

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

October 21, 1970

TO ALL ORGANIZERS, NC MEMBERS AND AT-LARGERS

Dear Comrades,

As Larry Seigle's article in the October 23 Militant, "Administration Opens Campaign To Silence Campus Dissent," explains, one of the central weapons in Nixon's drive to depoliticize the campuses is a new set of political guidelines issued by the American Council on Education in June on the basis of a May meeting between ACE, the Internal Revenue Service and the Justice Department. These guidelines are enclosed, along with the Columbia University guidelines based on the ACE statement. (The ACE guidelines are on page 4 of the enclosure containing the Columbia guidelines.)

The VFW Magazine article enclosed in the mailing has been reported in both IP and The Militant. Hoover's letter and the YSA Open Letter have also been reported on in The Militant.

The administration's attempt to roll back the student movement depends heavily on these IRS guidelines and the extent to which they can be enforced in the climate whipped up by red-baiting and violence-baiting the movement and by the prosecutions and media coverage of prosecutions which take place in the red-baiting and violence-baiting atmosphere.

This assault by the administration calls for a major national campaign by the YSA.

The campaign should focus on the guidelines. According to a recent article in The New York Times, an ACE survey showed that nearly every school in the country had taken steps to bring its own policies in line with the ACE-IRS guidelines.

Such locals as New York, Atlanta and Berkeley have already encountered restrictions based on the guidelines on the Columbia, Emory and Cal. State, Berkeley, campuses, and have initiated broad united fronts to fight against these restrictions and against the guidelines. Comrades should follow these efforts in The Militant.

In addition, other locals which have encountered new restrictions and attempts at repression this fall should send in complete and detailed reports about the new regulations and the action which has been started to protest them.

Locals which have not yet encountered the effects of these guidelines should immediately begin an investigation of any and all new regulations governing political activity on the campuses in their areas and track down the source of the new policies. It is quite probable that in almost every case, the source will turn out to be the IRS guidelines.

Reports on new restrictions should be sent to the N.O. along with reports of plans underway to launch campaigns to remove these new restrictions.

We should attempt to involve as broad a range of groups and individuals as possible in united front committees to carry out this campaign. One task is to educate the general student body about the guidelines and what they mean. On the basis of that education, and as a part of it, actions should be organized such as rallies, delegations to university officials, etc.

In areas where there is a basis for injunctions or other legal action, and there appears to be any chance of obtaining the necessary legal help without exorbitant fees, the N.O. should be consulted about pursuing legal challenges to the restrictions on the individual campuses and to the IRS guidelines themselves on the basis of the First Amendment.

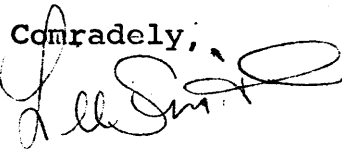
While we want to focus on the IRS guidelines and do as much as possible to wipe them out of the way in the course of this campaign, there are a couple of other dimensions to keep in mind.

One is the role of red-baiting in the campaign. We should use the campaign against the guidelines to explain to the rest of the students the role played by red-baiting. We should give the YSA's Open Letter a wide circulation. Locals should order sufficient quantities for mass distribution. We want to explain to students why the YSA is singled out for special mention by the red-baiters--because we have a clear program for the campus.

Another aspect is the movement around the arrests at Kent State. It is quite likely that the reaction to these arrests will be powerful and massive. We should be ready to relate the campaign against the IRS guidelines to the defense of the Kent State 25 in the event that Kent becomes the kind of focus for a contest between Nixon and the student movement that it has the potential to become.

There will be a tasks article on this question in the next issue of The YS Organizer and an article by Susan LaMont in the October 30 issue of The Militant.

The enclosed materials are being sent with a separate cover letter to 1500 campus papers by the N.O.

Comradely,  


Lee Smith  
YSA National Office

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OPEN LETTER TO U.S. STUDENTS OPEN LETTER TO U.S. STUDENTS  
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# An Open Letter To U.S. Students From the YSA

*On September 21, 1970, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover issued a statement to the United Press International in the form of an "Open Letter to College Students." On the same day, Rep. Samuel L. Devine (Ohio Republican) read the text of Hoover's statement into the Congressional Record. More significantly, The New York Times reported on September 28, 1970, that President Nixon had sent the letter out with an accompanying cover-letter over his own signature to 900 college and university presidents. The text which appears below is taken from the text inserted into the September 21 Congressional Record by Rep. Devine.*

## OPEN LETTER TO COLLEGE STUDENTS

(By J. Edgar Hoover, Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation)

(NOTE. — In the following Open Letter To College Students, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover pinpoints eight ploys used by radical extremists in their efforts to steer justifiable campus protest into violent and destructive channels.)

As a 1970 college student, you belong to the best educated, most sophisticated, most poised generation in our history.

The vast majority of you, I am convinced, sincerely love America and want to make it a better country.

You do have ideas of your own—and that's good. You see things wrong in our society which we adults perhaps have minimized or overlooked. You are outspoken and frank and hate hypocrisy. That is good too.

There's nothing wrong with student dissent or student demands for changes in society or the display of student unhappiness over aspects of our national policy. Student opinion is a legitimate aspect of public opinion in our society.

But there is real ground for concern about the extremism which led to violence, lawlessness, and disrespect for the rights of others on many college campuses during the past year.

The extremists are a small minority of students and faculty members who have lost faith in America. They ridicule the flag, poke fun at American institutions, seek to destroy our society. They are not interested in genuine reform. They take advantage of the tensions, strife, and often legitimate frustrations of students to promote campus chaos. They have no rational, intelligent plan of the future either for the university or the Nation.

The extremists are of wide variety: adherents of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) including the Weatherman;



members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the Trotskyist youth group; the Communist Party's Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). Or they may be associated with the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC), a Trotskyist-dominated antiwar group.

