

# YSA

# Discussion Bulletin

Vol. XX No. 3 December 1976 \$.40

## CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? By John Bruno Hare, Pasadena chapter, Los Angeles local	3
A WHITE HOUSE BUILT ON SAND, By Steve Cross, Atlanta chapter	8
NSCAR AND THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA, By Michael Chamberlain, Newark chapter	9
CAMPUS WOMEN'S LIBERATION WORK, By Holly Harkness, University of Minnesota chapter	9
A FEW SUGGESTIONS ON INTERNAL EDUCATION, By Anthony Gonzalez, San Diego chapter	11
HOW TO GET THE HIGHEST RETURN ON YOUR INVESTMENT: PUT YOUR MONEY WHERE YOUR PROGRAM IS, By Jim Callahan and Beth Peterson, Portland chapter	12
A PERSPECTIVE FOR YOUTH, By Ronald Grubaugh, Northridge chapter, Los Angeles local	14

Page 2:

was blank in the  
original bulletin

- Marty May 2014

In YSA Discussion Bulletin Volume XX, Number 2, which is dated November 1976, two pages were numbered wrong and placed out of order. Pages 5 and 6 should be read in reverse order.

## WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

By John Bruno Hare,  
Pasadena chapter, Los Angeles local

"People got to come together  
Not just out of fear  
Where do we go  
Where do we go  
Where do we go from here?"

—Chicago II

1. The roots of the radicalization of youth on a worldwide scale during the last twenty years grew largely out of the world revolution's course through the semi-colonial and colonial countries.

This phenomena was seen in the United States, despite the abysmally unfavorable objective conditions for radicalization during the period of prosperity. The Black radicalization began as Africans started to expel the European colonialists during the fifties. It rose to a high point during the crest of the Vietnam War as Black youth were sacrificed to the war aims of the imperialists. Chicanos radicalized in the wake of the triumph of the Cuban revolution. They likewise responded on a mass basis to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam in which so many Raza youth perished. Asians identified with the forward march of the Chinese revolution and the beleaguered Vietnamese. The youth radicalization itself became generalized as the draft broadened out and the struggle against the war in Vietnam reached mass proportions. Women arose in a mighty second wave of feminism inspired by the momentum of these movements to raise their own demands. This womens' radicalization spread worldwide alongside the youth radicalization.

So the subjective axis of radicalization during the sixties was the struggle against colonialism, a fight which required proletarian leadership, but which was largely dominated by the petty-bourgeois Stalinist and neo-colonialist misleaders, often with tragic results, a notable exception to this syndrome being Cuba. By and large, this historical accident had a qualitatively weakening effect on the radicalization. Maoism, illegitimately capitalizing on the prestige of a revolution that it was reluctantly forced to

lead by historical circumstance, refurbished the image of Stalinism, particularly for youth not familiar with its history of betrayals. The Chinese ultraleft binge during the sixties fostered ultraleft tendencies among youth. The success of the guerilla war tactic in Cuba led to its attempted duplication in totally inappropriate contexts due to this ultraleft atmosphere.

These are the subjective strengths and weaknesses of the first period of the contemporary radicalization. The objective causes of these phenomena stem from the world revolutions' path through the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Let us now examine the motive forces of the incipient second period, with a look at the immediate prospects for revolution in southern Africa.

2. The world revolution, having taken a long detour through the "Third World," is now, because of the world capitalist economic crisis, preparing to resume its main course and storm the advanced capitalist sphere.

The apparent mediation between these two spheres is the upsurge in South Africa. On one hand South Africa is imperialism's strongest bastion in the area. On the other, it is an advanced capitalist country in its own right. The victory of the South African masses would signify not only a blow at the ledger sheets of the capitalist masters of the world, improving objective conditions for working class upsurges in the imperialist countries. It would also teach the lessons of Bolshevism to the masses in these countries anew, seeding the subjective conditions for the success of their revolutions.

The October revolution in Russia of 1917 spurred on the Debsian radicalization in this country. Cuba played a similar role in the development of the first period of the current radicalization in the early sixties. It is possible that South Africa could be the Russia and Cuba of the upcoming generation. Let us briefly project the pathway that the South African revolution must take, and this route's further implications for the development of our own revolution.

Because the South African working class is overwhelm-

ingly Black and the Black population is intensely proletarianized, the struggle against apartheid has had to use working class tactics—mass marches and general strikes—a trend which will become stronger as the upsurge deepens and vice versa. Every such general strike hits directly at the domination and exploitation of foreign capital, every mass march reveals the burning need for self-organization of the South African working class. This is the logic of South Africa's permanent revolution—the fight against apartheid, against imperialist exploitation, both demand the political solutions that only the working class can provide, in a word, socialism.

Stalinism has no role to play in South Africa, particularly in the "peaceful coexistence" framework of detente. The two-stage theory of revolution is blatantly irrelevant in this case. The anti-imperialist revolution is virtually synonymous with the general anti-capitalist revolution here—South African capital depends upon the support of the American, European, and Japanese imperialists merely to live from one sunrise to the next. The struggle for basic democratic rights and against apartheid cannot be successfully prosecuted save by methods that raise questions of workers' control.

A neo-colonial outcome is likewise impossible. In the first place, there are no black capitalists in this case, by definition. The pitifully irrelevant puppet 'chiefs' of the Bantustans are discredited the instant any struggle breaks out. Nor are the slightly more privileged 'coloureds' showing any signs of vacillation—they have gone right into life and death struggle alongside their Black brothers and sisters. When push comes to shove, the only layers that the settler colonial regime will find to place between itself and the indigenous masses and their allies will be a wall of "made in the U.S.A." bayonets, machine-guns, barbed wire, and other infernal machines. They have apartheidized themselves right into a corner. No, there are not petty-bourgeois forces of other intermediate layers waiting in the wings to act as proprietors of capitalism in South Africa by any other name. Only a workers' government will suffice to solve the impoverished masses' burning needs.

Capitalism cannot be eliminated with a blunt instrument through historical accident in South Africa, nor is the usual blunt instrument to be found. And this elimination of capitalism in South Africa would mark the end of the long detour of the world revolution.

What does this imply for the United States? An end to apartheid requires an adequate tool that the Black masses can wield. The form this will need to take will be that of a workers party, due to the above mentioned well developed interpenetration of the Black and working class population. We can speculate that such a party, forged in the heat of battle, will inspire Afro-Americans to do likewise. The formation of an independent Black political party would be on the agenda in the United States, with all that that would imply for the ongoing disintegration of the Democratic party and the potential precipitation of labor party based on the unions. It would herald a new phase of the Black liberation movement on a qualitatively higher level.

We, the freedom fighters, the young Bolsheviks, of the United States must be ready to take these lessons to the working class and oppressed of this country. It becomes necessary for the Young Socialist Alliance to make a turn in the coming period toward the sectors of youth best

situated on objective and subjective axes to carry out this task.

