

NEC Minutes for December 11, 1964

Present: NEC: Melissa, Barry, Leroy, Pete, Jack, Betsey  
NC: Jim  
NC Alt: Ralph, Dick  
Excused: NEC: Roland

Chairman: Jack

Agenda: 1. National Office Report  
2. ECLJ Banquet  
3. Hearing  
4. FSM  
5. National Tour Report

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. A document has been sent in by George Carlton of Detroit to be submitted as a minority resolution on the Negro struggle to be voted on in opposition to the general line of the NEC resolution. The N.O. will try to get it out as soon as possible.

Discussion: Melissa, Betsey, Jack

b. We have received an application for membership-at-large from Milwaukee youth.

Motion: The NEC defer decision until getting a report from leading Midwest Comrade who will visit Milwaukee youth to discuss the YSA.

Passed Unanimously

c. Fred M. has given documents on his expulsion by the N.Y. uptown local to the Wholforthite Bulletin. They have printed it in full.

2. ECLJ Banquet - Ralph

We had a good representation at the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee banquet. YSAers went representing the YS, the YSA, and the Bloomington Case.

3. Bloomington Hearing - Jack

The mailing on the hearing has been sent out.

Motion: That Jack and Ralph and Jim see that representatives of the YSA and the defendants are present at the hearing.

Passed Unanimously

#### 4. Free Speech Movement

Our people are involved in FSM as YSAers. Sid and Beth S. and Tanga were arrested. Telegrams were sent from the National YSA and YSA locals to FSM. The Militant issue for this week had articles written by Berkeley Comrades on FSM plus articles of interest to youth. The large locals were notified and 6,000 extra Militants were sent out for sale and distribution. The FSM hopes to make the protest national if the decision goes against them. The SDS sponsored Savbo in Boston. A branch of the FSM has been set up in Minneapolis. The Berkeley YSA will put out a statement on the FSM. Locals should be alert for the spread of the FS movement and participate in the name of the YSA. So far it has in general had a broad non-exclusive character and deserves our support. All locals should keep the N.O. informed of any action by the FSM in their area. Further discussion next Saturday will be held after receiving report from Berkeley.

NEC Meeting Held November 24, 1964

Present: NEC: Peter, Melissa, Barry, Betsey  
NC: Jim  
NC Alt: Ralph, Dick, Roland

Agenda: 1. CABS  
2. Discussion on Tasks and Perspectives  
3. Internal Report

1. CABS - Pete

A mailing will be sent out to sponsors to inform them of the hearing on Dec. 15. The same mailing can be sent out to newspapers. Debbie R. has offered to help with CABS work.

Discussion: Barry, Pete, Melissa, Barry, Betsey, Ralph, Jim, Dick.

2. DISCUSSION ON TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

Presentation by Pete on problems of working in this period and possible perspectives for after the convention.

Discussion: Roland, Melissa, Dick, Ralph, Betsey, Jim, Roland, Barry, Melissa, Ralph, Dick, Betsey, Pete.

3. INTERNAL REPORT - Dick

Report on trial of Fred M. in uptown N.Y. local.

YSA  
Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York

November 19, 1964

Attention YSA Organizers:

At this point only one YSA local has sent in the information requested for the promotion of Art Preis's book--the Berkeley YSA--which did an excellent job covering the five universities in their area.

One suggestion which might help the other locals was followed by the Berkeley comrades. In order to get the names of professors, they obtained the catalogues from universities and picked out various departments: economics, labor economics, American history, political science and so forth. They were able to send over 40 names.

Another suggestion which might prove helpful in later stages of promoting the book is to sponsor forums on the book with trade-union speakers directly on campus. Many locals are in areas where SWPers who have gone through many of the experiences Art describes would be able to give interesting talks on the subject.

By all means get me lists of professors, school newspapers, and book stores as soon as possible.

Comradely,  
*Dick Roberts*  
Dick Roberts  
Promotion Director  
Labor's Giant Step

P.S. We just received a full report from the local in Philadelphia which will be very helpful.

YSA  
Box 471, Cooper Station  
New York City 10003

November 19, 1964

Attention: Organizers

Dear Comrades:

A new expanded print shop is in the process of being set up. This will mean a great capacity for printing all of our publications, including the Young Socialist.

However, it means that the publication of the YS will be delayed an additional week and a half. This means that we will not be mailing the YS out until after the first week of December.

Because of the lateness of publication and the upcoming school vacations, we will have to push up the date of publication of the 3rd YS to February 15. This should give the locals time to sell the 2nd issue.

The deadline for articles and news for the 3rd issue will be January 23.

Comradely,

*Barry Sheppard*  
Barry Sheppard  
Nat. Chairman, YSA

YSA  
Box 471, Cooper Station  
New York City 10003

November 19, 1964

Attention All YSA Locals and Members:

Dear Comrades,

The oral arguments on the constitutionality of the Indiana Anti-Communist Act, under which the Bloomington comrades were indicted, will be heard by the Indiana Supreme Court on December 15.

Leonard Boudin, General Council for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will present the main arguments for our side.

We do not yet know when the Supreme Court will make its decision, but we will keep you informed on the developments.

Comradely,

*Betsy Barnes*  
Betsy Barnes  
National Office YSA

NEC Minutes for November 13, 1964

Present: NEC: Barry, Melissa  
NC: Jim  
NC Alt: Roland, Ralph, Dick

Excused: NEC Pete (working), Betsey

Chairman: Barry

Agenda: 1. Membership  
2. Bloomington  
3. YS  
4. Convention  
5. Labor's Giant Step  
6. YPSL Letter  
7. Fund Drive

1. Membership

There have been applications for membership from four people who live where there are no YSA locals: Rhoda L., Pat C., Dianne C. and Leon F.

Motion: To accept all four as members-at-large.

Discussion: Dick, Melissa

Passed Unanimously

Bob E., National Committee member, has asked to resign from the YSA.

Motion: To accept Bob's resignation.

Passed Unanimously

Three Penn. students and one high school student from Philadelphia have asked to join the YSA. They have been contacts of the YSA for some time and have sponsored our speakers and sold our literature. They were active in the YDS and it was the campaign which did the most to draw them close to us. A large contingent from Philadelphia came to the YDS conference from Philadelphia. Betsey went down to Philadelphia, after the applications for membership were made, to talk over the organizational procedures of the YSA with those who wanted to join.

Motion: To accept Robin M., Fred F., Dan S., and Judy C. into YSA membership and to recognize the group in Philadelphia as a local.

Discussion: Roland, Ralph

Passed Unanimously

2. Bloomington

Report on the hearing. (See enclosed.)

Discussion: Ralph, Melissa, Dick

3. Young Socialist

The YS will come out one and a half weeks later than expected. (See enclosed.)

4. Convention

The N.O. is investigating the possibility of hiring a bus to go to the convention from the East Coast.

The Negro Struggle document has been mailed to the field.

5. Labor's Giant Step

Report by Dick. (See enclosed.)

6. YPSL Letter

YPSL has answered our letter on the election campaign.

Motion: To write an answer to YPSL taking up the question of YPSL's boycott of the elections and other main points.

Passed Unanimously

7. Fund Drive Report

Report by Roland

NEC Minutes for the Meeting Held October 14, 1964

Present: NEC: Jack, Barry, Leroy, Pete, Melissa  
Consultative: NC: Jim  
Alt: Ralph, Roland, Dick (late)  
NEC Excused: Betsey

Chairman: Leroy

Agenda: 1. National Office Report  
a. convention call  
b. documents  
c. trail blazers  
2. Local Internal Situation  
3. Conference  
4. Young Socialist Editorial Board Report

1. National Office Report - Jack

a. Convention Call - see attached

Motion: To send out the convention call as outlined.

Passed Unanimously

b. Documents

In accordance with the directive of the plenum of the National Committee, the Political Resolution passed at the plenum, and the Tasks and Perspectives Resolution passed at the Third National Convention have been published in the internal bulletin to open the pre-convention discussion.

The plenum passed the general line of the Negro resolution and report, and referred the resolution to the NEC for editing. Jack read the proposed changes in the draft resolution.

Motion: To submit the edited Negro resolution to the discussion.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Roland, Jack, Ralph, Jack, Leroy, Jack, Leroy, Dick, Jack.

For: NEC: Jack, Barry, Pete  
Melissa  
Con: NC: Jim  
Alt: Ralph, Roland  
Dick  
Abstention: Leroy

Statement by Leroy on abstention: A section on the difference between Negro and civil rights work and an evaluation of specific youth civil rights formations should have been included.

### c. Trail Blazers

In New England the trail blaze has resulted in good sales and letters coming into the National Office. In the Midwest the response has also been generally good, but the trail blazers have run up against legal problems. A full report must wait for further communication with the trail blazers.

## 2. Local Internal Situation

An informational report was given.

Discussion: Jack, Roland, Melissa, Dick, Pete, Roland, Jack, Dick, Pete.

## 3. Report on Conferences - Pete

The East Coast trail blaze has lined up people to come to the conference. The Midwest conference may try to hire buses to take people to the conference. James Shabazz, Milton Henry, and Otto Nathan will speak. The Johnsonites and Goldwaterites have agreed to a debate. Plans for having the conference on campus fell through.

## 4. Editorial Board Report on Young Socialist - Barry

Articles tentatively planned for the new YS are:

- a. high school drop outs
- b. the ghetto and the police
- c. the farm struggle and the NFO
- d. a section from Art Preis's book
- e. Hungarian revolution
- f. Congo
- g. Vietnam
- h. English elections
- i. feature on YSA activities

The second YS run was 2,500 copies making a total run of the first magazine issue of 5,500 copies.

Barry will be acting editor and Will R. will be business manager. The editorial board will remain the same as the first issue with the exception of Jan who has gone back to Detroit.

## 5. Tour - Jack

The national YSA tour starts October 16.

CALL FOR THE FOURTH NATIONAL  
CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The National Committee hereby calls the Fourth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance to convene in Chicago on Friday January 1 and to continue through three days (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday January 1, 2, and 3, 1965).

The following agenda is proposed for the convention:

Internal Report  
Political Report  
Tasks and Perspectives  
Negro Resolution  
Organizational Report  
Election of the National Committee

Pre-convention discussion

The plenum of the National Committee held over Labor Day weekend 1964 opened the literary discussion September 8. The internal bulletin is open for all YSA members on the subjects listed in the agenda or others which they may wish to present for the consideration of the YSA.

The National Committee at its plenum voted to open the oral discussion in the locals after the election campaign. Local membership meetings shall be arranged, after November 3, for discussion of the various points on the agenda, and any others raised.

Convention Assessments

A convention assessment of \$2.00 shall be levied, the payment of which is obligatory to every member.

Basis of Representation

1. Representation from the locals shall be as follows: one delegate for the first 5 members and one additional delegate for each 5 additional members or major fraction thereof (3 or more constituting a major fraction.)

2. Each area having 5 or more members is entitled to a voting delegate.

3. Delegates are to be elected by the locals in accordance with the actual number of members in good standing who have been admitted to the YSA prior to October 1, 1964, and who have paid their convention assessment. "Good standing" according to our constitution is defined as follows: Article III, Section 5, "Any member more than one month in arrears in dues ceases to be in good standing. Only members in good standing may vote or hold office in the YSA. Any member more than

three months in arrears in dues shall be dropped from YSA membership after notification."

4. Locals organized after October 1, 1964 are entitled to send fraternal delegates to the convention.

5. Members admitted to the YSA after October 1, 1964 are entitled to voice in the local discussion, but no vote on resolutions or in the selection of delegates.

6. Members must be present and voting in person at the meeting where the election of delegates takes place. The only exception is for members whose absence is for a substantial reason such as being sick or working and who send in an unambiguous written statement of their positions or candidate choices.

7. Members transferring from one local to another since October 1, 1964 must vote in the local from which they transferred.

#### Proportional Representation

Where there is a division on national policy within a local unit, election of delegates in the local is to be on the basis of proportional representation. Delegates shall be elected on the basis of the vote on a resolution or a statement made in writing and submitted to the local unit for a vote. Abstentions in no case count as votes.

The following table shows the modified proportional system to be followed if division occurs:

<u>Number of qualified members in unit:</u>	<u>Total number of delegates the unit is entitled to:</u>	<u>Minimum number of those voting for a minority to get:</u>		
		1 del.	2 del.	3 del.
3-7	1	-*	-	-
8-12	2	1/3**	-	-
13-17	3	1/4	-*	-
18-22	4	1/5	2/5	-
23-27	5	1/6	1/3	-*
28-32	6	1/7	2/7	3/7
in general:				
5n+ 2	n	1/n+1	2/n+1	3/n+1

(\* in the special case of a unit entitled to an odd number of delegates and where the division in unit voting is exactly equal, 2 delegates with  $\frac{1}{2}$  vote each will be elected.)

(\*\* for example, in a unit of 8 qualified members, 8 times  $\frac{1}{3}$  equals  $2\frac{2}{3}$  members; therefore, a minimum of 3 (not 2) would get a delegate. If the unit had 11 qualified members then 11 times  $\frac{1}{3}$  equals  $3\frac{2}{3}$  members so 4 voting minority members would be the minimum to get a delegate. The same consideration holds true for figuring all other fractions in the above table.)

In the event a unit undergoes a more than two way division, that unit will elect delegates on a directly proportional basis (i.e., in a unit entitled to n delegates, at least  $\frac{1}{n}$  fraction of qualified members must have voted for a position for that position to get a delegate).

After a division has been established, those voting each way will select in caucus their own delegations and report them to the unit as a whole for acknowledgement. Where no division has taken place the election of delegates will proceed normally by the unit as a whole.

National Committee  
Young Socialist Alliance

October 14, 1964

NEC Meeting Held September 18, 1964

Present: NEC: Jack, Betsey, Melissa, Barry, Pete, Leroy

Consultative: NC: Jim  
NC ALT: Roland, Ralph

Chairman: Melissa

Agenda: 1. YPSL Suspensions  
2. Washington Trip  
3. Plenum Motions  
4. Tour  
5. Conferences, trail-blazing  
6. Fund Drive  
7. Convention

1. YPSL Suspensions - Jack

YPSL has been suspended from the SP over the question of support to Johnson. This is a further development in the general shakeup that is going on in the YPSL. A letter has been written to the YPSL to invite them to support the DeBerry-Shaw campaign. (See attached)

Discussion: Barry, Betsey, Leroy, Roland, Jack

Motion: To accept the letter to the YPSL

Passed Unanimously

2. Washington Trip Report - Ralph

Around 75 people came from New York to Washington by bus and others came by car. There were large contingents from Boston and Antioch. In Washington the leaders of the trip were insistent that those participating stay out of legal trouble. Not all of the kids could get into the hearings. The leaders of the trip urged kids to go and visit their congressmen to persuade them to do something about the travel ban, hearings, etc.

Discussion: Melissa, Ralph, Leroy, Ralph

3. Plenum Motions - Jack

The locals have been notified of the expulsions and the expelled members have been notified.

Motion: That the NEC refer to the national office the editing of the political resolution and the Negro resolution in preparation for the pre-convention discussion.

Discussion: Leroy, Jack.

Passed Unanimously

4. Tour - Barry

Motion: To have a national tour for the YSA in October and November by Jack. That it be basically an organizational tour.

Discussion: Ralph, Barry

Passed Unanimously

5. Conferences and Trail-blazing - Pete

Plans are going ahead in the three areas for the conferences. James Shabazz has agreed to speak at the East Coast and ~~Midwest~~ conferences. Some of the speakers still have to be contacted.

Trail-blazing tours will start hopefully in a week. Two comrades will be touring New York and New England and two will be touring in the Midwest.

6. Fund Drive - Betsey

Announcements of the fund drive with suggested quotas have been sent out.

Motion: To accept Roland as fund drive director.

Passed Unanimously

7. Convention - Jack

It is suggested that we have a convention New Years weekend. We have narrowed the areas where we could have the convention to two areas, New York and Chicago. Need to look into it further and report back.

Discussion: Roland, Betsey, Pete, Jack, Melissa, Roland, Jack

Young Socialist Alliance  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York, 10003.

September 20, 1964

National Action Committee  
Young Peoples Socialist League  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Comrades,

We have read the newspaper reports of your suspension by the Socialist Party for taking a stand against the two capitalist parties and rejecting the discipline of the Socialist Party as long as it does not discipline its own members who are campaigning for Johnson. We congratulate you on your stand against both Johnson and Goldwater.

As you know the Young Socialist Alliance is supporting the campaign of Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. We are doing this along with other groups and individuals by participating in the Youth for DeBerry and Shaw. A central feature of the SWP campaign is advocacy of independent political action by the workers and Negroes against the Republicans and Democrats. We invite the Young Peoples Socialist League to join with us in giving support to the Socialist Workers Party campaign as the best way to fight the war-racism-witchhunt program of the capitalist parties.

A few of your locals and individual members have already joined in the DeBerry-Shaw campaign and have done excellent election work. We hope that the YPSL as a whole will also join in supporting the campaign as the logical extension of your opposition to Johnson and Goldwater. -

Fraternally,

Barry Sheppard  
For the National Executive  
Committee  
Young Socialist Alliance

Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York

September 15, 1964

Dear Comrades,

Another year is starting for the YSA. With the election campaign reaching its climax we must be in a position to reach as many students as possible with our campaign. We have just put out a great quantity of literature which along with the expenses for the Young Socialist has put us temporarily in the hole. Our publications; our campaign material, our plenums and conventions, our tours, our magazine and our general national office work all cost money. Thus the YSA plenum voted to have a fund drive this fall.

With the added forces recruited this summer we should be able to handle our financial responsibilities in the same manner that we completed the fund drive last spring. This YSA election fund drive is being proposed for \$3500. This is the largest quota we have ever set for ourselves, but following the trend of the last two successful drives, this quota is the logical extension of those drives and of the growth and development of the YSA.

The drive will begin on October 1, 1964 and will terminate on December 15, 1964. We urge you to fill in the form on the fund drive and send it back immediately. Any money which you can send in early will be greatly appreciated because of the outstanding bills we have at this time.

Comradely

*Roland Sheppard*  
Roland Sheppard

Proposed Quotas:

<u>Local</u>	<u>Quota</u>
Boston	500
New York(uptown)	225
New York(downtown)	400
Chicago	500
Detroit	350
Berkeley	500
Los Angelos	100
San Francisco	150
Minneapolis	300
Madison	50
Kent	75
Cleveland	150
Ann Arbor	50
Antioch	50
Denver	25
Seattle	75
	3500

---

Please fill this in and send it back to the N.O. as soon as possible.

Local \_\_\_\_\_

Proposed Quota \_\_\_\_\_

Accepted Quota \_\_\_\_\_

Credit on the fund drive(sustainers etc.) \_\_\_\_\_

Fund Drive Director \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York, 10093

September 14, 1964

Attention NCers and Organizers

Dear Comrades:

At the plenum held September 1,2,3 the following motions were passed:

1. The national committee upholds the findings of the New York local and the NEC in the cases of Roger A., Charlotte S., and Al S., and approves the action taken to suspend them from the YSA. The National Committee hereby expells comrades Roger A., Charlotte S., and Al S. from the YSA.

2. Membership in, support to, or collaboration with the Spartacist group is incompatible with membership in YSA.

3. Comrades Shirley S., Dave K., Loretta E., Edith O., and Peter F. have shown both by their actions and support to Spartacist that they have violated YSA program and policies and are hereby expelled from the YSA.

Please call these motions to the attention of the membership.

Comradely,

*Betsey B.*  
Betsey B.

MINUTES OF

September  
5,6,7, 1964 YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

SATURDAY

I. Organization of the Plenum

A. Motions

1. To have National Executive Committee act as the presiding committee. Approved.
2. To have Ed H. serve as the plenum secretary. Approved.
3. To endorse the following changes in the National Committee: resignation of Carmen A. (full member); resignation for adult work of Jack M. (full member); Jim B. and Bob E. to move from alternate to full; resignation of George T. to rank of sympathizer. Approved.
4. To approve the following guests with voice and a consultative vote: Judie P., Ann L., Art M., Howard Sa., Howard Si., Jon B., Ted F., Don S., Doug J., Joe H., Kipp D., Deirdre B., Bob I., and Ron W. Approved.
5. To approve the seating of Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President. Approved.
6. To add convention call point to the plenum agenda. Approved.
7. To use the following procedures in discussion:
  - a. Procedural questions will be decided by majority vote, with one speaker for and one speaker against, each with one minute.
  - b. Only those seated at the time of roll call may vote.
  - c. A round of discussion must be completed before a speaker can have

the floor a second time.

Approved.

B. Roll Call

Full: Barry S., Jack B., Betsy B.,  
Melissa S., Peter C., Leroy M.,  
Ken S., Jim B., Shirley S.,  
Danny R., Paul L., Joel B.,  
John B., Lew J., Les E., John B.,  
Alan S., Steve C., Gus H. 19 present

Alt: Ralph L., Joyce D., Roland S.,  
Jan G., John C., Dick R., Ed H.,  
Suzanne W. 8 present

Guests: Judie P., Ann L., Art M., Howard  
Sa., Howard Si., Jon B., Don S.,  
Doug J., Joe H., Kipp D., Deirdre  
B., Bob I., Ron W. 13 present

C. Remarks by DeBerry.

II. Statement by suspended Comrade Al Nelson

- A. Request by Al to have the right to observe proceedings on internal functioning.
- B. Motion by Barry S. to refer request to presidium.
- C. Presidium recommends that Al Nelson be allowed to observe the internal point on the agenda without floor speaking rights and be allowed to deliver a 5 minute summary. Approved.

III. Internal Report

A. Majority report by Barry S.

Motion by National Executive Committee:

1. The National Committee upholds the findings of the New York local and the NEC in the cases of Roger A., Charlotte S., and Al N. and approves the action taken to suspend them from the YSA. The National Committee hereby expels comrades Roger A., Charlotte S., and Al N. from the YSA.

2. Membership in, support to or collaboration with the Spartacist group is incompatible with membership in the YSA.
3. Comrades Shirley S., Dave K., Loretta K., Edith O., and Peter F. have shown both by their actions and support to Spartacist that they have violated YSA program and policies and are hereby expelled from the YSA.

B. Minority report by Shirley S.

Motion by Shirley S. to:

1. Drop the unfounded charges against comrades Shirley, Dave, Peter, Loretta, and Edith.
2. Rescind the suspensions of Al, Roger, and Charlotte.
3. That comrades, Dave, Peter, Loretta and Edith be presented with charges in writing and be given a trial in the New York local according to the Constitution.

C. Recommendation by presiding committee to adjourn 1½ hours for lunch. Approved.

D. Discussion on Internal Report  
Ralph L., Leroy M., Jack B., Ed H., Pete C., Roland S.

E. Closing statement by Al Nelson.

F. Minority summary by Shirley S.

G. Majority summary by Barry S.

H. Vote on Shirley S. motion:

	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTENTIONS
Full:	1	18	0
Alt:	0	8	0
Guests:	0	11	0

I. Vote on NEC motion:

	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTENTIONS
Full:	18	1	0
Alt:	8	0	0
Guests:	11	0	0

J. Recommendation by presiding committee for 10 minute break. Approved.

K. Recommendation by presiding committee that John B. chair second point on agenda. Approved.

IV. Roll Call

Full: Barry S., Jack B., Betsy B., Melissa S., Peter C., Leroy M., Ken S., Jim B., Danny R., Paul L., Joel B., John B., Lew J., Les E., John B., Alan S., Steve C., Gus H. 18 present

Alt: Larry S., Ralph L., Joyce D., Roland S., Jan G., John C., Dick R., Ed H., Suzanne W. 9 present

Guests: Judie P., Ann L., Art M., Howard Sa., Howard Si., Jon B., Don S., Doug J., Joe H., Kipp D., Deirdre B., Bob I. 12 present

V. Report on the Political Resolution by Jack B.

1. Motion by presiding committee to have 1 hour of discussion, break for dinner, and then resume discussion. Approved.

2. Discussion

Leroy M., Art M., Doug J., Kipp D., Alan S., Roland S., John B., Dick R., Peter C., Howard Sa., Les E., Barry S., Ann L.

3. Summary on Political Resolution by Jack B.

a. Motion to approve the general line of political resolution, report, and summary.

b. Vote:

	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTINCTIONS
Full:	18	0	0
Alt:	8	0	0
Guests:	13	0	0

4. Motion by presiding committee to have a 15-minute report on Canada by Bob I. Approved.
5. Report by Bob I.

### SUNDAY

#### I. Roll Call

Full: Barry S., Jack B., Betsy B., Melissa S., Peter C., Leroy M., Ken S., Jim B., Danny R., Paul L., Joel B., John B., Leslie E., John B., Alan S., Steve C., and Gus H. 18 present

Alt: Ralph L., Joyce D., Roland S., Jan G., John C., Dick R., Ed H. and Suzanne W. 8 present

Guests: Judie P., Ann L., Art M., Howard Sa., Howard Si., Jon B., Don S., Doug J., Kipp D., Deirdre B. and Bob I. 11 present

#### II. The Negro Resolution

A. Majority report by Jack B.

B. Motion by presiding committee for 5 minute break. Approved.

C. Report by Leroy M.

D. Discussion:

Roland S., Betsy B., John B., Peter C., Gus H., Jan G., Paul L., Lew J., Danny R., Joel B., Joe H., Ed H., and Leslie E.