Many are not associated with any national group. The key point is not so much the identification of extremists but learning to recognize and understand the mentality of extremism which believes in violence and destruction.

Based on our experience in the FBI, here are some of the ways in which extremists will try to lure you into their activities:

1. They'll encourage you to lose respect for your parents and the older generation. This will be one of their first attacks, trying to cut you off from home. You'll hear much about the "failures" and "hypocrisy" of your parents and their friends. The older generation has made mistakes but your parents and millions of other adults worked hard, built, sacrificed, and suffered to make America what it is today. It is their country too. You may disagree with them, but don't discredit their contributions.

2. They'll try to convert you to the idea that your college is "irrelevant" and "a tool of the Establishment." The attack against the college administration often is bitter, arrogant, and unreasoning. SDSers, for example, have sought to disrupt the colleges by demanding the right to select professors, determine the curriculum, and set grading standards.

3. They'll ask you to abandon your basic common sense. Campus extremism thrives on specious generalizations, wild accusations, and unverified allegations. Complex issues of state are wrapped in slogans and cliches. Dogmatic statements are issued as if they were the final truth. You should carefully examine the facts. Don't blindly follow courses of action suggested by extremists. Don't get involved in a cause just because it seems "fashionable" or the "thing to do." Rational discussion and rational analysis are needed more than ever before.

4. They'll try to envelop you in a mood of negativism, pessimism, and alienation toward yourself, your school, your Nation. This is one of the most insidious New Left poisons. SDS and its allies judge America exclusively from its flaws. They see nothing good, positive, and constructive. This leads to a philosophy of bitterness, defeatism, and rancor. I would like you to know your country more intimately. I would want you to look for the deeper unifying forces in America, the moods of national character, determination, and sacrifice which are working to correct these flaws. The real strength of our Nation is the power of morality, decency, and conscience which rights the wrong, corrects error, and works for equal opportunity under the law.

5. They'll encourage you to disrespect the law and hate the law enforcement officer. Most college students have good friends who are police officers. You know that when extremists call the police "pigs" they are wrong. The officer protects your rights, lives, and property. He is your friend and he needs your support.

6. They'll tell you that any action is honorable and right if it's "sincere" or "idealistic" in motivation. Here is one of the most seductive of New Left appeals—that if an arsonist's or anarchist's heart is in the right place, if he feels he is doing something for "humanity" or a "higher cause," then his act, even if illegal, is justifiable. Remember that acts have consequences. The alleged sincerity of the perpetrator does not absolve him from responsibility. His acts may affect the rights, lives, and property of others. Just being a student or being on campus does not automatically confer immunity or grant license to violate the law. Just because you don't like a law doesn't mean you can violate it with impunity.

7. They'll ask you to believe that you, as a student and citizen, are powerless by democratic means to effect change

in our society. Remember the books on American history you have read. They tell the story of the creative self-renewal of this Nation through change. Public opinion time after time has brought new policies, goals, and methods. The individual is not helpless or caught in "bureaucracy" as these extremists claim.

8. They'll encourage you to hurl bricks and stones instead of logical argument at those who disagree with your views. I remember an old saying: "He who strikes the first blow has run out of ideas." Violence is as ancient as the cave man; as up-to-date as the Weatherman. Death and injury, fear, distrust, animosity, polarization, counter-violence—these arise from violence. The very use of violence shows the paucity of rational thought in the SDS, its inability to come up with any intelligent critique of our society.

Personally, I don't think the outlook for campus unrest this year is as bleak as some prophets of pessimism proclaim. The situation at some colleges is serious, but certainly not hopeless.

Along with millions of other adults, I'm betting on the vast majority of students who remain fairminded, tolerant, inquisitive, but also firm about certain basic principles of human dignity, respect for the rights of others, and a willingness to learn. I am confident our faith has not been misplaced.

Hoover's letter represents a serious attack on student rights. While some people may excuse it as just another smear attack by an aging cop who makes a habit of such witch-hunting pronouncements, actually it is a dangerous challenge that must be met and repudiated by the entire student movement. Hoover's letter is one component of a generalized assault being launched by the Nixon administration on the basic democratic rights and civil liberties of students. Nixon is launching his assault this fall in an attempt to roll back the gains won in the student strike of May 1970 and to silence the growing student opposition to his policies. This becomes clear when the letter is viewed together with several other developments.

First, Nixon personally sent this letter out with a cover letter of his own to 900 college and university presidents. Second, Nixon's lieutenants, attorney-general Mitchell and Vice President Agnew, have both attacked the report by the Scranton Commission on campus unrest. Third, we should take account of the FBI's request for appropriations to send 1,000 FBI agents onto the campuses this fall. Fourth, the Internal Revenue Service has issued a new set of political "guidelines" for schools to follow in order to maintain their tax-exempt status; at such campuses as Northeastern, Columbia, Yale, Kent State, the University of Washington and New York University, these guidelines have already served as a basis for the promulgation of new restrictions on the political rights of students, including prior censorship of college newspapers.

Last May we all gained a new sense of our own power in constructing the new forms of struggle—mass meetings and strike committees—with which we transformed the universities into antiwar universities, that is, instruments for mobilizing other sections of the population in united mass action against the war in Indochina. This fall Nixon is challenging the right of students to continue organizing the majority of Americans who oppose the war into mass antiwar actions. We must respond to Nixon's challenge with the same kind of unity and energy we demonstrated in responding to the invasion of Cambodia and the murders in Kent, Jackson and Augusta. Hoover's letter is an attempt to smear the student movement and thus justify a crackdown on student rights and liberties.