3. The first point on the agenda is the building of a mass movement against U.S. involvement in South Africa in any form. The March 21, 1977 date proposed by the National Student Coalition Against Racism will be a start, but only a start. The important task at hand is to revitalize the experience of the Vietnam years among the youth of the United States. We have a new generation coming up who have never gone to an antiwar mobilization—or helped build one for that matter.

The Young Socialist Alliance must be the historical memory of American youth. In addition to Fred Halstead's *Out Now*, we should put together educational bulletins and perhaps a manual relating the experience of other leaders and cadre of the antiwar movement of the sixties who are in the YSA and SWP. When things move quickly, there is not always time to disseminate such practical information. We should not have to start from scratch. We need to devote space in the *Young Socialist* on a regular basis to such material as well.

It is questionable whether the United States will precipitously intervene militarily in South Africa. There is no doubt our rulers will absolutely need to. The stakes are too high.

But the draft would have to be reestablished. It would be hazardous, from the brasses' point of view, to send the disproportionately Black 'volunteer army', mostly conscripts of unemployment, to prop up a regime that is as anti-Black as Hitler was anti-Semitic. Not to mention the fact that the current Black radicalization in South Africa's conscious emulation of the U.S. Black Power movement means that the Blacks in the U.S. Army and the Blacks behind the barricade would share more than one idiom besides English. Would a Black infantryman, recruited out of a ghetto in the United States for reasons of hunger, long hold his fire against a factory occupied by Black people who can express their defiance in English—and fluent Black nationalism, besides? To 'defect' to his brothers' and sisters' side of the struggle no white flag will be needed—a clenched black fist and a rifle fired into the air will suffice. No, to send the present U.S. Army to hold South Africa would be like trying to douse a bonfire with gasoline.

Yet President-elect Carter, in a *Manchester Guardian* interview suppressed at his request until the day after the election, stated that he would not rule out this alternative. Only time will tell what the case will be, but we must prepare for the entire range of possibilities.

4. The other point is our respective turn.

Our understanding of the objective and subjective necessities, theory, where we compare our present activity with the requirements of history, is a prerequisite for activity that can transform the world, wherein which theory and practice become one and germinate a new set of political necessities. In Cannon's words, "we do not merely what we can do, but what we must do."

Just as the social force inspiring the student movement and youth in general in the sixties was the revolution against colonialism, particularly in Vietnam, the workers movement in the advanced capitalist countries will be a prime motivation in the coming period. But there has been an uneven dynamic to the radicalization of the working class in the United States.

Despite the ruling class' offensive on social services, education and the masses' living standard in general,

particularly expressed in the layoffs of hundreds of thousands, especially women and oppressed nationalities, the unions have yet to make a concerted effort to struggle in the streets, workplaces and the polling places against this situation. This is the result of the erosion of union democracy during the forties and fifties in the witch-hunts, the entrenchment of a hidebound bureaucracy, and that clique's utter prostration to the political parties of the axewielders themselves, the Democrats and Republicans.

Even though this situation shows signs of changing, the latest hopeful spark being the Sadlowski campaign to turn the Steelworkers' Union back to its rank and file, it is far from being reversed. This has had a dampening effect on the student movement, leading to a tendency to yield to cutbacks, despite scattered resistance. The unions' historic delay in responding to the crisis has had a tragic effect on the position of youth today, vis-a-vis their educational opportunities.

But this process has been uneven in itself. The decisive power to carry the cutbacks struggle to a favorable outcome lies with the faculty and staff. While student bodies turn over at fixed, rapid paces, the faculty and staff of a school have a much longer-term perspective on the funding that their programs receive. So the first factor in the minds of the administrators as they sharpen their knives and hatchets is the combativity of their wage-slaves—particularly the state of the unions.

This is the source of the unevenness of the situation in the United States educational system. The professional status of teachers was eroded in the education explosion during the period of prosperity. This was most evident in the high schools, to a lesser, but equivalent amount in the community colleges, and least of all in the universities, with the exception of the teaching assistants. This is reflected in the development of the union movement—the most organized teachers being the high school employees, and so on.

Even a bureaucratically shackled union is stronger than no union at all. This is well understood by any administrator. Thus, there has been more hesitance to cutback the high schools and to a certain extent the community colleges. The meat axe has been taken to the university budgets, on the other hand.

This is the result: it is considered foolhardy to 'rock the boat' in the institutions of U.S. higher education today, for students are scrambling to stay in school, to keep their heads above water. This is due not only to the tight job situation for youth, particularly oppressed nationalities and women. There is also intense competition for scarce programs and classes, the result of cutbacks. Although this does not mean university and college students are deradicalizing, it means they are less inclined to be as volatile on a mass basis.

This is not to say that there are not immense social pressures being applied by the ruling class and its tools to dampen the radicalization in the college and university student bodies. Students in higher education today are in search of, indeed, in active combat for a secure future. There is nothing wrong per se with this, but the capitalists strive to give it a reactionary content; and because they are the ones who deal out the cards, make a lot of headway. There is an increase in the quantity of applicants to professional programs, as our rulers try to sell youth on the invalidity of a diploma in an expressive and/or intellectual discipline. Meanwhile with their other

hand they take away funds for such jobs—a fact which is obvious to students on the university campuses, for most such jobs are located in that sector of the economy. Surprisingly enough, many students never make the connection, buy the gambit, and are for the large part lost to activism, unless the doors are closed or narrowed to their chosen profession as well, by those who hold the purse strings. Which *does* happen.

On the other hand, the high schools are the last bottleneck in the education assembly line for many youth. They are not forced to take a job to stay in school, and there is no competition for diplomas in specific programs in most parts of the country. Despite the pushout phenomena, society still expends a lot of force and violence to keep its youth in these molds of conformity as long as is possible, in hope that they will learn, not the truth, but what is 'good' for them. The high schools crackle with diffused dissent, grounded by the means outlined in section 5 below.

A multitude of objective and subjective circumstances link high school students, by and large, with the working class, and hence with the ongoing working class radicalization. High school students of working class families are one such transmission belt. Many high school students work, particularly in minimum wage jobs with sweatshop conditions. High school students whose 'track' railroads them away from college are in touch with a proletarian position-to-be, whether or not they are presently employed. We can project that all of these influences give the high schools in the context of a developing working class radicalization the potential to become organizing centers to transform society.

When the high schools begin to mobilize around cutbacks, the semi-proletarianized, unionized teachers will be a source of strength lacking in the colleges and universities. We can project that the U.S. student movement against cutbacks and around the social issues that confront the working class and oppressed will be based in the high schools, and episodically draw the colleges and universities into action.

