice of legal segregation in the South.

In 1960, the wave of sit-ins at segregated lunch counters by Black students in the South, which were supported by students elsewhere, marked the emergence of a new layer of radicalizing youth and signaled the opening of the current radicalization. At that time, the YSA played a central role in organizing solidarity actions on the Northern campuses to support the Woolworth's boycott and other Black civil rights struggles.

The civil rights protests, marches, and voter registration drives in the early 1960s helped inspire the development of a new student movement. The Berkeley Free Speech Movement, for example, unfolded in 1964 when the campus administration tried to prevent students from setting up literature tables in support of the Black struggle.

The Cuban revolution also had an important impact in stimulating an openness to radical ideas among American students. Through its participation in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the YSA won a new layer of young people to its ideas.

The ghetto rebellions of the mid-'60s marked the explosion of the Black struggle in the North, where legal equality had not ended the miseries of racial oppression. This growing rejection by the Black community of the racist hypocrisy of capitalist society was also reflected in the emergence of Malcolm X and the "Black Power" movement.

The war in Vietnam

As Johnson expanded U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia, the Vietnam war became decisive in deepening the new radicalization. To protest the February 1965 bombing of North Vietnam, 20,000 young people March on Washington the following month in an emergency antiwar action initiated by the Students for a Democratic Society. Throughout the world, the struggle against U.S. aggression in Indochina became the rallying cry for a generation of rebel youth.

In the U.S., the antiwar movement grew from a small vanguard into a mass movement of millions. From the start, the YSA played a key role in this process, helping to win the antiwar movement to the strategy of building massive, independent and non-exclusionary demonstrations and to the demand of immediate, unconditional U.S. withdrawal.

In conjunction with the Black struggle, the antiwar movement dramatically changed the political atmosphere in the U.S. -- legitimizing demonstrations and other protests and undermining the concept that workers should sacrifice for war. Racist, patriotic and anti-communist ideology were dealt sharp blows. GIs began to fight for their right to protest the war, and increasing numbers of working people joined the demonstrations.

Students not only spearheaded the protests against the war and the draft, but also began to question many other

aspects of capitalist society. The campus explosions of the late '60s were often in support of the demands of Black students and other oppressed nationalities and in opposition to the role of big business and the military.

The women's liberation movement and Chicano liberation struggle were the most powerful of a broad range of social struggles that were inspired by the Black and antiwar movements. New impetus was given to struggles for the rights of prisoners, Puerto Rican independence, conservation of the environment, gay liberation, welfare rights, and so on.

The Vietnam war contributed to a relative weakening of the strength of U. S. imperialism on a world scale. The competitiveness of U. S. industry was undermined by the war-bred inflation, while West Germany, Japan, and other imperialist powers drove forward in narrowing the productivity gap. The inability of U. S. imperialism to crush the Vietnamese revolution exposed the limitations placed on U. S. military intervention abroad in the context of the radicalization and highlighted the strength of the colonial revolution and its potential for new victories.

U. S. imperialism remains deeply rooted in each powder keg of world politics, but the Vietnam war laid bare a basic contradiction facing U. S. imperialism: its inability to simultaneously carry on a war like that in Vietnam, while at the same time preserving its economic superiority over its imperialist rivals and maintaining class peace at home.

Impact of Watergate

The ongoing political impact of the Vietnam war was evidenced in the unprecedented Watergate scandal that drove Richard Nixon from the White House. The wholesale violations of democratic rights that became associated with Watergate in fact originated with the administration's desperate attempts to stem the mounting tide of dissent, particularly opposition to the Vietnam war.

Political spying, provocation and disruption tactics -- always a part of the arsenal of the capitalist state -- had been utilized by Nixon and previous Democratic administrations against the Black liberation struggle and the developing antiwar movement. The FBI's "Disruption Program" against the Socialist Workers Party, for example, was initiated in 1961 under the Kennedy administration, while murderous police disruption and sabotage of the Black nationalist movement were carried out under Johnson.

Under Nixon, these attacks on democratic rights reached their high point with the expansion of the FBI's domestic "Counterintelligence Programs" (COINTELPRO) and the Justice Department's frame-up "conspiracy" trials against antiwar and Black leaders. In addition, the still secret

Huston "internal security" spy plan was drawn up for Nixon following the May 1970 student strike and antiwar upsurge.

The September 1971 break-in at Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office by the future Watergate burglars was part of this drive to discredit opponents of the Vietnam war. Nixon merely extended these "black bag" tactics to the Democratic Party headquarters in the 1972 elections.

As Watergate unfolded, the American people were able to glimpse aspects of the real workings of American "democracy": from election-time payoffs by giant corporations to brazen violations of elementary democratic rights. The highest government officials were shown to be liars, racists, extortionists and thieves.

Nixon's administration was not fundamentally different from any previous ones, but because of the mounting radicalization and the prospects of deepening economic difficulties, the ruling class could not tolerate further undermining of confidence in the government. For these reasons, the Watergate scandal was pursued, and Nixon was forced out of office.

Despite the ruling class's desire for an end to the Watergate "nightmare," Ford's pardoning of Nixon sparked new protests against "the cover-up of the cover-up" and the double standard of capitalist "justice." Ford's nomination of the multimillionaire Nelson Rockefeller for vice-president also reinforces the conclusion drawn by millions from Watergate, that big business controls society.

Economic offensive

Along with Watergate, the economic crises exacerbated by the Vietnam war have helped fuel the ongoing radicalization of the American people. Today the main issue on the minds of the American people is the worsening state of the economy.

Nixon's August 1971 declaration of the New Economic Policy marked the opening of a double offensive by U. S. imperialism to counter the weakening of its economic supremacy internationally and to institute wage controls at home. The post-World War II international monetary system was scrapped, the dollar was devalued, and a domestic wage freeze was clamped down.

As during previous periods of "wage-price controls," only wages were held down, while prices and profits sky-rocketed. The collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy in the Nixon administration's wage control machinery was a key factor in the success of this aspect of the government's economic policy.

Nixon's economic policies were aimed at boosting U.S.

trade, exporting the U. S. inflation exacerbated by the Vietnam war, and lowering the production costs of U. S. industry. But their overall impact helped bring about the oil crisis, economic breakdowns, uncontrolled inflation, famine and the threat of a world depression.

For the first time in American history, the U. S. economy is today gripped by a combination of decreasing jobs and soaring prices. The current recession threatens to become the deepest economic downturn in post-World War II history, with even bourgeois economists predicting a jobless rate of 8 percent or worse in 1975. The 12.2 percent rise in consumer prices during the year ending October 1974 was the largest yearly increase since 1947.

The impact of these economic developments on the American working class has been an ever-tightening squeeze on our standard of living. In the past year, real wages have declined by four percent and the real earnings for the average worker are at the lowest level since 1965. In addition, inflation undercuts the value of unemployment compensation, social security, medical insurance, welfare and other social benefits.

Among the hardest hit by unemployment are young people. Out of the 5.5 million officially unemployed persons, over 1.5 million are teenagers between 16 and 19 years of age. Among Black youths, one out of every three of those needing work could not get it. For white youths, the ratio was about half that, but it still stood at close to three times the general unemployment level.

Unable to head off the growing economic crisis, President Ford has called for new sacrifices and "belt tightening" by the American people. In so doing, Ford is pushing forward the offensive begun under Nixon to raise U. S. productivity and attack the wages, working conditions and standard of living of the American workers.

President Ford has also begun an ominous campaign against the Arab oil-producing countries, trying to blame them for the world's economic problems. This is sheer hypocrisy, because the fundamental causes of inflation are huge military expenditures and deficit government financing. Ford's bellicose demands for lowering the price of crude oil in reality reflect the complaints of the U. S. oil corporations that too great a share of their potential profits is now going to the oil-producing nations.

Just as inflation is built into the economic operation of monopoly capitalism at its present stage, periodic economic crises are a permanent feature of capitalist development. Under this anarchistic system, periodic crises of over-production inevitably mean unemployment for millions of workers who normally hold jobs.

Response by the working class

With the lifting of official wage guidelines last spring, a strike wave broke out as working people tried to catch up with inflation. The powerful San Francisco city workers strike in March was followed by the threat of a similar strike in Los Angeles, the Ohio public workers strike, the Baltimore sanitation strike, the nurses strikes in California and Houston. These strikes reflected the growing militancy among Black, Chicano and women workers who represent a growing proportion of public employees.

The militancy of the rank and file of the labor movement today has also been shown in the recent nationwide miners strike, demonstrations and protests by construction workers, and the significant response to the founding of the Coalition of Labor Union Women last spring.

Although the ruling class has not yet launched a frontal assault against the major industrial unions, the employers' drive against labor will become sharper as the economic crisis deepens. To combat the effects of inflation, the unions need to fight for full cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts. To offset growing lay-offs and unemployment, the unions should demand a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay and a massive public works program to build needed housing, hospitals and schools.

To most effectively defend the interests of the workers, the labor movement will have to break from all forms of class collaboration-- from economic deals like I. W. Abel's no-strike pact with the steel trusts, to the political subordination of the labor movement to the two capitalist parties. A class struggle left wing in the unions, for example, would win support for the concept of a labor party based on the trade unions.

There is an increasing openness to socialist ideas and proposals among working people as a result of Vietnam, Watergate, inflation, mass lay-offs, sudden shortages and the increasing breakdown of the capitalist system. Young Socialists active in the unions can help to explain to co-workers the socialist program for labor and the YSA's overall strategy for changing society.

On the campuses, the YSA can play a central role in rallying student support for the new working class struggles that are developing. For example, during the San Francisco municipal workers strike last spring, the YSA helped to initiate a campus meeting of 400 students to hear union leaders explain the issues in the strike. During the fall, the YSA helped get out the truth about the miners strike, and we have continued our activities in defense of the United Farm Workers Union.