The Young Socialist Alliance finds in this letter an outrageous twisting of the truth. It is a classic example of the kind of arguments used by the powerful when they perceive a challenge to their power to continue exploiting and oppressing people. These arguments have several features:

1. They picture society as a monolith and equate opposition to government policies with a hatred of and desire to destroy everything in the society. They try to present the reform and reconstruction of society as disorder and chaos. To achieve this end, they utter platitudes about the flag, patriotism and loving America—as if the interests of Nixon and the administration were the same as the interests of the majority of the American people. But the United States is divided! Nixon does not represent the majority of women, working people, young people, Blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans—those who are exploited and denied the opportunity to develop their full human potential by the Hoovers, Nixons, Agnews and the tiny minority of capitalists who own and run society for their own benefit. The legitimate grievances of the majority will not be wiped away with red-baiting, empty patriotism or appeals to love for an abstract monolithic America.

2. They distort and try to obscure the real demands, proposals and objectives of radicals. "They have no rational, intelligent plan," Hoover says. "They'll ask you to abandon your common sense." But masses of students do not move into action because an imaginary handful of "extremists" can make them take leave of their reason. We move because we want to create an alternative to the decay and misery we see around us and we know such an alternative is possible. We want to stop research for war and use the schools to organize the antiwar movement. We want to open college doors to Third World people and use the schools to organize for self-determination. We want to break down the arbitrary restrictions on the fields of study open to women and use the schools to organize day-care and abortion centers. We want to study the real history of women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans and all of the oppressed whose role in bettering the life of the masses in this country is distorted or ignored in current history courses.

3. They try to make the victim into the criminal and the criminal into the victim. These men, who bear the responsibility for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, tens of thousands of American GIs and countless others here at home and around the world, have the audacity to speak about violence as if it came from the students! As they prepare to interfere with the peaceful exercise of fundamental political and human rights by students—who are citizens like anyone else—they try to brand their victims as "extremists" and perpetrators of violence. These hypocritical accusations are designed to hide the truth about the real extremists—the mass executioners and exploiters who would rob those opposing them of their basic rights. Nixon and Hoover are the real extremists. The real source of violence is the cops and troops they maintain to guard private property and preserve the status quo around the world.

At the same time that young people between the ages of 18 and 21 are winning the right to vote, the Nixon administration is attempting to prevent students from engaging in political activity on the campuses through the IRS guidelines. And the FBI director has the gall to talk

about "creative self-renewal" and to make mock gestures toward student opinion as "a legitimate aspect of public opinion in our society."

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Finally, the YSA wants to respond to Nixon's and Hoover's witch-hunting smear of our organization by name, and to their attempt to discredit our ideas as part of their broader campaign to discredit the entire student radicalization.

The YSA is a revolutionary socialist youth organization whose purpose is the building of a revolutionary movement which can lead the working people in the transformation of society and the construction of socialism. We base our program on the principles of Marxism and on the traditions of the American people represented by figures like Sam Adams, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Eugene Debs and Malcolm X.

The tradition of which we are a part—of struggle against injustice and exploitation, and of international solidarity among the oppressed of all countries—is the best tradition of the American people, and the attempt of Nixon and his administration to resurrect the witch-hunt hysteria of the 1950s when this tradition was stigmatized as "alien" and "un-American" will not work. Too many things have changed since the 1950s for these scare tactics to work today, and the YSA is proud of the role it has played in those changes.

In the ten years since the YSA was founded, we have played a major role in the development of the student movement.

The Cuban revolution demonstrated to tens of thousands of young people what the "threat of red aggression" in reality meant—people who had been stepped on by the United States government standing up and saying, "Enough!" and taking control of their own affairs. The YSA has been among the most consistent and active defenders of the Cuban revolution, and of the struggles of other colonial peoples for their democratic right to self-determination.

One of the most important factors in sweeping back the vestiges of McCarthyite thought-control was the growth of the mass movement against the war in Vietnam. The YSA has played an important role in the antiwar movement from the beginning. Before the first SDS-called demonstration in April 1965, the YSA had raised the issue of Vietnam in the earlier peace movement against nuclear testing. When the April 1965 action was called, the YSA went on a campaign to build participation in it. Since that time, we have worked actively for the organizing of mass demonstrations by coalitions based on non-exclusion—i. e., the participation of anyone who agrees with the demand of immediate withdrawal, regardless of his or her other political beliefs.

Today the YSA is one of the major national organizations actively building the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the National Peace Action Coalition.

Another factor in blunting the thrust of 1950s anti-communism has been the resurgence of the Black struggle, the growth of Black nationalism and the upsurge of nationalist consciousness and militancy among other oppressed national minorities, such as Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Native Americans. The YSA was one of the first groups

to recognize the revolutionary potential of nationalism in the Black struggle, and was, along with the Socialist Workers Party, alone on the left in supporting the ideas and publishing the speeches of Malcolm X *while he was still alive*. The YSA is a multi-national organization, and Third World YSAers are active in all phases of the struggles for self-determination of the oppressed national minorities. We work for the formation of mass independent political parties, such as the Chicano La Raza Unida Party—a Black party, a Puerto Rican party—to serve as vehicles for mobilizing Third World communities in the fight for community control, and as a means of breaking masses away politically from the racist, capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

During the last half of the past decade, the pace of the radicalization has quickened, bringing more and more forces into struggle against this oppressive system. One of the most powerful new movements that has risen during this period is the women's liberation movement. Women leaders of the YSA were among the first to become involved in and inspired by this profoundly revolutionary movement. The YSA immediately realized the enormous potential for drawing in participation of the masses of women to fight against the institutions which restrict them to an inferior status. This potential has only begun to be tapped and has already swelled the movement to the point that its adherents number in the tens of thousands. This was clearly proven by the massive turn-outs for marches and rallies around the country on August 26, marches and rallies the YSA led in organizing.