But the existence of such a high school-based student movement is not a foregone conclusion. There is a vacuum of leadership there. Such a movement can only be born, nurtured and mature through the active intervention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

I am not proposing that the YSA abandon the colleges and universities, but that we use our existing campus base to reach out to surrounding high schools as a general organizational orientation. As is often said, we can't return to high school. But there are ways we can begin to do outreach work, and some of the possible tactics are discussed below in section 6.

This orientation will in the long run strengthen our college and university membership by going to the source and exposing youth to revolutionary socialism before they head off for college. This should shorten the length of time it takes to win a core of comrades at a particular place of 'higher education'. For the colleges and universities will not be monolithically inert all of the time. As the student movement grows in the high schools, radical activity will spill over onto the universities. When this occurs, our high school turn will pay off tenfold.

5. Many barriers are set up against radicalization in the high schools. If we wish to assess the organizational and practical steps we must take in our turn towards the high

schools, we must begin with a critique of these barriers.

One of these barriers is the atomization of students into separate schools, each with its own chauvinism inculcated in a multitude of ways: pep rallies, school pride, quasi-totemic paraphernalia, etc. Often, due to the segregated nature of a school district, this may be an expression of racism. But regardless of motivation, it restrains high school students from uniting in the face of common local problems and issues.

Denial of basic democratic rights is a blockage on a school by school basis, and reinforces atomization. Students in the high schools are still regarded as not quite full citizens, but as chattel property of their parents, with the school acting in their parents place. Legally this is called *in loco parentis*. The basic issues are that high school students are denied freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the rights to assemble and petition. They are not allowed to vote in elections until they are eighteen. Until eighteen, they have no vote in the selection of school boards, and never in the case of school administrators. The high schools are particularly large bubbles in the foamy sea of U.S. bourgeois democracy.

Curricula are imposed upon high school students by the above mentioned unrepresentative school boards and administrators. Most classes are of little or no social relevance. They are used as sounding boards for anti-communist, racist, sexist, and imperialist propaganda. Doctored 'facts' are used to justify moralistic brainwashing. Academic freedom, in a revolutionary sense, will often be as important as the question of democratic rights, and they are mutually interlinked.

Tracking acts as a divisive way of blocking politicization, as an internal atomization of the student body. Naturally, it reflects all the divisions that this class and caste riven society is fractured into. The privileged, college bound get the classes that best approximate a decent education. The oppressed nationalities, those students of working-class backgrounds, the "trouble-makers", are railroaded into classes which are little more than holding cells. Once they finally escape this Gulag archipelago of boredom and petty punishments they are cast out into the outer darkness of unemployment and misery.

It is next to impossible for a high school age person to become self-supporting, let alone get a semi-decent job. This means they are captured in the stifling pressure cooker of the nuclear family. Having been cut off from other students in the locality, and other social layers, they are restricted from the rest of this narrowing circle of contacts at whims of their parents. Their political consciousness is chained to the prejudices and fears of their aging parents; their political life, as well as their personal affairs are kept under their parents constant scrutiny.

The last way the radicalization of high school students is kept repressed is through the religious propaganda. Organized religion spends enormous resources upon the high schools, spreading reactionary ideology like fire retardant foam upon the flames of youth. This is the ultimate atomization, or rather each atom is split into its separate components, for, as Engels notes in his essay on *The Part Played By Labor in the Transition From Ape to Man*, religion is the ideological product of the historical split between our minds and bodies, our bodies and nature. The essence of most religious philosophy is projected as "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you".

This is what is used by the typical high school administrator as a first and last defense: "Put yourself in *my* place." Someday we shall, although not quite in the fashion they have in mind. But as it stands, religion 'alienates' us from our self interests. In addition to this, it acts as a powerful subjective pillar of reaction in another, but related way, which will be discussed below in part 7.

So before one laments the apolitical appearance of the high schools, give some thought to the chains that keep high school students bound up, the gags, the blindfolds and other encumbrances they bear with. And organize to shatter these bonds.

6. So while objective conditions are maturing for the kindling and expression of working class radicalization in the high schools, the subjective conditions fester like bedsores on the prisoners of a fly-by-night nursing home.

We can begin to turn this around by actively saturating the high schools with the truth about this savage system, and by arming their inmates with the ideas of revolutionary Marxism.

Initially, we must regularize and step up our high school sales of the *Young Socialist* and the *Militant*. We must tailor the YS to a high school audience.

This does not mean that we should change our content or format drastically. We should take care that no concept or historical episode of the revolutionary movement, even as recent as the sixties and the antiwar movement, should be taken for granted as already understood or known. We should watch or take care to explain our vocabulary and range of allusions. At the same time we should carefully stand guard against any signs of 'talking down' to high schoolers and avoid sensationalizing. More use of graphics, particularly well-captioned photographs, should be stressed. With these rather self-evident guidelines in mind, given the *Young Socialists'* present attractive and professional format, and its factual, not factional content, it should do all right in the high schools.

Our range of high school contacts will slowly start broadening out, and sporadic recruitment will begin. Once we have a fairly widespread group of contacts in a particular school district, we can start to put together forums and educationals geared to the high schools, and built at the high schools. We do not have to necessarily have a fraction or chapter on a particular campus to do this. The location can be a community college or university campus where we have a fraction or chapter, community buildings, comrades' homes, at party headquarters, or even at lunch in a nearby park if students are able to leave campus, after if they cannot.

We must not ignore the artistic, social, and athletic preoccupations of high school students. Simply because the American Healyites, the Young Socialists, put so much credence in talent shows, disco dances, and basketball competitions, doesn't mean that we should be embarrassed to use the same tactics. The "Young Socialists" use such activities as a substitute for the solid political work their sectarian mania keeps them from engaging in. In contrast, we should use such events as a way of broadening the appeal of a socialist youth organization, raising needed funds, and even encountering new contacts. The mass Young Socialist Alliance that will play such an important role in the coming American revolution will not come into existence unless we, its present nucleus, take every step possible to integrate our activities on a day-to-day basis with the masses of American youth. We are not merely a

passive receptacle for the masses to fill, but a bridge rooted on the shore of the youth of today and the shore of the youth of socialism.

Once we have our foot in the door of the high schools in our localities, we should consider establishing a local high school newspaper. It is not a hard and fixed principle that we should only have national periodicals. The national periodical covers a more general range of news and can carry on a more highly developed technical plane, while the local publications detail news important on another scale and employing less sophisticated technical methods.

Lenin devotes space to this in *What Is To Be Done?* In the specific conditions of turn of the century Russia, the local paper phenomena was a "symptom of poverty," that is, the lack of a national, centralized revolutionary general staff. Lenin said that given a national, regular newspaper and the organization that would imply, a proliferation of local newspapers would be perfectly justified.

Lenin also commented on the organizing effect of publishing and distributing a revolutionary newspaper. We can utilize this by publishing school district-wide newspapers in the high schools using our active contacts. This will serve two strategic purposes: first, challenging the restrictions on the freedom of speech and the press, and secondly breaking down the walls between the various high schools in an area, reducing intermural atomization.