Radicalization of young workers

The ongoing spread of the radicalization has been underscored by the findings of an extensive study of the attitudes of American youth. This survey was conducted by Daniel Yankelovich, a well-known social research analyst, after being commissioned by the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Fund, the Mellon Foundation and two other ruling class institutions. It has been published by McGraw-Hill under the title, The New Morality: A Profile of American Youth in the 70's.

"Perhaps the single most striking finding of the study," Yankelovich writes, "is the extent to which the gap between college and noncollege youth has closed over these past six years. What we find today is an astonishingly swift transmission of values formerly confined to a minority of college youth and now spread throughout the generation."

Yankelovich's findings indicate that growing numbers of young workers are rejecting patriotism, the military and the domination of big business, with minority youth and veterans holding the most radical views among non-college youth. In 1969, for example, 60 percent of the young workers surveyed looked at patriotism as an important personal value, while by 1973, the percentage had dropped to 40 percent.

More and more young workers are rejecting religion, the "hard work" ethic, anticommunism and basic forms of capitalist authority, such as the police and courts. They are demanding greater sexual freedom and opportunities for self-fulfillment.

Yankelovich summarizes the changing attitudes of young people toward their jobs. "They want interesting and challenging work, but they assume that their employers cannot -- or will not -- provide it. By their own say-so, they are inclined to take 'less crap' than older workers." He points out that the higher expectations and new values of working youth "inevitably clash with the built-in rigidities and limited responses of the traditional work place."

These changed attitudes among American youth reflect a process of radicalization that is continuing to reach new layers of the population, such as the housewives who organized the spring 1973 meat boycott and the independent truckers who shut down highway transportation last winter. Even though there will continue to be ups and downs in various struggles and the overall tempo of the radicalization, the ruling class is unable to grant the enormous economic and social concessions needed to hold off mounting struggles by working people and the oppressed.

Black liberation struggle

Afro-Americans and other oppressed nationalities have been most severely afflicted by the growing economic crisis. October 1974 unemployment figures for Blacks stood at 10.9 percent, nearly double the rate for whites. In many urban areas, Black teenage unemployment soars to over forty percent. Skyrocketing food, heating, and electricity costs have had the harshest impact on the daily lives of millions of Afro-Americans. Wretched medical care, drug addiction, miserable housing, rundown, ill-equipped schools, and police brutality are realities facing Black America today.

The income gap between Blacks and whites has grown wider in the past several years, undermining the economic gains won by Blacks during the 1960s. According to the Census Bureau, in 1960 the median Black income was 50 percent of the white income; by 1969 Black income had reached its highest level -- 61 percent, but by 1973 it had dropped to 58 percent.

Even according to official government statistics, one-third of Black America lives on less than \$4,500 a year -- that is, below the government's official poverty level for a nonfarm family of four. In addition, the effects of inflation on this category are substantially greater than on middle and upper-income families, since a much higher percentage of Black people's meager earnings are expended in areas where the prices have risen the fastest -- food, clothing, and rent.

Today nearly five million Blacks receive some form of welfare assistance. This figure is expected to climb rapidly as the effects of the recession and inflation continue to bear down on the Black community.

Boston racist drive

The most significant event in the Black struggle in 1974 has been the racist drive in Boston to roll back school desegregation. The central issue is the right of the Black community to utilize busing as a means to improve the education of Black students.

The racist drive is directed at the entire Black community, not just Black students. As the Chicago Black leader Jesse Jackson put it, "It's not the bus, it's us!" The attempted lynching of a Black Haitian worker on October 7, walls painted "Kill Niggers," posters in store windows reading "Niggers for sale," and the fact that Black students are unable to ride school buses into South Boston without fear of being stoned reflect the depth of racist hysteria in the white community.

Boston is today the national focal point of a reactionary campaign which aims to mobilize racist antibusing sentiment as a battering ram against all gains won by Black people over the past 20 years. The U.S. Supreme Court ruling earlier this year exempting Detroit's all-white suburbs from busing was an initial victory for this drive. The high court decision was a crass concession to scum like the Ku Klux Klan hooligans who in the fall of 1971 dynamited 10 school buses in Pontiac, a Detroit suburb.

The Detroit decision and similar rulings for Memphis, Tenn., and Richmond, Va., mark a serious retreat from the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown vs. the Board of Education desegregation decision. Since 1954 many millions of whites have moved to the suburbs, leaving the increasingly Black urban schools poorly funded and mismanaged by the still white-dominated school boards. The exemption of suburbs from busing plans is a poorly disguised attempt by the ruling class to undercut desegregation altogether.

The Boston racists are on an all-out drive to halt busing by any means necessary. They are backed by reactionary forces across the country, from the KKK to the John Birch Society. On top of the Supreme Court retreat, a further victory for the racists would be a grave setback to the Black movement and would inspire assaults by reactionaries throughout the country who are attempting to beat back the victories won by Blacks in housing, employment, and the union movement, as well as in education.

The Boston events have already encouraged racist forces in Cleveland, Memphis, Denver, New York City, and other parts of the country where similar struggles have taken place. Chapters of ROAR, Boston's racist antibusing coalition, have been established in at least five other cities. If the racist offensive goes unchecked, its impact will begin to spill over, jeopardizing gains won by the trade unions, women, and students and leading to further attacks on the democratic rights of the working class.

The tasks of revolutionary socialists in this context is to mobilize the broadest possible opposition to this racist offensive. The December 14 national Freedom March on Boston is a good example of how to begin to politically isolate the racists and turn back their offensive. It is only through such mass mobilizations that the racists will be defeated.

The YSA supports the right of the Black community to defend itself in the face of the racist assault. We also support the demand that the government send federal troops to Boston to implement and enforce the court order. When the civil rights movement forced Washington to dispatch troops to Little Rock, Ark., in 1957 and to Selma, Ala., in 1965, the segregationists were dealt a serious defeat, while the struggle for Black liberation was spurred forward.

Evolution of Black struggle

During the '50s and '60s mass civil rights mobilizations brought about the end of legal segregation in the South. Massive protests, including the national freedom march to Washington, D. C., of 300, 000 in 1963, were key to the defeat of Jim Crow. The passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965 formally capped these concessions won in the wake of the Black freedom marches, demonstrations, and sit-ins.

As the radicalization in the Black community deepened during the 1960s and in the wake of the ghetto rebellions in Watts, Newark, and other cities, the ruling class was forced to grant other important concessions to Blacks, such as Johnson's federal poverty programs. The Democratic Party was opened up to the Black politicians. In the last five years alone over 2, 900 Blacks were elected to public office.

These gains, however, did not end Black oppression or eliminate its causes. Instead they exposed more clearly the real source of Black oppression: the superexploitation and national oppression of Blacks maintained by U. S. capitalism.

Legal equality did not end discriminatory housing patterns or provide employment or the needed preferential hiring to get Blacks jobs in lily-white trades like construction. In addition, the Democratic party machine and federal poverty agencies were utilized to buy off many former civil rights activists and young radicalizing Blacks.

The FBI and local police agencies were also used by the ruling class to help demobilize the Black movement. The Watergate and COINTELPRO revelations point to FBI complicity in the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, for example.

These revelations also document the government's role in the brutal suppression of such Black organizations such as SNCC and the Black Panther Party. A mass-oriented civil liberties campaign could have stymied Washington's efforts to wipe out these organizations. Unfortunately, the growing ultraleftism and "superrevolutionary" phrasemongering of the two groups stood in the path of effective defense work.

Crisis of leadership

Since the defeat of Jim Crow, the trend in national Black politics has been toward greater reliance on the Democratic Party and formations such as the Congressional Black Caucus. This stranglehold by the capitalist parties is a major obstacle to the Black liberation struggle.

The leadership of Black groups with substantial followings, such as the NAACP, Operation PUSH, Urban League,

SCLC, and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, all advance the strategy of electing more Black and "pro-Black" Democratic Party politicians to public office. Many of these organizations, however, can be involved in mass struggles to varying degrees, despite the reformist approach of their leaderships.

The most prominent Black nationalist organization is the Congress of African People, which was formed in 1970 and is led by Imamu Baraka. Since its formation, CAP has evolved from a coalition of Pan Africanist tendencies into an organization now identifying itself as a Maoist-oriented revolutionary socialist party. CAP has also taken steps to relate to the growing consciousness among Black women of their special forms of oppression.

Like CAP, the African Liberation Support Committee has been drawn into debates on the relevance of Marxism to the Black struggles. Unfortunately it has begun to turn away from organizing demonstrations centered on Africa. For instance, the May 25 African Liberation Day demonstration this year focused on impeaching Nixon.

The leaderships of both CAP and ALSC tend to mistakenly identify Marxism with Maoism, and they have increased their political collaboration to some extent with Maoist groups such as the Revolutionary Union and October League. Many of the members of these groups, however, are willing to discuss Trotskyist ideas. Through united front actions, informal conversations, and articles in the Young Socialist and The Militant, we may be able to influence the thinking of some Black activists in this milieu.

YSA's perspectives

The socialist program for Black liberation is the only real alternative for Afro-Americans. Our perspectives are based on the understanding that the social and economic problems facing Blacks can only be solved through a socialist revolution.

The struggle for self-determination by Blacks will be a central aspect of the third American revolution. To overthrow U.S. imperialism a combined revolution will be needed: a revolution that encompasses both the struggle of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities for national liberation and the struggle of the working class as a whole for socialism.

The combined struggle of Blacks and all working people for emancipation can only be led to a victorious conclusion by a mass multinational revolutionary workers party. To this end, the YSA as a revolutionary youth organization uniting Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, white young people and youth of other nationalities is aiding the efforts of the Socialist Workers Party to create such a mass revolutionary

party.

Because of the overwhelmingly proletarian makeup of the Black community, it suffers a dual oppression -- both as an oppressed nationality and as part of the working class. This fact highlights the close interconnection in the United States of the struggle for national liberation and the class struggle as a whole.