One of the ways the YSA works to build the mass movements against the war, for self-determination and for women's liberation is by supporting the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP candidates are activists who play a day-to-day role in organizing and leading the mass movements. They use their campaigns to educate more people about these movements and to win new forces to the struggles for liberation and against war. These socialist election campaigns provide a clear-cut alternative to those looking for a way out of the hollow game of capitalist Democratic and Republican party politics.

Another way we work for the mass movements is by organizing and mobilizing students in colleges and high schools, using the campuses as bases to reach out to other sections of the population. The YSA has a comprehensive program for the campus, linking up the needs of students with those of the majority of the population. We call for free education, the abolition of tuition, an annual salary for students and guaranteed jobs upon graduation. We call for student-faculty control of education, full civil liberties for all students, including high school students, and no police on campus. We call for an end to campus complicity with the Vietnam war. We call for community control of education by Third World communities, adequately financed Third World studies departments, required courses in Third World history for all students, and the right of national minorities to use their own language in the school system. We call for an end to the discrimination against women, for birth control information and contraceptives provided by the schools, for free abortion on demand in college clinics and school-financed 24-hour child-care centers.

The YSA is an open, legal organization; our ideas and activities are not secret and never have been. In fact, we

do all we can to publicize them as broadly as possible because we want the growing numbers of young people who share our ideas to join the YSA! Our aspiration is to help lead and speak for the entire student radicalization by winning the support and confidence of the majority of students in this country. We know we do not yet enjoy majority support for our full program, but we also know that we *do* enjoy majority support for our right to put forward our ideas and try to win the majority over to them. Hoover's tar brush will not succeed in painting us as some kind of underground "conspiracy." Our record is clear—as Marxists, we believe that only the power of masses acting openly and in unison can be effective in changing society. We seek support through the public exercise of our political rights. That is why Nixon can only get at us by attacking the rights of all students.

The interests of revolutionary socialists are not different from those of other students. Any victory that gains students more control over their lives—such as the May strike and the antiwar university—is a victory for revolutionaries. We participate in campus struggles with the audacity and confidence which stem from our identification with the interests of the majority.

The YSA calls upon the entire student movement to join us in repudiating Hoover and Nixon and in building united fronts to defend the gains of the student strike last May. And to those students who see that the problems of the university are caused by capitalism, we say help us lead the coming American socialist revolution — JOIN THE YSA!

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

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STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

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### TO THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY:

*Following is a memorandum issued September 17 by President William McGill concerning the University and political activity. This memorandum is being made available to students, faculty, and staff to assure maximum opportunity for a complete understanding of the University's policy regarding political activity and the regulations that will be applied in the enforcement of this policy.*

*Office of Public Affairs  
Columbia University  
September 25, 1970*

## ***I. The University and Political Activity***

Columbia University as a seat of learning and free inquiry has traditionally been a place in which divergent political views could be freely held and freely expressed by individuals and groups. Persons within the University have customarily been free to exercise their rights as citizens to be politically active, individually or in organizations. These honored rights are not in question. We all may take considerable pride in the fact that good judgment has generally shaped the actions of the members of Columbia University in pursuit of their many interests as citizens. Reciprocally, the University has long been dedicated to the proposition that the learning enterprise is best served by a conception of education broad enough to comprehend and even, in some instances, to make physical room for, activities that go well beyond those traditionally bounded by the classroom, the laboratory, and the research bureau. Consistent with this conception, the University continues to consider participation in political and social action by individuals and groups to be a valuable part of the educational experience it seeks to provide.

At the same time, the University as a corporation is steward of material resources for its educational function which it has been able to acquire through the generosity over long years of its alumni and friends and to attract in no small part because it is legally tax-exempt for its educational function. The University has an inescapable responsibility to protect those resources and the tax-exempt status by which society tangibly recognizes the value to all its citizens

of the University's educational function and encourages the further growth of such resources.

Some recent and proposed political activities of Columbia students and faculty members present new situations in this context. Wide participation in the political campaigns for this autumn's Congressional elections makes it necessary to provide some guidance to members of the University about the lines of action that must be observed in order for the University to retain tax-exempt status under the United States Internal Revenue Code and comply with other applicable federal and state laws.

The American Council on Education has carefully investigated these problems, discussed them thoroughly with the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and his staff, and finally secured his approval of a set of general guidelines. A copy of these guidelines is attached, supplementing an earlier distribution to deans, directors, and chairmen and to the Executive Committee of the University Senate.

The University administration has evaluated present and possible activities on the campus in the light of the problems to which the guidelines direct attention. The University's attorneys have advised that the University not only must stay within the guidelines if it is to retain its federal tax-exempt status and avoid possible criminal penalties, but also must observe particular precautions in order to maintain its exemption from local property taxation. The New York Real Property Tax Law requires the University's property to be used "exclusively" for its educational purposes in order to be exempt from local real property taxation. The use of University facilities for political campaigning purposes could mean the loss of the University's real property tax exemption for

property so used, thus adding further burdens to an already overburdened budget.

Since the tax deductibility by a donor of his gift to Columbia depends upon whether Columbia is tax-exempt under federal law, it is obvious that Columbia, an institution that lives on gifts that are tax-deductible, is dependent on its tax-exempt status in order to continue its operations. If Columbia's federal tax exemption is even seriously questioned by the commissioner, gifts to Columbia will cease.

Under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code, there are two requirements for exempt status relevant here:

1) "no substantial part of the activities of" such an institution may be "carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation"; and

2) such an exempt organization may "not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office."