We should hold to the same standards as our national newspaper in our local periodicals, however modest the technical processes used. The stress will be on high school news and features, but local and national college and university struggles should also be covered as they come up. Local news can be written by correspondents in the various high schools we have contacts in. Contacts can also help distribute on campus and off, wherever high school youth congregate—at athletic competitions, local hangouts, etc..

The purpose of these local high school newspapers should not be to be 'alternative' or 'underground', but rather to get out the news that the usually heavily censored "official" high school newspapers cannot or will not cover, and to present a point of view they would not normally reflect—that of revolutionary Marxism. Once we have campus fractions or chapters, we can lend an air of semi-legitimacy to our publications by actively soliciting funds from the various student governments to help finance the paper.

The fight for democratic rights cannot be resolved in a favorable manner without the actual existence of an organized and open body of comrades on campus. Then through outspoken student government campaigns, activity for uncensored student press and speech, organizing against cutbacks and supporting the fight for school desegregation, doggedly unmasking every administrative subterfuge, and educating, propagandizing and organizing the students around economic, social and political issues, the YSA can spearhead the advance of the high school student movement.

7. We should be sensitive and aggressive in dealing with parental and religious pressures. As has been noted above, most high school students live at home. This creates

special problems in dealing with these two aspects of depoliticization among this milieu.

If there is any problem which arises with the parents, they should be contacted and spoken with by a comrade in the party of comparable age, preferably face to face. They will probably be more likely to engage in dialogue with a peer than some brash youngster. Even if we are not able to interest them in the movement, we should try to neutralize them until their 'problem child' develops a political awareness to an extent at which they can stand their own in heavy debate.

Religions' reinforcement of patriarchal values and roles such as authoritarianism and male chauvinism, occurs in its most virulent strain in the family context. The best suggestion for dealing with this problem comes from Wilhelm Reich, a German psychiatrist who was in the periphery of the Communist party until expelled in the early thirties for opposing the sexual reaction in the Soviet Union. It is instructive to cautiously read some of his works from that period on the politicization of youths' sexual problems.

As opposed to religion, we do not place any restrictions on the sexual lifestyles of our members, nor anyone else for that matter. This is expressed programatically in our support for a woman's right to choose abortion, unlimited availability of contraception and abortion, including to minors, elimination of laws against gays, and the simplification of marriage and divorce. We must begin to recognize that youth in the period between puberty and moving out in our society are trapped in an immense sexual wasteland. They are trapped in chains of ignorance, mystification and fear, and this is the context of adolescent sexuality in these last days of patriarchy. It was not always such, nor will it always be this way. These problems raise questions that the present state of affairs cannot answer. Religion is an integral part of this state of affairs.

Religion forces youth to repress their natural erotic strivings—creating grotesque psychological problems for its converts. The best way to combat religious ideas is to build the movements for the above mentioned programmatic goals.

Let the puritans and messiah-mongers rave in horror at our attacks on these conditions that bind youth. Let us openly declare to youth in Reich's words: "Socialism will put an end to the power of those who gaze up toward the heavens as they speak of love, while they crush and destroy the sexuality of youth." (*Politicizing the Sexual Struggle of Youth*, 1932)

8. The international working class approaches an epoch of war with the parasitical world emperors. The generation of youth in the United States that will participate in these battles even now teems through the halls and cells of those chainlinked prisons of the spirit, the high schools.

The road to the mass revolutionary socialist youth movement lies through the high schools.

The YSA's turn at this historical juncture lies  
TOWARD THE HIGH SCHOOLS!

November 8, 1976



## A WHITE HOUSE BUILT ON SAND

By Steve Cross, Atlanta chapter

Jimmy Carter is now President-elect of the United States. While the bourgeois media rambles endlessly with idle speculation about the direction his administration will take, we of the YSA should consider carefully what the election of this man indicates about the present attitudes of the oppressed nationalities, of women, and of the working class as a whole. It is safe to say that many of the people that will join the YSA in the future supported him this year.

Jimmy Carter was elected not by the people, but by one of the least democratic institutions in the United States—the Electoral College. Although he outpolled President Ford by 1.7 million votes, the shift of less than 10,000 votes in Ohio and Hawaii (or in several other combinations of states) would have elected Ford. The campaign was characterized by a concentration of personalities and on non-political issues such as Carter's religion or the impropriety of his *Playboy* interview. The public was virtually anaesthetized by the triteness of it all, and the nationwide turnout was only 53 percent of those registered. This is an even poorer showing than in 1972.

Carter's constituency is so diverse that he can hardly hold it all together. He received 90 percent of the Black vote, but he also got 40-45 percent of the Southern white vote and the endorsement of George Wallace. This enabled him to carry the entire South except for Virginia. He received the endorsement, funds, and organizational help of the AFL-CIO, yet he was well received by the executives of Wall Street, being a millionaire agribusinessman himself. He received the "lesser evil" endorsements of Bella Abzug, Michael Harrington, Gloria Steinem, Leonard Woodcock, Cesar Chavez, and others on the Democratic party's left. These elements helped him to carry several important states, in the Northeast and Midwest.

The social contradictions in the Democratic party's mass base, and between that base and the party's bourgeois leadership, are directly responsible for the opportunistic character of the campaign Carter conducted. He did everything he could to blur his image, to duck controversial issues, and to please both sides if possible. He told Black audiences he was for desegregation, and white audiences that he was against busing. He told labor audiences that he would sign the repeal of Section 14-B, and business audiences that he would not pressure Congress to seek repeal. He told feminists that he was against a constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion, while assuring "pro-life" elements that he would use federal legislation to discourage abortion.

A reformist strategy, which sees all promise of reform as dependent on winning the next election, must perforce appeal to millions of people at the level of consciousness where they are. Therefore programmatic clarity was precisely what Jimmy Carter could least afford. The 1976 election was not a mandate for the politics of Jimmy Carter but *against* President Ford, who will be remembered as the third incumbent president since 1912 to be defeated at the polls. It is not easy to turn out of office an incumbent president, and in this respect the defeat of Jerry Ford by Jimmy Carter is an important event. Although as revolutionary Marxists we have no confidence in President-elect Carter, we can say with confidence

that the 1976 election was a repudiation of eight years of Nixon and Ford—of eight years of Vietnam, Watergate, repression, and recession. Especially recession! The election was won on the unemployment issue, with invaluable organizational help from the AFL-CIO to get loyal Democrats to the polls.