The demand for preferential hiring of Blacks, for example, is both a democratic and a class demand: it meets the needs of the most exploited sector of the working class. Black and white unity in the struggle against a common oppressor -- the U. S. ruling class -- must be based on the labor movement championing the demands of Black and other nationally oppressed workers.

Over the last year, the YSA has actively engaged in many Black community struggles. In Atlanta, the YSA was an important component of the fight to end police terror. In Oakland, the YSA was active in the Tyrone Guyton Justice Committee to protest the murder of a Black youth by police. The YSA also participated in similar justice committees in New York City after Black youths were gunned down by cops in Queens and Brooklyn.

On the college campuses, the YSA should be alert to any struggles around attacks on Black studies programs, educational cutbacks or other racist practices aimed against Black students. In the high schools, we should be ready to join protests against racist conditions or violations of democratic rights.

The YSA has also helped to defend Blacks victimized by the government. We will continue our defense of the Attica Brothers, Gary Lawton, J. B. Johnson and other victims of racist injustice.

We should step up our sales of The Militant and Young Socialist at predominantly Black high schools and college campuses. We will want to organize student support for Black community struggles and utilize the resources of the universities to advance the overall fight for Black liberation.

Another vehicle for spreading our ideas within the Black community are support activities for the Socialist Workers Party candidates. Student government election campaigns can also be an important means for reaching students with our program for Black liberation.

The use of campus forums, talks and classes on the national question, the combined character of the American revolution, and strategy and tactics for Black liberation will be important tools for reaching Black youth. We will also want to discuss with Black students and young Black workers the need to join and build the YSA.

Chicano liberation struggle

Chicanos are the second largest oppressed nationality in the United States, forged by over 100 years of common racist oppression. The concentration of Chicanos in large urban barrios in a number of states and their overwhelmingly proletarian composition give Chicanos a political importance greater than their numbers alone would indicate.

The 10 million Chicanos in the U. S. are denied any real measure of control over their lives. They are subjected to racist police brutality, slum housing, and the worst paying and most dangerous jobs. In schools Chicano youth are often victimized for speaking Spanish.

In response to this oppression, and spurred on by the Black civil rights struggle, Chicanos began to organize in the early 1960s. Two of the initial signs of this awakening radicalization were the struggles of Chicano farmworkers for human dignity and justice led by the United Farm Workers Union and the struggle to regain lands stolen from Chicanos in New Mexico led by Reies Lopez Tijerina.

Along with the development of the antiwar movement and the growth of Black nationalist sentiment, the Chicano movement underwent explosive growth. The United Farm Workers became increasingly prominent and won major victories in the late 1960s. High school "blow outs" rocked many cities, and Chicano student organizations, such as MECHA and UMAS, spread from campus to campus.

The most important political issue during this period was the war in Vietnam, and Chicanos participated in mass antiwar mobilizations. Several major antiwar marches were also organized by Chicanos, including the 30,000-strong Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles in August 1970.

Raza Unida parties

An important step forward for the movement during the late '60s was the birth of independent Chicano political organizations, the Raza Unida parties. The first RUP grew out of a struggle for community control of the schools in the overwhelmingly Chicano town of Crystal City, Texas. There the partido won important initial victories, and as a result the idea and name of La Raza Unida quickly spread throughout the Southwest.

Although the RUPs remain only nuclei of what they could become, they set an important example for the Black struggle and the labor movement, both of which remain trapped in the capitalist two-party shell game. The concept of independent working class political action which is embodied in the RUP campaigns is one that the YSA wants to promote. We advocate building the RUPs into mass parties.

Progress towards this goal was uneven in 1974. The biggest steps forward were made in Texas, where the RUP ran a large-scale state-wide campaign. Through this campaign, the party broadened its activist base, strengthened existing chapters, and formed new chapters in areas where it had no organized following.

In Colorado, the Raza Unida Party did not run an aggressive campaign, although a slate of candidates was announced in the spring. RUP activists in that state, particularly those of the Crusade for Justice, have been the target of numerous government frame-ups and right-wing terrorist attacks. After undemocratic election laws prevented all the RUP candidates except one from achieving ballot status, the RUP in Colorado decided to run only a small campaign for a statewide Board of Regents post.

Farm Workers

The predominantly Chicano United Farm Workers is engaged in a life and death struggle against a union-busting campaign by the growers, the government, and the bureaucrats who dominate the Teamsters union.

The embattled UFW is facing tremendous odds. California's agribosses are a powerful part of the capitalist class, and the union movement has never been able to organize a major portion of field workers. The UFW, which represents the most successful attempt to date, only had 60,000 out of 3 million U.S. farmworkers protected by contracts before this racist attack. Today it has fewer than 10,000.

The organized trade-union movement has defaulted in its responsibility to aid the UFW, with the Teamster bureaucrats acting as strike-breakers for the growers. After an initial sizable contribution, the top AFL-CIO leaders have doled out material aid with an eyedropper. Meany's bureaucracy has given only belated verbal support to the grape and lettuce boycott, and they still refuse to support the boycott of Gallo wines.

During the last year and a half, the YSA has helped organize many activities in support of the wine, lettuce, and grape boycotts. We have also played a valuable role in explaining the need for a massive boycott drive that could force the growers to recognize the union.

Unfortunately, the UFW leadership has failed to project a consistent campaign focused on making the boycott a movement of millions. In addition, the Chavez leadership has made a very serious mistake in calling for the deportation of undocumented Mexican workers, the so-called illegal aliens.

The YSA supports the right of the UFW to rid the fields

of scabs, but calling on the bosses' government to deport undocumented workers cannot do this. The government has worked hand-in-glove with the growers to destroy the UFW and will continue to do so. Moreover, this position seriously undercuts the ability of the UFW to win support in the Chicano barrios.

Instead of calling for the deportation of the superexploited undocumented workers, the UFW should become part of the anti-deportation movement and strive to organize these workers into its ranks. This would help strengthen the union's image as La Causa, a fighting social movement.

The YSA will continue to support the farmworkers' struggle, explaining the need for mass action to win its fight. It is important that we have a clear understanding of the critical situation confronting the UFW and the immense job facing the union to survive the assault against it.

YSA locals should continue to look for opportunities to build an ongoing mass-action campaign in support of the farmworkers. Where we are involved in boycott committees or activities, our primary aim must be to reach out and involve the forces far broader than ourselves that will be necessary for this important fight to move ahead.

Undocumented workers

The government's racist drive against undocumented workers has been stepped up in the past year, and as the economic situation worsens, the bosses will try to use impoverished mexicanos as scapegoats for the problems of the capitalist system.

With the U.S. sliding into a deepening economic crisis, government officials have become increasingly virulent about the so-called threat of illegals. The Immigration Service summarily deported 800,000 in 1973, and in October 1974 Attorney General Saxbe called for \$50 million in additional appropriations to step up this campaign of victimizations.

In response to this escalating attack, anti-deportation organizations have been formed to fight for the rights of the undocumented workers. Among the most prominent of these is CASA, a national federation with chapters in major cities, including Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Antonio. In addition, protests and rallies have been held, including this year's August 31 moratorium of 3,000 in Los Angeles which the YSA helped build. We will continue to actively participate in the movement against deportations, calling for the abolition of laws blocking immigration and the dismantling of la migra (immigration police).

The Chicano movement today

The Chicano movement has undergone a contradictory evolution during the last several years. On the one hand, the oppression of Chicanos has not abated, and radical ideas find a wide receptivity among the Chicano masses. On the other hand, there have been relatively fewer mass mobilizations of Chicanos in the same period, especially among Raza students.

Nevertheless, there have been important struggles and mobilizations which the YSA has been part of. We have participated in the defense of victims of government frame-ups, such as Los Tres del Barrio in Los Angeles and Ray Mendoza in Milwaukee. In Austin, the YSA this fall helped organize a protest of 700 against police attacks on barrio residents. At the University of California in Santa Barbara, the YSA helped initiate a united front of Black, Chicano, Asian and women's organizations that mobilized up to 500 students against the racist firings of Chicanos and Blacks last spring.

The YSA solidarizes with every struggle of the Chicano people, helping wherever possible to initiate and lead protests. By showing through our actions the effectiveness of our organization and ideas, the YSA can maximize the number of Chicano youths who are attracted to our ranks.

Puerto Ricans in the United States

Two million Puerto Ricans live in the United States today, nearly 40 percent of the entire Puerto Rican people. Crowded into poverty-stricken barrios, they face job discrimination, racist abuse, police brutality, language discrimination, and inferior education.

The massive migration of Puerto Ricans to New York City and other urban centers over the past 20 years has resulted from the high unemployment (today about 30 percent) and other oppressive conditions perpetuated by U. S. domination of its chief colony, Puerto Rico. The struggle for full national, economic, and social liberation for Puerto Rico can only be won through a socialist revolution.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s there has been a significant revival of proindependence activity both in Puerto Rico and among Puerto Ricans in the United States. The YSA wholeheartedly supports the demand for full Puerto Rican independence now. We should look for opportunities to help build broadly sponsored proindependence activities on campus and in our local areas and should champion the demand through our student government election campaigns and campus forums.

The largest proindependence action ever held in the United States occurred in New York City on October 27 when 20,000 people, mainly young Puerto Ricans, participated in a four-hour rally at Madison Square Garden. The YSA was an active builder of the October 27 rally, distributing leaflets, organizing pasteups, and helping to mobilize campus support.

The New York rally was organized by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee, which was initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) -- a Puerto Rican organization whose U.S. branch is this country's largest proindependence organization. In its political orientation, the PSP generally looks to the Castroist leadership in Cuba.

The PSP sponsors a youth organization called Federación de Universitarios Socialista Puertorriqueño (FUSP -- Federation of Puerto Rican Socialist University Students). In some places we have worked with PSP and FUSP around the October 27 action and other struggles. We should seek out opportunities to continue this collaboration in the future.