The Federal Corrupt Practices Act makes it "unlawful" for "any corporation whatever . . . to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election" (including primaries, political conventions, etc.) for federal office. Columbia University is a corporation chartered by the New York legislature. The Corrupt Practices Act carries criminal penalties not only for a corporation which violates it, but also for officers of the corporation who consent to the violation and for any person who accepts or receives any such prohibited contribution. The courts have decided that free or only partly reimbursed use of facilities or personnel constitutes a contribution. Such contributions in a candidate's campaign constitute participation or intervention in that campaign.

There must be a clear separation between the tax-exempt educational work of Columbia University and any organized political campaign activities of the members of the Columbia University academic community. The trustees, in a recent communication to the University Senate, affirmed "that every individual member of the Columbia University academic community has the right, and indeed, the duty, as a private citizen, to express his views on various political issues, and to play a citizen's role in the election process." But this right does not extend to the use of tax-exempt funds of the University to support the expression of his political views or his participation as a citizen in the election process—either directly or indirectly by free or only partly reimbursed use of University facilities or personnel.

Charging fully for use of such services or facilities as can be made available will help to obviate the possibility of the University's making a contribution to a campaign in violation of both the Internal Revenue Code and the Corrupt Practices Act. However, if the University allowed its facilities and services to be availed of excessively by political candidates or by those campaigning for political candidates, even though it charged for their use, it could be held to have "participated" or "intervened" in a political campaign within the meaning of the In-

ternal Revenue Code as construed by the commissioner. In addition, it might be held to have used its real property for other than an exempt purpose under the Real Property Tax Law. These risks are real and cannot be ignored.

Although at this stage it is impossible to anticipate every situation which may arise, all members of the University community are expected, in the light of the considerations outlined above, to comply with the Statement of Columbia University Policies and Practices which follows and to seek clarifications should their application to a particular situation seem unclear. This statement constitutes our interpretation of the general guidelines issued by the American Council on Education as they apply to our own setting and in the light of other locally applicable as well as federal laws.

## *II. Statement of Columbia University Policies and Practices on Campus Political Activities*

1) When endorsing or opposing a candidate for political office or taking a position on an issue for the purpose of assisting or opposing a candidate, individuals and groups within Columbia University should take special care to make it clear that they are speaking only for themselves and not for the University.

2) Faculty and staff may take part in partisan political activities freely on their own time, but they must not do so at the expense of their regular responsibilities to the University and its students.

3) Columbia University's name or insignia cannot be used on stationary or other documents intended for political purposes, including soliciting funds for political support or carrying on a political campaign.

4) Funds or other contributions may not be solicited in the name of Columbia University for political support or carrying on a political campaign. Campus-based organizations soliciting funds for political purposes must include in such solicitations a statement that contributions are not to Columbia University and are not tax-deductible.

5) The University's bulk-mailing privilege may not be extended for political purposes; nor will the University's mailing lists be made available for such purposes.

6) University addresses, including those of departmental offices or faculty or staff offices, should not be used as mailing addresses for political campaign purposes.

7) The eligibility of an organization for assignment of University space will be governed by both the composition of its membership and the nature of the activity to be conducted in that space. Columbia University-related organizations composed solely of members of the corporate University community may utilize available University space assigned to them, subject in some instances to rental charges where called for by University space rental regulations, to engage in political activities that are directed entirely within the University community. (For ap-



plicable University space rental regulations, see No. 11 below.) When such organizations engage also in political activities aimed off-campus toward support of legislation or support of, or opposition to, any candidate for public office, they may not utilize University space for these activities, but instead must conduct all such activities off-campus. University-related organizations which involve non-University members, participants, or employees and that engage in political activities directed toward support of legislation or support of, or opposition to, any candidate for political office will be ineligible for assignments of University space and their campus representatives must obtain and use post office boxes or other off-campus mail addresses for such activities.

8) Campus-based organizations that participate or intervene in political campaigns of candidates or that attempt to influence legislation will be required to pay proper and appropriate charges for costs that such actions as are permissible on campus impose on the University. Typically, this will involve reimbursement for telephones, duplicating and other incidental costs. Of course, it will be necessary to terminate impermissible activities on campus and to require reimbursement for costs they impose on the University.

9) Staff, including office and other employees, may not—and should not be asked to—perform tasks related to partisan political activities while on duty at the University.

10) Campus-based organizations, no less than other organizations, should note that they are subject to local, state, and federal laws and bear responsibility for compliance with them.

11) **Space Rental Regulations:** Where proposed activities are permitted under the ACE guidelines and the implementing Statement of Columbia University Policies and Practices on Campus Political Activities, when space is available for assignment, the following space regulations will be applicable:

A) **Offices and Other Facilities Regularly Reserved for Student Use:** There will be no change in present methods of allocating space ordinarily reserved for student and other campus organizations. Space in Ferris Booth Hall, for example, will be allocated through the Board of Managers and the Columbia College Director of Student Activities, as in the past. However, any campus organization which "participates" or "intervenes" in a political campaign will be required to pay the full rental fee, even if the organization would otherwise be eligible for reduced rates or an exemption from the standard fees. Copies of the fee schedule for Wollman Auditorium and other meeting rooms in Ferris Booth Hall are available from the Office of Student Activities, 206 Ferris Booth Hall.

B) **Other Lecture Halls and Meeting Rooms:** Campus organizations wishing to use McMillin Theater, Harkness Theater, or other large lecture halls or classrooms will be charged for the use of those facilities, if the auditorium, lecture hall, or classroom is to be used in support of any political campaign. Rental charges will be based upon seating capacity (at 20 cents per seat for one day or any part thereof). On this basis, McMillin Theater will rent

for \$242.40 and Harkness Theater will rent for \$58.80. Additional charges will be made if special services are required, including such items as loud-speaker systems and janitorial and guard services above those ordinarily provided. Requests for the use of any auditorium, lecture hall or classroom should be presented to the Office of the Registrar in sufficient detail and in ample time to permit the proposed use to be examined in light of the Guidelines and the Statement of Columbia University Policies and Practices on Campus Political Activities. All fees must be paid in advance. In no case will these facilities be made available in a manner which interferes with their scheduled use for regular University activities.