E. Motion by Dick R. to strike remarks of Pete C. from the record.

F. Motion by Barry S. to table the motion by Dick R. Approved.

- G. Summary by Leroy M.
- H. Majority summary by Jack B.
- I. Unanimous motion of presiding committee to:
  - 1. Approve the general line of the document as amplified and amended by the NEC report.
  - 2. Mandate the NEC to appoint a drafting committee to edit the resolution within the framework of the general line.
- J. Vote on presiding committee motion:

	FOR	AGAINST	ABSTENTIONS
Full:	13	0	0
Alt:	9	0	0
Guests:	12	0	0

- K. Motion by presiding committee to meet at 7:00 pm for the DeBerry-Shaw Report and discussion. Approved.

### III. Roll Call - Judy P. Chairman

Full: Barry S., Jack B., Betsey B., Melissa S., Peter C., Ken S., Jim B., Danny R., Paul L., Joel B., John B., Lew J., Les E., John B., Alan S., Steve G., Gus H.  
17 present

Alt: Ralph L., Joyce D., Roland S., Jan G., John C., Dick R., Ed H., Suzanne W., and Jim P. 9 present

Guests: Judie P., Ann L., Art M., Howard Sa., Howard Si., Jon B., Don S., Doug J., Joe H., Kipp D., Bob I., and Ron W.  
12 present

### IV. Election Campaign

- A. Report by Peter C.
- B. Discussion:

Howard Sa., Ed H., Melissa S., Lew J., Doug J., Leslie E., Jon B., Paul L., Gus H., Ann L., Roland S., and Dick R.

- C. Summary by Peter C.
- D. Report unanimously approved.

MONDAY

- I. Announcement by Peter C.
- II. Roll Call - Ralph L. Chairman
  - Full: Barry S., Jack B., Betsey B., Melissa S., Peter C., Ken S., Jim B., Danny R., Paul L., Joel B., John B., Lew J., Les E., John B., Alan S., Steve C., and Gus H. 17 present
  - Alt: Ralph L., Joyce D., Roland S., Jan G., John C., Dick R., Ed H., Suzanne W., and Jim P. 9 present
  - Guests: Judie P., Howard Sa., Howard Si., Jon B., Ted F., Don S., Doug J., Joe H., Kipp D., Bob I., and Ron W. 11 present
- III. Organization
  - A. Report on finances by Roland S.
  - B. Organizational report by Betsey B.
  - C. Discussion:
    - John C., Dick R., Suzanne W., Lew J., John B., Melissa S., Jon B., Roland S., Barry S., Joyce D., Jack B., Ted F., Jan G., Judy P., and Ed H.
  - D. Summary of Organizational report by Betsey B.
  - E. Motion by presiding committee to approve the report encompassing the motion by Betsey B. to have a \$3,500 three month fund drive beginning October 1.
  - F. Report approved unanimously
- IV. Convention Call
  - A. Report by Barry S.

B. Motion by Barry S.

1. That the N.C. call a convention of the Young Socialist Alliance to be held around New Year's.
2. That the N.C. empower the NEC to organize the convention and decide the place of the convention.
3. To open pre-convention discussion immediately (to be in literary form until after election campaign).

C. Discussion:

Roland S., Leslie E.

D. Motion approved unanimously.

E. Singing of the "International."

F. Adjournment

## FINANCES - Y S A

SEPTEMBER 1963 to SEPT. 1964

INCOME

Sept. sub - \$12.50  
 bundle- 36.65  
 dues-24.75  
 misc.-516.08  
 fund drive 367.70

---

\$1,057.68

sub \$ 30.50  
 bundle 185.40  
 dues 153.50  
October initiation 3.00  
 misc. 165.80  
 fund drive 875.20

---

\$1,413.40

sub. \$14.00  
 bundle 571.10  
 dues 42.00  
November init. 4.00  
 misc. 235.40  
 fund drive 752.60

---

\$1,070.10

sub. \$ 12.50  
 bundle 83.50  
December dues 70.50  
 initiation 3.00  
 misc. 169.50  
 fund drive 1,221.62

---

\$1,560.62

Jan. sub. \$ 24.50  
 bundle 72.50  
 dues 121.50  
 initiation 4.00  
 misc. 56.00

---

\$365.56

Feb. Sub. \$ 13.00  
 bundle 96.00  
 dues 101.00  
 initiation 4.00  
 misc. 235.10  
 fund drive 82.00

---

\$531.10

EXPENSES

N.O. \$106.76  
 Edit. 70.00  
 Young Socialist 254.78  
 Rent 200.00

---

\$631.54

N.O. \$499.47  
 Edit. 315.00  
 YS 348.78  
 Tour 55.00

---

\$1,218.25

N.O. \$ 132.20  
 Edit. 415.00  
 Young Socialist 250.28  
 Tour 40.00  
 Pent 100.00

---

\$937.48

N.O. \$ 300.42  
 Edit. 175.00  
 Young Socialist 274.73  
 Tour 10.00  
 Rent 100.00

---

\$868.20

N.O. \$ 260.97  
 edit. 250.00  
 Young Socialist 67.14  
 Tour 225.00  
 Rent 100.00

---

\$903.11

N.O. \$ 99.18  
 Edit. 130.00  
 Young Socialist 234.78  
 Tour 87.00  
 Rent 100.00

---

\$650.96

INCOMEEXPENSES

March

sub.	\$	12.00
bundle		48.00
dues		33.00
initiation		3.00
misc.		287.03
fund drive		710.00

\$1093.03

N.O.	\$	214.95
Edit.		130.00
Young Socialist		234.78
Tour		87.00
Rent		100.00

\$ 816.73

April

Sub.	\$	5.00
bundle		47.20
dues		56.00
misc.		154.50
fund drive		1053.50

\$ 1,316.20

N.O.	\$	205.06
Edit.		225.00
Tour		150.00
Rent		100.00

\$680.06

May

Sub.	\$	3.00
bundle		51.90
dues		92.50
misc.		164.15
fund drive		758.55

\$ 1,070.10

N.O.	\$	260.01
edit.		371.10
Young Socialist		234.78
tour		20.00
rent		210.00

\$ 1095.89

June

sub	\$	1.00
bundle		22.00
dues		41.00
initiation		1.00
misc.		50.00
fund drive		640.00

\$ 755.00

N.O.	\$	221.34
edit		415.00
tour		109.00
SDSC		401.86

\$1,147.20

July

Sub.	\$	12.00
dues.		73.00
initiation		5.00
Misc.		70.00
fund drive		60.00

\$ 220.00

N.O.	\$	307.43
edit		215.00
tour		90.00
rent		55.00
SDSC		176.74

\$ 844.17

August

Sub.	\$	2.00
bundle		2.50
dues		69.50
initiation		3.00
misc..		142.40
fund drive		111.50

\$ 324.90

N.O.	\$	91.39
edit		250.00
rent		55.00
SDSC		60.40

\$ 456.79

Total income	\$10, 777.60
Total expenses	<u>10, 220.38</u>
Total Cash on hand	\$ 557.31

Minutes for the NEC Meeting of September 1, 1964

Present: NEC: Barry, Melissa, Betsey, Jack, Pete, Shirley

NC ALT: Jim, Dick, Roland, Ralph, ...

Chairman: Dick

The agenda was read and approved as read.

1. Washington Hearings-Jack

Students are being organized to go to the Washington hearings. They will have a planning meeting on how the group will conduct themselves after the students arrive in Washington. We don't know what will be their tactics.

Discussion: Ralph, Pete, Jim, Melissa, Jack, Betsey, Ralph, Barry, Dick, Ralph

Motion: To send someone down as an observer. We won't pass out any literature. We will try to avoid arrest. We will keep our eyes out for anyone who might be interested in the campaign.

Discussion: Ralph, Pete, Betsey, Barry, Jack, Pete, Melissa, Jack, Melissa

Passed Unanimously

2. Internal Report-Barry

Motion: To recommend the following to the plenum:

1. The national committee upholds the findings of the New York local and the NEC in the cases of Roger A., Charlotte S., and Al S. and approves the action taken to suspend them from the YSA. The National Committee hereby expells comrades Roger A., Charlotted S., and Al S. from the YSA.

2. Membership in, support to, or collaboration with the Spartacist group is incompatible with membership in YSA.

3. Comrades Shirley S., Dave K., Loretta K., Edith O., and Peter F. have shown both by their actions and support to Spartacist that they have violated YSA program and policies and are hereby expelled from the YSA.

Discussion: Shirley, Roland, Jim, Dick, Barry, Melissa, Betsey, Jack

Motion: (Submitted to the NEC by Shirley) To drop the unfounded charges against comrades Shirley, Dave, Loretta, Edith, and Peter and to rescind the suspensions of Roger, Charlotte, and Al.

For Barry's motion: NEC: Jack, Pete, Melissa, Betsey, Barry  
NC ALT: Jan, Ralph, Roland, Jim

Against: NEC: Shirley

For Shirley's Motion: NEC: Shirley

Against: NEC: Jack, Pete, Melissa, Barry  
NC ALT: Jan, Ralph, Roland, Jim

### 3. Plenum Procedures-Jack

Motion: That the following agenda be passed with the requisite schedule.

1. Internal Question
2. Political Resolution
3. Negro Resolution
4. Organizational Report
5. Election Work Report

Discussion: Ralph, Pete, Betsey, Barry, Jack, Pete, Melissa, Jack, Melissa

Passed Unanimously

Motion: That the NEC be the presiding committee for the plenum.

Passed Unanimously

### 4. Reporters-Barry

Motion: That we have the following reporters: Barry on the internal report, Jack on the Negro Report, Betsey on the organizational report, and Pete on the campaign.

Passed Unanimously

Motion: That we invite Clifton DeBerry to speak at the plenum to open the plenum and to give greetings to the plenum from the Socialist Workers Party.

Passed Unanimously

NEC Minutes-August 28, 1964

Present: NEC: Barry, Pete, Jack, Melissa, Betsey, Ken  
NC Alternates: Jim, Roland, Ralph, Jan, Dick

The meeting was called to order at 7:05.

Chairman: Ralph

Agenda: 1. Membership  
2. Bloomington Case  
3. Political Resolution  
4. Political Reporter  
5. Young Socialist

1. Membership

Motion: To accept Bob from the South into at-large membership.

Passed Unanimously

2. Bloomington Case

Our attorney got an extension of time to file his brief. This puts off the hearing until winter, most likely until after the Christmas vacation.

Discussion: Dick, Jack

3. Political Resolution

See attached.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Political Resolution.

Passed Unanimously

4. Political Resolution Reporter

Motion: To have Jack report on the Political Resolution.

Passed Unanimously

5. Young Socialist

The magazine will be ready a week after the plenum. Some of the copy has come back from the printers and other copy is there now. Articles for the issue are the following: the French-Canadian question, the Bloomington case, introduction to the YSA, an interview with kids from the Cuban trip, the election campaign, Vietnam, and the Harlem events. There will be three book reviews on the Trotsky Anthology, Art Preis's book, and Jarde's Logic of Marxism.

The meeting adjourned at 7:40. The next meeting will be Tuesday at 7:00.

## Political Resolution

### NEC Draft

The nature of the period we are in has not changed significantly since the last convention. The main outline of our document on "Tasks and Perspectives" (Vol. 7, No. 2) that was passed at that convention is still applicable. The present resolution is not a substitute for, but an extension and amplification of that document.

Our fundamental task in this period is still to recruit and educate new fresh forces in the theory, program, strategy, and tactics of Marxism in preparation for the next wave of radicalization. The propaganda character of our work is dictated by the general conservatism of the period.

### The Campus

The main orientation of the YSA is still toward the campus. It has been our experience that locals with functioning campus fractions have proven to be the most viable. The minds of many young people are being opened to our politics and goals by the growing inability of the ruling class to solve the crisis facing it in the colonial lands, the repeated exposures of this society's hypocrisy and corruption, and most important, by the continued struggles of the Negro masses against the state.

Unlike the past period when the bulk of the radicalized students were attracted to national single-issue organizations such as Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) or Student Peace Union (SPU), today they tend to join ad-hoc locally based committees or are recruited directly to one of the organized socialist youth tendencies. There is no single organization that is the central pole of attraction for radical students.

Independent campus socialist groupings which appear are small and their "independent" life is short as the members tend to join one of the organized socialist tendencies or drop out of politics.

Organizations such as FPCC and SPU tended to be multi-tendency regardless of the leadership. They were often our best arenas of recruitment. We could join them, work for agreed-upon goals, and present our program to the members, the majority of whom were not yet affiliated to an organized socialist tendency. Despite the attempts of the leaders of SPU to bureaucratically dominate it, the very fact that a "pro-peace" attitude was the only requirement for membership meant that it attracted youth of all tendencies as well as those not affiliated to any tendency. On many campuses civil rights organizations have this same characteristic.

We cannot predict when, if, or around what question another national single-issue organization will become the dominant pole

of attraction for radical students. Whatever the organizational forms may be, work in or around campus groups is geared to getting to know, work with, and be in a position to recruit whatever radicalized students are there. As the "Tasks and Perspectives" document pointed out:

"The most important change on the campus is in the ideological atmosphere which opens the door to serious consideration of our socialist ideas. This makes it objectively possible at all times, regardless of the ups and downs of student organizations and activities, to systematically seek out and recruit, through close and personal contact work, by ones and twos, radicals on the campus."

### The Politicalization of the Struggle

Newly radicalized young people continue to engage in protest actions that are of an essentially political character. That is, the demands raised in these actions (unlike those of workers directed to an employer) are addressed to the government -- local, state and national. Even the demonstration-demands for increased employment of Negroes have been aimed, directly or indirectly, at the government. This has given these "direct actions" the essential character of political actions of a limited nature.

The leaders of various protest and civil rights movements -- even some of the more militant -- refuse to see direct action and electoral action as different aspects of the same political struggle. Under the pretense that their organizations are not political (meaning that they don't run candidates) many end up supporting candidates of the Democratic Party under some "lesser evil" rationalization. This results in the election of capitalist representatives who on the morrow confront them as opponents, holding the line against the most modest demands for reforms.

Even when direct actions result in partial gains they cannot serve to bring about any fundamental solution to the basic social problems involved. This can, and often does, lead to frustration and demoralization of those involved in the struggle.

It is only through a political organization which has broken with the policy of subordination to capitalist politics that direct action and electoral action can be tied together in order both to win immediate gains and lay the groundwork for a fundamental social change. This in turn revolves around political consciousness. When a significant section of leadership of the working class, black or white, is convinced of the need for an organization that will generalize the struggle, take on the ruling powers everywhere from the streets to the ballot box, and offer a class alternative to the Republican and Democratic monopoly of

political power; the next big step in the struggle for human rights, peace and economic security will take place. This we tirelessly point out in our propaganda, especially to the participants in various struggles.

### The 1964 Elections

The 1964 elections offer us the best immediate opportunity to propagandize for socialism to American youth. They enable us to expose, to any wavering members of the ranks of our opponents the class collaborationist character of Stalinism and Social Democracy. The election campaign will heighten interest in the colonial revolution, the Negro struggle, and the meaning of Goldwaterism.

Our central efforts for the duration of the election campaign must be to build Students for DeBerry and Shaw and committees for independent political action. Through them we can hammer home the lesson that the various partial crises facing the American people from Vietnam to Harlem are part of a general crisis of the system of capitalism. We can point out that the next step toward resolving these crises is the formation of a political party which offers an alternative to capitalist rule.

The existence of the Freedom Now Party and independent Negro candidates gives us extra openings for our propaganda. So does the criticism of the two parties by such people as Malcolm X. The very existence of the Freedom Now Party and the SWP on the ballot takes the question of independent political action out of the realm of an abstract suggestion to one of concrete example for support and emulation.

### Propaganda

Our central task <sup>is propagandizing</sup> for socialism. We explain that a revolutionary program and organization is needed for its attainment. We are trying to get many ideas across to the very small layer of American youth who are rebelling against this society.

The great need among both the campus youth and the Negro youth involved in struggle is the development of socialist consciousness, that is, understanding the forces they are opposed to and how to defeat them. Many are angry; they are fighting; they are open-minded -- but they tend to adopt the level of understanding of current leaderships.

We are not a civil rights, civil liberties, or peace organization, although we support all these struggles, participate in them, and try to learn from them. We are a socialist political organization which generalizes and ties together in its propaganda all those partial struggles which, objectively, are aimed against the ruling class.

It is socialist politics that we have to offer students and young activists who are willing to listen to us. Our success in this period depends on our ability to convince young people to join us and dedicate themselves to socialist politics which are indispensable to the successful struggle for a decent world.

The YSA can operate effectively under its own name. We can establish ourselves as the socialists, by defending and explaining the colonial revolution and the Freedom Now struggle, and opposing the drift to the right in American politics.

In this work we should keep in mind several major advantages we have relative to our opponents.

1. We are a national socialist youth organization with many viable locals. This is our major accomplishment and puts us far ahead of our opponents who have come nowhere close to building a viable and effective national organization. This was best reflected in our ability to wage a victorious national campaign in defense of our Bloomington comrades. We have a national voice, The Young Socialist.

2. In The Militant we have a weekly propaganda newspaper which is more attractive to radical youth than the press of our opponents. The regular distribution of The Militant gets our ideas to a broad layer of youth. This includes those we are not in immediate contact with, for instance, southern youth. The simple rule has been that a person who becomes a regular Militant reader can be recruited to the YSA.

3. We are the heirs of the traditions and lessons drawn from the maintenance and enrichment of socialist thought and action by the American Trotskyist movement. Books and pamphlets embodying this tradition are powerful weapons in the education and recruitment of the rebels of our generation. One of the best examples of that is the reception we get to the Trotskyist analysis of the Freedom Now struggle and black nationalism. The publication of the first Marxist history of the rise of the CIO by Art Preis, the first inexpensive anthology of Trotsky's writings, The Age of Permanent Revolution, and W.F. Wardes Logic of Marxism, are valuable weapons. The Marxist program **is the most important asset we have.**

### Our Opponents

To understand our opponents clearly we must place them in the context of the recent history of the American left. The post WW II decline and break-up of American Stalinism left a vacuum among radicals, but did so in the context, not of a mass upsurge and shake-up, but of a deadening conservatism and quiescence of the labor movement. The new formations that developed, except the YSA,

were marked by the heritage of revisionism that they received from either Stalinism or the Social Democratic left.

Unlike Bolshevism's development in struggle against the Bernstein revision of Marxism or the Left Opposition's development in struggle against the Stalinist revision of Leninism, the recent American offspring of the decay of Stalinism and Social Democracy did not hammer out a revolutionary critique and program and defend it before a large radical working class membership.

We have seen off-shoots and splits from the CP USA that remain Stalinist; we have seen off-shoots and splits from the SP and Shachtmanite ISL that remain Social Democratic. Our current opponents, the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), W.E.B. DuBois Club (WEBD) and the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), are heirs of this programmatic poverty. The youth recruited by them do not understand that it is only around the correct program that a revolutionary cadre capable of leading the overturn of capitalism can be built.

### Reformist Activism

All of our opponents on the youth arena have been built by the recruitment of student youth. With no experience in the mass movement they embody all the weaknesses of the middle class. Under the pressures of imperialism they are susceptible to reformist traps and liberal prejudices. As they come to socialism they usually adopt the consciousness of well known reformist leaders. They tend to see the day to day work for reforms as ends in themselves. Unlimited activism of any kind becomes "socialist" activity. Preparation of a solid revolutionary cadre able to intervene in the mass struggles to come is totally subordinated to gaining the leadership of partial struggles.

Socialist minded youth become especially susceptible to reformism in a period in which the labor bureaucracy, bourgeois educational foundations, and the federal government pour money into social work at the "grass roots" level in order to head discontent into safe channels. This opens up a double temptation to petty bourgeois youth -- they can "help the masses" at the "grass roots" and often find a subsistence wage to spend full time doing it. Social work is called political work and political work becomes pure and simple, good, middle class, social work -- sometimes with pay.

This orientation is always marked by the desire to "keep politics out" of actions "we all agree on". Youth attracted to this sort of reformist "activism social work" have it systemized for them in a program by the SDS, YPSL, and the newly-formed WEBD.

### Ultra-Leftist Activism

Some middle class newly radicalized youth react sharply against this reformism. Some of these find their way to revolutionary socialism. But others can be led into adventures in which the attempt is made to leap over the adverse objective situation and substitute the action of a handful for the mass. This ultra-left "activism" is merely the other side of the reformist coin. Long the trade mark of 3rd period Stalinism this adventurism can only lead to victimizations which are gleefully taken advantage of by the ruling class. Ultra-leftism can be used as an excuse to crack-down not only on the entire left, but on the militants involved in daily struggle as well.

Worst of all, adventurism wears out and hardens into cynics young rebels, some of whom could have been made into revolutionary cadres. Instead of developing Marxist cadre, ultra-left organizations instead eventually breed victims, demoralized youth and cynical front-group politicians. This tendency can be seen most clearly in the Stalinist Progressive Labor Movement. (PLM).

\* \* \*

The source of both these reformist and ultra-leftist deviations lie in the frustrations of the objective situation, the pressures and temptations of an undisciplined petty-bourgeois environment, and Social-Democratic and Stalinist miseducation. None of these elements should be underestimated. The search for either a respectable or quick road to socialism is doomed; there is no get-rich-quick gimmick to build a revolutionary movement; history has spoken decisively on this question.

Nevertheless, the middle class inexperienced character of young radicals, the programmatic and organizational heritage from Stalinism and Social Democracy, and the isolation of the socialist movement from a significant section of the working class, will continue to breed these dead-ends.

It is clear that there is no realistic perspective of fusion with any of these opponent formations. Quite the contrary in the coming period we will be competing with them head on for the allegiance of the radical youth in this country.

The absurdities and bestialities of capitalism in its decline will continue to produce rebels and opponents of the system. We have to teach them the perspective of the American working class revolution. They have to be taught that the central task of American socialists is the building of a conscious Marxist cadre capable of educating and, someday, leading the mass of American workers to take state power. They have to be taught that there is no short-cut to socialism.

YPSL

The precipitous decline of the Young People's Socialist League following the Cuban missile crisis has continued. The report of their National Secretary at the SP convention indicated that this is true of even their traditional strongholds such as the University of Chicago. Not only has recruiting dropped off, but they have been losing members as miseducation and inactivity take their toll. They are split up into a minimum of 13 tendencies and factions. Continual discussion and factional cannibalism runs rampant and leaves little time for consistent, outward-turned propaganda, recruitment or education. To add insult to injury, the SP has threatened to put the YPSL into receivership.

In spite of all their "revolutionary" tendencies the politics of YPSL are the politics of the Social Democracy and the organizational losses they have been having are the price they pay for that program. They oppose the colonial liberation movement as "Stalinist"; they oppose black nationalism as "racist"; they refuse support to DeBerry and Shaw while the SP supports Johnson to stop Goldwater at all costs.

The lack of a large reformist student movement organized around either peace or civil rights to feed off has been especially damaging to YPSL. They have concentrated on work in CORE in several places, but seem to have gained little more than some posts.

SDS

The Students for a Democratic Society which has grown as we predicted, have been very successful in involving themselves in foundation, federal grant, and labor financed social work projects in the South, in Appalachia, and in several Northern urban areas. They work within the capitalist power structure in order to pressure "good" Democrats and Republicans into realignment which they believe has started with the passage of the civil rights bill. This class collaboration is likely to become even more blatant if SDSers continue to get positions in the various poverty and delinquency projects that are appearing on the scene. They openly support the labor bureaucracy wing of the Democratic Party and they do not spend time on socialist education, propaganda, or cadre building. At the same time their ability to get money to finance an apparatus and members in projects gives them an element of permanency.

WEB DuBois Club

A nationwide Khrushchevite youth organization called the WEB DuBois Clubs has been set up to replace the stillborn Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC). In the East and Midwest, the WEED Clubs are merely PYOC by another name and offer little new

phenomena for our consideration. The West Coast DuBois Clubs were able to attract a number of non-Stalinist youth and represent an advance for the proponents of peaceful coexistence over the last few years.

Our intervention at their founding convention helped clear the minds of the youth not committed to any tendency of the idea that the DuBois Clubs were a broad, independent, action-oriented, socialist youth organization not tainted by unpleasant things such as program and line. The activities of the WEBD Clubs will have some variation regionally, but their political line is clear. It is support to Johnson behind a stop Goldwater campaign; support for local and state liberal Democrats; work in "mass" neighborhood organizations; and on the campus, concentration on civil rights action, and education in the subtleties of popular frontism. They plan to put out a magazine whose projected content is similar to New Horizons for Youth.

#### PLM

The Progressive Labor Movement is a 1961 Maoist split from the CP which has most of its membership in New York city. Its original core came from N.Y. state CP circles and Advance members.

PL's outspoken opposition to the opportunism of the CP and the organization of trips to Cuba have been the main factors in attracting a number of youth. They now project the formation of a party at a Thanksgiving weekend conference in New York City. Their recruits have been mainly white students, many from CP backgrounds and periphery.

They are marked ideologically and organizationally by their Stalinist origins which they have refused to deal with and overcome. Their only public statements of program are contained in several articles in the Marxist-Leninist Quarterly. These articles place PL in the Chinese camp on the major international questions dividing the world Stalinist movement (including the question of Stalin) and call for a return to the "militant pragmatism" Stalinism of the Browder-Foster third period.