There are two aspects of this election which we of the YSA and SWP can look on with favor: (1) The fact that the next president will be a Democrat has raised political expectations of Blacks, Hispanic Americans, feminists, labor union militants, and all those with reformist illusions who nonetheless identify themselves with the cause of the oppressed. The Democratic party is as reformist as it is only as a result of mass pressure from these groups. Out of the White House, the Democratic politicians can afford to talk a good game. When they recapture the White House, they expose themselves for what they are—demagogues using reformist means toward a reactionary end, the preservation of bourgeois property. Lyndon Johnson was elected by promising peace and a Great Society; then he led the people into war. Like Jimmy Carter, Lyndon Johnson was accepted as the "lesser evil."

But the Trotskyist movement is much stronger today than in 1964—not only stronger in membership, but also possessed of a wider and deeper periphery and enjoying much greater public recognition. It was a major breakthrough to get Peter Camejo onto the "Meet the Press" conference just before the election, even though he had to share a platform with zoo animals from the "Labor," "American," and "Libertarian" parties. (2) This brings us to the second positive aspect—the unprecedented media and public attention to a variety of minor parties. The SWP greatly benefited from this interest, and the comrades are probably well aware of the triumphs of the Camejo-Reid ticket. It would be superfluous to repeat them all here, although our endorsements and our inroads among Hispanic Americans are especially noteworthy. We should also take note of one of our opponents—former Sen. Eugene McCarthy. The half-million votes he received are impressive in the light of the enormous political pressure on his supporters to vote for Carter. Now that the soft-spoken poet has earned his footnote in history, his supporters are at loose ends. We should be on the lookout for these disaffected people, in order to get them into our periphery and into the mass actions we support. After all, if they don't like Jimmy Carter now, they're going to like him less after he takes office.

Our politics are bound to make progress in the coming period, because the aspirations of the oppressed come into conflict every day with the bourgeois interests which the politicians serve. This is all the more reason for us to be bold and innovative in every part of our mass work—whether in the union halls, in the Black and Hispanic communities, or on the campuses. If we can give people in these places a confidence in their own ability to change society and, ultimately, in their ability to create their own state and economic system, then they will desert Carter's and McCarthy's banners to become our comrades and fellow-fighters.

November 12, 1976



# NSCAR AND THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Michael Chamberlin, Newark Chapter

The Student Coalition Against Racism was formed in the winter of 1975 in response to a national drive against busing. Boston had become the main battleground between the anti-busers and supporters of Black rights.

At the time of the founding of NSCAR, our movement drew up an assessment of the meaning of this conflict over busing. We realized that this was only the first step in a conscious ruling class attempt to roll back Black rights. Busing was picked as the first target in this racist campaign because of the great degree of confusion surrounding this issue, among Blacks as well as whites.

It was our opinion that the busing fight had to be fought and won in order for the Black liberation movement and the class struggle as a whole to progress. We needed to turn around public opinion on this question and then mobilize it to defeat the anti-busing bigots and their supporters in public office.

The eruption of the Black liberation struggle in South Africa has added a new element to this situation. On the one hand, the struggle in South Africa has forced the U.S. government to proceed more cautiously in egging on the Boston racists. It is hard to convince the Black majority in southern Africa that you are sincerely negotiating for their rights when you are attacking Black rights at home.

This along with the elections, is one of the reasons for the present standoff in Boston.

On the other hand, student-led mobilizations which paralyzed much of South Africa this summer can only be an inspiration to Black youth here at home. Properly organized, this sentiment can strike a powerful blow against racism *here* as well as abroad.

That is where SCAR comes in. SCAR is a ready-made tool for this job at hand if it shifts its emphasis to building support for the South African revolution. SCAR has already won respect from its role in the busing fight. The student coalition can use that respect as well as the activists that it has drawn around to build a broader movement.

The potential for mobilizing young people in defense of South African Blacks is tremendous.

To begin with, there is less confusion around this issue

than around busing. The overwhelming majority of Black students support Black majority rule and agree that the U.S. should get out of South Africa.

Also, the obvious role of the U.S. government and the international impact of this issue helps to cut across local provincialism. We are less likely to hear the old refrain "Boston? But we've got to deal with Newark first."

This issue can be a real shot in the arm for most every SCAR chapter. At Essex County College (ECC) in Newark, SCAR was unknown until Oct. 21st. On that day ECC SCAR held a broadly sponsored forum on the U.S. Role in South Africa.

We saw this forum as more than a good educational or protest action. We saw it as an opportunity to seek out and draw together the broader forces necessary for an anti-racist movement to pick up steam.

It gave us a chance to talk with Black and other third world student organizations on local campuses. And we didn't just discuss their participation in the forum. We talked about SCAR and why it's important, and we urged them to go to the November NSCAR conference in Boston.

Out of the forum we were able to draw a small group of activists to a planning meeting the following week. These activists pitched in and helped build a picket line at the Newark Federal Building. Essex now has the nucleus of a real flesh and blood SCAR chapter.

All NSCAR chapters should move quickly and audaciously on this question.

This is not to say that SCAR can now forget the busing fight for greener pastures. The ruling class has not given up on its goal to roll back busing. It is only waiting for a more favorable time to re-escalate its attack.

We must prepare for this. As SCAR organizes around South Africa or other campaigns such as Gary Tyler, the death penalty etc., we must not allow education around busing to disappear in the shuffle.

If we effectively combine our action campaigns with education on why busing is worth fighting for we will be ready to parry the next ruling class thrust against busing with augmented forces.

November 13, 1976

## CAMPUS WOMEN'S LIBERATION WORK

By Holly Harkness, University of Minnesota chapter

At our convention last year, we discussed the increased potential that existed for doing ongoing women's liberation work, around the ERA in particular because it was directly under attack. We also recognized that other gains women had won, such as abortion, affirmative action, and child care, were being threatened.

YSA chapters across the country were encouraged to get involved in women's liberation activity. At the University of Minnesota the YSA has played a leading role in women's liberation struggles over the past year. I thought

that the lessons we learned might be useful to comrades in other areas.

### Initiating women's liberation activity

On most campuses today there is some kind of facility for women, whether, it's a counseling center, a women's studies program, or something else. The kind of women's liberation activity we're interested in building is an action-oriented feminist group, which will mobilize women on campus around feminist issues. If no such group exists on

campus, the YSA chapter should think seriously about initiating one. At the University of Minnesota (U of M) we simply put out a leaflet announcing an organizing meeting for an ERA group. Another way would be for the chapter to hold a forum on a particular issue such as abortion or the ERA and invite other feminists on campus to participate. After the forum, those interested in forming a group could stay to discuss it. Before we initiate any activity we should talk to other campus feminists and get them involved in forming the group. This will guard against red-baiting and provide a core of activists from the start.

### **What kind of group to form**

One question that may come up is whether to form a single issue group or a general women's liberation group. When we first got started at the U of M there was no other feminist student group on campus. At that time (last January) the ERA was the most pressing issue, so we decided to initiate U of M Women for the ERA. We knew that national actions were likely to be called by NOW around the ERA. We didn't want to get into a position of having to do work on several different issues as well as a national ERA march before the group had really established itself. The independent feminists in the group agreed with this perspective.