C) **Office Space Rental:** Office and other working space normally assigned to student and other campus organizations is extremely limited in supply but may be used, if available, for purposes permitted by University policies and the guidelines. Student organizations desiring such space should apply to the University director for student interests, who will determine whether they are eligible to be assigned space. If he determines that the applicant organization is eligible and if the space in question is available, it may be assigned by him on a week-to-week basis. Other organizations should apply directly to the University coordinator (see below) for assignments of office or other working space. If the organization in either case desiring space has participated or intends to participate in any manner in a political campaign, rental charges will be imposed. The standard rental rates will be \$4.50 per square foot per year or, on a weekly basis, 9 cents per square foot per week. Advance deposit of one week's rental will be required. The space so assigned may be repossessed by the University coordinator upon the expiration of one week of advance notice if it becomes needed for ordinary University functions, or the occupant is delinquent in payment of rent, or repossessed immediately for failure to comply with any of the conditions set forth in this Statement of Policies and Practices or such amendments as may be subsequently issued to assure protection of the University's tax-exempt status.

D) **Equipment:** Campus representatives of organizations actively engaged off-campus in support of any political candidate should arrange for the installation of their own telephones and for rental outside the University of office equipment, and for the purchase of office supplies to be used in connection with such political activity. Approval for telephone installations in University buildings must be obtained from the University Purchasing Department; such telephones must not be on the University Centrex system but on a different exchange. In no such case should services, equipment, or supplies be purchased or rented in the name of the University.

12) **University Coordinator:** I have appointed John A. Bornemann [special assistant to the president] to act as University coordinator to deal with the matters covered in this memorandum as my personal representative. He will report directly to me.

*William J. McGill, President, September 17, 1970.*

**Guidelines on Questions Relating  
to Tax Exemption and Political  
Activities—Statement of the Amer-  
ican Council on Education,  
June 19, 1970**

Recent activities on college campuses have given rise to expressions of concern within colleges and universities and on the part of members of Congress and others that institutions of higher education may inadvertently or otherwise involve themselves in political campaigns in such a way as to raise questions as to their entitlement to exemption under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code and as to liability under other provisions of federal law. Activities which would bring into serious question the entitlement of a college or university to tax exemption could undermine the private support of higher education as a whole, so essential to the very existence of many such institutions. For this reason, educational institutions benefiting from the tax exemption should be aware of the problem and exercise care to make certain that their activities remain within the limits permitted by the statute.

Exemption of colleges and universities from federal income taxes is dependent upon their qualifying as institutions organized and operated *exclusively* for religious, charitable, or educational purposes described in Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. For some years that section has provided that "no substantial part of the activities of" an exempt institution may be "carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation" and further, that an exempt institution may "not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office."

By the Tax Reform Act of 1969, the last-quoted prohibition was incorporated in companion provisions of the Internal Revenue Code dealing with the deduction of contributions for income, gift, and estate tax purposes. As interpreted, this provision would deny exempt status to institutions engaging in legislative activities which are *substantial* in the light of all the facts and circumstances. Additionally, it *absolutely* proscribes participation in or intervention by an exempt institution in any "political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office."

The mere rearrangement of an academic calendar for the purpose of permitting students, faculty, and other members of the academic community to participate in the election process, without more, would not be deemed intervention or participation by the institution itself in a campaign on behalf of a candidate. Nor does it constitute proscribed legislative activity. This assumes that the recess period is in fact a substitute for another period which would have been free of curricular activity, and that the university itself does not otherwise intervene in a political campaign. During the period of the recess, members of the academic community should be entirely free to participate in the election process or not as they choose and should be so advised. The case may be different if the academic calendar, in fact, is shortened rather than rearranged for the purpose of permitting students, faculty and other mem-

bers of the academic community to participate in the election process. In that case the question might be raised whether releasing faculty and staff members from normal duties, with pay, to participate in the process represents an indirect participation by the institution itself in a political campaign on behalf of a candidate for public office. Presumably those whose employment obligation is not limited to or governed by the academic year could be permitted to adjust their vacation period to permit time off during a political campaign in lieu of a vacation at another time. (Shortening of the calendar could also generate complaints that the institution is not providing a full term of instruction.)

Educational institutions traditionally have recognized and provided facilities on an impartial basis to various activities on the college campuses, even those activities which have a partisan political bent, such as, for example, the Republican, Democratic and other political clubs. This presents no problem. However, to the extent that such organizations extend their activities beyond the campus, and intervene or participate in campaigns on behalf of candidates for public office, or permit non-members of the university community to avail themselves of university facilities or services, an institution should in good faith make certain that proper and appropriate charges are made and collected for all facilities and services provided. Extraordinary or prolonged use of facilities, particularly by non-members of the university community, even with reimbursement, might raise questions. Such organizations should be prohibited from soliciting in the name of the university funds to be used in such off-campus intervention or participation.

Every member of the academic community has a right to participate or not, as he sees fit, in the election process. On the other hand, no member of that community should speak or act in the name of the institution in a political campaign.

In order to assure compliance with the requirements of Section 501 (c) (3), universities in their corporate capacities should not intervene or participate in any campaign by endorsing or opposing a candidate or taking a position on an issue involved in the campaign for the purpose of assisting or opposing a candidate. Those who in their official capacity frequently speak for the university should undertake to make it clear when expressing individual views that they are not stating a university position. Whether or not a university has participated in or intervened in a campaign within the meaning of the Internal Revenue Code can be determined only by looking at all past and present facts and circumstances relevant to the question.