Up to now, PL's "militant pragmatic" brand of Marxism-Leninism has manifested itself in a series of whirling-dervish adventures, undertaken under the explicit theory that daring acts of defiance by a handful will somehow spark a mass movement. They look at the hit and run adventures which always involve innocent non-members as sources of sensational front-page news coverage, another PLM imagined short-cut to building a socialist movement.

Their get-rich-quick school of political adventurism has a deadly internal logic of its own. As each unwinnable confrontation with the state apparatus ends, a more extreme adventure must be projected to recoup and revenge the previous defeat. This in

turn attracts more ultra-left elements which reinforces the turn to the next round of adventures. Spurning all attempts by the YSA at a united front approach to common projects around the Vietnam war, the Cuba travel-ban, etc., PL has set up front-group apparatuses to run events, speaking in the name of all those involved.

PL has consistently presented itself as the vanguard of and spokesman for sections of the population when just the opposite was true. In Monroe, N.C., in Hazard, and in Harlem this has led to victimization, and distrust of radicals generally. The police and press have gratefully seized PL's statements and actions to rationalize further attacks not only on the entire left but also on the local militants directly involved.

While voicing opposition to both Johnson and Goldwater and blasting the CP for their support to the Democratic Party, PL thus far refuses to support DeBerry. They present abstention from voting and campaigning as the correct "Marxist-Leninist" position.

Far from leading to state power, such an ultra-left Stalinist line can only lead to the division of the working class in a period of radicalization. It offers a smokescreen behind which capitalist reaction protects itself. Under the conditions prevailing today it gives a covering excuse to the reaction against the small socialist movement and the Negro vanguard. It breeds victims, and eventually demoralizes and mis-educates youth who could have become revolutionary socialists.

Approved by the NEC  
August 23, 1964

Minutes of NEC Meeting of July 23, 1964

Present: Barry, Pete, Jack, Leroy  
alternate NC: Jan, Dick, Ralph

Chairman: Pete

Agenda: 1. Draft resolution on the Negro struggle

1. Draft resolution on the Negro struggle (attached)

Discussion of draft: Leroy, Jack, Dick, Pete, Barry

Motion (Barry): To approve the general line of the draft taking into account suggestions made in the discussion.

For: Barry, Pete, Jack  
Against: Leroy  
Alt For: Jan, Ralph, Dick

Motion carried

The Chairman reported that Melissa and Betsy both requested to be recorded as in favor of the general line of the draft.

Statement by Leroy: "My disagreement with the YSA's "Draft Resolution on the Negro Struggle" revolve around the following general points:

- I. Priority of active youth work in the Negro struggle.
- II. Interrelationship between propaganda and action.
- III. Criterion for Negro leadership and participation in YSA work.
- IV. Interrelationship between YSA campus work and YSA civil rights work."

Meeting adjourned.

## NEC DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

( A supplement to the convention resolution in light of the events of the last year )

### The Deepening of the Struggle

1. The Freedom Now movement continues to deepen in consciousness and methods. New leaders are coming to the fore with concepts of more radical action; the most important of these are developing a revolutionary perspective for the struggle. The last year has seen actions of a mass character, with increased participation by the Negro masses of the ghettos: school boycotts, rent strikes, and mass demonstrations. These actions have brought a confrontation between Negroes and big city governments run for the most part by the Democrats over the issues of education, welfare, housing, jobs, and police brutality. They have helped expose the ruling class; they have made it more costly for the ruling class to maintain discrimination; and they have helped to show the potential power of an organized Afro-American minority to change society.

2. In the Northern ghettos, a conscious nationalist leadership is developing which projects forms of struggle and a determination to lead and control black organizations without the help of "good" white people regardless of what they say about it. GOAL in Detroit, Malcolm X's OAAU in New York and the Freedom Now Party nuclei are among the most important of the black nationalist organizations which have grown up.

3. The big city ghettos of the South, as in the North, are the strategic centers of a potentially powerful Negro movement. But as of now, none of the established Southern organizations has secured a base in or offered a program for the big city Southern ghettos, although they have led actions and demonstrations which have drawn the ghetto masses into action. The Southern ghetto masses tend to go beyond the non-violent limits set by groups like SCLC, CORE and even SNCC, and meet racist violence with self-defense, as in Birmingham, Jacksonville, and Cambridge.

4. The failure of the capitalist class to give any real concessions has led such leaders as Malcolm X to conclude that the present system cannot and will not grant equality. Since his break with the Muslims, Malcolm X has developed more explicitly revolutionary ideas and is projecting a translation of these ideas into action. He has uncompromisingly exposed the hypocrisy and bankruptcy of the ruling class, and has attacked its political parties. He has stressed the need for self-defense, for solidarity with the colonial revolution, and for struggle against the entire American white power structure. His recognition of the successes of revolution abroad has led him to express an interest in socialism and to state explicitly that under capitalism equality cannot be achieved. His

analysis leads him to see the limits of actions to reform the system, but his ideas are still developing and he has not yet formulated a clear program of struggle to change the system.

5. There is also a radicalization going on among militants in formally integrationist\* organizations in the face of the inability of the struggle so far to bring significant concessions. Many activists are becoming more nationalist. Such leaders as Gloria Richardson and Stanley Branche have voiced support to the Freedom Now Party. But the leftward motion of most of these activists is still contained within the framework of improving and radicalizing, rather than politicalizing, their activism.

6. The most radical idea to come out of the direct action groups is that of a new type of mass civil-disobedience. Rev. Cleage calls this tactic the "strategy of chaos." Diane Bevel first suggested such a policy at an SCLC conference where she called for such actions as sitting down on roadways and air strips. The stall-in advocated by Brooklyn CORE at the World's Fair was an example of this idea. Many of the prominent militant leaders showed agreement with the "strategy of chaos" by voicing support to the stall-in.

7. A large section of the activities in such organizations as the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC are still looking to reform the system through direct action. Many see hope in the liberals of the Northern Democratic Party, even though these liberals are part of the city machines which they opposed in the boycotts and demonstrations of this last year. Some are frightened by militant nationalism, but the more serious elements can be won to militant opposition to the system and to independent political action.

8. Malcolm X has called for unity in the struggle, unity between the uncompromising integrationists and the separationists. He points out that both are for the same goal: Freedom Now from oppression and segregation. He and other leaders who call for unity on this basis make a sharp distinction between the integration fight (against segregation and exploitation) and total assimilation into white America. Rev. Cleage explains this seemingly paradoxical position as follows:

"Let us underscore the apparent paradox of the Negro's position. In effect he will be saying: 'Listen Mr. White Man, we demand the right to live with you in "your white neighborhoods" to go to school with you in "your white schools" to work with you "at your white lunch counters" even though we despise everything you represent. We don't want to live with you, work with you, but for our right to do all of these things which we really don't want to do, we will protest, fight and die, if need be.'"

\*direct action

9. With the entrance of many separationists into the active struggle and with activists gaining more nationalist consciousness, there is real potential for the growth of the radical elements in the fight for freedom.

### Political Action

10. The next step for the Negro movement is the fight on the political arena, that is action and organization against the capitalist racist parties. The mass demonstrations, boycotts, rent strikes, etc. run up against the capitalist monopoly of political power at every step. This has demonstrated the need to generalize these isolated struggles into a struggle against the system as a whole, a struggle that must be political in conception and organization. There is a growing tendency for the Negroes to move further ahead of the rest of the working class and to form their own political party to fight for their own interests. This is best evidenced by the FNP's ability to get on the ballot in Michigan. However, there will be no national Negro party sufficiently organized to run in the 1964 national elections.

11. The Democratic Party is making a special effort during this election year to put up a liberal front. Northern Democrats wail about segregation in the South and "lack of equality for all our citizens" in the North. They try to pretend that being for a weak civil rights bill proves that they are taking a stand for equality. They demand a vote for the Texas cracker to avoid the Arizona reactionary.

12. The events of the past year have exposed the Democratic Party to many militant Negroes, making it easier for them to realize the need for a political expression for the Freedom Now movement. They see that the Democratic administrations in Northern cities are doing little about crowded inferior ghetto schools, unemployment and slum housing and killer cops, despite demonstrations and boycotts. It is the Democratic Party liberals who are taking part in the howl and cry against militant civil rights actions while remaining silent when the most brutal methods are used to keep the black man down, North and South.

13. The growth of the Freedom Now Party is the most important concrete organizational result of the exposure of the Democratic Party and the most advanced development in the struggle thus far. Under the leadership of Rev. Cleage the Detroit Freedom Now Party has collected over 20,000 signatures to get on the ballot in Michigan. This is of great importance as the first step toward building the FNP from a group of small organizing committees to a party which can contend for black political power.

14. A black political party has the potential to win elections, to expose and force concessions from the ruling class and to break up the Democratic Party, shaking the two party system, making Labor support of the Democrats untenable and providing a powerful example to the entire working class.

To realize this potential is a task of great proportions and will require the development of a convincing program and a mass following. The campaign in Michigan this election year will be an important opportunity to start this process of growth.

15. The spring tour of Clifton DeBerry confirmed the fact that many Negroes and young whites are looking for a solution to the crisis of the world today and are willing to listen to socialist views. They want explanations for such things as the colonial revolution, nuclear war, poverty and unemployment. DeBerry and Shaw are the only national candidates who can present a viable long-run explanation and solution to these problems. Negro organizations may hesitate to formally endorse the DeBerry-Shaw campaign because they do not want to be associated with socialists or with a party made up mainly of whites. But the campaign so far shows that it can gain the enthusiastic support of many individuals who are attracted by its militant opposition to the system and the two racist capitalist parties. The SWP ticket, headed by the first Negro to be nominated for President, will be the only ticket standing for independent black political action and Freedom Now in the national campaign. As such, it is our most important weapon to propagandize for the politicalization of the Negro struggle independent of the capitalist parties.

#### Black Nationalism, Its Roots and Potential

16. A large majority of black people in America today are born, live and die in the big city slum ghettos of the North and South. They are forced to exist in the worst living conditions, forced to accept dirty back-breaking underpaid jobs, have few educational opportunities and see little hope of ever improving their situation. Everywhere they can see the white man living the best, eating the best, getting the best jobs and displaying little real concern over the black man's plight, and in most cases perpetuating the conditions of the black masses. Instead of having a job and the dignity that goes along with earning your own way, the black man often gets relief or nothing. Instead of good housing, he gets prison-like projects designed to enlarge the already over-crowded ghetto and at the same time to make it more compact. Instead of better education for his children he gets promises of more integrated schools.

17. White America has proven by four hundred years of oppression, brutality and rejection that it cannot and will not accept the black man as a human being with the right to a hopeful and decent existence. Everything offered the bulk of black people is "second class." The net result is that a large majority of black people have a deep bitterness and hatred toward white America as a whole for being responsible for creating and maintaining the black man's position in this country. At least in the ghetto

among his own the black man is regarded as a human being, and the value of everything isn't measured by the "whiteness" of it. He isn't interested in persuading the white man to love and accept him. He isn't interested in going to white schools or living in white neighborhoods merely because they are white.

18. In general, middle class Northern civil rights leaders have adapted the methods of the Southern non-violent struggle in order to break down the more subtle walls of segregation in the North. The projected goal has been more integration. But black people living in the already "integrated" liberal North are becoming aware of the fact that more "integration," at least more tokenism, isn't the answer to their problems. The majority of black people in this country will not become involved in a form of struggle that only results in providing a few "good Negroes" with the so-called "fruits" of this society.

19. Although its roots are there, black nationalism is not the conscious philosophy of the masses of the ghetto. It has the potential to become so but now the average black man who lives in the ghetto does not consider himself either an integrationist or a separationist, an assimilationist or a nationalist. He cannot see how picketing a store will help his immediate needs as an individual nor can he see how going back to Africa or creating a separate state will help him either. For him to join the struggle, it must be concrete. It must take forms, such as the New York rent strikes, that look like they have a chance to improve his condition.

20. Where civil rights organizations with white liberal and middle class black leaderships have failed to achieve a response from the black masses the new nationalist organizations can succeed because they speak a common language with the workers that fill the black ghettos in this country: black dignity, black economic and political power. Black nationalists can and will inspire people with the example of the successes of the colonial revolution.

21. Given the level and intensity of their struggle for Freedom Now the black people will play the leading role in bringing about the coming American revolution. Black nationalism represents not only a rejection of the status quo but a determination to change it. This should be viewed as a gigantic step toward the abolition of capitalism. When the black workers of the ghetto as a whole, the most concentrated proletarian mass in the U.S., become determined to control their own destiny they will be equally determined to create a system that makes it possible for them to do so. Thus, black nationalism is the most progressive and revolutionary mass tendency on the American scene today. This is reflected, among other things, in the friendly response of many militant nationalists to the SWP, the YSA and the Militant.

## The Tasks of the YSA

22. The tasks of the YSA are dependent upon its size, composition, and longrun goals. The YSA is a small organization of young people; the majority of whom are petty-bourgeois in background, although we have recruited a number of **young people** from working class backgrounds. The YSA is still predominately white although it has gained a number of black comrades since the last convention. We are still working in an atmosphere of hostility to socialist ideas and must recruit one by one.

23. The purpose of the YSA is to bring Marxist ideas to young people so that they can help build the revolutionary socialist movement. All our efforts are directed to this end simply because a revolutionary socialist leadership is necessary for the attainment of freedom and the ending of poverty and war. Our most important task is to develop Marxist cadres.

24. If we are to take action in the Negro struggle we must first learn from it. We can learn by participating in the struggle and from the exchange of ideas that goes along with it. The black comrades are key in helping the YSA as a whole understand better the moods, organizations, and demands of the struggle. Much can be learned from reading. Every YSAer should study such articles as "Black Nationalism and White Radicals" by Robert Vernon, The SWP "Freedom Now" resolution, the YSA resolution "Youth and the Black Revolt," "What a Minority Can Do" by George Breitman, "Documents on the Negro Struggle," and the speeches of Malcolm X and Rev. Cleage. YSAers should become familiar with Negro history. They should follow changes in the struggle and read such papers as Muhammed Speaks, Illustrated News, the local Negro press, as well as the Militant.

25. In participating in the struggle it should not be forgotten that the YSA is still a small predominately white organization. Because of this the YSA cannot substitute itself for a black leadership with roots in the ghetto. Our task remains one of propaganda, and our central propaganda task is to raise the concept of the politicalization of the struggle.

26. When we participate in direct action projects or in struggle organizations we cannot allow ourselves to neglect our central propaganda task; rather, we join such actions to widen our contacts and propaganda opportunities. While striving to be responsible members of any direct action or organization we engage in, we are not merely **activists**, but **socialist politicians**.

27. In choosing which actions and organizations we work in we have to **keep in mind** our goals. We want to go where

there are young people who are becoming revolutionary whom we can influence with our ideas. We don't join actions for the sake of action, and we avoid "mass work" of the social worker variety. White students are susceptible to the idea of "going into the ghetto" to do social work to "help" the Negroes. However, it's our job to point to the real and only road to freedom, the struggle to transform society through political action.

28. In addition to the tendency of some activists to counterpose direct action to political action, there is an ultra-left avoidance of political action by some black nationalist intellectuals. These intellectuals reject the perspective of the American revolution, and see victory coming only through the struggle of the non-white people outside the United States. Considering themselves to be only the advanced detachment of the colonial revolution, they abstain from the hard struggle to build a Negro political party.

29. Our size and composition make it imperative that our concentration for the present be almost entirely on the Northern ghettos, where we have YSA units. However, we should be alert for ways to extend our propaganda work into the Southern ghettos, for example through the sale of Militant subscriptions.

30. White comrades, as well as black, can carry out many of our propaganda functions. Through the Militant, the Young Socialist, and the ISR, and through sponsoring speakers, they can participate in the process of learning from the struggle and projecting the socialist solution.

31. Every comrade, black or white, can help build our most important action and project for the next months, our support to the SWP election campaign. The campaign opens new and deeper avenues for our propaganda into the Negro movement and its white sympathizers, providing us with an unusual opportunity for reaching a wider audience with our ideas.

32. By selling the Militant all comrades can spread information on the struggle among our contacts and in the ghetto, on what the most militant leaders are doing and projecting, on the need for political action, and the final socialist solution. Comrades can help explain and defend the ideas of independent political action and black nationalism, and they can help put the struggle in the context of the world socialist revolution. They should explain to whites why they should support the Negro struggle. We should support any effort which raises the level of the struggle and helps expose the system, making sure that we show the limits of actions not solely by criticizing them but also by projecting the next steps to be taken.

33. Black comrades have greater flexibility than white comrades, and are able to join all-black organizations.

Exactly which organizations black YSAers as well as white YSAers should work in must be decided in the concrete, keeping in mind that we want to be where we can reach the best elements and recruit them to revolutionary socialism.

34. The YSA is an ~~action~~ group. In considering ourselves such we must guard against too narrow a view of what it is to act. It includes much more than participating in picket lines, boycotts, and sit-ins. It means supporting the DeBerry-Shaw campaign, selling the Militant and the Young Socialist, running classes, sponsoring speakers and taking a position on the long run solution to racism and organizing, recruiting and educating ourselves for the long haul. It is our long run revolutionary perspective and our seriousness and discipline which will attract recruits, black or white.

#### Black and White Comrades in the YSA

35. There has been an increase of black membership in the YSA since our last convention. More black militants are being attracted by the correctness of our program and the ideas we project. It is on this basis that most of them have been recruited to the YSA. On the other hand there are black militants who can see the correctness of our ideas but reject our organization. We must seek to understand the reasons for this and to correct it as much as possible. One of the ways we can do this is by accepting and encouraging criticism from the black comrades and by recognizing the fact that such criticism is needed. If these criticisms are taken seriously they will aid both black and white comrades in breaking down the barriers of distrust that limit any real communication. If the criticisms are not taken seriously then the same internal mistakes will be projected outside of the YSA and will result in alienating black militants from our organization and our ideas.

36. There should be no tendency in the YSA to treat Negro members like privileged comrades because there are so few at present. White comrades often project this in their attempts to be friendly to black comrades. Their eagerness to be friendly and comradely may be carried out to the extreme of being fawning which results in nervousness on their part when talking and working with black YSAers and is met with hostility. Black militants will often interpret this type of nervous friendliness as a lack of sincerity or forced feeling. Black militants join the YSA because they are interested in revolutionary socialism or in some aspects of our program, and not in winning white friends or getting special treatment because they are black. When black militants join the YSA they are on the road to becoming revolutionary socialists and will appreciate being treated and respected as such, no more, no less. They will and should expect to be subjected to the same disciplines and the same responsibilities as white comrades. They will and should accept constructive criticism when it is necessary for their development as

revolutionary socialists and will not appreciate allowances being made for their deficiencies. Attempts on the part of white comrades to always appear all-understanding and all-forgiving will be deeply resented by the black comrades.

37. White YSAers must realize that they are not exempt from bourgeois prejudices. The YSA like any other organization is influenced by and will reflect to one degree or another the general attitudes of the society in which it exists. This cannot be completely corrected until society itself is changed, but it can be alleviated. Because our position on the Negro struggle is more correct and advanced than that of any other radical organization white comrades sometimes imagine that they are equipped to really understand and know how it feels to be black. No white person can know how a black person feels living in a racist society simply because they aren't subjected to the everyday 24-hours-a-day kinds of pressures that black people are. It is important that white YSAers try to understand how black militants think and feel, but it is equally important that they don't pretend to know how it feels to be a black person in white America.

38. Black comrades want white YSAers to work with them, learn from them, and teach them, but they do not expect them to try to be or feel just like them. They realize that this is impossible and white YSAers must realize this too.

#### Black Leadership in the YSA

39. The participation of black comrades in the internal life and in the leadership of the YSA is essential to the development of the movement and is essential to their development as revolutionary socialists. This does not mean that all black members should be put into leadership positions simply because a black leadership is needed. Other radical organizations such as the CP have made the mistake of doing just this. It has resulted in the Negroes not being made aware of the importance of developing to their fullest potential and the organization suffers from the lack of an effective Negro leadership.

40. Black YSAers should rise to the position of leadership through the normal processes, that is through experience and leadership activity. This is important, not only because we don't want to establish a double set of standards, but more importantly this type of procedure will prepare black YSAers to play an effective role in the Negro struggle and in the whole struggle for the socialist revolution.

41. Black workers, because of their position in society as both the most oppressed section of the urban working class and as an oppressed minority, will play a key role in the coming American Revolution. The construction of a Marxist Negro cadre and leadership is necessary for success, and the recruiting and educating of such a leadership is a central task of the YSA.

Minutes of NEC Meeting of July 23, 1964

Present: Barry, Pete, Jack, Leroy  
alternate NC: Jan, Dick, Ralph

Chairman: Pete

Agenda: 1. Draft resolution on the Negro struggle

1. Draft resolution on the Negro struggle (attached)

Discussion of draft: Leroy, Jack, Dick, Pete, Barry

Motion (Barry): To approve the general line of the draft taking into account suggestions made in the discussion.

For: Barry, Pete, Jack  
Against: Leroy  
Alt For: Jan, Ralph, Dick

Motion carried

The Chairman reported that Melissa and Betsy both requested to be recorded as in favor of the general line of the draft.

Statement by Leroy: "My disagreement with the YSA's "Draft Resolution on the Negro Struggle" revolve around the following general points:

- I. Priority of active youth work in the Negro struggle.
- II. Interrelationship between propaganda and action.
- III. Criterion for Negro leadership and participation in YSA work.
- IV. Interrelationship between YSA campus work and YSA civil rights work."

Meeting adjourned.

## NEC DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

( A supplement to the convention resolution in light of the events of the last year )

### The Deepening of the Struggle

1. The Freedom Now movement continues to deepen in consciousness and methods. New leaders are coming to the fore with concepts of more radical action; the most important of these are developing a revolutionary perspective for the struggle. The last year has seen actions of a mass character, with increased participation by the Negro masses of the ghettos: school boycotts, rent strikes, and mass demonstrations. These actions have brought a confrontation between Negroes and big city governments run for the most part by the Democrats over the issues of education, welfare, housing, jobs, and police brutality. They have helped expose the ruling class; they have made it more costly for the ruling class to maintain discrimination; and they have helped to show the potential power of an organized Afro-American minority to change society.

2. In the Northern ghettos, a conscious nationalist leadership is developing which projects forms of struggle and a determination to lead and control black organizations without the help of "good" white people regardless of what they say about it. GOAL in Detroit, Malcolm X's OAAU in New York and the Freedom Now Party nuclei are among the most important of the black nationalist organizations which have grown up.

3. The big city ghettos of the South, as in the North, are the strategic centers of a potentially powerful Negro movement. But as of now, none of the established Southern organizations has secured a base in or offered a program for the big city Southern ghettos, although they have led actions and demonstrations which have drawn the ghetto masses into action. The Southern ghetto masses tend to go beyond the non-violent limits set by groups like SCLC, CORE and even SNCC, and meet racist violence with self-defense, as in Birmingham, Jacksonville, and Cambridge.

4. The failure of the capitalist class to give any real concessions has led such leaders as Malcolm X to conclude that the present system cannot and will not grant equality. Since his break with the Muslims, Malcolm X has developed more explicitly revolutionary ideas and is projecting a translation of these ideas into action. He has uncompromisingly exposed the hypocrisy and bankruptcy of the ruling class, and has attacked its political parties. He has stressed the need for self-defense, for solidarity with the colonial revolution, and for struggle against the entire American white power structure. His recognition of the successes of revolution abroad has led him to express an interest in socialism and to state explicitly that under capitalism equality cannot be achieved. His

analysis leads him to see the limits of actions to reform the system, but his ideas are still developing and he has not yet formulated a clear program of struggle to change the system.

5. There is also a radicalization going on among militants in formally integrationist\* organizations in the face of the inability of the struggle so far to bring significant concessions. Many activists are becoming more nationalist. Such leaders as Gloria Richardson and Stanley Branche have voiced support to the Freedom Now Party. But the leftward motion of most of these activists is still contained within the framework of improving and radicalizing, rather than politicalizing, their activism.

6. The most radical idea to come out of the direct action groups is that of a new type of mass civil-disobedience. Rev. Cleage calls this tactic the "strategy of chaos." Diane Bevel first suggested such a policy at an SCLC conference where she called for such actions as sitting down on roadways and air strips. The stall-in advocated by Brooklyn CORE at the World's Fair was an example of this idea. Many of the prominent militant leaders showed agreement with the "strategy of chaos" by voicing support to the stall-in.

7. A large section of the activities in such organizations as the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC are still looking to reform the system through direct action. Many see hope in the liberals of the Northern Democratic Party, even though these liberals are part of the city machines which they opposed in the boycotts and demonstrations of this last year. Some are frightened by militant nationalism, but the more serious elements can be won to militant opposition to the system and to independent political action.

8. Malcolm X has called for unity in the struggle, unity between the uncompromising integrationists and the separationists. He points out that both are for the same goal: Freedom Now from oppression and segregation. He and other leaders who call for unity on this basis make a sharp distinction between the integration fight (against segregation and exploitation) and total assimilation into white America. Rev. Cleage explains this seemingly paradoxical positions as follows:

"Let us underscore the apparent paradox of the Negro's position. In effect he will be saying: 'Listen Mr. White Man, we demand the right to live with you in "your white neighborhoods" to go to school with you in "your white schools" to work with you "at your white lunch counters" even though we despise everything you represent. We don't want to live with you, work with you, but for our right to do all of these things which we really don't want to do, we will protest, fight and die, if need be.'"