Soon after U of M Women for the ERA was formed, women's right to abortion on the campus came under attack. The University Hospitals closed down their abortion clinic, "due to lack of staff." They also were promoting the appointment of an anti-abortion, anti-birth-control doctor to head up the University's OB-GYN department. Women all over campus were outraged. U of M Women for the ERA took the initiative of calling a picket line outside the hospitals, and sending a large delegation of angry feminists to the Board of Regents. We lost the fight, but the administration promised to resume abortion services. We were skeptical. We also began to see the need for a women's liberation group that could respond to issues other than the ERA.

After the May 16 march, U of M Women for the ERA was a strong and viable organization. Everyone in the group felt that we were capable of expanding our focus. So out of U of M Women for the ERA, University Community Feminists (UCF) was born.

### **Working with NOW**

One thing that became obvious to YSA comrades from the beginning of our campus women's liberation work was that campus feminists tended to be more militant than the women in the local NOW chapters. In discussion with SWP members in NOW we realized that the campus feminists could play an important role in convincing NOW to support mass actions around the ERA.

Nationally, NOW chapters had called for marches and rallies for the ERA on International Women's Day, March 8, but locally the Twin Cities NOW chapter was reluctant to organized such actions. Campus feminists were itching

to get out into the streets, and couldn't understand NOW's position. When several campus activists spoke to a NOW membership meeting they were finally convinced to call for a coalition meeting to work on the action.

The coalition consisted of several different women's groups in the Twin Cities. At the first meeting there were two objections raised to the idea of an International Women's Day march for the ERA. One was raised by NOW leaders who feared that the opposition would mobilize in greater numbers than we would. The second was raised by the "socialist-feminists" of the Women's Union, who weren't particularly interested in the ERA demand. They proposed that the demands of the march include opposition to the economic crisis and support to minority women's struggles.

The debate around these two questions was educational for the campus feminists, most of whom were new to politics in general. U of M Women for the ERA discussed both in a meeting prior to the coalition meeting and decided to push for the ERA demand and the march. In the end it was the campus women, the YSA, and the SWP who took the floor in the coalition meetings and convinced the majority of the coalition to stay with the original proposal. An unfortunate result was that both Twin Cities NOW and the Women's Union refused to endorse the march, a move they both regretted later.

A more positive result was that NOW began to recognize U of M Women for the ERA as an important part of the women's movement in the Twin Cities. Many activists within NOW pushed harder for a mass action perspective when plans were being made for the May 16 march in Springfield. In turn the group on campus was seen as a partner of NOW in organizing and building for the May 16 event.

Over the summer, UCF and NOW co-sponsored an ERA day on August 26 in a Minneapolis park. There were workshops and outdoor booths set up during the day, and an evening rally indoors.

### **Keeping the organization together**

Many new organizations wear themselves out with lengthy discussions on structure. However, in an organization of active student feminists the problem may be just the opposite. We found that at the beginning, YSA members shouldered a disproportionate amount of the responsibility because we had more experience. Now, however, more women have become involved in the UCF leadership. UCF has three officers: two coordinators and a treasurer. One of the coordinators is a YSA member. UCF also has a loose steering committee, which can meet before meetings to draw up an agenda and discuss proposals to be brought before the group. The most active members of the group volunteered to serve on the steering committee. Another way to keep the group from having a high turnover is to make it a membership organization. UCF requires \$2 per quarter membership dues. This way it has a list of women it can call upon to carry out the work.

## Recruitment

We've recognized here and nationally, a growing interest on the part of feminists in socialist ideas. Women we work with in campus women's liberation organizations are potential recruits to the YSA. We want to have political discussions with all the women we are working with to find out where they stand. There are many ways to introduce feminists to our ideas. We can sell them subscriptions to the *Militant* or *Young Socialist*, invite them to an SWP campaign event, hold a class series on feminism and socialism, sell them a pamphlet, etc. The important thing is to *do it*. If we think that the potential for recruitment out of our women's liberation work is great, then we have to assign enough comrades to the work to ensure that it gets done. Once we begin to talk to feminist

activists about the YSA, we may be surprised at how easy it is. After all, no other left group supports the women's movement as energetically and enthusiastically as we do.

## Conclusion

There's so much more that can be said about this exciting area of our work. I hope that comrades will attend and participate in the women's liberation workshop at the convention. I am convinced that the YSA's continued participation and leadership in campus women's liberation work will benefit the women's movement nationally and attract increasing numbers of young feminists to join the YSA and fight for a socialist society.

November 19, 1976

## A FEW SUGGESTIONS ON INTERNAL EDUCATION

By Anthony González, San Diego chapter

As comrades may be finding out, organizing a campus chapter as opposed to the previous fraction is more difficult than it sounds. Aside from normalizing meeting times and dates and contending with cramped office space there are several functions that the YSA now must take responsibility for. The one that I want to discuss is internal education.

In the light of the present differentiation of work areas between the YSA and the SWP, internal education takes on a more important role. This is especially true in cities with multiple YSA chapters but only one SWP chapter. Often times it is difficult to regularly collaborate with the party when it is located twenty or more miles away.

I have several suggestions which may help to solve the problems of educating newer comrades on important theoretical and tactical questions.

Order the *Education for Socialists* bulletins. These bulletins published by the SWP are highly informative and take up pressing tactical questions and theoretical innovations, e.g. Peng Shu Tse's analysis of the Chinese revolution. YSA organizers may want to buy binders for these pamphlets and put them on the shelf, readily available for new comrades. A good example is the series on antifascist tactics: *Counter Mobilization*, *40 Years of the Fight Against Fascism*, and *From Mississippi to Boston*. These three bulletins taken together make a splendid, complementary notebook.

Start accumulating a *Militant/Young Socialist/ Intercontinental Press* library. Order the bound yearly volumes of the *Militant*, the *Young Socialist*, and when financially possible, *IP*. This library would provide a wealth of information for new YSAers and contacts. It would be particularly helpful when dealing with opponents like the Spartacus Youth League and the Young Socialists (youth group of the Workers League). These ultraleft sectarians, who so zealously distort past positions and actions of the YSA and the SWP, can be set straight quite easily when the real articles are within reach.

Buy the press of opponents. I don't mean every Maoist sect, or ultraleft publication, but rather the main opponents. Get a chapter subscription to the *Guardian*, the *People's World*, or whatever opponent is strong in your area. This is important in many senses. First, it helps you to keep up on developments within their organizations. Second, reading opponent press will (for new comrades and contacts) quickly clear up any questions as to which organization has the correct line. Just compare a *Militant* to any issue of the *People's World*.

Finally, have regular educationals. This is of utmost importance since most of these will be given by SWP members. The range of topics is endless and comrades may find that educationals can also be used as a recruiting tool.