The colonial domination of Puerto Rico and the national oppression of Puerto Ricans in the United States have resulted in growing Puerto Rican nationalist consciousness that has profoundly revolutionary implications. This has taken many forms, including proindependence demonstrations, fights for preferential hiring, prisoner struggles, demonstrations against police brutality, struggles for Puerto Rican control of schools and hospitals in the barrios, and defense of nationalist political prisoners against government frame-ups.

This new rise of militancy among Puerto Ricans has fostered the growth of a small layer of Puerto Rican Democratic politicians who seek to divert the movement away from independent struggles into doorbell-ringing for the Democratic Party. Herman Badillo's attempts to win the Democratic Party nomination for Mayor of New York City in 1969 and 1973 are the clearest examples.

In contrast, the struggle in Manhattan's School District One has pointed to the real road to Puerto Rican liberation. The District One parents, students, and community activists are waging a hard-fought battle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community control of neighborhood schools against the combined forces of the New York City administration and the racist Albert Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers. The YSA has been actively involved in this struggle.

Significant actions have also occurred in Newark, where Puerto Ricans mobilized against a brutal police attack on an annual Hispanic Festival, and in several other cities around various aspects of Puerto Rican oppression.

As a result of the 1969 struggle that won open admissions

at all the campuses of the City University of New York, in 1972 there were 13,200 Puerto Rican students at city colleges, compared to 3,400 in 1967. Puerto Rican students in New York and other cities also fought for, and sometimes won, student and faculty-controlled Puerto Rican studies departments to uncover the true history and culture of the Puerto Rican people.

Today these gains are under attack by university administrations around the country. This fall at Brooklyn College the administration arbitrarily appointed a new department chairperson opposed by the students and faculty. The protests against this arbitrary action culminated in a rally of 2,000 students which the YSA played a prominent role in organizing. When struggles such as this occur on other campuses, the YSA can take the lead in organizing a broad and powerful student response.

American Indian struggle

The collapse of the government's case against American Indian Movement leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means was a major victory for American Indians. The September 1974 dismissal of charges in the eight-month-long Wounded Knee trial was above all due to the successful defense efforts that exposed the FBI's illegal frame-up. The YSA will continue to participate in Wounded Knee defense efforts to force the government to end its ongoing attempts to victimize other activists in the 1973 Wounded Knee struggle.

A significant indication of the growth of nationalist sentiment among Indians was the first International Treaty Convention held in South Dakota last June, which drew 3,000 militants. Other recent American Indian struggles include protests against violations of Indian fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest and Michigan, demonstrations by Navajos in the Southwest, and attempts to gain full sovereignty by the Iroquois Confederation in southern Canada and upstate New York.

Women's liberation movement

During the past year, there have been many examples of the impact of feminist ideas on very broad sectors of society: the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; the increased entry of women into previously "all-male" occupations including mining, construction, and carpentry; the breakthroughs in women's sports; stepped-up assaults on sexist textbooks and language; the increase in the number of women elected to public office; and struggles by Black and Puerto Rican women for child care, to mention only a few.

The dramatic shift in attitudes towards the role of women in American society was documented in the Vir-

ginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, conducted by the Roper Organization, Inc., in the spring of 1974. According to this survey, 57 percent of women and 63 percent of men support efforts to improve the status of women. This is up 19 points for men and 17 points for women since 1970.

The most significant development in the women's liberation movement during the past year was the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Over 3,200 women attended the founding conference, and nearly 20 percent of the participants were Black. CLUW is a powerful confirmation of the spread of feminist ideas among working women, and is an indication of the new organizational forms of struggle that will evolve as the radicalization extends into the working class.

The program adopted by CLUW covers a wide range of issues of particular importance to union women. The fight for equality of women within the union movement itself is one priority. This includes the need to pressure the unions to bring the millions of unorganized women workers into the unions. At present, less than 10 percent of the 35 million U.S. working women are unionized.

CLUW's program is also aimed at fighting discrimination on the job and in society as a whole. This includes fighting for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), for child care facilities, for equal pay, and defending abortion rights. Organizing solidarity pickets in support of striking workers has also been an important campaign by many CLUW chapters.

The YSA wants to help build CLUW into a powerful organization fighting for the needs of all working women. In order to become that kind of organization, CLUW is attempting to establish itself firmly as a part of the union movement and to build its membership among all union women. YSA women who are members of trade unions will want to join CLUW chapters where they exist and participate to help build them. This activity should be carried out in close collaboration with the SWP.

Although the women's liberation movement has had no national focus around one particular issue since the January 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, many important struggles are being carried out on a local level. These include struggles for passage of the ERA, fights in defense of abortion rights, campaigns for child care, and others.

The ERA has been ratified by 33 states. Five more states are needed before it becomes law. In Georgia, ratification of the ERA has become the focal point of the women's liberation movement. Georgians for the ERA (GERA), a group initiated by the YSA and SWP, has built a broadly-based coalition which is sponsoring a march on

the capitol on January 11. The coalition includes Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, Congressman Andrew Young, several unions, Black organizations, and feminist groups.

Since the Supreme Court ruling on abortion, the reactionary "right-to-life" anti-abortion forces have attempted to roll back this historic decision. Lobbies backed by the Catholic Church hierarchy in many states have been able to introduce bills which attempt to severely restrict abortion rights. Fights in defense of abortion rights and to stop the so-called right-to-lifers have erupted in several states. In Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Missouri, and other states, the YSA has been active in defending a woman's right to choose.

In Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, in particular, significant coalitions were built to fight these attacks on abortion rights. Through these coalitions important educational work was carried out, rallies and demonstrations built, and the reactionaries set back.

In the past year, many campus women's liberation groups have been involved in these city and statewide struggles, and campus women have often been the most militant and active participants in these fights. In Georgia, for instance, the campus ERA groups at Emory, Spellman and Georgia State have been the backbone of the GERA coalition. The campus women from the University of Pennsylvania played a key role in mobilizing student support for the statewide abortion fight. And in San Francisco, campus women helped to wage the fight around child care.

The YSA will continue to participate in women's liberation struggles that develop. We should carry out educational activities on the campuses in relation to women's liberation, such as forums, teach-ins, classes, and participation in the women's studies courses. For example, the week of March 8, International Women's Day, will provide opportunities for building successful activities in many areas.

In high schools, women face especially degrading restrictions. The tracking of high school women into home economics courses, the inequality in sports facilities and other extracurricular activity, the lack of birth control information, and the ostracism and denial of education to high school women who become pregnant are among the more obvious forms of discrimination. The YSA will continue to fight for the rights of high school women and to oppose all forms of discrimination against them.

Women's liberation sentiment among Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican women continues to spread. More and more of these women are beginning to recognize and struggle against their triple oppression -- as workers, oppressed nationalities, and as women. We have seen this expressed by the number of Black women participating in

CLUW; the leading roles played by women of the oppressed nationalities in strikes, such as the Farah Pants strike; and by their participation in the child care struggles.

At the present time the two major national women's liberation organizations are the National Organization of Women (NOW) and the Women's Political Caucus (WPC). In the past year NOW has focused much of its energy in lobbying for passage of the ERA. In addition, however, they have participated in coalitions to defend the right to abortion and in ERA coalitions where the YSA is also active. Although the leadership of NOW continues to concentrate on lobbying efforts and looks to the Democratic and Republican parties for solutions to women's oppression, NOW's ranks include many young activists with whom we can work on a variety of activities.

The WPC is an electoralist organization whose aim is to get more women elected to public office through the Democratic and Republican parties, as well as supporting male candidates in those two parties who take a "progressive" stand on feminist issues. Because of their claim to be "non-partisan," however, we should continue to approach them to hear and endorse the candidates of the SWP. For example, during the 1974 SWP campaigns, local WPC chapters did support a few of the SWP candidates, as did several leading members of NOW.

During the next year the YSA will continue to build women's liberation struggles and help spread feminist ideas. As women struggle for their liberation, more and more will be won to socialist ideas. Through the sales of our

socialist press, distribution of Pathfinder literature, campus forums on feminism and Marxism, and support activities for the SWP campaigns, we can convince growing numbers of activists of the need for a revolutionary youth organization to help lead the socialist revolution which will make possible the liberation of women.

Gay Liberation

The growth of the radicalization and the emergence of the gay liberation movement have led in recent years to a marked decline in anti-homosexual prejudices. A number of major cities, including Detroit and Minneapolis, have passed gay rights bills, and recently Elaine Noble became the first avowed homosexual elected to a state office, winning a seat in the Massachusetts legislature.

In other cities, attempts to pass gay rights legislation have been defeated. In New York City, for example, the Intro 2 gay rights bill was rejected by the city council under the pressure of a virulent anti-homosexual campaign spearheaded by the Catholic Church hierarchy and the Uniformed Fireman's Association. Several demonstrations took place in support of the bill, and the YSA participated in these actions.

The YSA has also participated in struggles on campus for the right of gay groups to obtain university recognition and access to campus facilities. We oppose all forms of discrimination and oppression facing homosexuals. Where possible, the YSA should help publicize and build support for local gay liberation struggles.

PART III: AMERICAN EDUCATION AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Government funding of higher education has become increasingly inadequate over the past several years, as the U. S. ruling class attacks the living standards of working people and cuts back vital social services. Spurred on by runaway inflation, education costs between 1969-1973 shot up 34 percent at public institutions and 40 percent at private ones.

For students, this situation has meant rising tuition and fees, together with cutbacks in financial aid and special programs. For faculty, it has meant growing lay-offs, attacks on tenure and larger classrooms. For campus workers, it has meant fewer jobs, smaller wage increases and worse working conditions.

Due to the increasing costs of a college education, the less expensive public universities and community colleges are the fastest growing institutions of higher education. Women and part-time students are also attending college in increasing numbers, helping to raise the fall 1973 higher education enrollment figure to 9,662,763, an expansion of 3.9 percent over the 1972 figure.

Attacks on Black and minority education

Among the hardest hit by rising tuition costs and the overall economic squeeze have been Black students and other youth from oppressed national minorities. College enrollment by minority students, for example, dropped from 14.8 percent of first year students in 1972 to 13.0 percent in 1973.