\*direct action

9. With the entrance of many separationists into the active struggle and with activists gaining more nationalist consciousness, there is real potential for the growth of the radical elements in the fight for freedom.

### Political Action

10. The next step for the Negro movement is the fight on the political arena, that is action and organization against the capitalist racist parties. The mass demonstrations, boycotts, rent strikes, etc. run up against the capitalist monopoly of political power at every step. This has demonstrated the need to generalize these isolated struggles into a struggle against the system as a whole, a struggle that must be political in conception and organization. There is a growing tendency for the Negroes to move further ahead of the rest of the working class and to form their own political party to fight for their own interests. This is best evidenced by the FNP's ability to get on the ballot in Michigan. However, there will be no national Negro party sufficiently organized to run in the 1964 national elections.

11. The Democratic Party is making a special effort during this election year to put up a liberal front. Northern Democrats wail about segregation in the South and "lack of equality for all our citizens" in the North. They try to pretend that being for a weak civil rights bill proves that they are taking a stand for equality. They demand a vote for the Texas cracker to avoid the Arizona reactionary.

12. The events of the past year have exposed the Democratic Party to many militant Negroes, making it easier for them to realize the need for a political expression for the Freedom Now movement. They see that the Democratic administrations in Northern cities are doing little about crowded inferior ghetto schools, unemployment and slum housing and killer cops, despite demonstrations and boycotts. It is the Democratic Party liberals who are taking part in the howl and cry against militant civil rights actions while remaining silent when the most brutal methods are used to keep the black man down, North and South.

13. The growth of the Freedom Now Party is the most important concrete organizational result of the exposure of the Democratic Party and the most advanced development in the struggle thus far. Under the leadership of Rev. Cleage the Detroit Freedom Now Party has collected over 20,000 signatures to get on the ballot in Michigan. This is of great importance as the first step toward building the FNP from a group of small organizing committees to a party which can contend for black political power.

14. A black political party has the potential to win elections, to expose and force concessions from the ruling class and to break up the Democratic Party, shaking the two party system, making Labor support of the Democrats untenable and providing a powerful example to the entire working class.

To realize this potential is a task of great proportions and will require the development of a convincing program and a mass following. The campaign in Michigan this election year will be an important opportunity to start this process of growth.

15. The spring tour of Clifton DeBerry confirmed the fact that many Negroes and young whites are looking for a solution to the crisis of the world today and are willing to listen to socialist views. They want explanations for such things as the colonial revolution, nuclear war, poverty and unemployment. DeBerry and Shaw are the only national candidates who can present a viable long-run explanation and solution to these problems. Negro organizations may hesitate to formally endorse the DeBerry-Shaw campaign because they do not want to be associated with socialists or with a party made up mainly of whites. But the campaign so far shows that it can gain the enthusiastic support of many individuals who are attracted by its militant opposition to the system and the two racist capitalist parties. The SWP ticket, headed by the first Negro to be nominated for President, will be the only ticket standing for independent black political action and Freedom Now in the national campaign. As such, it is our most important weapon to propagandize for the politicalization of the Negro struggle independent of the capitalist parties.

#### Black Nationalism, Its Roots and Potential

16. A large majority of black people in America today are born, live and die in the big city slum ghettos of the North and South. They are forced to exist in the worst living conditions, forced to accept dirty back-breaking underpaid jobs, have few educational opportunities and see little hope of ever improving their situation. Everywhere they can see the white man living the best, eating the best, getting the best jobs and displaying little real concern over the black man's plight, and in most cases perpetuating the conditions of the black masses. Instead of having a job and the dignity that goes along with earning your own way, the black man often gets relief or nothing. Instead of good housing, he gets prison-like projects designed to enlarge the already over-crowded ghetto and at the same time to make it more compact. Instead of better education for his children he gets promises of more integrated schools.

17. White America has proven by four hundred years of oppression, brutality and rejection that it cannot and will not accept the black man as a human being with the right to a hopeful and decent existence. Everything offered the bulk of black people is "second class." The net result is that a large majority of black people have a deep bitterness and hatred toward white America as a whole for being responsible for creating and maintaining the black man's position in this country. At least in the ghetto

among his own the black man is regarded as a human being, and the value of everything isn't measured by the "whiteness" of it. He isn't interested in persuading the white man to love and accept him. He isn't interested in going to white schools or living in white neighborhoods merely because they are white.

18. In general, middle class Northern civil rights leaders have adapted the methods of the Southern non-violent struggle in order to break down the more subtle walls of segregation in the North. The projected goal has been more integration. But black people ~~are~~ living in the already "integrated" liberal North are becoming aware of the fact that more "integration," at least more tokenism, isn't the answer to their problems. The majority of black people in this country will not become involved in a form of struggle that only results in providing a few "good Negroes" with the so-called "fruits" of this society.

19. Although its roots are there, black nationalism is not the conscious philosophy of the masses of the ghetto. It has the potential to become so but now the average black man who lives in the ghetto does not consider himself either an integrationist or a separationist, an assimilationist or a nationalist. He cannot see how picketing a store will help his immediate needs as an individual nor can he see how going back to Africa or creating a separate state will help him either. For him to join the struggle, it must be concrete. It must take forms, such as the New York rent strikes, that look like they have a chance to improve his condition.

20. Where civil rights organizations with white liberal and middle class black leaderships have failed to achieve a response from the black masses the new nationalist organizations can succeed because they speak a common language with the workers that fill the black ghettos in this country: black dignity, black economic and political power. Black nationalists can and will inspire people with the example of the successes of the colonial revolution.

21. Given the level and intensity of their struggle for Freedom Now the black people will play the leading role in bringing about the coming American revolution. Black nationalism represents not only a rejection of the status quo but a determination to change it. This should be viewed as a gigantic step toward the abolition of capitalism. When the black workers of the ghetto as a whole, the most concentrated proletarian mass in the U.S., become determined to control their own destiny they will be equally determined to create a system that makes it possible for them to do so. Thus, black nationalism is the most progressive and revolutionary mass tendency on the American scene today. This is reflected, among other things, in the friendly response of many militant nationalists to the SWP, the YSA and the Militant.

## The Tasks of the YSA

22. The tasks of the YSA are dependent upon its size, composition, and longrun goals. The YSA is a small organization of young people; the majority of whom are petty-bourgeois in background, although we have recruited a number of young people from working class backgrounds. The YSA is still predominately white although it has gained a number of black comrades since the last convention. We are still working in an atmosphere of hostility to socialist ideas and must recruit one by one.

23. The purpose of the YSA is to bring Marxist ideas to young people so that they can help build the revolutionary socialist movement. All our efforts are directed to this end simply because a revolutionary socialist leadership is necessary for the attainment of freedom and the ending of poverty and war. Our most important task is to develop Marxist cadres.

24. If we are to take action in the Negro struggle we must first learn from it. We can learn by participating in the struggle and from the exchange of ideas that goes along with it. The black comrades are key in helping the YSA as a whole understand better the moods, organizations, and demands of the struggle. Much can be learned from reading. Every YSAer should study such articles as "Black Nationalism and White Radicals" by Robert Vernon, The SWP "Freedom Now" resolution, the YSA resolution "Youth and the Black Revolt," "What a Minority Can Do" by George Breitman, "Documents on the Negro Struggle," and the speeches of Malcolm X and Rev. Cleage. YSAers should become familiar with Negro history. They should follow changes in the struggle and read such papers as Muhammed Speaks, Illustrated News, the local Negro press, as well as the Militant.

25. In participating in the struggle it should not be forgotten that the YSA is still a small predominately white organization. Because of this the YSA cannot substitute itself for a black leadership with roots in the ghetto. Our task remains one of propaganda, and our central propaganda task is to raise the concept of the politicalization of the struggle.

26. When we participate in direct action projects or in struggle organizations we cannot allow ourselves to neglect our central propaganda task; rather, we join such actions to widen our contacts and propaganda opportunities. While striving to be responsible members of any direct action or organization we engage in, we are not merely **activists**, but **socialist politicians**.

27. In choosing which actions and organizations we work in we have to **keep** in mind our goals. We want to go where

there are young people who are becoming revolutionary whom we can influence with our ideas. We don't join actions for the sake of action, and we avoid "mass work" of the social worker variety. White students are susceptible to the idea of "going into the ghetto" to do social work to "help" the Negroes. However, it's our job to point to the real and only road to freedom, the struggle to transform society through political action.

28. In addition to the tendency of some activists to counterpose direct action to political action, there is an ultra-left avoidance of political action by some black nationalist intellectuals. These intellectuals reject the perspective of the American revolution, and see victory coming only through the struggle of the non-white people outside the United States. Considering themselves to be only the advanced detachment of the colonial revolution, they abstain from the hard struggle to build a Negro political party.

29. Our size and composition make it imperative that our concentration for the present be almost entirely on the Northern ghettos, where we have YSA units. However, we should be alert for ways to extend our propaganda work into the Southern ghettos, for example through the sale of Militant subscriptions.

30. White comrades, as well as black, can carry out many of our propaganda functions. Through the Militant, the Young Socialist, and the ISR, and through sponsoring speakers, they can participate in the process of learning from the struggle and projecting the socialist solution.

31. Every comrade, black or white, can help build our most important action and project for the next months, our support to the SWP election campaign. The campaign opens new and deeper avenues for our propaganda into the Negro movement and its white sympathizers, providing us with an unusual opportunity for reaching a wider audience with our ideas.

32. By selling the Militant all comrades can spread information on the struggle among our contacts and in the ghetto, on what the most militant leaders are doing and projecting, on the need for political action, and the final socialist solution. Comrades can help explain and defend the ideas of independent political action and black nationalism, and they can help put the struggle in the context of the world socialist revolution. They should explain to whites why they should support the Negro struggle. We should support any effort which raises the level of the struggle and helps expose the system, making sure that we show the limits of actions not solely by criticizing them but also by projecting the next steps to be taken.

33. Black comrades have greater flexibility than white comrades, and are able to join all-black organizations.

Exactly which organizations black YSAers as well as white YSAers should work in must be decided in the concrete, keeping in mind that we want to be where we can reach the best elements and recruit them to revolutionary socialism.

34. The YSA is an action group. In considering ourselves such we must guard against too narrow a view of what it is to act. It includes much more than participating in picket lines, boycotts; and sit-ins. It means supporting the DeBerry-Shaw campaign, selling the Militant and the Young Socialist, running classes, sponsoring speakers and taking a position on the long run solution to racism and organizing, recruiting and educating ourselves for the long haul. It is our long run revolutionary perspective and our seriousness and discipline which will attract recruits, black or white.

#### Black and White Comrades in the YSA

35. There has been an increase of black membership in the YSA since our last convention. More black militants are being attracted by the correctness of our program and the ideas we project. It is on this basis that most of them have been recruited to the YSA. On the other hand there are black militants who can see the correctness of our ideas but reject our organization. We must seek to understand the reasons for this and to correct it as much as possible. One of the ways we can do this is by accepting and encouraging criticism from the black comrades and by recognizing the fact that such criticism is needed. If these criticisms are taken seriously they will aid both black and white comrades in breaking down the barriers of distrust that limit any real communication. If the criticisms are not taken seriously then the same internal mistakes will be projected outside of the YSA and will result in alienating black militants from our organization and our ideas.

36. There should be no tendency in the YSA to treat Negro members like privileged comrades because there are so few at present. White comrades often project this in their attempts to be friendly to black comrades. Their eagerness to be friendly and comradely may be carried out to the extreme of being fawning which results in nervousness on their part when talking and working with black YSAers and is met with hostility. Black militants will often interpret this type of nervous friendliness as a lack of sincerity or forced feeling. Black militants join the YSA because they are interested in revolutionary socialism or in some aspects of our program, and not in winning white friends or getting special treatment because they are black. When black militants join the YSA they are on the road to becoming revolutionary socialists and will appreciate being treated and respected as such, no more, no less. They will and should expect to be subjected to the same disciplines and the same responsibilities as white comrades. They will and should accept constructive criticism when it is necessary for their development as

revolutionary socialists and will not appreciate allowances being made for their deficiencies. Attempts on the part of white comrades to always appear all-understanding and all-forgiving will be deeply resented by the black comrades.

37. White YSAers must realize that they are not exempt from bourgeois prejudices. The YSA like any other organization is influenced by and will reflect to one degree or another the general attitudes of the society in which it exists. This cannot be completely corrected until society itself is changed, but it can be alleviated. Because our position on the Negro struggle is more correct and advanced than that of any other radical organization white comrades sometimes imagine that they are equipped to really understand and know how it feels to be black. No white person can know how a black person feels living in a racist society simply because they aren't subjected to the everyday 24-hours-a-day kinds of pressures that black people are. It is important that white YSAers try to understand how black militants think and feel, but it is equally important that they don't pretend to know how it feels to be a black person in white America.

38. Black comrades want white YSAers to work with them, learn from them, and teach them, but they do not expect them to try to be or feel just like them. They realize that this is impossible and white YSAers must realize this too.

#### Black Leadership in the YSA

39. The participation of black comrades in the internal life and in the leadership of the YSA is essential to the development of the movement and is essential to their development as revolutionary socialists. This does not mean that all black members should be put into leadership positions simply because a black leadership is needed. Other radical organizations such as the CP have made the mistake of doing just this. It has resulted in the Negroes not being made aware of the importance of developing to their fullest potential and the organization suffers from the lack of an effective Negro leadership.

40. Black YSAers should rise to the position of leadership through the normal processes, that is through experience and leadership activity. This is important, not only because we don't want to establish a double set of standards, but more importantly this type of procedure will prepare black YSAers to play an effective role in the Negro struggle and in the whole struggle for the socialist revolution.

41. Black workers, because of their position in society as both the most oppressed section of the urban working class and as an oppressed minority, will play a key role in the coming American Revolution. The construction of a Marxist Negro cadre and leadership is necessary for success, and the recruiting and educating of such a leadership is a central task of the YSA.

NEC Minutes of Meeting of July 17, 1964

The meeting convened at 7:30 p.m.

Chairman: Barry

Present: NEC Members: Barry, Pete, Jack, Betsey, Melissa,  
Leroy (late)

NC Alternates: Jan, Dick, Ralph, Jim, Roland

- Agenda: 1. Membership  
2. Informational Report on the Midwest  
3. Plenum Dates  
4. Young Socialist  
5. DuBois Club Conference  
6. DeBerry-Shaw Committee

1. Membership- Jack

a. National Committee

1. Jack M. has asked to resign from the YSA to devote full time to the adult socialist movement.

2. Detroit has reported that Carmen J. resigned from the Y SA.

b. General

A former YPSL, Rob H., has joined the YSA in Chicago and has written a formal letter of resignation to the YPSL left-wing.

2. Informational Report on the Midwest- Jack

Discussion: Betsey

3. Plenum Date- Betsey

All of the locals with the exception of the West Coast locals, because of the conflict with the West Coast Vacation School, were in favor of a Labor Day plenum.

Motion: That we have the plenum Labor Day weekend.

Passed Unanimously

4. Young Socialist- Jan

A new magazine type format is proposed for the Young Socialist. The main article in the next issue will be on the election campaign. Other proposed articles are on Vietnam, What is Socialism, the DuBois Club Convention, the French-Canadian National Problem, An Eye-Witness Report on Cuba, Mississippi, and other short items. It is hoped that the issue will be out by the plenum.

Discussion: Leroy, Jack, Barry, Jan, Melissa, Dick,  
Barry, Leroy, Jack

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed Unanimously

(Note: Since this meeting it has been decided to add an article on the lessons of the Harlem events.)

5. The DuBois Club Convention- Barry

See attached.

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed Unanimously

6. DeBerry-Shaw Committee- Pete

Report given on present state of work.

Discussion: Leroy, Pete, Jack, Roland, Dick, Leroy,  
Melissa

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed Unanimously

Meeting adjourned at 8:45 p.m.

## REPORT ON THE DUBOIS CLUB NATIONAL CONVENTION

On the weekend of June 19-21 the CP oriented youth sponsored a convention in San Francisco to set up a national youth organization, "The W.E.B DuBois Clubs of America." The YSA had approximately 40 people at the conference. Our participation at this founding conference helped to make it clear that the new organization is not the broad group that its leaders have claimed it to be. We were able to expose it as an organization run by right-wing Stalinists for the sole purpose of implementing their political ideas and policies.

Again and again the leaders of the convention showed their willingness to lay aside democratic procedures in order to assure that their own politics held sway at the convention. Much money was spent to fly in Stalinist delegates from the East Coast and the Midwest. Voting was weighted so that the delegates from far away places were given more votes than those from the West Coast. This benefited the Stalinists because most of the independents and YSAers at the conference were from the West Coast. This voting procedure made it difficult to estimate the strength of the different tendencies at the conference.

The first day and a half of the conference was devoted to workshops. The plenary sessions which took up the second day and a half voted on the resolutions which came out of the workshops. We had people in almost all of the workshops. The Stalinists directed the workshops and the resolutions which were passed carried their line. The civil liberties workshop was the only exception. Here we mustered a small majority to pass a resolution that blamed liberals as well as the ultra-right for the decay of civil liberties in this country. But, when this resolution went before the conference as a whole at the plenum it was amended to strike out any mention of liberals and to reaffirm the belief that the ultra-right was the only (sole) force causing civil liberties to be violated in this country.

Minority resolutions were written and sponsored for the most part by the YSAers who were present as delegates. These documents centered on the necessity for independent political action, no support to the Democratic or Republican parties, and placed the responsibility for the cold war on the U.S. Several delegates from PL as well as several independents collaborated with YSAers in drafting the final versions of some of the documents and in attempting to bring them to the floor.

In order to keep our minority resolutions from being presented to the convention as a whole a ruling was passed allowing only majority resolutions to be presented

at the plenary sessions. (Lack of time was given as the excuse for this ruling.) The convention could thus only vote a majority resolution up or down. Debate on resolutions was restricted to a three minute speech for and a three minute speech against.

A delegate challenged this procedure by making a motion that there be both minority and majority reports. The motion was ruled out of order. The delegate then made a motion that his motion be ruled in order. At this point many "majority" delegates started stamping their feet and nearly drowned out the delegate making the motion. After some delay the chairman reversed himself and allowed a vote. Even with the weighting of votes the motion received substantial support.

Not being allowed to present any minority reports, our views had to be put forth at the convention through amendments to the majority resolutions. For example, Tom Morgan made an amendment to the majority resolution on civil liberties to the effect that the organization should not support candidates with a bad record on civil liberties. The amendment was defeated, but it helped to point out the futility of support for Democratic candidates.

Most of the resolutions that were passed reflected right-wing Stalinist conceptions. The political resolution came out against independent political action. It was passed with 409 votes for and 139 votes against. (The 139 represented about 85 people ) An amendment suggesting support for the FNP was defeated. The following excerpt from the political document makes clear what the line of the new organization will be:

"This organization recognizes the utility of running independent candidates, socialist or non-socialist. This has very important educational advantages and it **allows** campaigning on those issues around which it is possible to build a popular coalition.

"However, support for such candidates cannot be automatic, but should depend upon concrete conditions which surround each election. This organization will not support any candidate who runs in opposition to those candidates or issues around which a peoples' coalition is being formed. **The** only effect such candidates can have is to confuse and divide these movements, making them less effective in their ability to **achieve** their goals." (To understand this it must be understood that around the Democratic Party a peoples' coalition is being formed.)

Under pressure from us the conference passed an amendment to the resolution on labor which left open the possibility of calling for a Labor Party at some

future undetermined time. Part of this resolution reads as follows: "This convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America will go on record to call for the beginning of a serious discussion on a nation-wide basis of the formation of an American Farmer-Labor Party with the labor movement, liberal, church, professional, and student's groups as its base." This amendment did not directly contradict the political document as one might think. In the political document there is a statement to the effect that "As coalitions grow broader and stronger, they will eventually realize that the demands that they make cannot be satisfied within the two-party system as it is now constituted. Pressure will build up for a decisive break with this system in the formation of a party representing the working peoples and those who side with them."

The resolution on civil rights in the North stressed the role of issue-oriented actions to pressure the existing power structure. Many of the resolutions emphasized the need for black and white unity. The attitude of the convention toward black nationalism is reflected by one of the sentences added to the resolution as a concession to pro-nationalist people at the convention: "Wholesale and blanket criticism of the black nationalist movement therefore is inappropriate."

The discussion on the constitution brought quite a bit of discussion over Article III, Section A which said the following: "Membership in the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs shall be open to any youth who, desiring to join, does not join for the purpose of opposing basic policies or principles democratically arrived at." Further discussion made it clear that no one could stay in the organization who actively opposed the resolutions passed by the majority at the plenum. This was the same as saying that the DuBois Clubs would be a centralized organization which would have to exclude the YSA. The majority made the point again by voting down a motion that the DuBois Clubs be independent, broad, and militant, thus refusing even verbal concession to the concept of a broad organization.

The discussion over Section A was enough to make it clear that the YSA could not participate in the DuBois Clubs, but the majority decided to spell out the fact by passing a motion which stated that "No member of any other nation-wide Socialist youth group or an organization affiliated with a national socialist youth organization can attend a regional conference or be elected at such a conference." (In the discussion on this the YSA was singled out.)

At this point Allan S., a YSAer, took the floor and indicated that the vote made it impossible for the YSA to

participate any more for the conference. He pointed out that the call for the convention had made false pretenses to broadness, as did the invitation of the Los Angeles YSAers to the convention. After this announcement thirty or so YSAers walked out of the convention.

Immediately after the YSA walk-out many independent delegates took the microphone and terminated their participation in the organization. Numbered among the independents who left were the chairman of SLATE, a member of the steering committee of the conference, nearly the entire San Jose DuBois Club delegation, and members of other DuBois Clubs. The walkout convinced the remaining delegates that the motion to exclude members of national socialist groups had been tactically incorrect, and they withdrew it.

YPSL observers remained quiet throughout the conference and read a statement at the end to the effect that the convention didn't set up a democratic youth organization. A motion passed to thank Ypsl for their conduct during the convention.

The result of the conference is that now there is a national Khrushchevite youth organization on the scene which will be attempting to recruit newly radicalized young people to right-wing Stalinism. In order to involve independents and innocents they will continue to pretend that the organization is a broad, all-inclusive action group. Immediately after the walkout of YSAers and independents Carl Bloice tried to cheer up the remaining delegates by reminding them that the DuBois Clubs had to provide a basis for communication with the mass of American people and thus the orientation would be to action and program and not to "people who want to go on discussing the Johnson administration until doomsday." This profound statement received a standing ovation.

MINUTES OF NEC MEETING OF JUNE 23, 1964

Present: NEC Members: Barry, Melissa, Betsey, Pete, Leroy  
Alternate NCers: Ralph, Roland, Dick

Chairman: Melissa

Agenda: 1. Plenum  
2. Election Campaign  
3. Trip

1. Plenum (Barry)

The National Committee has voted by poll 15-0 to hold a plenum of the NC in New York.

Consultation with the NC members in the field has resulted in general agreement to postpone the plenum from the originally suggested date of July 4. Some of the comrades raised the point of the advantage of a three-day weekend for the plenum, and for this reason, and for the reason that it would be best to have adequate time for written discussion before the plenum; we should fix the plenum dates for the Labor Day weekend, September 5-7.

The following assignments are made for responsibility for preparation of reports to be considered by the NEC for submission to the plenum:

1. Political report - Jack B.
2. Internal report - Barry
3. Negro struggle resolution - Betsey
4. Election campaign - Pete
5. Bloomington Defense - Paulann
6. Organizational report - Betsey

Melissa will be in charge of plenum organization.

Motion: To approve report.

carried unanimously

2. Election Campaign (Pete)

We have printed or are in the process of printing, an election brochure, buttons, small stickers, large posters, and two speeches by Lovell and Sell.

We plan to put out a Youth Committee Campaigner. This will be a mimeographed bulletin to go to all youth supporters of the campaign. Melissa will be the editor of the Campaigner.

Motion: To approve report.

carried unanimously

## REPORT ON MIDWEST REGIONAL DUBOIS CLUB CONFERENCE

Since their national conference the DuBois Clubs have had regional conferences in order to get organized on a regional level. A report has just come in from the Midwest on the regional conference held in Chicago:

The conference was scheduled to start at 9:00 a.m., Sunday July 26 but actually began about 10:00. A group of around fifty youth assembled in the Hamilton Hotel to discuss the future of the Midwest DuBois Clubs. Eight of these were YSAers, several were independents and the rest were Stalinist youth. The number attending fluctuated throughout the day, stabilizing at around forty.

Represented areas were-

Madison	Milwaukee
Detroit	Cleveland
Ohio	Missouri
Iowa	Minneapolis
St. Louis	East Lansing
Chicago	Hollywood

Elected Officers were-Regional co-ordinator: Peggy Goldman from Detroit (To move to Chicago)

Regional representative-Jim Walsh from St. Louis (To be stationed in San F.)

The main address was given by Phil Davis on "What Socialism Means to Me." This was followed by three workshops which we took part in: Community Organizing, National Policy, and Campus Work.

In the workshop on community organizing they spoke in favor of working in existing organizations to reach their goals. The actual goals of community organizing were never clearly stated. The most radical suggestions were to clean up lots and get recreational facilities for the young people to keep them off the streets. During the discussion period several YSAers brought up the idea of independent political action and support to the FNP. We also tried to clarify the long range goals and political conclusions flowing from community organizing.

In the workshop on National Policy YSAers brought up independent political action again. A vote was taken which gave over-whelming support to Johnson.