We would make three further observations:

1. Colleges and universities may be subject to restraints of the Corrupt Practices Act, which forbid corporations or labor unions from making direct or indirect contributions in connection with political campaigns (including primaries). Adherence to the Internal Revenue Code restrictions discussed above should eliminate any questions in connection with this act.

2. State law governing all of the above may be more stringent and should be examined.

3. There may be special restrictions on the use of facilities provided in whole or in part with federal funds.

# THE RED UNIVERSITY

## GOAL OF TROTSKYIST COMMUNISM IN THE U.S.

by John Edgar Hoover  
DIRECTOR OF THE FBI

A COLLEGE STUDENT strode across the university campus. He was a clean-cut young man, his hair cut short, wearing a pair of brown trousers and a white sports shirt. There was nothing of the beatnik or hippie type in his appearance.

In his hand he carried several pieces of paper, a small book and a magazine. He was on his way to meet a friend.

A few minutes later the student met his friend, another young student. The two shook hands and then started to talk in an animated fashion. The first student suddenly, as if he needed some printed data to reinforce a point he was making, took the magazine he was carrying, opened it to an article and then beckoned his friend to read it.

What was the magazine? It was a copy of "Young Socialist."

What is the "Young Socialist?" It is the organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the nation's top Trotskyist youth group. (The magazine has now been replaced by another publication.)

The two young men were on their way to a meeting of the campus chapter of YSA.

On the West Coast a conference opened in a school auditorium. It was a blustery winter day, but attendance was excellent. Into the auditorium walked a tall young man and an attractive young lady. They were to be speakers at the conference.

Who were the people attending this Conference? They were members of the YSA and its parent group, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

What was the young man on the university campus showing his friend in "Young Socialist?" An article entitled "YSA Program for the Campus Revolt." He pointed particularly to a paragraph (under the heading "A Revolutionary Strategy") dealing with the "Red University," a major concept of Trotskyism.

"The concept of a 'Red University,'" the paragraph read, "oriented toward the needs of the working class and the oppressed first arose in Europe. The concept means that the university ought to be transformed from a factory producing robots into an organizing center for anticapitalist activities, a generator of revolutionary education, an arena for

mobilizing youth in the struggle for the complete transformation of society."

The discussion in the campus YSA meeting that evening was on the role of the university in making a Communist revolution.

What was the topic of the speeches of the tall young man and the attractive young lady entering the auditorium to attend the West Coast Conference?—the "Red University."

The young man lashed out savagely against American universities. The university, he charged, was playing a despicable role in society by allowing ROTC training and military recruitment on campus. The real function of the university, he asserted, should be to expose the fallacies of capitalism and to train students to bring about a "socialist" (in Trotskyist language "socialism" means Communism) revolution.

The lady speaker was even more bitter. She denounced universities as mere "factories" producing "technicians" and "robots" for capitalism. Trotskyists, she said, must encourage young people to become dissatisfied—not only with their schools but also with the whole structure of society. That's the way to bring about the revolution. That's the way to radicalize and agitate students. That's the way to bring about the "Red University."

In these two incidents, a campus meeting and a West Coast conference, we see the everyday operations of an Old Left Communist group known as Trotskyists. We see also one of their major current aims—the influencing of young people leading, they hope, to establishing the "Red University".

Much less has been heard about the Trotskyist brand of Communism than the Stalinist Communists of the Communist Party, USA. The Trotskyists are old-line, orthodox Marxist-Leninists, basing their ideology on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

However, they follow the interpretations of these Communist "masters" by Leon Trotsky, Lenin's famous collaborator in the Russian Revolution of 1917, instead of what they call "Stalinism," that is, the kind of Communism developed by Stalin and his successors in the Soviet Union. To the Trotskyists, Stalin

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"corrupted" the original teachings of Communism (especially through terror tactics) and only they, the Trotskyists, possess what they call the "pure" version.

The Trotskyists (followers of Trotsky are called Trotskyists; their opponents call them Trotskyites) detest the Soviet Union and its representative in the United States, the Communist Party, USA (though recently the two groups have worked together in antiwar programs, more or less tolerating each other for tactical purposes).

For years, the Trotskyists (the Socialist Workers Party was founded in 1938 by members expelled from the Communist Party, USA, as a result of the Stalin-Trotsky feud) were orphans in the ideological vineyards of the left. They were small, ineffectual and virtually forgotten when compared to the much larger Communist Party, USA.

But the tables have now turned. The Trotskyists, especially its youth group (YSA was founded in the late 1950's), have shown a vast membership growth and resurgence in the last 24 months until YSA is today the largest and best organized youth group in left-wing radicalism. Trotskyist influence is especially strong in the youth field, particularly on the college campus.

For example, at YSA's National Convention in Minneapolis last December, roughly 1,000 members and observers were in attendance. Enthusiasm was high. The convention was effectively organized and run. A number of new recruits were obtained.

This sudden—and surprising—upsurge of Trotskyist Communism has sprung from the recent student unrest on our college campuses, especially the rise of New Leftism and the agitation against the war. Trotskyist leaders have skillfully exploited this situation for their own advantage.

For example, the "YSA Program for the Campus Revolt," which the two young students were dis-

cussing on the University campus, is filled with so-called "immediate demands" to attract the extremist student: "end campus complicity with the Vietnam war, abolish ROTC, end all ties between the university and the military. No military recruiters on campus. End cooperation with the Selective Service system, abolish the draft."

Then there are demands for "student-faculty control of education:

"Student-faculty control over the university, including the hiring and firing of faculty members and administrative officials, repeal all anti-student legislation, no police on campus."

In addition, YSA's program demands: "Free education through the university level for everyone who wants it. Abolish tuition. An annual salary for all students with automatic increases to offset inflation. Guaranteed jobs upon graduation."