November 22, 1976

## HOW TO GET THE HIGHEST RETURN ON YOUR INVESTMENT: PUT YOUR MONEY WHERE YOUR PROGRAM IS

By Jim Callahan and Beth Peterson,  
Portland chapter

Since our last convention the YSA has been faced with the task of reorganizing ourselves into campus-based chapters with a predominantly student membership and a definite campus orientation. We moved out of joint offices with the SWP, released large numbers of experienced members who had no perspective of being on campus, organized ourselves into small campus chapters with often less than half the number of members we had before, and throughout all this continued to carry out work around important issues and attempted to maintain a steady pace in such areas of activity as selling the *Young Socialist* and the *Militant*.

One very important and fundamental aspect of our activity has managed to pull through the reorganization, but with definite signs of an ailing health due to inadequate care and attention. This area of work, this vital ingredient for organizing in capitalist America, this necessary foundation for the success of all our other activities, this headache for certain committee directors around the country, this thing that the generations who inherit the socialist revolution will not have to agonize over but which we cannot afford to overlook, is none other than FINANCES.

Money is a very difficult problem these days for some 80 percent of the American people, and included in that is the leadership and ranks of the revolutionary vanguard. We are aiming to build a society that will take care of its own, but we live in a society that couldn't care less what happens to the vast majority of its people, as long as we're around when we're needed and don't cause trouble when we're not. This system is not about to give anything to anyone outside of its tiny circle of rulers, and certainly not about to give anything but relentless opposition to its revolutionaries. So in order to survive and to grow and to aid in building a movement that will be powerful enough to overturn this system from top to bottom and make capitalism a closed chapter in the history of humanity, we have to depend on ourselves.

The financial picture of the YSA has changed a good deal from what it was a year ago. Chapter expenses have been greatly reduced due to the elimination of such costs as rent and supporting full-time organizers. Our income has also been reduced. We no longer have a large number of members who work full time and can afford to pay high sustainers, but along with that, we no longer need such high sustainers because of our reduced expenses, and so can reduce the financial pressure on these members who go to school and can only work part-time or not at all. So, if our expenses have been reduced and our income prospects are adequate to cover expenses, what has been the problem with our finances? It is our opinion that the problem lies in *organizing* our finances and it is the purpose of this contribution to review some time-tested ways in which to do that and to offer suggestions on how to best carry out this area of our work.

A first step and important factor in making our finances successful is the development on the part of every member of a sense of financial responsibility to the YSA. This is

best done through *politically* motivating the importance of our finances. Financial projections are not made in some vacuum, divorced from our other activities. They flow directly from the political projections we make at our conventions and that every chapter attempts to carry out on a day-to-day basis. We strive to involve all members in actively carrying out our political work, but along with the contributions of time and energy, we also need money. Few YSAers are in a financial position where they can afford to contribute without some sacrifice; we can all usually find some good use for our money, like eating. (Of course, we do not mean to imply that comrades should give that up. The battle to balance the books hasn't made us that crazed, yet.) But if we did not depend on our own membership for the financial support of our organization, we would be sacrificing something far greater. If, for example, we depended on sources outside of the YSA for funding, we could someday find ourselves in the position where a course of actions that we had voted to carry out, met with opposition from our financial sources, and the possible withdrawal of funds and financial crippling of our organization. If comrades want to check into some real life examples of this, they could look into the history of SNCC and the liberal sympathizers who held the purse strings.

The membership of the YSA decides on its political activity, carries out our political projections, and holds the purse strings that enable us to do so. We are a self-financing organization that depends on the sense of financial responsibility of its membership to come up with the funds we need to obtain the materials we need to carry out the work of building for socialism in the heart of imperialism.

Along with the political motivation of the importance of our finances, another key factor in making sure we have the funds we need to do what we decide to do, is the actual day by day, week by week, organizing of our finances. The YSA has put out a financial handbook that goes into detail on how to do this and members should read this to familiarize themselves with this aspect of our work. There is just one overall point we want to make on the actual organizing of finances. It has to be done on a *regular* and *consistent* basis. You can't let a few weeks or even one week slip by and expect finances to take care of itself. Money is an inanimate object and it doesn't do anything until someone makes it do something, regardless of the myth the capitalists perpetuate about how money 'grows.' That's how they say they get their profits. It 'grows.' All the fertilizer in the world won't make a dollar bill anything but a dollar bill and all the good intentions in the world won't make sustainer end up in the bank account until someone collects it and puts it there.

Fund drive pledges don't find their way to the N.O. on time unless someone is assigned to work on this on a regular weekly basis, making sure that members are called every week to remind them of their payments, that the pledges materialize, are collected, deposited, the check written and mailed. And it is difficult to know with assurance what expenses can be paid unless the books are

up to date. This must also be done on a regular weekly basis. Unless someone has an affinity for mathematics, bookkeeping can often be a tedious and confusing thing. However, the YSA's financial handbook has some good suggestions for keeping financial records that should be helpful to those chapters who found themselves, after the reorganization, left without anyone who had much experience at finances.

The financial committee will have an easier time of it and fewer headaches if the whole membership is drawn into helping to see that finances work out smoothly. This can be done by giving financial reports every week, informing comrades on how finances are doing, giving a little added motivation if things are tight, and reminding comrades that finances are an ongoing, day in, day out, thing. Drawing up monthly financial budgets and presenting copies of it at business meetings helps comrades to see how the money comes in and how it goes out. There is just no way to over-emphasize the importance of regular and consistent attention to finances.

National finances have been the hardest hit over the past year. Last spring's and this fall's fund drives have been an agony of late starts and a steady falling behind schedule. Our national fund drive goals are quite a bit lower than what they were before the reorganization and the national office has reduced its expenses in order to exist at a lower income. But even with these lower goals we have had trouble making the fund drive projections. Some effects of our poor financial situation nationally, are that we were unable to put out any new materials for Oberlin last August, as comrades will have noticed if they saw the YSA table. The *Young Socialist* has been reduced from a 20 to 24 page periodical to a slim 16 pages. Our financial situation makes it difficult, if not sometimes impossible, for us to send national representatives to conventions and other events of groups which we support and want to work with, both nationally and internationally. If we are to turn this situation around and have adequate financial resources to carry out our work in the best manner possible, it is going to take some added time, thought and emphasis on the part of every chapter towards our national finances.