The organizers of the conference kept re-emphasizing the fact that they wished not to bind anyone to an official program, saying that a program would be worked out in the field. (This is the opposite of what was decided at the convention.) No resolutions were presented from the workshops and no vote accepting their program was taken, it was assumed that everybody agreed.

3. Trip (Barry)

Information report.

Discussion: Pete, Betsey, Leroy, Barry, Dick

Motion: To accept report.

carried unanimously

Meeting adjourned.

June 26, 1964

TO ALL NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND ORGANIZERS:

Dear Comrades,

The plenum dates have been postponed to the Labor Day weekend, Sept. 5-7. Unless there is great objection, these dates will be considered final and the plenum will be held then in New York.

Please inform the N.O. if you will be able to attend and if you will need housing. The plenum will be very important, as you can see from the proposed agenda, and each local should make every effort to send at least one representative.

Comradely,

*Barry Sheppard*

Barry Sheppard  
National Chairman

NO. 1000 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10018

It is requested that you inform the National Office of your attendance at the plenum as early as possible. The National Office is currently in the process of preparing the agenda for the plenum and will be in a position to provide you with a copy of the agenda as soon as it is available.

Comradely,

*Barry Sheppard*

Barry Sheppard  
National Chairman

## TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

(Passed Sept. 1963)

1. The decline and isolation of the socialist movement that characterized the 1950's has come to an end. At the same time the revitalization of the mass working class movement, and a general opening into it, is yet to occur. The beginnings of a radicalization among a thin but growing layer of students and the rapidly deepening radicalization of the Negro people in their drive for Freedom Now are forerunners of and a spur to the next general upsurge of the American working class.

2. The deepening of the Negro struggle and the stirrings of radical activity among students is occurring within the context of increasing economic and political contradictions of the capitalist system. The post-war imperialist expansion, with its concomittant prosperity, is slowing down. The imperialists face not only steady economic growth and competition from the Soviet bloc, and the threat of expropriation from the colonial revolution, but also an increased competition among themselves. Today Europe's economic growth has made her primarily a competitor seeking profitable areas to which capital can be exported. Internal economic contradictions such as the threat of an over-production crisis, the stagnation of the growth rate, the growth of permanently depressed industries and regions, and high unemployment are sharpened by and sharpen the growing stagnation of the imperialist world market. We see increasing attacks on the working class through automation, wage pressures, and anti-labor legislation, designed to meet stiffening international competition. All this points to a more precipitous decline and increased class struggle in the future. Although we are at a decisive turning point and the trends are clear, the pace and form of the decline of the American economy cannot yet be predicted and measured with precision.

3. In this transitional period the revolutionary socialist youth have a crucial role to play as a link between older revolutionary socialists who have been through the class struggles of the past and the as yet unradicalized young workers who will be the vanguard of the class struggles to come. Our ability to intervene as part of the leadership of the mass upsurge tomorrow depends to a large degree on our recruitment today of the thin layer of mostly petty bourgeois youth whose minds are being opened to our ideas. Our fundamental task in this period is to recruit and train new, fresh forces in the theory, program, strategy, and tactics of Marxism in preparation for the next wave of radicalization.

4. In this period the campus is the main source of recruitment and thus should receive primary emphasis. Historical

experience has shown that the Marxist vanguard is built by the fusion of workers trained in the class struggle with young revolutionaries from other classes who come over completely to the working class cause. We are recruiting mainly petty bourgeois youth, and we are not yet able to reach many young workers. At present, the fusion we seek can be only partially realized through consciousness of its necessity for the future when it will become possible to recruit young workers from the mass movement, through the absorption by our members of the working class outlook of Marxism, and through close fraternal relations with older revolutionary socialists.

5. The YSA developed as the result of a regroupment process within the radical movement in the last half of the fifties. During this decade the major arena of radical activity was the campus, but not in the same sense as it is today. The fifties were characterized by general apathy and fear of dissent on campus. Isolated individuals were recruited to socialism, and here and there small socialist discussion clubs grew up. But with the exception of isolated local demonstrations and issues, and the two marches on Washington for integration, there was no political action by the students. Radicals formed the major audience for Marxists and their prime arena of work.

6. A new phase opened in 1960, coinciding with the establishment of the national YSA. The Sit-Ins marked a new stage for the Negro movement and the beginning of political activity by a minority on campus. During the spring of 1960, while the Sit-Ins were still going on with strong student support in the North, the famous anti-HUAC demonstrations took place in San Francisco. The new YSA was **in the forefront** of the Northern supporting movement to the Sit-Ins, gaining some recruits and its first real experience in dealing with a broad campus movement. The YSA, a product of regroupment among radicals, began a turn toward a broader stratum of students and the recruitment of fresh activists.

7. The fundamental characteristic of politics on the campus is that the world wide class struggle reflects itself there as a struggle of ideas, producing a growing ideological polarization. The thin layer of radicalized students is a reflection of and is responding to national and international manifestations of the death agony of capitalism. The upsurge and victories of the colonial workers and peasants, especially the mighty Cuban revolution, the repeated unmasking of American imperialism as the center of world reaction, and the ominous and omnipresent threat of nuclear destruction have been the major international factors cutting through student political apathy and blind confidence in the ruling class. At home, the instability and inadequacy of capitalism even in a period of prosperity, the decadence of American bourgeois culture, and the radical-

ization of the Negro movement have further alienated these students from the rationalizations of the ruling class and have opened their minds to the working class (socialist) solution. These students originated at all points on the political spectrum before they became radicalized.

8. Since 1960 student political consciousness has increased with the deepening of the economic and political crisis of world capitalism. The more conservative anti-nuclear student SANE was eclipsed and replaced by the anti-war Student Peace Union. The Sit-In movement in the South, going through many experiences, has developed into the independent Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Interest in civil liberties (activities against HUAC, speaker bans, etc.) is reflected in numerous but short-lived ad hoc organizations.

9. Because students are concerned primarily with ideas they react to world happenings which do not directly involve them. The colonial revolution, the successes and failures of the workers states, and above all the Cuban revolution have had a profound impact upon campus. The YSA as the only organization on campus which defends and explains the Cuban revolution recruited a whole wave of students on that basis, largely through our work in support of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. It is impossible to concretely pinpoint what international struggles and victories will be important issues in rallying support to revolutionary ideas, but we must be prepared for the emergence of such issues while we continue to carry out our task of the defense of the first socialist revolution in the Americas, and of all anti-imperialist struggles.

10. While student organizations have multiplied and interest in specific issues has increased, both have been characterized by instability and sharp ups and downs. This is attributable to the petty bourgeois nature of the campus and partly to the lack of a sustained working class movement to back up the students. The issue which has brought the most sustained activity and interest is Negro freedom, and this is because of the growing mass character of this struggle. The temporary lag in the radicalization of the working class movement creates a problem of consciousness for the students, who tend to view social struggles apart from the class struggle. Our task is to draw these radicalized students into consistent and sustained struggle against the system through identification with the working class and the goal of socialism.

11. The most important change on the campus is in the ideological atmosphere which opens the door to serious consideration of our socialist ideas. This makes it objectively possible at all times, regardless of the ups and downs of student organizations and activities, to systematically seek out and recruit, through close personal contact work

by ones and twos, radicals on the campus.

12. The Student Peace Union developed into a national movement during the 1961-62 school year. The high point of its activity was the Washington demonstration, (even though the SPU capitulated to the right wing TTP, which demoralized militants) and it had a substantial growth in the spring of 1962 just after the Washington project. The failure of the SPU leadership to follow up Washington with further action further demoralized their membership and laid the ground work for the fiasco around the Cuban crisis. SPU declined in the past school year mainly due to the Cuba crisis and SPU's reaction to it. During the crisis the YPSL leadership wavered and came out weakly against the crisis with pronounced anti-Soviet sentiment and program. SPU could have taken the leadership of the student protest against the crisis with an aggressive united front policy against Kennedy's war moves, but it was paralyzed by it YPSL leadership, and in many areas the demonstrations were organized in spite of SPU. Wherever YPSL had control, SPU demonstrations became anti-Soviet. There was a general lull in the student movement following the crisis, and the fact that the peace movement was so obviously impotent at the time of the crisis discouraged students. YPSL reacted to the lull by intensifying its campaign to restrict SFU to the YPSL "third camp" viewpoint, which further aggravated the decline of SFU.

13. The YSA missed the development of SFU in 1961-62, with the exception of the Detroit local which made valuable gains from SFU work there. As a result of fruitful work in some locals we now have a functioning national fraction able to intervene openly with our program. In some areas work in the SFU has been tried and because of bureaucratic impediments and lack of student interest has been found unfruitful. The peace issue will be with us until there is socialism, however, and will flare up around specific issues. As long as SFU remains the center of the student movement, we have to keep our contact with it, while at the same time avoiding over-extension in this area when the objective situation does not warrant it. Our most important immediate task in SFU is to develop our national fraction as a recognized programmatic tendency in SFU. This will prepare us for differentiating ourselves from the YPSL leadership if the SFU continues its present decline or breaks up, while at the same time will prepare us for a possible revivication of SFU, or for an important international war crisis.

14. Our intervention on the campus is a twofold one of direct socialist activity combined with work in broader student organizations. We will not recruit and hold people on the basis of our activity alone, nor will we be considered militant or serious if we abstain from the student struggles. We must intervene in campus organizations and activities to deepen our ties with activists, to gain a hearing for our program, and to seek out recruitable students. Work in campus organizations also gives YSAers valuable experience in

\* peace

organizing and prevents us from missing upsurges such as occurred around the SPU. There are many different campus organizations in which YSAers are working and can work: socialist clubs, SPU, CORE, SNCC, forums, ad hoc committees for special issues, etc. Our main emphasis in campus work, whether in other organizations or directly as the YSA, is on socialist education, propaganda, and recruitment. Although activities which do not lead directly to recruitment may be an important part of every local's activity, it is important to see that recruitment remains the primary aim of each local's work.

15. The student movement is volatile and reacts sharply to changing events. While we can continue to look forward to a growing political consciousness among students, the movement itself has sharp ups and downs, and shifts in organizational forms. We have to be flexible both in our approach to which organizations we work in, and how much effort is put into a particular organization at a particular time, basing our intervention upon objective needs and possibilities. Local work must be carried out according to the general line laid down by the national conference. Practical activity in each instance will have to be determined on the basis of concrete local conditions, in consultation with the national office. In the past a number of locals have become so tied up with work in other organizations that they have not had time for the most important and time consuming task of systematic contact work and recruitment.

16. The radicalization and growing mass character of the Negro movement is the most important development on the national scene. Militant youth organizations, both on and off campus, have developed in the North and South. We should seek to become allies of these groups, winning white students to the Negro cause as supporters, and recruiting a young revolutionary Negro cadre. Work with civil rights organizations and Negro organizations of a more revolutionary, nationalist orientation whether on campus or off, should be considered our primary national fraction work.

17. In the past we have been able to intervene in certain strike situations by bringing student support to worker's picket lines. This has been possible in two types of struggle. In one case the union was attempting to establish itself among Negro and Puerto Rican hospital workers, and requested student "Sit-In" help. In the other, the capitalists were using students to scab, and the YSA was able to organize anti-scab students. We are the working class tendency on campus, and such work, when it is realistic, serves both to educate ourselves and the students, and begins to prepare the points of support in the working class movement from which we can intervene in the future.

18. The rise of unemployment is hitting the youth, especially young Negroes, hard. Unemployment among young workers is very high, steadily over 15% (officially), and we expect it to grow. As of yet there have been no developments toward organized actions among unemployed youth except those important protests on lack of jobs which have grown out of the civil rights struggle. We should support and participate in these struggles which are going on, wherever possible, and keep alert for any signs of organized activity or interest in organization among the mass of unemployed youth. There is as yet no practical perspective for us to intervene as the initiators of unemployed organizations.

19. Those young workers whom we do meet and recruit at the present time are held to the organization on an intellectual basis. They may join or become attracted to the YSA because it is active and because they see its working class perspective, but they stick in this period because they absorb the program, not because the YSA is leading their class battles.

20. A major activity will be support of the SWP 1964 election campaign. Elections give us a chance to speak to the masses about our socialist program, and to get a reaction from the workers which will by and large reflect their thinking and mood. The question of political action is on the agenda in the Negro struggle, and the SWP campaign will be one way we can intervene in that struggle. Our major task during the campaign will be to organize campus support to the socialist ticket, stressing the need for anti-capitalist political action, and impell a section of the students larger than ourselves into active work for the campaign. The elections open valuable propaganda opportunities for our ideas on campus, and will mean a growth both in our numbers and influence.

21. The Young Peoples Socialist League, still larger than us in book membership (but with fewer active members), had a period of growth in the spring of 1962, in great measure due to their intervention in the SPU. In the past school year however, they have taken a sharp decline, especially after the pressures of the Cuban crisis which threw them into a rightist swing. The lull in student activity after the crisis took a big toll on the YPSL, as a result of their unclear vacillating "third camp" (imperialist camp when the chips are down) political line, and their lack of organization, education, communication, and general propaganda. They do not yet have a newspaper--a clear reflection of their lack of serious organization. Their central Schachtmanite leadership, while opportunist in character, has a sectarian streak. They propound, especially when they feel pressured by us, "Trotskyist" (Schachtmanite version) positions such as the labor party. These concepts totally foreign to their politically uneducated and unprepared rank and file, further alienates these ranks from the leadership and adds to the instability and high turnover rate of the organization.

22. The youth who follow the CP line have managed to set up

organizations in New York, Philadelphia, the Bay Area, and Los Angeles, but do not have a functioning national organization. Although Stalinist deceptions in their presentation of an actual pro-Democratic party line serves to delude some young militants, the continued crisis of world Stalinism has put them on the ideological defensive. But Stalinism in all its various forms still poses a danger. Stalinism is used by some radically inclined students to rationalize a soft job perspective, especially in the University. Stalinism allows students to have "anti-imperialist" ideology while not committing them to acting on it in any serious way. Informal groups such as those which exist around Studies on the Left at Madison have broken with Stalinism to a large degree. However, they substitute radical commentary for commitment and hide their default behind petty bourgeois academic snobbery. While maintaining friendly personal relations we should meet such people head on in ideological debate against their anti-Marxist, anti-working class substitute for joining the YSA.

23. There have been a number of splinter groups from the CP, generally pro-Mao, who have some youth. Most of them do not break with capitalist politics. Even those who do have proven themselves to be confused politically, and tend to substitute the action of a handful for mass action, attempting adventuristically to overleap the adverse objective situation and speed up the class struggle. We have to be careful, therefore, in common work with them, while at the same time patiently explaining our program to them.

24. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is becoming important in many areas. They have a general outlook of working within the Democratic Party, although many of their specific stands, such as defense of Advance, are superior to those of YPSL. They are not homogeneous and contain pro-Labor Party members, "progressives", self-styled Marxists, social democrats and liberals. If the YPSL remains under the present sectarian Schachtmanite leadership there is a chance that SDS may recruit potential social democrats faster than YPSL and become our most serious organized reformist opponent. Their open desire to work in the existing capitalist class power structure in order to realign the "good" Democrats and their mildly pro-Soviet position on the peace question give them an attractive program to reformist youth coming from either the Stalinist or Social Democratic direction. Some youth who follow the CP line in several places have decided to concentrate their work on SDS and its potential strength can already be seen on several mid-west campuses. The Stalinists and Social Democrats can co-operate together within SDS in fighting revolutionary tendencies in civil rights, election campaigns, etc. The SDS's lack of real political cadre and loose organizational concepts gives us opportunity to cut the ground from them before they gain strength.

25. The YPSL, the youth followers of the CP line, and the

SDS all engage in one or another form of class collaboration. In competing with these groups for members the YSA must wage a determined struggle against their class collaborationist programs while pushing for united fronts in action. That is the best way to expose their inadequacies. Keeping potentially revolutionary youth from these reformist groups during this period is the key to smashing reformism during the mass upsurge to come. Our ultimate advantage over these groups can be seen most clearly in civil-rights where they do not have the patience and seriousness to work well with most revolutionary Negro militants.

26. The past school year was marked by a lull in campus political activity which affected the YSA. Although some of our members quit under the pressure we continued to recruit. The net result, contrary to the sharp decline of YPSL, was a moderate increase in membership. The upsurge in the Negro struggle had its effect upon the campus and by the end of the school year our recruitment quickened. Equally important, many of our new members have raised their political consciousness and dedication through study and activity.

27. Our work in defense of our Bloomington comrades has given our movement and program a he ring that we would not have otherwise attained. So long as this case is before us, and our comrades are in danger, a major un-neglectible task will be Bloomington defense.

28. While we will still be swimming against the stream in American society as a whole, important work is open to us. We are the best organized radical youth group, but we could stand improvement in our finances, communications, and propaganda material. We should work on both improving the YOUNG SOCIALIST and improving our sales, get out a number of pamphlets stating our views on the important problems confronting the student activists, and take fuller advantage of Pioneer literature and the MILITANT. Internal education should be a regular activity of each local, to raise the level of every member and bring each member to full consciousness of our program, and to teach the history of the class struggles in the United States. The YSA must educate itself through links with the older revolutionary socialists who are the only living bearers of the class struggle lessons of our country. To the degree we do this we will be imbued with the class struggle traditions of our country--traditions we are a part of and continuator of--and will thereby be perparing ourselves for the great class battles to come.

## Political Resolution

### NEC Draft

The nature of the period we are in has not changed significantly since the last convention. The main outline of our document on "Tasks and Perspectives" (Vol. 7, No. 2) that was passed at that convention is still applicable. The present resolution is not a substitute for, but an extension and amplification of that document.

Our fundamental task in this period is still to recruit and educate new fresh forces in the theory, program, strategy, and tactics of Marxism in preparation for the next wave of radicalization. The propaganda character of our work is dictated by the general conservatism of the period.

### The Campus

The main orientation of the YSA is still toward the campus. It has been our experience that locals with functioning campus fractions have proven to be the most viable. The minds of many young people are being opened to our politics and goals by the growing inability of the ruling class to solve the crisis facing it in the colonial lands, the repeated exposures of this society's hypocrisy and corruption, and most important, by the continued struggles of the Negro masses against the state.

Unlike the past period when the bulk of the radicalized students were attracted to national single-issue organizations such as Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) or Student Peace Union (SPU), today they tend to join ad-hoc locally based committees or are recruited directly to one of the organized socialist youth tendencies. There is no single organization that is the central pole of attraction for radical students.

Independent campus socialist groupings which appear are small and their "independent" life is short as the members tend to join one of the organized socialist tendencies or drop out of politics.

Organizations such as FPCC and SPU tended to be multi-tendency regardless of the leadership. They were often our best arenas of recruitment. We could join them, work for agreed-upon goals, and present our program to the members, the majority of whom were not yet affiliated to an organized socialist tendency. Despite the attempts of the leaders of SPU to bureaucratically dominate it, the very fact that a "pro-peace" attitude was the only requirement for membership meant that it attracted youth of all tendencies as well as those not affiliated to any tendency. On many campuses civil rights organizations have this same characteristic.

We cannot predict when, if, or around what question another national single-issue organization will become the dominant pole

of attraction for radical students. Whatever the organizational forms may be, work in or around campus groups is geared to getting to know, work with, and be in a position to recruit whatever radicalized students are there. As the "Tasks and Perspectives" document pointed out:

"The most important change on the campus is in the ideological atmosphere which opens the door to serious consideration of our socialist ideas. This makes it objectively possible at all times, regardless of the ups and downs of student organizations and activities, to systematically seek out and recruit, through close and personal contact work, by ones and twos, radicals on the campus."

### The Politicalization of the Struggle

Newly radicalized young people continue to engage in protest actions that are of an essentially political character. That is, the demands raised in these actions (unlike those of workers directed to an employer) are addressed to the government -- local, state and national. Even the demonstration-demands for increased employment of Negroes have been aimed, directly or indirectly, at the government. This has given these "direct actions" the essential character of political actions of a limited nature.

The leaders of various protest and civil rights movements -- even some of the more militant -- refuse to see direct action and electoral action as different aspects of the same political struggle. Under the pretense that their organizations are not political (meaning that they don't run candidates) many end up supporting candidates of the Democratic Party under some "lesser evil" rationalization. This results in the election of capitalist representatives who on the morrow confront them as opponents, holding the line against the most modest demands for reforms.

Even when direct actions result in partial gains they cannot serve to bring about any fundamental solution to the basic social problems involved. This can, and often does, lead to frustration and demoralization of those involved in the struggle.

It is only through a political organization which has broken with the policy of subordination to capitalist politics that direct action and electoral action can be tied together in order both to win immediate gains and lay the groundwork for a fundamental social change. This in turn revolves around political consciousness. When a significant section of leadership of the working class, black or white, is convinced of the need for an organization that will generalize the struggle, take on the ruling powers everywhere from the streets to the ballot box, and offer a class alternative to the Republican and Democratic monopoly of

political power; the next big step in the struggle for human rights, peace and economic security will take place. This we tirelessly point out in our propaganda, especially to the participants in various struggles.

### The 1964 Elections

The 1964 elections offer us the best immediate opportunity to propagandize for socialism to American youth. They enable us to expose, to any wavering members of the ranks of our opponents the class collaborationist character of Stalinism and Social Democracy. The election campaign will heighten interest in the colonial revolution, the Negro struggle, and the meaning of Goldwaterism.

Our central efforts for the duration of the election campaign must be to build Students for DeBerry and Shaw and committees for independent political action. Through them we can hammer home the lesson that the various partial crises facing the American people from Vietnam to Harlem are part of a general crisis of the system of capitalism. We can point out that the next step toward resolving these crises is the formation of a political party which offers an alternative to capitalist rule.

The existence of the Freedom Now Party and independent Negro candidates gives us extra openings for our propaganda. So does the criticism of the two parties by such people as Malcolm X. The very existence of the Freedom Now Party and the SWP on the ballot takes the question of independent political action out of the realm of an abstract suggestion to one of concrete example for support and emulation.

### Propaganda

is propagandizing

Our central task/for socialism. We explain that a revolutionary program and organization is needed for its attainment. We are trying to get many ideas across to the very small layer of American youth who are rebelling against this society.

The great need among both the campus youth and the Negro youth involved in struggle is the development of socialist consciousness, that is, understanding the forces they are opposed to and how to defeat them. Many are angry; they are fighting; they are open-minded -- but they tend to adopt the level of understanding of current leaderships.

We are not a civil rights, civil liberties, or peace organization, although we support all these struggles, participate in them, and try to learn from them. We are a socialist political organization which generalizes and ties together in its propaganda all those partial struggles which, objectively, are aimed against the ruling class.

It is socialist politics that we have to offer students and young activists who are willing to listen to us. Our success in this period depends on our ability to convince young people to join us and dedicate themselves to socialist politics which are indispensable to the successful struggle for a decent world.

The YSA can operate effectively under its own name. We can establish ourselves as the socialists, by defending and explaining the colonial revolution and the Freedom Now struggle, and opposing the drift to the right in American politics.

In this work we should keep in mind several major advantages we have relative to our opponents.

1. We are a national socialist youth organization with many viable locals. This is our major accomplishment and puts us far ahead of our opponents who have come nowhere close to building a viable and effective national organization. This was best reflected in our ability to wage a victorious national campaign in defense of our Bloomington comrades. We have a national voice, The Young Socialist.

2. In The Militant we have a weekly propaganda newspaper which is more attractive to radical youth than the press of our opponents. The regular distribution of The Militant gets our ideas to a broad layer of youth. This includes those we are not in immediate contact with, for instance, southern youth. The simple rule has been that a person who becomes a regular Militant reader can be recruited to the YSA.

3. We are the heirs of the traditions and lessons drawn from the maintenance and enrichment of socialist thought and action by the American Trotskyist movement. Books and pamphlets embodying this tradition are powerful weapons in the education and recruitment of the rebels of our generation. One of the best examples of that is the reception we get to the Trotskyist analysis of the Freedom Now struggle and black nationalism. The publication of the first Marxist history of the rise of the CIO by Art Preis, the first inexpensive anthology of Trotsky's writings, The Age of Permanent Revolution, and W.F. Wardes Logic of Marxism, are valuable weapons. The Marxist program **is the most important asset we have.**

#### Our Opponents

To understand our opponents clearly we must place them in the context of the recent history of the American left. The post WW II decline and break-up of American Stalinism left a vacuum among radicals, but did so in the context, not of a mass upsurge and shake-up, but of a deadening conservatism and quiescence of the labor movement. The new formations that developed, except the YSA,

were marked by the heritage of revisionism that they received from either Stalinism or the Social Democratic left.

Unlike Bolshevism's development in struggle against the Bernstein revision of Marxism or the Left Opposition's development in struggle against the Stalinist revision of Leninism, the recent American offspring of the decay of Stalinism and Social Democracy did not hammer out a revolutionary critique and program and defend it before a large radical working class membership.

We have seen off-shoots and splits from the CP USA that remain Stalinist; we have seen off-shoots and splits from the SP and Shachtmanite ISL that remain Social Democratic. Our current opponents, the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), W.E.B. DuBois Club (WEBD) and the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), are heirs of this programmatic poverty. The youth recruited by them do not understand that it is only around the correct program that a revolutionary cadre capable of leading the overturn of capitalism can be built.