Today there are an estimated 50 YSA chapters on college campuses throughout the nation. They operate openly and effectively, representing orthodox Communism's most extensive current beachhead in higher education.

A ready-made channel of Trotskyist influence on the college cam-

pus is the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). The SMC is a nationwide antiwar group which, along with the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, has influenced literally thousands of students, faculty members and others against the war in Vietnam. SMC has received extensive publicity in the national news media and its leaders are frequently interviewed as "representatives" of student opposition to the American presence in Vietnam.

Early in 1970, an SMC National Conference was held in Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of organizing antiwar protest strategy. Some 4,000 individuals of varying ideological backgrounds attended. Yet, few people know that SMC is controlled by the Trotskyists. YSA and SWP leaders hold top positions in the SMC and call the signals.

Under the banner of Leon Trotsky, old-line Communism—virtually unopposed—is making an almost unbelievable comeback in the nation. Here lies a danger of great magnitude. This threat becomes clear when we realize that Trotskyists' activities on campus are really secondary to their main goal, namely, to bring about a Communist revolution.

"Our participation (in campus agitation)," says YSA's *Program for the Campus Revolt*, "is designed to demonstrate in practice how the student struggle is linked to the broader struggle to replace capitalism with socialism (Communism)."

In other words, the current situation of unrest on campuses is being used by the Trotskyists merely as an agitational point, to stir up discontent, to radicalize students and to obtain YSA and SWP recruits. The main goal is a total transformation of our society along Marxist lines.

That's why the Trotskyists have developed the concept of the "Red University." They know that the young people of today will be the leaders of tomorrow. For that reason they seek to radicalize students, to teach them to hate America and jeer at our Flag, to encourage disrespect for our laws.

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They want young people to hate the military, to belittle our national leaders, to laugh at veterans organizations, such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and to ridicule the men and women who have so valiantly defended our nation around the world.

To the Trotskyists, the university is an instrument in the Marxist class struggle. In their eyes, it must be changed into a school for revolution. Students must be taught the principles of Communism (Trotsky style) and given the tools to destroy capitalist society.

In this endeavor, the Trotskyists also have a well-functioning program aimed at high school students. They know that if students are radicalized at this age they are more apt to become militant revolutionaries in college. The Trotskyists have made considerable progress at a number of high schools.

In one instance, for example, a group of Trotskyist adherents in one school openly proclaimed support of Socialist Workers Party candidates for their area (the SWP, like the Communist Party, USA, frequently runs candidates for Governor, Senator and other offices). They set forth other demands, saying that unless these demands were met they could no longer participate in the morning

activities of their school, such as the pledge of allegiance.

Mention should also be made, in discussing the Trotskyist attempt to reach young people, of YSA's and SMC's "GI Antiwar Movement," whereby YSA and SMC members encourage GIs to challenge military regulations, to agitate among their comrades against the Vietnam War and to demand what YSA calls their "constitutional rights."

In a northern state a bus pulls into the terminal. It is loaded with off-duty GIs coming from their base to spend Sunday afternoon and evening in the city. On the sidewalk stands a group of some five or six college students—members of YSA. As the GIs alight, the students hand out leaflets which denounce the Vietnam War and urge the GIs to "stand up for peace and against militarism."

A GI sits alone on a park bench. Or he's strolling down the street. Suddenly, a YSAer approaches him. "Say, how's things in the Army?" the YSAer will say, attempting to strike up a conversation. If the GI is responsive, the YSAer will perhaps start talking about the GI's "civil rights."

"You know," says the YSAer, "you don't have any rights at all in the military. You're a prisoner. You'll be a killer. Why don't you do something about it?" To do something about it, in YSA eyes, the GI should infect other GIs with hostility to life in the military. Maybe the GI will bring YSA literature into camp or write something for an underground paper. Would he like to march in next Saturday's anti-war parade? Would he like to come to the YSA or SMC-sponsored "coffee house" downtown next time he has some leave?

No wonder a recent Trotskyist publication could brag: "The growth of the anti-war movement among the GIs adds powerful new forces to the anti-war movement—forces in a key strategic position from which to campaign against the war. Anti-war actions led or initiated by GIs are increasing. GI anti-war papers are proliferating, and on-post battles for constitutional rights to oppose the war

are becoming a regular feature of life in the armed forces."

This YSA-SMC attempt to stir up discord among GIs is not motivated by any legitimate concern for the GI. To the Trotskyists, this agitation is just another tactic, as their program on campuses, to radicalize young people and to lay the groundwork for the Communist revolution.

In this process, the Trotskyists seek—in orthodox Communist teaching—to create a strong centralized party, with discipline and organization, which can serve as the vanguard of revolution. This Trotskyist resurgence should be a matter of concern to all patriotic Americans.

As citizens, veterans and Americans, you should know more about Trotskyist Communism in our country—its origins, tactics and aims.

You should be familiar with the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Student Mobilization Committee. The next time you see or hear about their activities, you will realize that they are not some distant, strange groups or some bland, non-revolutionary organizations which intend no harm to our country.

Many citizens, unfortunately, equate the word "socialism" as used by the Trotskyists with a democratic form of socialism. Nothing could be further from the truth. In Trotskyist language, "socialism" or "socialist" means Communism. Trotskyism is revolutionary Communism working for the destruction of this nation.

To meet this Trotskyist challenge, we must be positive in our support of America—its ideals, its values, its principles.

As never before, America needs help. In today's world, with so many forces endeavoring to disrupt democratic government, each citizen must be willing to stand up and boldly say: "You can count on me."

A free society can survive only through the wholehearted, intelligent and vigilant support of its citizenry.

I know, speaking for the readers of the *V.F.W. Magazine*, that you will do your share. ■