Special recruitment and financial aid programs for Black students and other minorities have been cut back, as federal and state aid to higher education decreased. Black studies programs, cultural facilities and other gains won by the Black student upsurge of the late 1960s remain under attack.

Black student enrollment fell from 8.7 percent of first year college students in 1972 to 7.8 percent in 1973, and 1974 estimates are as low as 6 percent. In addition, the increasing gap between the number of Black college students and the 12 percent proportion of college-aged Blacks in the country is made worse by the larger percentage of Black students who are unable to complete college in comparison to white students.

The reactionary offensive against preferential admissions, financial aid and employment programs for oppressed na-

tional minorities and women has continued. The DeFunis case, taken to the Supreme Court by a white student refused admission to the University of Washington Law School, helped to focus attention on racist opposition to special admissions for Blacks. In addition, a recent Carnegie Commission on Higher Education report added fuel to the reactionary view that affirmative action hiring of Black and women faculty "undermines" academic standards.

The predominantly Black colleges, which approximately 40 percent of Black first year students currently attend, have been hard hit by rising costs and declining enrollments. In addition, the forced merger of Black institutions with predominantly white university systems in the South has resulted in significant layoffs of Black faculty and administrators.

Student movement today

This fall increasing numbers of students have expressed interest in socialist ideas as a result of the Watergate revelations and the growing economic difficulties of capitalism. Beneath the relative calm on campus, compared to the late 1960s, lies a deep rejection of the injustices bred by capitalism and a basic mistrust of many institutions of American society. Although the majority of students are still quite hesitant to join protest activities, campus struggles have nonetheless developed over the past year around a wide variety of issues.

The United Farm Workers boycott of scab lettuce and wine has inspired ongoing support activities on scores of campuses throughout the country. National defense efforts, such as the Attica Brothers and Wounded Knee cases, have won considerable sympathy from students, and international questions, such as the Palestinian liberation struggle and the defense of political prisoners in Chile, continue to generate solidarity activities on the campus.

As during previous stages of the radicalization, many of today's college protests are initiated and led by Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican students. Last spring, for example, struggles developed at the University of Connecticut, Ohio University and University of California-Berkeley in defense of Black studies and for adequate financial aid to Black students.

Women's liberation remains an important issue on the campuses, sparking activities around child care, the Equal Rights Amendment, defense of the right to abortion and

other issues. Students continue to be involved in local defense cases and community struggles; protests against rising tuition, educational cutbacks and campus restrictions on student rights; and efforts to unionize campus workers.

On the campuses, the YSA is finding that socialist ideas often appear more realistic to students than before because of the deepening problems of world capitalism. There is increased interest in the basic ideas of Marxism, as students continue to examine alternatives to the political and economic system that creates war, governmental deceit, inflation, racism, sexism, unemployment and other evils of American society.

The student movement in the United States remains a volatile political factor. Its greatly increased social weight, relative to earlier periods of U.S. history, has made it an important and permanent aspect of today's radicalization.

The post-World War II expansion of higher education resulted in a significant increase in the potential power of the student movement, owing to the greater number of students (today nearly eight million full-time students), their concentration on huge campuses, a higher percentage of students of working class origin and closer student ties to non-student sections of their generation.

During the 1960s the Black mobilizations against racist oppression and the resistance of the Vietnamese people to U. S. intervention set the student population into motion. These struggles demonstrated to students that the crimes of capitalism could be challenged and that concessions could be won.

In the early 1970s, however, the lessening of activity in the Black struggle and Washington's success in holding off a victory by the Vietnamese people through the deals with Moscow and Peking undermined the confidence of students in their ability to help radically change society. In addition, the relative conservatism of the labor movement made it difficult for students to see the working class as the social force capable of leading the fundamental transformation of American society.

These factors are still exercising a dampening effect on campus activity, but they have been somewhat counterbalanced by the impact of Watergate, the Chile revelations, and the tightening economic squeeze. The student movement in this country will continue to respond to the big developments in the national and international class struggle. A new upsurge in the Black struggle or colonial revolution, for example, would inspire new militancy on the campuses. In addition, as the economic, social and political crisis of capitalism intensifies, the unfolding economic and political struggles by the American working class will encourage new student protests.

Initiating campus protests

During the past year, the YSA has gained new experiences in initiating protest and educational activities around many varying issues. Because there is no national focus for ongoing protests, the local initiatives taken by the YSA are the key to taking the fullest advantage of new opportunities that develop.

Following the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship in April, for example, many YSA locals helped to organize activities in support of the liberation of Portugal's African colonies. Later in the summer, when the Greek dictatorship was ousted, several YSA locals also held successful forums analyzing and voicing solidarity with the unfolding struggle in Greece.

During the fall, the YSA was able to help give expression to the widespread opposition to Ford's pardoning of Nixon by organizing campus speak-outs in a number of areas, including one that drew over 300 students at the University of Colorado at Boulder. We participated in protests demanding universal and unconditional amnesty for Vietnam war resisters. We are also playing an important role in initiating campus support for the December 14 Freedom March on Boston.

While many of the struggles occurring on campus today are limited in scope, they are important ways for the YSA to work with student rebels and win them to socialist ideas. By participating in and initiating campus picket lines, rallies, and forums around every struggle of the oppressed, the YSA can demonstrate its capacities for leadership and point the way forward for the student movement.

These opportunities will become even greater as the struggles of working people, Blacks, Chicanos, and women intensify. The quickening pace of the class struggle on a national and international scale will be reflected in a stepped-up tempo of campus political activity, making it more important than ever that the YSA have a strong student membership.

We should continue reaching out to college students through vigorous sales of our press, utilization of young socialist student government election campaigns, classes on Marxist ideas and other activities. The YSA's greatest opportunities for recruitment continue to be found among the radicalizing young people on the campuses, and during the next year, we will want to bolster our campus membership, paying special attention to Black and community colleges.

High school struggles

Cutbacks and deterioration of education in the U. S. today deeply affects the lives of over 15.5 million high

school students. Insufficient government funding has meant overcrowded classrooms, inadequate job training programs, cutbacks in curriculum and increasing faculty layoffs. In particular, funds for districts undergoing school desegregation were drastically cut back under the Nixon administration.

Racism permeates every aspect of secondary education in this country, with the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican communities suffering the most from deteriorating schools and educational cutbacks. Black studies and bilingual educational programs won during the late 1960s are facing sharpening attacks, while the portion of Black and other minority teachers remains far below the percentage of minority students.

Boston is today the most important battleground in the struggle against segregated education. At stake is the right of Black students to attend the high school of their choice without facing racist violence and abuse. In other cities, protests by the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican communities have also developed around demands for equal education, increased educational funding and community control of the schools.

Although there are fewer struggles by high school students today than during the period of the antiwar movement,

protests still erupt around many issues. These range from demands for greater student rights to protests against sexist practices, inadequate facilities or the presence of cops in the schools.

Reaching high school students with our ideas is a central task of the YSA, and over the past year, we have taken important steps forward in initiating consistent high school sales of the Young Socialist. We should aim to expand our high school work in the next year, particularly by regularizing our presence at key Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican high schools in each area.

The YSA should continue to set up speaking engagements in high school classes, as well as outdoor SWP campaign rallies and literature tables. In particular, we should attempt to organize ongoing campaign and educational activities that can involve high school youth who express interest in socialist ideas.

Where there are YSA members at a particular school, we can help to initiate political activities in the school and participate in any struggles that develop. Young socialist election campaigns for high school student government are also an effective means for getting out the YSA's program and expanding our high school membership.

PART IV: OPPONENT TENDENCIES ON THE LEFT

There are many political tendencies on the left vying with the YSA for leadership of radicalizing youth. These include various Stalinist, social democratic, and pseudo-Trotskyist currents. Revolutionary socialists should be familiar with the perspectives, publications, and activities of the main opponent organizations on the left.

Young Workers Liberation League

The YSA's central political opponent presenting an alternative program for students and young workers is the Young Workers Liberation League, which maintains close fraternal ties with the Communist Party, U. S. A. Because of these ties to the CP and the world Stalinist movement, the YWLL is a key competitor of the YSA in all fields of radical activity.

The political program and activity of the Communist Party and YWLL are designed to meet the needs of the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and not the needs of the working class and the oppressed in this country and around the world. The interests of the Soviet bureaucracy are fundamentally opposed to those of the world revolution; when the two come into conflict, the welfare of the masses is sacrificed. For example, during World War II, in their attempts to bolster Stalin's alliance with Roosevelt, the American CP and its youth group opposed all strikes by workers and independent struggles by Black people.

Today the American Stalinists are beating the drums for the Kremlin's program of detente with U. S. imperialism. Joining in this chorus, the Young Worker, the YWLL's bi-monthly newspaper, declared in its June-July 1974 issue:

"Detente is of tremendous benefit to youth in the U. S. and to youth throughout the world. Detente means reducing the danger of nuclear annihilation. Detente means reducing the cold war tensions. Detente means that fewer youth will be drafted to die and be maimed in U. S. wars of aggression around the world. Detente would allow for a reduction of the military budget. . . ."

Despite the YWLL's claims, "detente" is a counter-revolutionary policy aimed at preserving the world status quo and holding back new revolutionary struggles. It will not reduce the "danger of nuclear annihilation," "cold war tensions," the military budget, or the number of young people "drafted to die and be maimed in U. S. wars of aggression."

While the struggle of the Vietnamese people and the

mass anti-Vietnam war movement did place important restraints on U. S. imperialism's role as world cop, the detente acted as a counterweight to this positive force. It increased the danger of nuclear annihilation by giving Washington a relatively freer hand in pursuing its counter-revolutionary aims, whether in Indochina or the Arab East. This year's \$100-billion dollar military budget (hardly a reduction!) reflects imperialism's true intentions, whatever Moscow's hopes for "peaceful coexistence."