### Reformist Activism

All of our opponents on the youth arena have been built by the recruitment of student youth. With no experience in the mass movement they embody all the weaknesses of the middle class. Under the pressures of imperialism they are susceptible to reformist traps and liberal prejudices. As they come to socialism they usually adopt the consciousness of well known reformist leaders. They tend to see the day to day work for reforms as ends in themselves. Unlimited activism of any kind becomes "socialist" activity. Preparation of a solid revolutionary cadre able to intervene in the mass struggles to come is totally subordinated to gaining the leadership of partial struggles.

Socialist minded youth become especially susceptible to reformism in a period in which the labor bureaucracy, bourgeois educational foundations, and the federal government pour money into social work at the "grass roots" level in order to head discontent into safe channels. This opens up a double temptation to petty bourgeois youth -- they can "help the masses" at the "grass roots" and often find a subsistence wage to spend full time doing it. Social work is called political work and political work becomes pure and simple, good, middle class, social work -- sometimes with pay.

This orientation is always marked by the desire to "keep politics out" of actions "we all agree on". Youth attracted to this sort of reformist "activism social work" have it systemized for them in a program by the SDS, YPSL, and the newly-formed WEBD.

### Ultra-Leftist Activism

Some middle class newly radicalized youth react sharply against this reformism. Some of these find their way to revolutionary socialism. But others can be led into adventures in which the attempt is made to leap over the adverse objective situation and substitute the action of a handful for the mass. This ultra-left "activism" is merely the other side of the reformist coin. Long the trade mark of 3rd period Stalinism this adventurism can only lead to victimizations which are gleefully taken advantage of by the ruling class. Ultra-leftism can be used as an excuse to crack-down not only on the entire left, but on the militants involved in daily struggle as well.

Worst of all, adventurism wears out and hardens into cynics young rebels, some of whom could have been made into revolutionary cadres. Instead of developing Marxist cadre, ultra-left organizations instead eventually breed victims, demoralized youth and cynical front-group politicians. This tendency can be seen most clearly in the Stalinist Progressive Labor Movement. (PLM).

\* \* \*

The source of both these reformist and ultra-leftist deviations lie in the frustrations of the objective situation, the pressures and temptations of an undisciplined petty-bourgeois environment, and Social-Democratic and Stalinist miseducation. None of these elements should be underestimated. The search for either a respectable or quick road to socialism is doomed; there is no get-rich-quick gimmick to build a revolutionary movement; history has spoken decisively on this question.

Nevertheless, the middle class inexperienced character of young radicals, the programmatic and organizational heritage from Stalinism and Social Democracy, and the isolation of the socialist movement from a significant section of the working class, will continue to breed these dead-ends.

It is clear that there is no realistic perspective of fusion with any of these opponent formations. Quite the contrary in the coming period we will be competing with them head on for the allegiance of the radical youth in this country.

The absurdities and bestialities of capitalism in its decline will continue to produce rebels and opponents of the system. We have to teach them the perspective of the American working class revolution. They have to be taught that the central task of American socialists is the building of a conscious Marxist cadre capable of educating and, someday, leading the mass of American workers to take state power. They have to be taught that there is no short-cut to socialism.

YPSL

The precipitous decline of the Young People's Socialist League following the Cuban missile crisis has continued. The report of their National Secretary at the SP convention indicated that this is true of even their traditional strongholds such as the University of Chicago. Not only has recruiting dropped off, but they have been losing members as miseducation and inactivity take their toll. They are split up into a minimum of 13 tendencies and factions. Continual discussion and factional cannibalism runs rampant and leaves little time for consistent, outward-turned propaganda, recruitment or education. To add insult to injury, the SP has threatened to put the YPSL into receivership.

In spite of all their "revolutionary" tendencies the politics of YPSL are the politics of the Social Democracy and the organizational losses they have been having are the price they pay for that program. They oppose the colonial liberation movement as "Stalinist"; they oppose black nationalism as "racist"; they refuse support to DeBerry and Shaw while the SP supports Johnson to stop Goldwater at all costs.

The lack of a large reformist student movement organized around either peace or civil rights to feed off has been especially damaging to YPSL. They have concentrated on work in CORE in several places, but seem to have gained little more than some posts.

SDS

The Students for a Democratic Society which has grown as we predicted, have been very successful in involving themselves in foundation, federal grant, and labor financed social work projects in the South, in Appalachia, and in several Northern urban areas. They work within the capitalist power structure in order to pressure "good" Democrats and Republicans into realignment which they believe has started with the passage of the civil rights bill. This class collaboration is likely to become even more blatant if SDSers continue to get positions in the various poverty and delinquency projects that are appearing on the scene. They openly support the labor bureaucracy wing of the Democratic Party and they do not spend time on socialist education, propaganda, or cadre building. At the same time their ability to get money to finance an apparatus and members in projects gives them an element of permanency.

WEB DuBois Club

A nationwide Khrushchevite youth organization called the WEB DuBois Clubs has been set up to replace the stillborn Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC). In the East and Midwest, the WEBD Clubs are merely PYOC by another name and offer little new

phenomena for our consideration. The West Coast DuBois Clubs were able to attract a number of non-Stalinist youth and represent an advance for the proponents of peaceful coexistence over the last few years.

Our intervention at their founding convention helped clear the minds of the youth not committed to any tendency of the idea that the DuBois Clubs were a broad, independent, action-oriented, socialist youth organization not tainted by unpleasant things such as program and line. The activities of the WEBD Clubs will have some variation regionally, but their political line is clear. It is support to Johnson behind a stop Goldwater campaign; support for local and state liberal Democrats; work in "mass" neighborhood organizations; and on the campus, concentration on civil rights action, and education in the subtleties of popular frontism. They plan to put out a magazine whose projected content is similar to New Horizons for Youth.

### PLM

The Progressive Labor Movement is a 1961 Maoist split from the CP which has most of its membership in New York city. Its original core came from N.Y. state CP circles and Advance members.

PL's outspoken opposition to the opportunism of the CP and the organization of trips to Cuba have been the main factors in attracting a number of youth. They now project the formation of a party at a Thanksgiving weekend conference in New York City. Their recruits have been mainly white students, many from CP backgrounds and periphery.

They are marked ideologically and organizationally by their Stalinist origins which they have refused to deal with and overcome. Their only public statements of program are contained in several articles in the Marxist-Leninist Quarterly. These articles place PL in the Chinese camp on the major international questions dividing the world Stalinist movement (including the question of Stalin) and call for a return to the "militant pragmatism" Stalinism of the Browder-Foster third period.

Up to now, PL's "militant pragmatic" brand of Marxism-Leninism has manifested itself in a series of whirling-dervish adventures, undertaken under the explicit theory that daring acts of defiance by a handful will somehow spark a mass movement. They look at the hit and run adventures which always involve innocent non-members as sources of sensational front-page news coverage, another PLM imagined short-cut to building a socialist movement.

Their get-rich-quick school of political adventurism has a deadly internal logic of its own. As each unwinnable confrontation with the state apparatus ends, a more extreme adventure must be projected to recoup and revenge the previous defeat. This in

turn attracts more ultra-left elements which reinforces the turn to the next round of adventures. Spurning all attempts by the YSA at a united front approach to common projects around the Vietnam war, the Cuba travel-ban, etc., PL has set up front-group apparatuses to run events, speaking in the name of all those involved.

PL has consistently presented itself as the vanguard of and spokesman for sections of the population when just the opposite was true. In Monroe, N.C., in Hazard, and in Harlem this has led to victimization, and distrust of radicals generally. The police and press have gratefully seized PL's statements and actions to rationalize further attacks not only on the entire left but also on the local militants directly involved.

While voicing opposition to both Johnson and Goldwater and blasting the CP for their support to the Democratic Party, PL thus far refuses to support DeBerry. They present abstention from voting and campaigning as the correct "Marxist-Leninist" position.

Far from leading to state power, such an ultra-left Stalinist line can only lead to the division of the working class in a period of radicalization. It offers a smokescreen behind which capitalist reaction protects itself. Under the conditions prevailing today it gives a covering excuse to the reaction against the small socialist movement and the Negro vanguard. It breeds victims, and eventually demoralizes and mis-educates youth who could have become revolutionary socialists.

Approved by the NEC  
August 23, 1964

June 18, 1964

FINAL FUND DRIVE REPORT:

LOCAL	SUGGESTED QUOTA	ACCEPTED QUOTA	PAID	%
LOS ANGELES	\$100	\$200	\$235.00	117%
CHICAGO	675	675	762.50	112
BOSTON	275	400	403.00	100
NEW YORK	600	700	701.00	100
BALTIMORE	100	100	100.00	100
DETROIT	300	325	325.00	100
TWIN CITIES	200	350	350.00	100
BERKELEY	275	300	302.00	100
CLEVELAND	50	50	50.00	100
ANTIOCH		50	50.00	
San Francisco	200	175	100.00	57
Madison	150	150	84.00	56
Ann Arbor	50	50	10.00	20
Philly	25	25		
Kent	25	25		
Seattle	25	25		
<hr/>				
TOTALS	\$3000	\$3500	\$3572.50	119%

Dear Comrades,

With the completion of the fund drive, we have gone well over the top! Los Angeles had the highest per capita average, and so, they along with Baltimore, which was the first local to complete its quota, have won their choice of a bound volume of the YOUNG SOCIALIST. All of the locals did well in this drive on the whole, but not all of us made our quotas; there is still \$256 outstanding on the pledges. San Francisco was the only one of these locals to ask for an extension, however, an additional three weeks are offered to all of the locals which did not fulfill their quotas.

Comradely,

*Roland Sheppard*  
Roland Sheppard  
National Fund Drive Director

45A  
June 3, 1964

To National Committee Members

Dear Comrades,

The July plenum of the NC will give the YSA a chance to get a better perspective on our activities for the immediate period. The Deberry-Shaw campaign will be the key activity of the YSA for this period and we will have a chance to iron out the difficulties and discuss the opportunities that face us in the campaign.

We will discuss our work in the Negro movement on a different basis than we have been able to up to now due to the fact we have recruited 13 Negro comrades since the convention last September. Our discussion at the plenum will not only prepare us to deal with the most promising recent developments (Michigan FNP etc.) but to concretely intervene in the struggle as revolutionary socialists.

Jack and Betsy Barnes, assigned as NECers to stay in the Midwest through our March 20th defense work, are now in N.Y. and have brought with them the fresh experience of the constructive YSA building that has been done in the Midwest. This experience will be very helpful in raising our over-all approach to radicalizing youth to a new level. The political resolution will deal with political basis of our tactical approach to activist organizations and the meaning and development of opponent organizations such as Progressive Labor. It will open up a discussion at a level which, the NEC comrades feel, will be very educational in giving clear direction to our work.

The Negro Struggle resolution and the political resolution will really be the beginning of a new discussion and, as such, the NEC comrades have considered suggesting to the plenum that it mark the opening of a convention discussion. The plenum would begin a convention discussion with the first contributions being the resolutions adopted by the plenum. We would aim for a convention in late December.

The late December date is proposed in order that we can have two months after the election campaign to wind up the convention discussion in the locals. The discussion between the plenum and Nov. 2 can be carried out as a literary discussion so it will not interfere with our campaign work but will give everyone an opportunity to get his ideas down on paper.

Let the NEC know if you have any questions regarding the suggestion that we kick off a convention discussion with the plenum.

Comradely,

*Peter Camejo*

Peter Camejo  
National Secretary

P.S. Will all locals Please send us the name of your local organizer and address. Many comrades have moved recently or new organizers have been elected so our files are getting out of date.

June 30, 1964

TO ALL LOCALS

Dear Comrades,

Many locals have begun to do election campaign work through the organization of local Youth or Students for DeBerry and Shaw. However, there are some locals which have not yet formed election campaign committees, and do not yet see such work as their primary orientation from now until November 3.

In New York, Detroit, Chicago, the Twin Cities and a few other areas, we have begun work. Our experience has been that at first the election committees are composed mainly of YSA members and a few contacts. More contacts are made by the election committees once they begin to engage in action. These locals have begun activity even though this activity is modest at first and may involve only YSA members.

It is important that each local organize Students for DeBerry and Shaw or Youth for DeBerry and Shaw or committees for independent political action which endorse and begin to campaign for DeBerry and Shaw. This must be done without any further delay. Work in the election campaign is the focus of YSA activities during the campaign period, and helps to draw the lessons for our contacts met in other activities.

A full scale of activities is possible for the summer, especially where there are schools with summer sessions. Brochures and leaflets should be passed out, posters pasted up, discussions arranged, street meetings held on campus, etc.

The organization of election campaign committees where they do not yet exist, and the development of election activities over the summer, will prepare us for the high pitch of activity required in the fall. We cannot wait until the fall to begin election work -- that would be too late, since we have only six weeks of fall campaigning. We must be organized now and in full operation for the fall term.

The two candidates will be making simultaneous national speaking tours during the fall term. These tours have allowed for three regional conferences, in the West, East and Midwest. The conferences can be used to bring together contacts made during the course of the campaign as well as to attract new people and will have the aspect of rallies.

Enclosed is the proposed tour schedule. You can see that there is not much time between when school opens and election time to fit in two national tours. Each local should study the dates assigned to it and write to us if there are any objections or suggestions. Because of the necessary tightness of the schedule, it may be hard to make adjustments, but we will do what we can.

Comradely,  
Berry Sheppard  
Berry Sheppard  
National Chairman

MINUTES OF NEC MEETING OF JUNE 1, 1964

Present:

NEC members: Betsy, Barry, Shirley, Melissa, Jack B.  
Jack M., Pete

Alternate members of the NC: Roland, Jan, Dick, Al S.

Chairman: Betsy

Agenda: 1. Trial

Agenda read and approved.

1. Trial

Charges against Comrade Al S. were filed by the New York local Executive Committee with the NEC (see NEC minutes of May 9, 1964).

The record of the New York local's trial of Comrades Roger and Charlotte at its meeting of June 1, 1964 is placed into the record of this NEC meeting.

Motion (Barry): The NEC finds Comrade Al S. guilty as charged of violating YSA policy, and suspends him indefinitely from the YSA, and refers his case to the National Committee for further disciplinary action.

Counter-motion (Shirley): To dismiss the charges against Al and reaffirm our right to exist as a political tendency in the YSA.

Discussion: Pete, Dick, Al S., Jack B.

Vote on Barry's motion

For: Betsy, Barry, Melissa,  
Jack B., Jack M., Pete

Against: Shirley

Consultative For: Jan, Roland

Consultative Against: Al S.

Consultative Abstention: Dick

Motion carried

Motion (Jack B.): To divide Shirley's motion into two parts;  
Part One: "To dismiss the charges against Al," and  
Part Two: "To reaffirm our right to exist as a political  
tendency in the YSA."

Discussion: Dick

All For except Al S. opposed

Motion carried

Vote on Part One of Shirley's  
Motion:

For: Shirley

Against: All else

Consultative For: Al

Consultative Against: All else

Motion defeated

The Chair rules Part Two of Shirley's motion out of order.

Meeting adjourned.

COPY

Young Socialist Alliance  
Los Angeles Local  
1702 East Fourth Street  
Los Angeles, Calif. 90033  
May 23, 1964

Dear Barry:

On Tuesday, May 19th, Youth Action Union of Los Angeles had a general meeting in which the agenda included "National Youth Organization report and discussion around recent decisions and changes including the decision to hold the June convention in San Francisco instead of Chicago." Their meetings are open so I attended it and the following is the information I obtained:

- 1) The change from Chicago to San Francisco was made unilaterally by San Francisco.
- 2) YAU and the West Los Angeles Du Bois Club are bitter that they were not at all consulted about the change.
- 3) Apparently the reaction is the same in the Northwest, the Midwest, and the East.
- 4) The reason given for the change was that Chicago was not ready and able to accommodate the convention.
- 5) There was suspicion that this would not be the founding convention.
- 6) There is no standard for votes yet i.e. delegations of individuals. The leadership was careful to ignore this.

. . . . .

Comradely yours,

Julius Snipper

cc: East Bay  
San Francisco

May 29, 1964

Dear Joel,

Enclosed is a report on the Stalinist conference which is going out to the comrades who are involved in one way or another. If you use your own judgement we have no objections to its being shown to or read to YSAers, but do not let it out of your hands. The conference is now definitely scheduled for San Francisco on June 19-22. The West Coast comrades will be responsible for our intervention and because of the distance no one from other areas should try to attend.

We were cautious in what we said in the report as our internal reports have a habit of making their way into the hands of opponents. We have to make sure that the Stalinists do not have a document that they can read portions of at the convention or elsewhere and make us sound like wreckers to inexperienced kids.

The deepening radicalization of a layer of American students makes it more and more necessary for the Stalinists to put their class collaborationist politics under the cloak of socialism. It is very hard to take a young rebel breaking from the status quo who is starting to think in critical terms politically and recruit him simply to Democratic Party pressure politics. Thus, to channelize that rebellion into the Democratic Party, especially with the deepening of the Black Revolt and the tendency of its real vanguard to look away from the Democrats, the Stalinists will have to put forth a radical socialist face. But the political results are the same.

We should not underestimate how far the class collaborationists might be willing to go to head back toward the Democrats the growing revolt of young people which is impelling them toward independent politics. Remember the labor fakers in the 30's went so far as to form a new political party, the American Labor Party, in order to capture the vote of the New York Social-Democratic workers who could not yet stomach voting directly for Roosevelt on the Democratic Party ticket. Remember the whole Progressive Party experience which fooled a lot of good people disgusted with the Democrats.

This is the light in which the Stalinists' civil rights activism, for instance, must be viewed. It is a big step for them to lead demonstrations in their own name or even to take a major part of the leadership in an Ad-Hoc committee. The line in the 50's was generally to work deeply and silently in the bowels of the NAACP, CORE, etc. But that is not adequate to capture the militant pro-civil rights youth to whom they must gain access to get them heading toward the Democrats. This is especially true in the face of the con-

crete political alternative of the FNP. We must never separate the Stalinists' activism from the political goals it is designed to serve, or even we can get suckered into serving the same goals.

The Stalinists see the civil-rights movement as simply the principal lever of pressure on the liberals today. Their criteria of "success" in the civil rights struggle revolve around some immediate gains and the ability to force liberal politicians to talk a pro-civil-rights line. Then "naturally" the thing to do to consummate the civil-rights "victory" is to work to elect these pro-civil-rights talking politicians. That's why we must always raise our anti-Democratic Party politics. Without independent politics, FNP or socialist, all the demonstrations in the world will never get beyond pressure group reformism. Without offering our politics and fighting theirs there is no way we can recruit the best of these kids the Stalinists draw around them. If we don't recruit them they eventually become either consciously pro-Democratic Party Stalinists or young-ex-radical cynics.

In the 50's the Stalinists actually told radical youth on many campuses not to even form socialist discussion clubs. Today the growing interest in socialism means a line like that cannot attract many of the radicalizing youth. You can fool them with the Democratic Party still but it must be baited with socialism and militancy at a minimum. That makes this new Stalinist attempt to build a national youth movement much more dangerous than anything they've tried for the last 15 years.

We must never forget that we are trying to build a nationwide socialist youth movement which will furnish part of the leadership toward independent political action of the next large scale upsurge of the American working class. The DuBois clubs projection of their "National Socialist Youth Organization" is an attempt to begin building the future "socialist" leadership to repeat the popular front betrayals of the 30's. It is this that makes our fight against them for every kid so important. Who wins the youth today will win the leadership of the working class tomorrow.

You can see from the report that the Berkeley DuBois club started with a small group of people who openly called themselves socialists. The YSA, certainly a socialist organization, was in the Bay Area at that time and the DuBois club, including the Hallinans, were of course familiar with the YSA and its ideas. The DuBois club's brand of socialism however is indicated by the paragraph quoted in the enclosed report -- "peaceful transition" ... "peaceful coexistence" ... "Soviet Union -- as leading force toward peace", etc. It is further indicated by their organizational methods not only where they are strong locally but in the way they tried to kick off their "national" organization (see enclosed letter from L.A.). Since to them socialism equals Khrushchev Stalinism it is crystal clear why they formed an organization

in political opposition to us. It is also clear that the best time to fight them is at the very time they are forming. As the Bay Area experience demonstrates it is a much more difficult task to destroy them once they draw in sizeable forces and start acting.

We have to be in enough activity of theirs to earn the right to speak to young people if a lot of them are being drawn toward the Stalinists. We do this to meet the tactical problem of meeting and getting to know the honest new kids the Stalinists draw into activities around "good" causes and "socialism". We do this in order to recruit these kids to the YSA. This can be done only by politically differentiating ourselves from the Stalinists. We can't recruit Trotskyists by out-manuevering or by being more active than the Stalinists. The main thing we have to offer youth is our perspective of training conscious revolutionary socialist cadre and an understanding of the necessity to do this.

We have no illusions about being able to take over their conference. What we hope to do is to give an alternative to any of the kids who are uncomfortable with their Democratic Party line. The Stalinists in the San Francisco DuBois club made themselves especially vulnerable by supporting in fact the white liberal Shelley against the Freedom Now candidate Sam Jordan in the mayoralty elections last fall! Our line is that all the demonstrations for freedom will come to naught when this is the outcome of a group's politics. We can also directly counterpose DeBerry the Negro worker to Johnson the rich Texan. All our other actions will be aimed at making the Stalinist organization that comes out of this conference as weak and vulnerable as possible, and having the public record crystal clear about where the YSA stands.

We will definitely not be trying to give a Stalinist organization a good left face with which to fool innocent kids.

Whatever comes out of this they will probably try to organize around the Midwest and East Coast again to try to build a real national organization. Keep your eyes open and keep us informed about what the Stalinists are doing and saying in your area. They can't really build a national organization if we stay on their backs every time they move a muscle outside their strongholds, and if we are successful in this it will help the West Coast comrades in their fight out there.

Comradely,

Jack and Barry

CC: Joyce, Lew, Danny, Paul, Paulann, Gus, Les, John, Al, Ken

~~A~~ KEEP

REPORT ON THE PROJECTED "JUNE CONFERENCE" TO FORM A "NATIONAL SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION"

I. Bay Area DuBois Clubs.

About a year and a half ago youth oriented toward the line of the Communist Party organized themselves in the Bay Area into DuBois Clubs. The DuBois Clubs have been more activist and openly socialist than earlier youth formations such as Advance in New York. At about the same time a similar organization was set up in Los Angeles which has been called "Youth for Peace and Socialism" and is now called "Youth Action Union." Smaller groups have been formed in Oregon and Washington.

In an area report prepared by the Berkeley DuBois Club for a recent conference on the West Coast (see below), they say:

"The Berkeley W.E.B. DuBois Club ... has been in existence now for one and onehalf years originating in mid October 1962. It was formed as a response to the then existing conditions in the Berkeley campus community where there was a need for an organization to represent Socialist youth interested in Marxism. More specifically, this youth believed that Socialism would come to the United States through a peaceful transition; they supported peaceful coexistence, and saw in the Soviet Union the leading force toward peace. They believed it was necessary to work for solutions to the social problems of our time through mass action; uniting as many people as possible on any single issue. Therefore they saw immediate gains being made by constant pressure through the organizations and institutions that represent large groups of people, e.g., the Democratic Party, Civil Rights groups, etc."

In practice, this orientation has meant that the DuBois Clubs have presented themselves (fairly successfully) as broad, activist, pro-Marxist groups uniting militant youth and students around specific actions and projects, while at the same time politically orienting these militants toward the politics of "peaceful coexistence" and class collaboration. This is accomplished by the leaders of the group who follow CP-line politics, and who are the DuBois Clubs' apparatuses. The organizational structure is of a typical front group of the CP type, with a "loose" organization attracting militants around specific actions, but with organizational and political control held tightly in the hands of people following the CP line.

They have had their greatest success in organizing for specific civil rights projects, and have attracted large numbers of young people on that basis. They use such actions to draw people into the DuBois Club, where they are at the same time exposed to "actions" in support of the Democratic Party and to Democratic Party politics. The same report from the Berkeley

DuBois Club states that after the club got going, they were able to begin working directly for the Democrats: "This meant working out of the Democratic headquarters to do mailings, canvassing, and precinct work. This was our first club contact with the Democratic Party, but since then some people have formed the impression that we are a kind of Democratic Party auxiliary."

And, "Most of the Berkeley Club's work with the Democrats has been in elections of Democratic candidates in San Francisco, e.g. John Shelley (elected), Willie Brown and John Burton (to be elected), and the above mentioned Philip Brown." John Shelley was supported by the DuBois Clubs for Mayor of San Francisco against Freedom Now candidate Sam Jordan.

## II. Proposed "National Socialist Youth Organization."

Last December CP-oriented youth met in Chicago to discuss setting up a broad national socialist youth organization. A call for such an organization has been issued signed by Alva Buxbaum (Chairman of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee), two of the Hallinan brothers (leaders and prime movers of the DuBois Clubs in the Bay Area), Arlene Shispak (New Horizons for Youth) and others around the country of the same political viewpoint. On the basis of this call, the Bay Area DuBois Clubs held a West Coast conference during March which invited all interested to attend to discuss the proposed national organization.

At this West Coast conference 214 registered as participants and another 50 were present as observers. 71 were from San Francisco, 48 from Berkeley, 61 from Los Angeles, and 32 from the northern part of the West Coast. YSAers, and YSA locals were represented.

A "convention" held at Madison, Wisconsin to set up a Wisconsin organization akin to the DuBois Club was a flop, according to reports from Madison. The attendance was small, at no time over 30 present, although 90 to 150 were expected. YSA participants were able to raise the question of independent political action against the pro-Democratic Party politics of the organizers of the "convention."