There are several suggestions we would like to make for chapters who have had difficulty with the fund drive. The first is to begin organizing *early*. Get the budget worked

out, the pledges pinned down and the payment schedules drawn up a week or two *before* the fund drive actually starts. This way the chapter begins on time and on schedule. Last summer the Portland financial committee constantly reminded comrades that the fall fund drive was coming up and that the N.O. was hurting for funds. In this way comrades were already thinking about their pledges and we were able to get all but a few of the pledges pinned down within several weeks of returning from Oberlin. Some other suggestions that have helped us are: weekly calls a day or two before the business meeting, to remind comrades of what they owe; weekly reports to the chapter on the progress of the fund drive both locally and nationally and reminding comrades of the political importance of our finances; making an income and payment projection chart for the whole course of the fund drive in order to see what the picture looks like and to be able to anticipate difficulties before they flare up. Fundraising events or other sources of income should be planned in such a way that the money comes in early enough to prevent the chapter from falling behind schedule. Fund drive income should be collected weekly and sent in immediately. Fund drive income nationally is like sustain-er income locally; it must come in on a regular weekly basis if the YSA is to be able to meet expenses.

In our humble and unbiased opinion, the Young Socialist Alliance is the most impressive, dynamic, and influential revolutionary student organization in the U.S. We have a long and proud history of being in the forefront of student struggles. Yet we have years of struggle still ahead of us. In order to be able to effectively intervene in, aid, and lead the struggles that are arising today and will continue to arise, we will find a healthy and secure financial foundation a great asset. It is going to take the participation and attention of every YSA member to pull us out of the slump we have been in for the past year. It is going to take the added attention of chapter organizers and financial directors to see that finances are motivated, organized and carried out. With this added attention we should be able to begin the spring fund drive on time, on schedule, and continue it with a steady flow of income to assure that our national finances will be adequate to meet our needs.

November 26, 1976

## A PERSPECTIVE FOR YOUTH

By Ronald Grubaugh, Northridge chapter, Los Angeles local

As we approach the beginning of the twenty-first century, we see many struggles being waged for basic human rights, and many powerful gains already won. Women, Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and the working class as a whole have improved their conditions considerably. However one major segment of the population has been largely (but not completely) forgotten in this movement. There is one oppressed minority which has no political rights whatsoever. In the midst of a world which professes freedom they are totally enslaved, having all of their important decisions made for them by other people. And, in order to keep them in this position, they are subject to a continuous campaign of physical violence and torture supported by virtually the entire society. They have struggled and continue to struggle on a day-to-day basis against their oppression but their demands have not been heard because they lack the physical and mental strength to succeed in this struggle by themselves. I am, of course, speaking of young people.

The YSA has an excellent record of action on behalf of the many oppressed peoples of the world. I think that it is important that we continue this tradition but I think that it is also important that we take a deeper look at our own liberation, youth liberation.

We are youth and we are oppressed as youth even as young workers and college students. We are the kids of this society. For this reason our interests are inseparable from the interests of youth as a whole. We tend to ignore this aspect of our youth identity because we are taught to view youth and childhood in such a negative light. Even as young children we shun being identified with younger children. We have been taught to hate ourselves. To raise the issues of the liberation of older youth without raising the issues of the liberation of younger youth is to avoid the central issue of youth liberation. Does one group of human beings have the right to control the affairs of another group of human beings against their will because of their "greater knowledge and experience"? How is one to gain this knowledge and experience if not permitted to make one's own decisions? Is the ignorance and irresponsibility of so many young people cause for their enslavement, or caused by their enslavement?

The YSA wishes to win the leadership of the youth movement. We wish to address high school students. If we are to expect high school and younger students to relate to the oppression of people around the world, we must relate to *their* oppression. We must take a stand on *their* liberation. If we do not address these issues we run the risk of being viewed as just more adults (read oppressor).

Consider how many high school students still live under the whip. Most high school students are still the property of their parents and are legally compelled to have their permission in order to do anything! How can young people be expected to relate to such ideas as student control of the schools when those schools represent to them and are in fact a prison. There is no such thing as a free prison.

I am not proposing that the YSA take any particular action on these issues at this point. What I am proposing is that we adopt an explicit and comprehensive youth liberation program, a program for the liberation of all

youth. I feel that this is a basic responsibility that we have as a youth organization if not an historic task. The following is my suggestion for that program:

We as children and young adults demand:

1. *The right to protection from physical assault.* Just as it is illegal to violently assault an adult so it should be illegal to violently assault a child. This would mean an end to the sometimes mild form of torture euphemistically termed "corporal punishment". Ban the belt!

2. *The right to equal employment opportunities.* This would include not only the right to a job but as well equal pay for equal work.

3. *The right to control our education.* We must call for an immediate end to compulsory education. Students should control their schools.

4. *Free and equal access to education for all.* We need free education and college opportunities for everyone of every race. Desegregate the schools!

5. *The right to control our bodies.* This fundamental right includes not only protection from sexual exploitation regardless of age but the right to engage in sexual activities with whomever one chooses regardless of age, free access to birth control and abortion.

6. *The right to run our own lives.* The abolition of all custody laws which render children the property of adults and compel them to abide by their will, enslaving the parent as well as the child.

7. *The right to know the truth about life.* We must end censorship "on behalf" of children and a sex education program which is nothing more than an indoctrination into heterosexual "sex for procreation" norms. We must end the complicity of society in "Santa Claus" and other adult conspiracies to deceive children about life and render them cute and helpless.

8. *The right to a human birth.* The "characteristic" crying of babies at birth is not the natural phenomenon as has been supposed. It is screams of terror resulting from being handled as unfeeling new pieces of property instead of as human beings. This has been proven by Dr. Frederick Leboyer who has delivered hundreds of human beings *without a tear*. We must abolish the involuntary circumcision of defenseless babies.

9. *An end to all age laws.* This would mean an end to double standards and discrimination for young and old. Age itself is not a valid criterion for anything. Universal suffrage is long overdue.

As we grow older the tendency is to forget about what it is like to be a child. We are taught to forget. I'm asking you to remember, to remember the anger, the frustration, the confusion, and most of all how much you wanted to fight and win and how the demand to control your affairs was beaten out of you. Is it any wonder that it is so difficult to get people to fight in their own defense. I am asking you to assert your solidarity with the struggle that was so important to you for so many years.

I would like to recommend two excellent books for those interested in further reading on the topic of youth rights: *Birthrights* by Richard Farson and *Birth Without Violence* by Dr. Frederick Leboyer.

November 28, 1976

Come to the

# Young Socialist Alliance National Convention

**Dec. 31- Jan. 2**

**Sheraton-  
Chicago Hotel  
Chicago, Illinois**

For local information:



**Reports, Panels, and Workshops on: South Africa, ERA and Abortion Rights, School Desegregation, Chicano Liberation, Death Penalty, Puerto Rican Independence, CIA and FBI Crimes, Anticutbacks Fight, Latin American Political Prisoners, Building the YSA**

**Classes, Delegated Sessions, Special Presentations, New Year's Eve Party  
Registration begins Thursday at 6:00 pm, fee \$5 or \$2.50 for high school students**

For more information contact: Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003,  
(212) 989-7570 or Young Socialist Alliance, 407 S. Dearborn #1145, Chicago, Ill. 60605, (312) 427-0280