During last year's Mideast war, for instance, Washington put the U. S. on "full military alert," bringing the world to the brink of nuclear disaster. Today Washington is again threatening war in the Arab East, emboldened by the Kremlin's refusal to take a strong stand opposing U. S. threats against the oil-producing nations.

The electoral strategy of the Communist Party and the YWLL is also aimed at justifying and promoting Moscow's counterrevolutionary detente with U. S. imperialism. They favor the election of capitalist party candidates who are "pro-detente." Normally this puts them in the camp of the liberal Democrats, who they believe are most friendly to "peaceful coexistence," that is, most open to a deal with Moscow at the expense of the world revolution.

Like the Communist Party, the YWLL's long-range goal in electoral politics is the formation of an "anti-monopoly coalition" -- a broad regroupment of "progressive" Democratic Party politicians, Black leaders, and trade union officials. The YWLL's concept of an "anti-monopoly" section of the ruling class is a fiction. In reality, this class-collaborationist strategy is aimed at subordinating the interests of working people to the real monopolists -- the entire U. S. ruling class--on the basis of a counterrevolutionary deal with the Kremlin bureaucracy.

As part of this overall strategy, the Communist Party sometimes runs its own candidates. These campaigns have become somewhat more numerous during the past several years. Nonetheless, a CP or YWLL election campaign does not mean that their candidates are really running against both capitalist parties.

In New York this fall, the CP and YWLL utilized their "independent" campaign for U. S. Senate to back the candidacy of Ramsey Clark, a liberal Democrat. A November 2 editorial in the Daily World, the CP's newspaper, explains: "There is no contradiction between supporting Communist candidacies and working for popular coalitions outside the two-party orbit. Nor does this support preclude the neces-

sity of organizing mass pressure on candidates of the two-parties -- to make good candidates better and to defeat bad ones."

The aggressive socialist campaigns run by the Socialist Workers Party provide a striking contrast to the CP's class-collaborationist approach. The SWP candidates take on all the nominees of both capitalist parties, providing a truly independent working class alternative in the elections. We should challenge YWLL members to support the SWP candidates and to take a firm stand in opposing the capitalist parties.

By utilizing a united front approach, we can often pressure the YWLL to participate in broadly-sponsored actions, such as the December 14 March on Boston, defense of Chilean political prisoners, African liberation support activities, the United Farm Workers boycott, Attica Brothers defense, etc.

In working with YWLL members on jointly-sponsored actions, we can often discuss with them how the YSA program differs from the YWLL's. In particular, we should attempt to reach YWLL members with the YSA's strategy for Black liberation, women's liberation, and the labor movement, explaining how the YWLL goes wrong in advancing a strategy of reliance on liberal Democrats.

Some YWLL members will be willing to listen to our analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement after the rise of a crystalized bureaucratic caste in the first workers state. We can explain how the lack of workers democracy and the persecution of Soviet dissidents undermines the economic and social advances made possible by the Russian revolution.

To win YWLL members to the YSA, we will need to convince them of the fundamentally counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism -- from Moscow and Peking's betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution to the tragic consequences of the CP's strategy of class collaboration that led to the defeat in Chile.

Maoist currents

There are several Maoist tendencies in the U. S. today voicing allegiance to the ruling bureaucracy of the deformed Chinese workers state. The most important expressions of this milieu are the Revolutionary Union, the Guardian newspaper, and the October League. Most of the leading cadres in these organizations are veterans of the "new left," many of whom steered more sharply towards Maoism after the 1969 breakup of the Students for a Democratic Society. In addition, the Black Workers Congress and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization have emerged as small Maoist poles of attraction

for some militants from the oppressed nationalities. There are also other Maoist groups on both a national and local level.

Although all of these forces support "Mao Tsetung Thought" and the Stalinist concept of "building socialism in a single country" in China, they remain deeply divided over many important questions, particularly American issues. For instance, during the racist mobilizations of whites in Boston, the Guardian and October League labeled the racists as "fascists," while the Revolutionary Union caved in to the racist sentiment, raising the slogan, "Smash the Boston busing plan!"

The Boston example reflects an ongoing debate within the Maoist milieu over the national question in the United States. This is one of the central issues dividing the various organizations. While formally recognizing Blacks as an oppressed nationality, the Revolutionary Union considers Black nationalist sentiment fundamentally divisive and reactionary. The Guardian, October League, Black Workers Congress, and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization each hold their own differing estimates of the national question, which are on the whole less antinationalist than RU's. None of the Maoist organizations, however, understand the combined class and national character of the coming American socialist revolution or the strategic importance of the Black and Chicano struggles which flows from that understanding.

The Maoists are divided along similar lines around women's liberation. RU opposes the ERA, equivocates on abortion, praises the institution of the nuclear family, and abstains from CLUW. Both the October League and the Guardian support the ERA, orient toward CLUW, and are generally less hostile to the women's liberation movement.

The Maoist-oriented organization that the YSA meets most often on campus is the Revolutionary Student Brigade. The RSB was previously known as the Attica Brigade until it changed its name at its July convention of 400 people. Although the RSB projects itself as a loose organization based only around support to national liberation struggles abroad and struggles of the oppressed at home, it is in fact tightly controlled by the Revolutionary Union (or in a few areas by October League).

The RSB has grown and expanded geographically during the last year. They publish a monthly newspaper called Fight Back. Their major activity prior to Nixon's resignation was a "Throw the Bum Out!" campaign, although they also participated in other campus-based struggles. On many campuses the RSB is the YSA's most visible opponent, although they are smaller than the YWLL.

Unlike most members of the Revolutionary Union, many

RSBers are not hardened anti-Trotskyists, and can respond positively to YSA proposals for common activity around campus struggles or important national and international issues. By approaching the RSB about united actions and by talking to them about our ideas on the Black struggle, women's liberation, and the Chinese bureaucracy, we can have an impact on many of their members. The fact that several RSB chapters dissociated themselves from RU's position on Boston can in a few cases be attributed to the pressure of the YSA.

Although the Youth Against War and Fascism claims to adhere to certain Trotskyist ideas, they operate primarily in the Maoist orbit. YAWF has no independent organizational life of its own, and is entirely dominated by the followers of Sam Marcy in the sectarian Workers World Party. The YSA's contact with YAWF varies from one area to another, but is generally minimal. In the weeks leading up to the December 14 Freedom March on Boston, however, YAWF played an active but negative role, projecting a narrow, sectarian approach to building the action.

Social Democrats

The Social Democrats, U. S. A., and their youth group, the Young People's Socialist League, represent the extreme right wing of social democracy, a political tendency based on upholding the privileges of the U. S. trade union bureaucracy. Acting as hatchetmen for the Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO officialdom, the Social Democrats supported the Vietnam war and are fighting to block preferential hiring and upgrading of Blacks, women, and other oppressed groups.

In New York City, Social Democratic leader Albert Shanker, the president of the United Federation of Teachers, has spearheaded the racist drive against Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools in District 1. In addition, the Social Democrats are deeply involved in the Humphrey-Jackson wing of the Democratic Party, while on campuses, YPSL has tried to rally support for Zionism and the state of Israel. YPSL launched a smear campaign against the YSA several years ago, claiming that we are "anti-Semitic" be-

cause of our support to the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and opposition to Zionism. This campaign, carried out through the so-called Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East was unsuccessful, but as the threat of a new war in the Mideast increases, YPSL may try to put some wind back in its sails.

Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee is the liberal wing of the social democracy, reflecting a current in the trade union bureaucracy that leans toward the "new politics" brand of Democratic Party politician.

The New American Movement is a collection of several hundred "new left" radicals existing primarily on the campuses. In several areas they are a significant opponent tendency to the YSA, participating in struggles where we are also active. Together with certain elements in the People's Party, the Socialist Party U. S. A., and assorted unaffiliated radicals, this milieu is debating the idea of forming an all-inclusive left social democratic party. Wherever possible the YSA will want to participate in this discussion, putting forward our Leninist concept of the revolutionary party.

Pseudo-Trotskyists

Another group of opponent tendencies that exist in some areas are the small sectarian groups that identify themselves as "Trotskyist" to one degree or another. Among these, the Spartacist League appears to have experienced the most growth over the last year. Closely following the debate in the Fourth International, the Spartacists are a magnet for the most rigid and cynical elements in nearly every current claiming to be Trotskyist.

The International Socialists and the Revolutionary Socialist League are basically left social democratic sects, rejecting entirely the Trotskyist position on the Soviet, Chinese, Cuban, and Eastern European workers states.

The Workers League, followers of the British ex-Trotskyist Gerry Healy, appears to have suffered from an extended internal crisis, taking a heavy toll on its membership and level of activity.

PART V: RACIST AND RIGHT-WING FORCES

During the past year, racist professors, such as Shockley and Jensen, have attempted to win support for their reactionary and pseudo-scientific theories of Black genetic "inferiority." In addition, as a consequence of the anti-busing offensive in Boston, racist Ku Klux Klan scum have also surfaced in many areas of the country.

The YSA opposes all attempts to justify and perpetuate the racist oppression of Black people -- whether in the crude form of the KKK or the sophisticated form of the racist professors. We should continue to organize broadly sponsored picket lines to protest appearances on the campuses by Shockley, Jensen, KKKers, or other racists. Large actions aimed at educating the majority of students as to how these racists help prolong the oppression of Black people are also more effective than attempts by a handful of students to shout down racist speakers.

National Caucus of Labor Committees

During the past two years, the National Caucus of Labor Committees has evolved from a sectarian pro-socialist

group into a right-wing and fascist-like organization. Despite NCLC's maintenance of some socialist rhetoric, its actions and political positions have clearly placed it outside of the working-class movement.

In the spring of 1973, NCLC launched its "Operation Mop-Up" to "physically destroy" the Communist Party. At that time, NCLC goons carried out gangster-like attacks against CP and YWLL gatherings, and also against the SWP, the YSA, Congress of African People, and other groups that opposed NCLC's violent assaults against the CP.