In Illinois a similar unsuccessful "convention" was held, with very small attendance. Here again YSAers were able to present the alternative of political action against the capitalist parties.

In the East and Midwest youth who follow the CP line are weak and have not yet established viable organizations. Their real strength is on the West Coast, where they are a large force. The site of the proposed conference was to be Chicago, but this has recently been changed to San Francisco. The shift in site reflects their general weakness in the East and Midwest, and is a retreat from their perspective of quickly establishing a genuine national organization.

Another aspect of the shift to the West Coast is that apparently the Communist Party is itself divided over whether it favors the development of an open "socialist" youth group at this time. As far as we can tell, CP support for the project has been lukewarm or hostile in the Midwest and East, and enthusiastic on the West Coast.

The proposed national youth organization is projected as a national replica of the DuBois Club by the DuBois Club leaders. That is, the proposal from these people is to form a "socialist oriented", broad, activist organization, which would be under the political control of the youth who follow the CP line. In other words, a front group with the leaders setting the political line with little or no participation in political decisions by the rank and file loosely organized around single actions and to whom no systematic socialist education is given. The political line of the organization being pushed by these leaders is the line of class collaboration and capitulation to the Democratic Party.

Many young people and students are interested in the call for a national organization, however, because they favor a broad socialist organization where different viewpoints can be heard, and united actions be undertaken. Socialist clubs at Eastern schools have indicated interest, demonstrating the appeal both to individuals and clubs who are attracted to the "broad" and "activist" face this organization is attempting to present. Many individuals attracted to the DuBois clubs and to the national organization, do not realize the front nature of the proposal. Inexperienced youth new to socialism often do not see the political character of an organization when the political line is overshadowed by heavy day to day action against capitalist evils all socialists oppose.

Even in the DuBois Clubs themselves, there is strong opposition to the Hallinan's proposal for a "centralized" organization which would convert the proposed national organization into a complete front. A proposal for a "decentralized", loose organization, specifically allowing YSA participation was introduced at the West Coast conference and had support from San Francisco DuBois delegates, and is supported in the Midwest.

### III. Our participation.

It appears very likely that the national conference to establish the "national socialist youth organization" will occur in San Francisco June 19-22. If this is the case, our West Coast locals will have to undertake the major part of our participation.

Since many sincere militants will probably be there, we should participate in the conference with as much strength as we can.

Our objectives at the conference are twofold. 1) We raise our own political viewpoint for discussion and adoption, especially on the key question of political action. Our election campaign will be our most important political weapon against the pro-Democratic Party politics of the youth who follow the CP line. We have heard a report that there is a split in the San Francisco DuBois Club precisely over the question of independent political action. We can expect polarization within the DuBois Clubs over the question of support to the Democratic Party as militants revolt over supporting the capitalist parties in the context of developing independence of the Negro movement, if we intervene to clearly pose the alternative of independent political action to support to the Democrats. The DeBerry-Shaw campaign gives us our best lever to do this during the election campaign period.

2) We are for non-exclusion, not only of individuals, but of organized tendencies such as the YSA. We are for an open and complete political discussion. This organization will have a political line at the conclusion of the conference. The line will either be decided through an open, concrete and complete discussion of the political issues, or, under the cloak of "unity", no concrete political line will be hammered out and the leadership clique will continue to run the organization under their class collaborationist line.

REPORT ON THE PROJECTED "JUNE CONFERENCE" TO FORM A "NATIONAL SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION"

I. Bay Area DuBois Clubs.

About a year and a half ago youth oriented toward the line of the Communist Party organized themselves in the Bay Area into DuBois Clubs. The DuBois Clubs have been more activist and openly socialist than earlier youth formations such as Advance in New York. At about the same time a similar organization was set up in Los Angeles which has been called "Youth for Peace and Socialism" and is now called "Youth Action Union." Smaller groups have been formed in Oregon and Washington.

In an area report prepared by the Berkeley DuBois Club for a recent conference on the West Coast (see below), they say:

"The Berkeley W.E.B. DuBois Club ... has been in existence now for one and onehalf years originating in mid October 1962. It was formed as a response to the then existing conditions in the Berkeley campus community where there was a need for an organization to represent Socialist youth interested in Marxism. More specifically, this youth believed that Socialism would come to the United States through a peaceful transition; they supported peaceful coexistence, and saw in the Soviet Union the leading force toward peace. They believed it was necessary to work for solutions to the social problems of our time through mass action; uniting as many people as possible on any single issue. Therefore they saw immediate gains being made by constant pressure through the organizations and institutions that represent large groups of people, e.g., the Democratic Party, Civil Rights groups, etc."

In practice, this orientation has meant that the DuBois Clubs have presented themselves (fairly successfully) as broad, activist, pro-Marxist groups uniting militant youth and students around specific actions and projects, while at the same time politically orienting these militants toward the politics of "peaceful coexistence" and class collaboration. This is accomplished by the leaders of the group who follow CP-line politics, and who are the DuBois Clubs' apparatuses. The organizational structure is of a typical front group of the CP type, with a "loose" organization attracting militants around specific actions, but with organizational and political control held tightly in the hands of people following the CP line.

They have had their greatest success in organizing for specific civil rights projects, and have attracted large numbers of young people on that basis. They use such actions to draw people into the DuBois Club, where they are at the same time exposed to "actions" in support of the Democratic Party and to Democratic Party politics. The same report from the Berkeley

DuBois Club states that after the club got going, they were able to begin working directly for the Democrats: "This meant working out of the Democratic headquarters to do mailings, canvassing, and precinct work. This was our first club contact with the Democratic Party, but since then some people have formed the impression that we are a kind of Democratic Party auxiliary."

And, "Most of the Berkeley Club's work with the Democrats has been in elections of Democratic candidates in San Francisco, e.g. John Shelley (elected), Willie Brown and John Burton (to be elected), and the above mentioned Philip Brown." John Shelley was supported by the DuBois Clubs for Mayor of San Francisco against Freedom Now candidate Sam Jordan.

## II. Proposed "National Socialist Youth Organization."

Last December CP-oriented youth met in Chicago to discuss setting up a broad national socialist youth organization. A call for such an organization has been issued signed by Alva Buxbaum (Chairman of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee), two of the Hallinan brothers (leaders and prime movers of the DuBois Clubs in the Bay Area), Arlene Shispak (New Horizons for Youth) and others around the country of the same political viewpoint. On the basis of this call, the Bay Area DuBois Clubs held a West Coast conference during March which invited all interested to attend to discuss the proposed national organization.

At this West Coast conference 214 registered as participants and another 50 were present as observers. 71 were from San Francisco, 48 from Berkeley, 61 from Los Angeles, and 32 from the northern part of the West Coast. YSAers, and YSA locals were represented.

A "convention" held at Madison, Wisconsin to set up a Wisconsin organization akin to the DuBois Club was a flop, according to reports from Madison. The attendance was small; at no time over 30 present, although 90 to 150 were expected. YSA participants were able to raise the question of independent political action against the pro-Democratic Party politics of the organizers of the "convention."

In Illinois a similar unsuccessful "convention" was held, with very small attendance. Here again YSAers were able to present the alternative of political action against the capitalist parties.

In the East and Midwest youth who follow the CP line are weak and have not yet established viable organizations. Their real strength is on the West Coast, where they are a large force. The site of the proposed conference was to be Chicago, but this has recently been changed to San Francisco. The shift in site reflects their general weakness in the East and Midwest, and is a retreat from their perspective of quickly establishing a genuine national organization.

Another aspect of the shift to the West Coast is that apparently the Communist Party is itself divided over whether it favors the development of an open "socialist" youth group at this time. As far as we can tell, CP support for the project has been lukewarm or hostile in the Midwest and East, and enthusiastic on the West Coast.

The proposed national youth organization is projected as a national replica of the DuBois Club by the DuBois Club leaders. That is, the proposal from these people is to form a "socialist oriented", broad, activist organization, which would be under the political control of the youth who follow the CP line. In other words, a front group with the leaders setting the political line with little or no participation in political decisions by the rank and file loosely organized around single actions and to whom no systematic socialist education is given. The political line of the organization being pushed by these leaders is the line of class collaboration and capitulation to the Democratic Party.

Many young people and students are interested in the call for a national organization, however, because they favor a broad socialist organization where different viewpoints can be heard, and united actions be undertaken. Socialist clubs at Eastern schools have indicated interest, demonstrating the appeal both to individuals and clubs who are attracted to the "broad" and "activist" face this organization is attempting to present. Many individuals attracted to the DuBois clubs and to the national organization, do not realize the front nature of the proposal. Inexperienced youth new to socialism often do not see the political character of an organization when the political line is overshadowed by heavy day to day action against capitalist evils all socialists oppose.

Even in the DuBois Clubs themselves, there is strong opposition to the Hallinan's proposal for a "centralized" organization which would convert the proposed national organization into a complete front. A proposal for a "decentralized", loose organization, specifically allowing YSA participation was introduced at the West Coast conference and had support from San Francisco DuBois delegates, and is supported in the Midwest.

### III. Our participation.

It appears very likely that the national conference to establish the "national socialist youth organization" will occur in San Francisco June 19-22. If this is the case, our West Coast locals will have to undertake the major part of our participation.

Since many sincere militants will probably be there, we should participate in the conference with as much strength as we can.

Our objectives at the conference are twofold. 1) We raise our own political viewpoint for discussion and adoption, especially on the key question of political action. Our election campaign will be our most important political weapon against the pro-Democratic Party politics of the youth who follow the CP line. We have heard a report that there is a split in the San Francisco DuBois Club precisely over the question of independent political action. We can expect polarization within the DuBois Clubs over the question of support to the Democratic Party as militants revolt over supporting the capitalist parties in the context of developing independence of the Negro movement, if we intervene to clearly pose the alternative of independent political action to support to the Democrats. The DeBerry-Shaw campaign gives us our best lever to do this during the election campaign period.

2) We are for non-exclusion, not only of individuals, but of organized tendencies such as the YSA. We are for an open and complete political discussion. This organization will have a political line at the conclusion of the conference. The line will either be decided through an open, concrete and complete discussion of the political issues, or, under the cloak of "unity", no concrete political line will be hammered out and the leadership clique will continue to run the organization under their class collaborationist line.

NEC Meeting of May 9, 1964

Present: Barry, Pete, Jack B., Jack M., Melissa  
Alternates: Jan, Roland, Jim, Dick, Al

Chairman: Jack B.

Agenda: 1. Membership  
2. Plenum call  
3. June conference  
4. Internal situation

1. Membership

We have two applications for membership at large. One is from Antioch, and is recommended by Kathy from Antioch and the Ann Arbor local. The other is from San Jose near the Bay Area and is recommended by John B.

Motion: To accept both applicants as members-at-large.

carried unanimously

2. Plenum call

Motion: The NEC issue a poll of the National Committee to call a plenum of the National Committee, to be held over the July 4 weekend in New York.

carried unanimously

Motion: To approve tentative agenda as follows:

1. Negro struggle
2. Bloomington report
3. Election campaign
4. Political report
5. Organizational report

carried unanimously

Motion: Plenum attendance be open to National Committee members and alternates, local organizers, and invited guests.

carried unanimously

3. June conference

report by Barry

Motion: To accept report.

carried unanimously

4. Internal situation

Barry reported that the New York local executive committee has

filed charges with the NEC (attached) against comrade Al. Since comrade Al is an alternate to the National Committee, the NEC will constitute itself as trial committee, to meet in trial on May 30 (The trial has been shifted to June 1.)

Motion (by Al): That the NEC drop charges on the basis that they are a fraud.

Full For: None  
Alt. For: Al  
Full Against: Barry, Pete, Jack B.,  
Jack M., Melissa  
Alt. Against: Jan, Roland, Dick, Jim

Motion defeated

Motion: To accept report.

For: All except Al

Motion carried

-----

MINUTES OF NEC MEETING OF APRIL 9, 1964

Present: Barry, Pete, Melissa, Jack

Agenda: 1. Election campaign

1. Election campaign.

Motion: To accept report (attached).

carried unan.

Meeting adjourned.

## REPORT ON THE FORMATION OF "STUDENTS FOR DEBERRY AND SHAW"

1. The presidential election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party opens an important potential for the YSA on the campus. The DeBerry-Shaw campaign provides a natural and powerful vehicle for our ideas among students, and will be the focus of our work for the duration of the campaign.

Through the SWP campaign we will raise the key question of American politics: the question of independent working class and Negro political action against the capitalist parties. No real progress can be made in America until a break is made in the capitalist political monopoly. The SWP campaign will drive that idea home and provide a concrete alternative in 1964 to the capitalist parties and their policies. The SWP will be the only party running on a program of Freedom Now, peace, support to the colonial revolution, jobs for all, opposition to the witchhunt, and for independent Negro and labor political action. (The Socialist Labor Party, which will probably run, is opposed to all immediate goals of the workers and Negroes and takes a "third camp" position internationally; e.g. the SLP is opposed to the Negro struggle, is opposed to the fight for shorter hours and higher wages, opposed to labor or Negro political action, opposed to the Cuban, Algerian, Chinese revolutions, opposed to the unions, etc.)

By exposing the Democratic and Republican parties, by raising the idea of a labor party and a Negro party, by providing a concrete alternative for all those who are opposed to one or all aspects of the capitalist parties and the social evils which flow from the capitalist system, the SWP campaign will polarize around itself those who seek a political alternative in 1964.

The campaign will be a pole of attraction; it will educate students about the capitalist parties and the need for independent political action; it will organize students into support for the campaign; and it will recruit students to the socialist movement. It will expose all of our

opponents, and make them choose between the capitalist parties and the only workers party running.

Our goal should be to bring the issues of the campaign and the campaign itself to as wide an audience as we can, and organize all those who are willing to support the campaign into campaign committees.

2. The recent developments in the Bloomington case change our perspective for defense work somewhat. Before the March 20 ruling we were preparing to spare no efforts in building support for the defense at an increasing tempo leading up to the trial. The ruling and the appeal by Hoadley mean that while we must maintain the defense committees, our defense work should go into lower gear to meet the long haul of fund raising and propaganda needs for the appeal. The slower tempo of defense work means that we will have the time and people to begin to organize election campaign work right away.

We must be crystal clear on one point: no YSAer must give the impression through his actions or words that we are trying to interject the campaign into the defense committee. The defense committee is organized for one purpose only, and that is to defend the Indiana students and their case.

Some individuals will support both the campaign committee and the defense committee, but the two committees themselves should be entirely separate.

All the work that can be done this term in setting up Students for DeBerry and Shaw will put us that much farther ahead for an intense campaign in September and October. There is important organizing and propaganda work we can do right away in the spring term, and there will be election work in the summer at summer schools, off campus, and petitioning. Work done in the spring and summer will lead to a concentrated effort during the fall term, building to a peak at, perhaps, regional election conferences and rallies right before the election.

3. A National Students for DeBerry and Shaw committee will be set up with Barry Sheppard as National Coordinator. The National committee will serve as a center for the coordination of the work of local committees, get out literature, buttons, etc.

A brochure, which will be a folded leaflet, will be written and printed as the first piece of literature for the Students for DeBerry and Shaw. The SWP is preparing a pamphlet containing the election platform (printed in the Militant) which will sell for 10¢, and which can be ordered at a bulk rate from the National committee. We will have campaign buttons which can also be sold.

4. It is through the formation of local Students for DeBerry and Shaw that we can reach the most people and organize them into support for the campaign.

Each local will have to discuss the best way to set up Students for DeBerry and Shaw. In some places, we could get the committee formed as an on-campus recognized organization; in other cases we will not be able to get recognized. In still others, we will have to organize off-campus committees where we have no campus base, and **recruit** students to the committee. Those places DeBerry will be hitting on his spring tour may use his meetings to announce the formation of campaign committees. Or contacts may be approached individually at first and then organized into a committee, etc.

There will be many ideas evolved by the locals once they begin to organize for the campaign. The following preliminary suggestions may be of use to the locals:

- 1) Use the spring DeBerry tour to publicize the campaign and organize campaign committees.
- 2) Hand out the brochure, sell the platform, and sell buttons, perhaps at a literature table.
- 3) Set up campus debates with Young Democrats, Young Republicans, and with our radical opponents on what to do in the 1964 elections.
- 4) Some campuses have mock elections. The campaign

committee could engage in electioneering for these elections.

5) Letters and articles can be written for the student press.

6) Socialist clubs and other clubs can be asked to pass resolutions in favor of the campaign. Other socialist tendencies should be asked to support the campaign -- and individuals from other tendencies should be encouraged to join.

7) Get local candidates from the SWP to speak if there are such in your area.

8) In addition to these on-campus activities, the committees could engage in off-campus campaign work, such as plastering the Negro sections with posters (mainly in the fall), preparing and distributing leaflets at Democratic and Republican rallies especially in the Negro ghetto exposing the racist, witchhunting, war making and exploitative capitalist parties.

9) Help in the work of getting on the ballot by helping to petition.

SUMMARY REPORT ON CAMD

April 1, 1964

Because there have been many inquiries about the Monroe "kidnap" trial and preceding developments, including the sudden disaffiliation from CAMD of two of the defendants on the eve of the trial, a brief history of the defense and the CAMD is in order.

CAMD was formed Sept. 7, 1961, 11 days after the police-encouraged rioting in Monroe which led to the "kidnap" indictments against Robert F. Williams and four others. When CORE and the NAACP refused legal aid to these victims of racism, Dr. Albert E. Perry, former vice-president of the local NAACP, who had himself spent a year in North Carolina jails on a frame-up, flew to New York to hasten the formation of a defense committee. There was imminent danger that Williams, who had been forced to flee lynch-mob "justice" in Monroe, would be seized by FBI agents.

Conrad Lynn, Robert Williams' attorney, also stressed the need for immediate organization of a defense committee to mobilize protest against the FBI's "shoot-on-sight" manhunt of Williams and to furnish legal aid in the event of his capture, and to defend the others falsely accused of kidnapping.

At the initial meeting, Dr. Perry was named chairman of the CAMD; Conrad Lynn, counsel; James Dickerson, a civil-rights activist, agreed to serve as treasurer; and Berta Green, who had been active in the defense committee around the Monroe "kissing case" and is a friend of Williams, was asked to be secretary. (This executive board was later expanded to include Dave Dellinger, editor of the radical-pacifist magazine, Liberation; Price Chatham, a Monroe Freedom Rider; Shirley Stoute; Carmen Anderson and Marvin Siegel.)

Within a few weeks CAMD was able to raise the \$15,000 cash bail required for the release of Richard Crowder, John Lowry, and Harold Reape from the Monroe jail. Williams had, in the meantime, found refuge in Cuba.

The fifth defendant, Mrs. Mae Mallory, was arrested a month later in Ohio. The Cleveland CAMD chapter secured an Ohio attorney, Richard Gunn, to represent Mrs. Mallory at her first hearing where he prevented her immediate extradition to North Carolina.

After the hearing, Mrs. Mallory associated herself with the Monroe Defense Committee, which had been set up some weeks after the formation of CAMD. Many conferences with the MDC were arranged at the initiative of CAMD both prior to and after Mrs. Mallory's arrest in the hope of unifying the two committees.

All efforts to combine the committees failed. There were a number of points at issue including the MDC's insistence that Freedom Riders must be barred from leading bodies of the defense committee (although one of the defendants was a Freedom Rider) since they considered Freedom Rides wrong in principle, and their further insistence that the committee must be all-black. However, the major difference -- and the one on which all unity efforts foundered -- was that of the concept of the role of a defense committee.

It was the view of CAMD that the chief obligation was to the defendants; that the committee's aim must be to provide legal defense and to rally the broadest possible support. Although the committee would, of course, fully explain who Williams was and what he stood for since he was the real target of the Monroe racists, it would seek and welcome the support of people of divergent views as long as they were united in opposing the frame-up in Monroe.

The Monroe Defense Committee, however, contended that the main job of the committee must be to advocate self-defense and that it must constitute itself as the

mobilizing center for the establishment of self-defense groups throughout the country, and that, in this context, the needs of the defendants must be secondary.

While many of the organizers of CAMD were, personally, in full agreement with the concept of self-defense, they felt that the program outlined by the MDC was not properly the function of a defense committee and that a statement of aims as envisaged by the MDC would alienate many potential supporters and civil-rights activists and thus jeopardize the defendants.

Many of the practical problems created by the existence of two defense committees were temporarily resolved with the disintegration of the MDC on a national scale several months later. What resulted seemed a natural division of labor: a group around Mrs. Mallory, constituting itself a new MDC and operating only in Cleveland, devoted its efforts entirely to the battle against her extradition; the CAMD provided legal aid to the other defendants, publicized the case nationally, and helped the MDC.

As Mrs. Mallory's extradition fight inched its way through the legal maze of Ohio and federal courts, CAMD cooperated as fully as possible. Financial contributions were made directly to Mrs. Mallory's successive attorneys by the CAMD national office, and proceeds of several CAMD chapter fund-raising affairs were sent to the MDC. The Cleveland CAMD chapter virtually suspended all public activity to participate in MDC activities. CAMD officers and attorneys, always in close consultation with Mrs. Mallory's successive attorneys, provided them with essential documentation and advice for their briefs. Thousands of petitions were gathered by CAMD chapters throughout the country in behalf of Mrs. Mallory.

In April, 1963 when a critical legal juncture had been reached and her extradition seemed imminent, CAMD again proposed unification, this time to Clarence Seniors, who had just taken over the job of MDC secretary. CAMD proposed that Seniors assume the role of executive secretary of a unified committee. This proposal was rejected at the time without explanation.

During this time CAMD counsel went to Monroe to protest repeated postponements of the trial of the three young men defendants. CAMD supplied legal defense in two other trumped-up cases against Monroe youth militants Albert Rorie and Jayvan Covington. Also, many thousands of pounds of food and clothing were sent to the economically-deprived black community of Monroe by CAMD. Although the entire period before the trial was a difficult one in which to sustain public support because of the lack of any dramatic developments or definite trial date, and because the mounting upsurge in the civil-rights movement as a whole tended to divert attention from Monroe, interest in the case was maintained through national tours by the defendants, publication of Truman Nelson's People With Strength, petition campaigns, public meetings, demonstrations, etc.

When Mrs. Mallory was finally extradited to North Carolina in January, 1964, CAMD resumed attempts to unify the two committees and -- most crucial -- the legal defense. It was impossible to achieve such unity in either area because MDC representatives never appeared at agreed-upon conferences nor explained their failure to attend. We could not determine then, nor can we do more than guess today, at the reasons the MDC resisted unity.

#### TRIAL PLANS

Attorneys associated with CAMD and the three young men defendants had developed a line of defense which would put the real criminals -- the racists of Monroe -- on trial; but this strategy required a unified defense and despite all CAMD efforts, lawyers had been unable to consult with either Mrs. Mallory or her new attorney

prior to Feb. 17th--the opening date of the two week term of court in which the "kidnap" trial was scheduled.

It was therefore with much apprehension that defense counsel and CAMD representatives, who planned to set up a publicity and information center at Dr. Perry's home, proceeded to Monroe on Feb. 16th.

The defense plan was that Richard Scupi, secured by CAMD to prepare the complex pre-trial motions, would conduct the hearing of these motions for the defense and then would summon Conrad Lynn and William M. Kunstler when the trial proper was about to start. Scupi stood in the position of associate counsel to both Conrad Lynn, attorney for Richard Crowder and Harold Reape, and to Kunstler, counsel for John Lowry, and would assist both of them in the course of the trial.

On Feb. 17th, Judge Brock announced that the "kidnap" trial was calendared for the following morning. This afforded CAMD representatives and counsel an opportunity to confer with Len Holt, Mrs. Mallory's attorney, before the trial opened.

Mr. Holt, a veteran of key civil-rights actions in the south, and a militant and aggressive attorney with experience in Monroe, decided to associate his client, Mrs. Mallory, with the first action planned on behalf of the other three defendants. This was a petition for removal of the trial to a federal court on the ground that it was impossible for anti-segregationists to obtain a fair trial in the bigoted courts of Union County. It was not expected that this petition would be granted, but such petitions are being increasingly used by civil-rights attorneys to expose southern courts.

Just before leaving with attorney Scupi for Charlotte to file the petition, Berta Green received a phone call from the New York CAMD office disclosing that a letter from Reape and Crowder had just arrived. The text of the letter was as follows: "In regards to the problem of the two committees, we are disassociating ourselves from CAMD, and are identifying with MDC. We demand all records concerning the case, and financial records, of the money of the CAMD transfer to the M.D.C. forth with."

This was a bewildering development since neither of these defendants had indicated either in the courtroom that morning or the previous evening that they had sent such a letter. Attempts to reach them by phone to learn whether this also meant they no longer wished to retain attorneys Scupi and Lynn failed. Because further delay would have made it impossible to reach Charlotte before the close of the federal court there, it was decided to file the petition and contact them afterwards.

En route to Charlotte, we encountered Len Holt. He informed us that he had just been discharged by Mrs. Mallory because he had agreed to the removal petition. He knew nothing, however, of Crowder and Reape's disassociation from CAMD; he had not been asked to represent them before his own dismissal.

After we returned to Monroe, Crowder and Reape confirmed the letter and stated they were also thereby firing Lynn and Scupi. No reasons were given beyond a vague charge that CAMD, Scupi, Kunstler, and the two Negro attorneys, Lynn and Holt, had "sold out" to the white power structure. We made no attempt to reconcile them to CAMD but did try to impress upon them the risks they faced by dismissing counsel associated with the case for two-and-a-half-years on the eve of their trial. They, however, voiced their confidence in Mrs. Mallory's defense plans -- which they either did not know or would not divulge -- and remained adamant even to the pleas of their co-defendant, John Lowry.

The next morning Mrs. Mallory asked the court to delay trial until her new attorney arrived that afternoon.

When Walter Haffner, Mrs. Mallory's last attorney in her unsuccessful extradition fight, arrived from Ohio, he asked for a postponement so that he could acquaint himself with the facts in the case. He explained that he was totally unprepared to proceed; was unfamiliar with the details of the case and with North Carolina laws and procedure; and knew nothing at all about the cases of Reape and Crowder whom he had just then been asked to defend.

The hostile judge denied Haffner's appeals for delay and compelled the defense to proceed under these obviously detrimental conditions. It was only with the constant assistance of attorney Scupi that Haffner -- at an almost total loss -- was even able to verbally associate his three clients with the numerous written motions being made by Scupi on Lowry's behalf.

William Kunstler, retained by John Lowry through the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the early days of the case, arrived in Monroe while the jury was being chosen. Much of the original defense strategy which he and Scupi had worked out with Conrad Lynn to put the Monroe racists on trial, now, under these adverse circumstances, had to be scrapped. It was plain that it would be difficult enough to "make the record" for appeal purposes in the virtually-certain event of convictions.

Daily consultations with attorney Haffner took place all through the trial at the home of Dr. Perry, where CAMD had set up its headquarters. Haffner, MDC chairman Clarence Seniors, and the defendants were invited to the many lunch and night sessions where they were informed of all motions about to be introduced and where Haffner was advised about particulars of N.C. laws and procedure by Kunstler and Scupi.

These daily briefings enabled all the defendants to have the benefit of the motions carefully prepared by Scupi and Kunstler, thus assuring excellent grounds for appeal.

Many weeks before the trial CAMD secretary Berta Green had asked James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, to appear at the trial as a defense witness since he had been a participant in the Monroe events. During the trial she made a special trip to Atlanta to make definite arrangements for his appearance. She also made arrangements in Atlanta for the appearance of the only other defense witness, Harry Boyte, former resident of Union County driven out because of his integrationist activities, who now is special assistant to Martin Luther King.

#### RESUME OF LEGAL ASPECTS OF TRIAL

The petition for removal to a federal court--subsequently amended to apply only to John Lowry's case--was denied, as had been anticipated.

Among other pre-trial motions denied at once or taken under advisement by the judge only to be denied later, were: a motion to quash the indictments of the three young men defendants for failure to grant a speedy trial; a motion for a bill of particulars; a motion to either quash the indictments of the three young men because they had been denied right of counsel after their arrests or not to admit in court any statements made by the defendants prior to their consultation with counsel.

Attorney Scupi asked for a hearing on another defense motion to quash the indictments because the grand jury which had indicted the defendants had been illegally constituted by virtue of the racially discriminatory manner of its selection. Since Scupi had won a reversal from the N.C. Supreme Court on this very issue in the Covington case, Judge Brock had no alternative but to grant the hearing. Haffner's request that Scupi be permitted to conduct the challenge in behalf of all four defendants was also granted. What followed was a trial within a trial. County officials were called to the witness stand, county records were examined and Scupi presented

evidence to prove the systematic exclusion of Negroes from the grand and petit juries. Scupi had prepared this motion before the trial after a thorough study of Union County records and jury selection systems. Although the motion was denied it constitutes a most important basis for appeal.

Before the selection of the lily-white jury had been completed, Scupi and Kunstler found it necessary to move for continuance of the trial to a later date, selection of a jury from people not residing in Union or adjacent counties, or for a change of venue (transfer of trial to another county), because a red-baiting campaign by the local press had served to prejudice the jury. Haffner associated his clients with this motion also except for the change of venue clause.

The prosecution opened its case by putting Mr. & Mrs. Bruce Stegall, the allegedly kidnapped couple, on the stand. They testified that after they had entered the Negro district, their car was surrounded by about 200 people, some armed. A crowd first escorted Mr. Stegall to Robert Williams' front yard, then Mrs. Stegall was ordered out of the car by Mrs. Mallory. Mr. & Mrs. Stegall followed Williams into his home after he advised them that he could not control the crowd. There, the Stegalls further claimed, Williams had Mr. Stegall speak to the police chief by phone. Mr. Stegall told the police chief that the crowd thought the couple could help get the large number of Freedom Riders and local Negroes arrested earlier in the day out of jail. Later, they said, Richard Crowder and Mae Mallory helped to tie them up before they were moved to an empty house next door, where Mae Mallory sat guard and others, including Crowder, took turns guarding the back door. After two-and-a-half hours they were released unharmed and drove away. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Stegall identified Harold Reape except as having been part of the crowd. They identified John Lowry only as the person who got behind the wheel of the car when Mrs. Stegall got out.

Cross examination revealed important contradictions in the Stegall's testimony and exposed their reasons for being on Boyte St. as exceedingly dubious.

The only other witnesses called by the prosecution were police officials. Their testimony was based on the grillings of Crowder, Lowry and Reape immediately after their arrests and during which each of the three young men were alleged to have implicated themselves, one another, and Mrs. Mallory. Defense attorneys, whose pre-trial motion that this testimony not be admitted had been denied, again objected. Lowry, put on the stand by Kunstler, revealed that he had been quizzed for nine hours in the police station, repeatedly denied the right to see a lawyer and not told that anything he might say could be held against him. Indeed, cops assured him that everything would be all right. The judge overruled the objection but said that anything one defendant allegedly said about another would not be admissible.

Despite Kunstler's protests, the judge admitted police testimony about firearms found in Crowder's attic after his arrest and then allowed the firearms to be brought into court. Kunstler and Scupi objected that this whole line of questioning was irrelevant to the crimes charged, had no connection with any of the defendants' activity on the date of the alleged incident, and could only be used to inflame the jury. After the floor in front of the jury box was covered with rifles and boxes of ammunition, the defense demonstrated that many more rifles than had been supposedly found in Crowder's attic had been dumped in the courtroom. When the police could not distinguish between those they claimed to have taken from Crowder's attic and those presumably collected in other round-ups, the judge was compelled to grant Kunstler's motion that they all be removed, but denied his motion for a mistrial because of their inflammatory exhibition.

The defense opened its case with a motion by Kunstler that the charges against Lowry be dismissed. The only evidence against Lowry revealed that he had "actually performed a public service by driving an empty car out of the road to the curb." Haffner asked for dismissal of the case against Reape for lack of evidence. Both

motions were denied.

Testimony of both defense witnesses, Harry Boyte and James Forman, was not admitted by the judge after brief questioning by Haffner with the jury out of the room.

Depositions taken in Havana of Robert and Mabel Williams were read into the record by Haffner. Both depositions cleared all four defendants, emphasized the assaults and threats of the racists against the Freedom Riders and black community, and stated that Mr. & Mrs. Stegall had been given refuge from the angry crowd outside. These depositions were already in the Union County court records, having been secured by Conrad Lynn whom the CAMD sent to Cuba in 1962 for that purpose.

The defense rested after summations by Haffner and Kunstler. Solicitor Boyette summed up for the prosecution, contending that Mallory, Lowry, Reape, and Crowder were all accomplices since they were all friends and "fortified" one another. "The mere presence of one who is a friend of those violating the law is sufficient for conviction -- that's what we mean by aiding and abetting." But worse than that, he claimed, "Reape was a member of Williams' Rifle Club", "Crowder had walked guard around Williams' house and picketed at the swimming pool", "Lowry had been a guest in Williams' home..."

The jury filed out to reach its verdict. A most efficient jury. They had been instructed that each defendant was to be judged separately and that each of two counts against each of them was to be considered separately. After a two week trial, this jury was able to return 33 minutes later with guilty verdicts against all four defendants on both counts. (Presumably, the bulk of the 33 minutes had been consumed by election of a chairman.)

Before pronouncing sentence, the judge stated that the only danger to the Negro community had "existed in the mind of Robert Williams." He sentenced Mrs. Mallory to 16-20 years; Crowder to 7-10 years; Reape to 5-7 years; Lowry to 3-5 years. Bail was set at \$15,000 for Mallory; \$10,000 for Crowder; \$7,500 for Reape and \$5,000 for Lowry in addition to a \$1,500 appeal bond for each.

Bail for Lowry was posted by his family; a bonding company secured by the MDC posted bond for the other defendants.

Defense attorneys have received the 750-page trial transcript and are already preparing the appeals which will probably be heard by the North Carolina Supreme Court next October. CAMD has arranged for Scupi, now skilled in North Carolina law, to prepare the briefs which will be available to all four defendants. William Kunstler will continue as Lowry's attorney.

Because of the excellent presentations by Scupi and Kunstler and the many technical errors committed by the court, attorneys are confident that the state Supreme Court will be compelled to reverse the convictions, if not the indictments. However, such a favorable decision will not necessarily signal the end of the case since the Monroe authorities can decide to retry.

Many incidents during the trial revealed the racist atmosphere in Monroe and in the courtroom. Judge Brock ruled that the solicitor's deliberate and distinct use of "nigger" on several occasions was simply a "difference of pronunciation" -- (on other occasions the solicitor apparently had no trouble with his pronunciation).

The judge nurtured the smear campaign unleashed by the local press by seizing the personal property of a spectator (who had no connection whatsoever with the defense), describing it as "Marxist" literature, and another time publicly reprimanded Berta Green for distributing CAMD news releases, before court opened, to members of the press (!).

Service was denied Kunstler, John & Marcia Lowry, and Berta Green by the manager of a coffee shop across the street from the court house. Haffner was evicted from his motel when the management learned who he was.

So flagrant was the court's hostility that the editor of the Cheraw, (S.C.), Chronicle (a town not far from Monroe), was moved to write: "While we come to the defense of Monroe, we must express surprise and disappointment in what we consider the severity of the sentence. In view of the civil disorders which preceded the seizure of the white couple and which were triggered not by the Negroes but by certain white elements, and in view of ... the pressures to which all the defendants were subjected at that time, the penalties handed down by Judge Walter Brock appear to us excessive."

#### SUMMATION

Although the defense scored on the legal battlefield, virtually assuring reversal of the convictions upon appeal, and its publicity campaign caused sufficient embarrassment to Monroe to arouse regret even among "responsible" elements in the notoriously racist town, the danger still exists. A continued protest by those who oppose injustice can help obtain ultimate acquittal of the Monroe defendants.

After arranging for expert preparation of the appeal documents and ascertaining that all defendants would have continued legal representation, CAMD announced suspension of all activities. However, CAMD executive board members, and we are sure all CAMD supporters as well, will do everything they can, as individuals, to prevent any victimization of the Monroe defendants.

There have been inquiries about a number of rumors based on ignorance of the facts, or malice, which deserve brief mention and categorical rejection. Among these are:

- 1) That the CAMD secretary distributed a leaflet in Monroe attacking the character of Mrs. Mallory. The fact is that CAMD distributed no leaflets in Monroe. It issued a number of press releases which were mailed to all interested newspapers and which were given to reporters at the trial. None of the releases, needless to say, attacked any of the defendants.
- 2) That the CAMD secretary tried to get SNCC executive secretary James Forman to "modify" his testimony. We suggest that anyone in doubt about such a slander simply inquire the facts of Mr. Forman.
- 3) That Len Holt left Monroe because a) he was afraid of the white racists; b) because he wanted his client to plead guilty. Both are outright lies.
- 4) That Conrad Lynn did not show up for trial -- leaving Crowder and Reape stranded. Lynn was prepared to come to Monroe as soon as Scupi, his associate counsel, sent for him. But he was fired by his clients the night before the trial began and could not legally represent them.
- 5) That defendant John Lowry, to save his own white skin, injured the cases of the other defendants. This has no basis in fact. Lowry and his attorneys did everything within their power to aid and assist the other defendants. Interviewed on a national TV hookup after his release, Lowry reaffirmed his dedication to the civil rights struggle and denounced the conviction of himself and his co-defendants.
- 6) That funds have been mishandled. All funds have been scrupulously accounted for, as the forthcoming audited financial statement by a certified public accountant will demonstrate. Examination of the statement will reveal that the relatively limited funds available were carefully and effectively used to best fulfill our obligations

to the defendants. CAMD books have been and continue to be open for inspection by CAMD chapters and authorized representatives of sympathetic organizations.

In an assessment of the work of CAMD, the following positive accomplishments can be included:

- 1) The posting of a total of \$31,000 cash bond for five defendants in three separate cases. This made it possible for the three young men in the "kidnap" case to be free on bail during the two-and-a-half-years before their trial.
- 2) Legal defense of the young men defendants throughout the two-and-a-half year ordeal before trial was finally held. Protests of attorneys at each trial postponement and, especially, the able defense at the trial itself assure strong legal grounds for the appeal by all four defendants.
- 3) Considerable assistance to Mrs. Mallory and the MDC in the fight against Mrs. Mallory's extradition.
- 4) The rallying of substantial public support, including the sponsorship of hundreds of prominent individuals, through national tours by the defendants, distribution of 10,000 copies of People With Strength and Negroes With Guns, petition campaigns, meetings, demonstrations, etc.
- 5) Scores of press releases, local radio and TV interviews which helped pierce the news blackout by the mass media.
- 6) Establishment of many chapters throughout the country which brought the Monroe story to thousands who could not otherwise be reached.
- 7) One of the effects of the national publicity generated was a recent reinterpretation by the North Carolina court of its kidnapping statute so that it no longer contained a mandatory 20-year minimum penalty but left the sentence to the discretion of the judge.
- 8) Arranging for the preparation of appeals.
- 9) Legal defense in two subsidiary cases, those of Albert Rorie and Jayvan Covington. (The capable defense of Covington by Hal Witt and Richard Scupi, who contributed a good deal of time to this case, formed the basis for some key appeal grounds in the "kidnap" case.)
- 10) Shipment of many thousands of pounds of food and clothing to Monroe.

These achievements were made possible, despite some serious handicaps, by the generosity of many individuals and groups. The committee could not have functioned without the sustained and dedicated work of dozens of individuals who worked in chapters or the national office. CAMD had no salaried employees or salaried officers at any time. Thanks are also due the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the Committee to Assist Southern Lawyers for their substantial assistance.

Report prepared by Berta Green for the executive committee, April 1, 1964.

MINUTES OF NEC MEETING OF MARCH 21, 1964

Present: Barry, Melissa, Pete, Jack  
Alternates: Jan, Roland, Al

Chairman: Pete

Agenda: 1. New locals  
2. Fund drive  
3. Yale Conference report  
4. SNCC Conference  
5. Introducing the YSA brochure  
6. Bloomington Defense

1. New locals.

Barry reported that two areas are applying for local status, Ann Arbor and Kent, Ohio. The Ann Arbor comrades are presently members of the Detroit local, and the Kent comrades of Cleveland. There would be distinct advantages to forming these groups as separate locals because of their base on campus and their distance from their parent locals.

Motion: To approve the formation of locals at Kent and Ann Arbor.

carried unanimously

2. Fund drive

Report by Roland attached.

3. Yale conference

Report by Pete attached.

4. SNCC Conference.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Barry, Pete

Motion: N.O. to organize coverage of coming SNCC conference.

carried unanimously

5. Introducing the YSA brochure.

Discussion: Jack, Melissa, Pete, Barry

6. Bloomington Defense

Report by Pete.

Discussion: Jack

Meeting adjourned.

## YALE CONFERENCE REPORT

Approximately 300 to 400 students attended at least one of the several talks on socialism at the conference sponsored by the Yale Socialist Union. The participants can be broken down accordingly; 100 to 150 New England and Eastern college students seriously interested in socialism, about 100 radicals mainly from New York and the remainder curious Yale students.

The Yale Socialist Union is a new organization composed of pro-socialist Yale students who are not committed to any tendency although they tend to be interested only in the YSA or PL.

The conference was reported in the Militant and this report will not deal with the material covered there. Of all the tendencies present we had the advantage of having a full Pioneer Publishers literature table at all sessions. We sold about \$85 worth.

We got the names of about 30 potential contacts although we did not recruit anyone. One New York contact requested membership right after the conference partially because he saw the other tendencies in action.

PL made a push for some sort of demonstration against the war in Vietnam. Although their specific proposals were unrealistic as usual, we agreed with the general proposal and a committee called the May 2nd Committee was set up to organize a protest picket on May 2nd. The steering committee on the May 2nd Committee is Russ Stetler (A National Guardian supporter from Haverford, Pa.) Levi Laub (PL) and Peter Camejo. Russ Stetler is the Chairman. There are about 25 other "members" of the committee each supposedly representing a campus.

The demonstration will take place in New York. We will support it and work for a broad united front effort.

The conference was an indication of the interest of students in the socialist alternative. It points out the importance of continued propaganda efforts towards these students. The general tendency among these students is to be very hesitant about organizational commitment. Thus they do not offer us a means of rapid recruitment but can be recruited only after a period of contact work where our ideas are carefully explained.

NEC MINUTES OF FEBRUARY 25, 1964

Present: Regular: Pete, Jack, Melissa  
Alternates: Roland, Ralph, Jay, Al

Agenda read and accepted.

I. Fund Drive: see attachments

Motion: To have Roland take charge of the National Spring Growth Fund Drive.

Passed

II. CABS: see attachment

III. Next Young Socialist: Jay

It will be coming out next Thursday or Monday and will be one of the most interesting issues due to the fact that many locals sent in reports of actions and activities.

IV. Pennsylvania Petitioning: Pete

After less than one week of petitioning, 9,000 signatures have been gathered. 4,500 more are needed.

February 7, 1964

To NCers and Organizers:

Report on the Midwest Conference

Held in Chicago February 5th and 6th

This year's midwest conference was a great success. It was the largest gathering of young socialists in the midwest for many years. No other socialist group could have organized such a conference. It is one more proof that the YSA is becoming the representative of socialism to young people today.

The large turnout can be attributed to the wonderful job which all the various locals did in organizing people to come.. Detroit and Minneapolis had especially large contingents. It is not known exactly how many people attended altogether, but the figure probably runs somewhere between 155 and 170. The count at the largest meeting was 150. 129 people payed the registration fee. Over 100 came from outside Chicago. 22 Colleges and high-schools were represented. The average age of those registered was 22.

Those who attended last year's conference were surprised by the number of new faces. Many of these new people were YSA'ers who were meeting people from other locals for the first time. Groups of people came from other areas not represented before at YSA functions. Some of these areas were Toledo Ohio, Shimer College, Nashville Tenn., Frankfort Indiana, Southern Illinois U. at Carbondale, and Bowling Green and Kent Colleges in Ohio. Attendance at the conference does not mean that all these people will become YSAers, but all this is further proof of the tremendous opportunities which are open to us. Some of these people came as a result of CABS work. A large mailing announcing the conference was sent out to contacts all over the midwest.

The bulk of the talks centered around American problems and prospects for the American revolution. There were two talks on the Negro struggle, Robert Vernon discussed in detail many of the contradictions and seeming contradictions which are arising in the struggle today. George Breitman spoke on "What A Minority Can Do." He showed the potential of the Negro struggle to shake-up American society and to play a vanguard role in the American revolution.

Jack Barnes' talk on Bloomington put the case in the perspective of post-war U.S. history. He discussed McCarthyism, the silent generation of the 50's, the Negro struggle, and the new youth radicalization of the 60's. After Jack's talk Paulann Groninger of CABS and defendants Tom Morgan and Ralph Levitt answered questions on CABS and new developments in the Bloomington case.

On the second day Barry Sheppard gave an analysis of the Algerian revolution. He was followed by Frank Lovell whose history of the trade union movement gave a clear picture of how the unions got where they are today. Unfortunately Duncan Ferguson, who was scheduled to talk on "The Artist and the Revolutionary Movement" was unable to speak because of illness.

The conference was an enthusiastic one. There was no lack of communication between the older speakers representing the SWP and the young people at the conference. Breitman's talk received a standing ovation. An indication of the reaction to the talks was the application of at least nine new people for YSA membership at or immediately after the conference.

Tapes of the talks are available. Write Dave Wulp at 302 S. Canal St., Chicago, Illinois. Indicate which tapes you want and whether you want the question period.

Comradely,  
Betsy B

NEC MINUTES: Jan. 15, 1964

Present: Barry, Ken, Pete; Melissa  
Alternates: Al S., Roland, Jan  
Late: Leroy

Chairman: Ken

Agenda read and accepted

1. Reports
2. Membership
3. Travel Committee
4. NEC Statement on Election
5. N.O. Functioning

I. Reports

- a. YPSL Convention: see attachment
- b. Minneapolis Conference: see attachment
- c. Eastcoast Conference: see attachment
- d. CABS: see attachment

II. Membership: Pete

We have had three applications for members-at-large. Two are from Ann Arbor and one is from Penn State.

Motion: To accept these three applications into member-at-large status.

passed unanimously

III. Travel Committee

Motion: passed unanimously

IV. NEC Statement on Election: Jan

Motion: That we write a statement in support of the SWP slate of candidates for the Presidential election.

passed unanimously

Discussion of statement

V. N.O. Functioning

Motion: That Melissa take over the desk for 2 months.

passed unanimously

Meeting ajourned

New York, New York  
Jan. 13, 1964

Dear Comrades:

We sent five comrades to the recent Young Peoples Socialist League Convention held in Chicago, December 28-29, 1963. Below is part of a report on the Convention from one of the YSA'ers who attended.

- § YPSL's were 3-5 hours late in starting the sessions.
- § Three conflicting national reports were given by the National Leadership
- § The delegates, only 35-40, were extremely apathetic, talked among themselves to the point of disruption during debate and reports.
- § Many delegates didn't vote one way or the other on motions.
- § A new leadership was hammered out in caucuses, but no resolutions were passed. (This was left up to the new NC or NEC)
- § Only 107 YPSL's paid the \$1.00 Convention Assessment out of a paper membership of 700. (One of the Chicago YSA'ers got a letter asking for this assessment -- he's been out of YPSL for 2 years.)
- § Rumor has it that YPSL is pulling out of SPU. But to our knowledge no action was taken at the Convention.
- § Some YPSL's questioned the very existence of YPSL from the floor.
- § Documents showed low political level and lack of direction.
- § The outstanding feature of the YPSL convention was demoralization.
- § Most of our comrades were asked to leave after being pointed out by Mike Parker and denounced as from an "alian tendency."
- § Our comrades were overwhelmed at the over-all difference in seriousness, enthusiasm and political understanding between YSA and YPSL.

Comradely,  
*Melissa*  
Melissa

V E N C E R E M O S !

Minneapolis Conference Report

Below are some excerpts from a letter by Lew of Minneapolis:

"The series was a complete success from almost every point of view. We recruited two new comrades. The YSA made \$34 and we sold over \$60 worth of literature. Moreover, we had an attendance of 49, with an average of about 25 per meeting. All of the talks were good and the participants took everything seriously -- reading and discussing."

Eastcoast Conference Report

The Eastcoast Conference was held on Dec. 21 and 22. During the two days, about 70 comrades and friends from Baltimore, Philly, New York and Boston attended the four lectures. Heard on Saturday were William F. Warde, speaking on the Sino-Soviet Dispute, and Tom Kerry, speaking on American Labor-From the New Deal To The New Frontier. On Sunday, Barry Sheppard spoke on the Algerian Revolution. The afternoon session heard Clifton DeBerry, just back from a National Tour, speak on New Trends In The Black Revolt. On Saturday night a party was held in honor of the Bloomington defendants. Besides having fun, those attending the party were able to hear Ralph Levitt give some of the latest developments in the case. About \$50 worth of literature was sold and three people were recruited out of the conference. Large banners at the front of the hall reading: An Attack On One Is An Attack On All: Defend The Bloomington Students and a large picture of the defendants reminded all those attending of the important tasks ahead.

CABS Report

The new brochure(with a new picture!) is now at the printers and will be available in about a week. John Lewis of SNCC and James Baldwin have recently become sponsors. Besides professors, CABS will try to get sponsors from civil rights and trade union leaders. Sponsors continue to come in and we have received about 30 this week including a \$250 donation from the Dean of a Graduate School. The National CABS will soon be publishing a Newsletter to keep all supporters and CABS locals informed on the happenings around the case and the defense work. The first issue will have a complete financial report and a major article around the sponsors. Tom has just started his tour in the Midwest and the first reports are very encouraging. Below are a few excerpts from a letter Betsy sent in:

"The total enrollment at Rockford is 400. 100 kids came out to hear Tom speak. They bought 17 or so of Leroy's pamphlet. Five indicated that they would be willing to start a CABS and collect money."

"At Shimer, Peter and Suzanne went along with Tom to help out in trying to talk to kids after the talk. 80 kids turned out out of a student body of 300. Suzanne stayed with some girls in a dorm and sat up with them talking to them until 6:30. The guys stayed up until 2:00. A YPSL asked to join the YSA because he was so disgusted with the YPSL. A number of kids plan to come to the Midwest conference. At Shimer kids also agreed to do CABS work and will set up a collection box in the cafeteria."

"At Madison a crowd of 80 listened to the talk. The Editor of Progressive Magazine called Sid Lens encouraging him to write a story on the case for the Progressive. It looks like Lens will. In just passing the hat at the meeting at Madison CABS collected 35 dollars which shows that this should always be done where possible."