Since then, NCLC has continued to evolve to the right, with more and more anti-communist right wingers joining its ranks. NCLC has issued fascist-like racist leaflets, opposed struggles by the Black community, and called for an alliance with local cops. It also has opposed strikes and adopted virulent positions against gay people.

The YSA should continue to have nothing to do with NCLC in any of our activities. We should treat them as an enemy of the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

PART VI: THE 1976 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN
AND THE BUILDING OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

A public rally during the December 1974 St. Louis YSA convention will launch the 1976 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. Throughout the next 22 months, building support for the national SWP candidates will be an important focus of YSA activity.

The interest surrounding the 1976 elections is already gathering momentum. Nixon's resignation and Edward Kennedy's withdrawal from the race sent Democratic Party hopefuls scurrying around the country this fall, drumming up support for their candidacies. With the 1974 elections behind them, they will begin to campaign even more vigorously for the presidency.

Between the YSA convention and the 1976 elections, millions of people will become acquainted with our candidates and our socialist solutions to the deepening world crisis. In the course of our campaign activities, the YSA will meet tens of thousands of high school, college, and working youth who will be open to our ideas. Our central job will be to involve them in campaign support and other activities and to win as many of them as possible to the YSA.

1974 state and local elections

The 1974 state and local SWP campaigns were on the whole the most successful ever run by our movement in a non-presidential election year. In 15 states and the District of Columbia, SWP candidates were seen by thousands of students and working people as the only candidates who fought against the racist offensive in Boston, presented reasonable answers to the economic crisis, and were active builders of the struggles of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and the entire working class.

Through these campaigns, the YSA learned many lessons that will be valuable in organizing youth support for the SWP presidential slate. Many YSA members gained important experience in building meetings, organizing high school street rallies, petitioning, conducting socialist classes for campaign supporters, planning informal recruitment dinners, and tying in our general activities with the campaign.

The election results confirmed the YSA's analysis that the radicalization continues to spread throughout the population. The Democrats temporarily reaped the benefits from the Republican Party's close association with Water-

gate and "stagflation," but the low election-day turnout reflected a feeling among many voters that neither party has much to offer.

The continuing impact of the radicalization was also reflected in the election of numerous Blacks and women to public office and in the victory of several candidates who capitalized on the widespread concern over environmental destruction. In the absence of a mass working class political alternative, these progressive sentiments, however, are still channelled into the Democratic and Republican parties.

Opportunities for the 1976 campaign

The deep-seated popular discontent generated by the Vietnam war and intensified by Watergate was the subject of a recent article in the fall 1974 issue of Dissent magazine by Daniel Yankelovich. In this article, Yankelovich updates and generalizes from the findings of his 1973 study on American youth values.

"Among the many contrasts between the 1960s and 1970s," Yankelovich writes, "perhaps the most politically fateful has been the massive shift in attitudes towards our national institutions-- the presidency, Congress, the courts, business, the military, the unions, the media, and the universities. In the 1960s, a majority of Americans placed almost unqualified confidence in these institutions. By the 1970s, for the majority that confidence had dissipated."

Surveys show, Yankelovich continues, that "mistrust of 'the people in power in the country' has shot up from an uncomfortable 54 percent in 1972 to an overwhelming 88 percent in 1974. . . .

"These changes signal a political situation somewhat comparable to the 1930s, when the American public also experienced a pervasive feeling that something was fundamentally wrong with our institutions."

At a time of growing questioning and uneasiness about the prospects facing American society, the 1976 elections will provide socialists with unprecedented opportunities for winning support for our ideas. Through the SWP presidential campaign, we will be able to reach millions of students and working people with the socialist program to fight inflation, unemployment, racism, the oppression of women, and the threat of new wars.

New bill of rights

The Yankelovich youth study pointed out that "both non-college and college youth indicate that they are in the process of converting certain desires into a set of presumed rights, including the following:

"To be able to send children to college whether or not they can afford to.

"To participate in decisions that affect their work.

"To enjoy a secure retirement.

"To have access to the best medical care whether they can afford it or not."

The SWP candidates will campaign for this "new bill of rights" and others that the American people will fight for in the months ahead:

-the right to have a say on major issues which affect our lives: the right to vote on war, to stop the destruction of the environment, and to control the decisions that affect us where we work or study;

-the right to know: the right to see the books of the giant oil trusts and to inspect government records of secret CIA activity in Chile, southern Africa, and elsewhere;

-the right not to pay for the mismanagement of society: the right to be protected from the ravages of inflation and unemployment through automatic cost-of-living increases and a shortened workweek with no loss in pay.

The Democratic Party

According to a February 1974 Gallup Poll, voter identification with the Democratic and Republican parties is at the lowest point since 1940. This disenchantment, however, has not yet taken the form of mass political class consciousness leading to a break with the two big-business parties. As the November 1976 elections approach and discontent mounts with White House economic and social policies, the pressures will escalate to "Dump Ford" and replace him with a "realistic" alternative -- a Democrat.

It is impossible to predict whom the Democrats will pick in 1976. Many Democratic politicians have already "thrown their hat into the ring," from Julian Bond on the "left," to George Wallace on the right, to Henry Jackson, Morris Udall, Lloyd Bentsen, and a whole raft of "dark horses" and "favorite sons" in between. Kennedy cannot be ruled out, even though he has formally withdrawn.

Whether the packaging is "liberal," "middle-of-the

road," or "conservative," the product inside will undoubtedly be the same. Just like the Republicans, all the Democrats will kneel reverently before the altar of private ownership and the capitalist system of production and distribution.

The Democratic Party, like the Republican, is financed and controlled by the big U.S. bankers and industrialists, and its presidential nominee -- whoever it is -- will speak and act in the interest of this tiny minority.

The strategy of pressuring or reforming the Democratic Party will be advanced in different forms by the Communist Party, the social democrats, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Women's Political Caucus, sections of the labor bureaucracy, as well as by many serious activists in the student, women's, Black, and labor movements.

The SWP candidates, on the other hand, will explain that there is no way to reform the Democratic Party or to win it away from the wealthy bankers and business men who control it. Especially during times of deepening radicalization, the capitalist parties consciously make room for all sorts of self-appointed spokespeople for the oppressed and exploited. They do so in order to corral social discontent within the two-party system where it can be tamed and tempered. Whole sections of the leadership of the civil rights movement were bought off in this way, while conditions in the Black community worsened.

Independent working class political action

Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, the SWP candidates will promote the struggles of students and working people, not derail them. They will advocate the only strategy for change that works: mobilizing the massive power of working people and their allies in their own independent struggles. That was how Blacks wiped Jim Crow off the books, how workers won the eight-hour day, and how women won the right to vote. It is the only "realistic" strategy to topple the capitalist system and open the way to the socialist reconstruction of society.

The SWP campaign will stand in the socialist tradition of Eugene V. Debs -- the tradition of independent working class political action. The socialist candidates will advocate the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions, a mass Black political party, and a mass Chicano party.

The 1976 SWP campaign is the real alternative for young people who are fed up with the Democrats and Republicans. We want students and working people not only to vote socialist, but to become involved in our activities and join the socialist movement -- the YSA and SWP.

"Third parties"

Eugene McCarthy, the unsuccessful "peace" candidate at the 1968 Democratic Party convention, recently announced the formation of the Committee for a Constitutional Presidency. The CCP plans to petition in 50 states to get on the ballot for the 1976 presidential elections with McCarthy as its candidate.

The YSA opposes third capitalist parties such as the CCP. McCarthy is running primarily to bolster the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and his own position within it. One of the CCP's major financial backers is William Clay Ford of the Ford Motor Company family.

It is also possible that the People's Party will launch a presidential campaign along the lines of their 1972 Spock-Hobson ticket or the 1968 Peace and Freedom slate. The People's Party is a hodgepodge of non-affiliated radicals and left-liberals who for differing reasons are uncomfortable with the Democratic Party.

The People's Party is a petty-bourgeois reform movement. It neither rose out of the working class or oppressed nationalities, as did the Chicano Raza Unida parties, nor does it have a working class program like that of the SWP. While we can work with the People's Party around specific struggles where we find agreement, we oppose its middle-class political perspectives.

Communist Party

The Communist Party will probably field presidential and vice-presidential candidates in 1976. Their campaign strategy will be class collaborationist -- an effort to drum up support for the Democrats. We need only recall the boast of their 1972 presidential candidate Gus Hall that, "I've won more votes for McGovern than Shriver has." The CP ticket will stand in stark contrast to the SWP candidates, who will oppose the counterrevolutionary thrust of Moscow's "detente" policies around the world and champion independent working class political action here in the United States.

Youth support in 1976

As with past SWP presidential slates, the YSA will be a most active supporter of the 1976 socialist campaign. On both a national and local level, the YSA will shoulder the primary responsibility for organizing youth support activity.

During the 1974 state and municipal campaigns, some YSA locals experimented with inviting their campaign supporters to attend campus YSA chapter meetings -- not only to discuss building a forum for an SWP candidate, for example, but to work with the YSA in mapping out a strategy to fight a tuition hike or to organize an African liberation teach-in.

The YSA also initiated classes on Marxism for campaign supporters, ran with them on young socialist slates in student government elections, invited them to campus and citywide forums, involved them in weekend petitioning and campaign mobilizations, and brought them to banquets, rallies, and social events. The central point is this: the YSA won new members through its campaign support work.

The Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle in 1968 and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in 1972 were also instrumental in recruiting many new YSA members and in helping to establish new YSA locals. Our successes and mistakes from these past national, state, and local campaigns are now part of the YSA's collective experience.

In launching YSA support for the 1976 SWP election campaign, our goal should be to involve as many young people as possible in a wide range of activities. We want campaign endorsers to arrange campus and high school meetings and rallies for the SWP candidates. We want them to set up literature tables and participate in petitioning drives and street-corner leafleting.

One of the most exciting and productive aspects of our youth support activity during the 1972 election campaign was our participation in campus meetings featuring the Democratic and Republican party candidates or their spokespeople. YSA members and campaign supporters sold our press and truth kits on the opponent candidates, distributed campaign material, and spoke from the floor about the socialist alternative. With several Democratic Party contenders already on the campaign trail, we can begin to organize these activities again this spring.

Endorsers should also be encouraged to participate with us in building campus and community actions and struggles. Involving campaign supporters in helping to build a Chile defense picket line, a cop terror protest demonstration, or an Arab East teach-in is one of the best ways of instilling in them a sense of identification with the socialist campaign and the full scope of its activities.

After working with the YSA in all these ways, many campaign endorsers will decide to join the YSA, while others will remain supporters, and some will drop away. If we organize our youth support well, every campaign endorser can make a significant contribution to the 1976 SWP campaign.

Defense of democratic rights

The struggle to protect and extend democratic rights will continue to be an important arena of YSA work. Our participation in the 1976 presidential elections will put Washington's harassment and surveillance of our activities in a particularly odious light.

The YSA values its right to function freely and openly. It facilitates explaining our socialist ideas to the largest possible audience of students and working people and enables us to more easily win new recruits. Democratic rights hold a crucial importance for the working class as a whole. The freedom to hold meetings, rallies, and demonstrations, to form unions, to publish newspapers and pamphlets, to establish political organizations, to run and vote in the elections -- these are a tremendous benefit for the working class in organizing to further its interests.

For this reason, the capitalist rulers of the United States are always trying to chip away at the rights and liberties that working people have won through two hundred years of struggle. Attacks on democratic rights which may at first appear limited to a few organizations can -- if they go unchallenged -- embolden both the government and extralegal right-wingers to step up their attacks on all organizations of the working class and the oppressed. That is why socialists have always been the most steadfast defenders of democratic rights. Whenever the government launches an assault against our organization, or against other sections of the labor or radical movements, we respond in the spirit of the IWW: "An injury to one is an injury to all!"

Political Rights Defense Fund

In July 1973 the YSA, in conjunction with the SWP, filed a suit in federal court demanding an injunction to halt all government surveillance and harassment of our organization, members, and activities. The fundraising and publicity aspects of this legal effort are being coordinated by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Over the past year, PRDF has accumulated an impressive list of endorsers, raised tens of thousands of dollars to cover legal costs, and secured extensive publicity for the case in newspapers, magazines, and civil libertarian circles throughout the country. It has set an example for the entire radical movement on how to organize an effective defense campaign.

The YSA has used the lawsuit to expose the fundamentally undemocratic character of capitalist government, and to demonstrate to thousands of people on campuses across the country that the real victims of Watergate-style tactics are socialist groups, working people, Black and Chicano organizations, and others involved in the fight for social change in the United States.

Through the suit, the YSA and SWP have exposed and publicized many important facets of illegal government activity. We have forced the FBI and the U. S. Justice Department to respond publicly to some of our accusations. For example, Attorney General William Saxbe recently released a 21-page report providing some information on the counterintelligence programs (COINTELPRO) directed against

left organizations in the United States. Saxbe admitted that the FBI had carried out "practices that can only be considered abhorrent in a free society," but claimed that these operations had ended in 1971.

Later in November, our lawsuit forced the Justice Department to belie its own assertion that COINTELPRO-type operations have ended. In response to a motion demanding a halt to FBI surveillance of the YSA convention, the Justice Department admitted its planned surveillance operation, and asserted its right to spy on the YSA, whatever harm that might cause to convention participants or to the organization as a whole.

As we press forward with our democratic rights offensive, we will force the government to reveal further aspects of its covert activities. These admissions have a powerful impact on the attitude of many students and working people toward the legitimacy of capitalist rule in this country.

The YSA should continue to win support for our lawsuit by gaining PRDF endorsers and help in raising funds for legal expenses.

Committee for Democratic Election Laws

The 1976 elections will be a focus for two other aspects of our overall fight to protect and extend democratic rights: challenging undemocratic ballot restrictions and seeking exemptions for the SWP from the new campaign financing laws.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) will be coordinating endorsements and publicity for both these efforts. The YSA will participate in these two campaigns, helping to support and build them.

Other defense activities

At the same time, YSA members around the country will continue to support the defense efforts of the Attica Brothers, the remaining Wounded Knee defendants, Los Tres del Barrio, J. B. Johnson, and other victims of capitalist injustice.

YSA locals may also become involved in defense campaigns around the right to sell our press on campus, to receive university recognition, or to hold a high school street rally. Local defense campaigns of this sort can be an important area of YSA work, but they should always be mapped out in close collaboration with the YSA national office.

One policy aimed at preventing police victimization is our membership requirement prohibiting the use of marijuana and other illegal drugs. There are no exceptions to this policy, since the security of the YSA is endangered if violations occur.

Sales of our press

The Young Socialist will be the voice of youth supporters of the 1976 Socialist Workers Party campaign. During the last presidential race, the YS was relaunched just prior to the elections, helping to strengthen the public face of the YSA in the final weeks of the campaign.

Since that time, we have come a long way in professionalizing the YS as a monthly newspaper for introducing young people to the idea and activities of the YSA. Through our successful national sales campaigns, the YS has become the most widely-read socialist youth paper on campuses and in high schools across the country. During the 1976 campaign, the YS will explain why students and young workers should support the SWP candidates, what they can do to build the socialist campaign, and above all why they should belong to the YSA.

The Militant is the weekly campaign newspaper of the SWP candidates. It will arm socialist campaigners with week-by-week responses to the lies and coverups of the Democratic and Republican party politicians and the capitalist press. We want our campaign supporters to read The Militant regularly and help us sell it to tens of thousands of new readers. The YSA will participate actively in The Militant's spring and fall circulation drives.

The YSA will continue to emphasize sales at high schools and on college campuses, especially those with large Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican enrollments. Our aim should be to involve every YSA member in weekly sales of both the YS and The Militant. In addition, we want to help expand the circulation of the International Socialist Review, Intercontinental Press, and Pathfinder Press books and pamphlets.

Regional work

Building support for past SWP election campaigns has played an important role in the geographical expansion of our movement. The response on outlying campuses to the 1974 SWP candidates and to the socialist press indicates the potential for building many new YSA locals through our youth support activities for the 1976 SWP presidential ticket.

The young socialist regional teams, first launched during the 1972 Jenness and Pulley campaign, have today become an established and central tool in breaking new ground for the YSA. Over the next two years the teams will campaign for the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates, traveling from campus to campus throughout the country. They will introduce thousands of young people to the YSA, organize campaign supporters, and win new recruits.

The YSA will continue to professionalize our regional

work in order to follow up on the "trailblazing" of the young socialist teams. Ongoing communication between the regional center and new campaign endorsers and YSA members will be essential for the establishment of new locals. In recent years we have increased regular collaboration between the regional centers and outlying locals by assigning full-time regional organizers in most areas, and regional committees in some. Furthering this collaboration will continue to be important in recruiting and training new cadres for the revolutionary movement.

Education

One of the most important tasks of the YSA is the education of our membership in Marxist theory, the history of the revolutionary socialist movement, and the concrete application of our Marxist program to contemporary situations. The careful reading of The Militant, the Young Socialist, International Socialist Review, and Intercontinental Press is the foundation for the education of every YSA member.

In addition, YSA locals should map out a well-rounded educational program, including regular educationals, new members classes, special educational weekends, participation in summer schools, and attendance at national educational conferences. A well-organized program of this sort will encourage members to develop their own reading plan to become better acquainted with the major writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and Cannon, as well as other important works of the revolutionary past and present.

Education can also be an important recruitment tool for the YSA. The heightened interest in Marxism on campus and in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements can make a YSA class series very attractive to radical-minded students and young workers. Some locals have experienced the greatest success when the classes are held on campus, while others have held well-attended educational series at their headquarters. In several instances we have also been able to set up introductory classes on socialism at high schools.

Recruitment

YSA classes are only one of the many avenues of recruitment open to us in the year ahead. Wherever the YSA is involved in political activity -- from sales of The Militant, to organizing a campus protest, to building CLUW -- we should make the time to talk to activists about joining the YSA. Individual discussions, informal dinners, and other social get-togethers with people interested in our ideas should be a regular part of the political life of every YSA local and at-large area.

The recruitment and training of young revolutionaries is the YSA's single most important task. We must organize

all of our political work with that in mind.

There is no recipe or formula that can guarantee success in winning new members to the YSA, but there are two important guidelines. First, recruitment should be seen as a major assignment of every member. Second, recruitment--like all other areas of our work-- must be well thought-out and well organized. It should be discussed regularly by the executive committee and at local meetings.

Full membership participation, careful organization, and regular follow-up can easily make a difference in the pace of our recruitment.

The YSA should project an open face. We should ask the people who attend our forums and campaign meetings or who work with us in common struggles to join the YSA. Nobody is born a Trotskyist. The best place for a young person to learn about the YSA's norms and full Marxist program is in the YSA-- through participation in our activities, classes, and political discussions.

We want radical-minded youth who are in general agreement with our program to feel welcome in the YSA. Our job is to convince them that their talents and energies are needed to build for the socialist future.

The YSA is helping to construct the leadership necessary to make a socialist revolution in the country with the most powerful and ruthless ruling class that the world has ever known. We should inspire students and young workers by pointing to the enormous responsibilities of our generation for the future of humankind.

In one of his last interviews, James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, explained what is at stake in the construction of a revolutionary movement in the United States:

"You've got to pose the question flatly: that there's a danger that the human race may not continue; and if it's going to continue it's got to take control of its own social system and reorganize it and plan and eliminate the constant day-to-day danger of annihilation."

Cannon continued, "It's a lifetime job for each and everyone of us. But the thing that inspires one's life and makes it worth living in the face of all this calamitous danger everywhere, uncertainties and insecurity, is to commit yourself to an effort to change it. And not to belittle oneself and think you don't count. You may be the decisive factor."