

Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003  
March 23, 1966

To All Organizers:

Dear Comrades,

Again this year, as in the past, the YSA will be using the summer period to concentrate on education. The summer schools have played a vital role in building, strengthening, and developing the YSA and it important that careful thought be given to them well in advance.

Local activities should be planned to complement the classes. In the past years we have found that it is impossible to run a summer school and continue the same amount of YSA activity as is normal during the year. If local activity is not cut, the extra load of meetings and readings will wear YSAers down, instead of renewing and inspiring them for further work.

At large YSA members or those in small locals should make every effort to move to an area which is holding a school this summer. If this is impossible, a small local can hold its own classes, or drive to a neighboring local for special sessions.

We have learned a number of things from the summer schools in the past which should be kept in mind when planning a school in your area.

1. Careful consideration should be given to the number of subjects the school will cover. One of the most common errors is to attempt to cover too much. A shorter program, in which basic ideas are concretely and thoroughly discussed is more fruitful than a program which attempts to cover many subjects and does not cover any one of them thoroughly.
2. The amount of reading assigned should be such that it can be done by all YSAers. Supplementary lists can be used by those who have extra time, but emphasis should be placed on a certain amount of basic reading which everyone is required to do. If the reading is not done, the classes tend to disintegrate into "bull" sessions at which little is learned.
3. When planning a course for the school, be sure there are enough people available who are knowledgeable on the subject to handle the lectures. Only if the presentations are well planned and concrete can they provide the basis for a good discussion and draw the lessons relevant for today.

Here are some suggestions which have worked well in the past.

1. Questions on the reading can be mimeoed in advance. These can be answered as the comrades read the material assigned, and can provide the basis for the discussion at the session where the material is covered.

2. The class can be divided into smaller discussion groups after the lecture. Discussion leaders should be well prepared on the material so that they can lead the discussion and help answer the questions which are raised.

The National Office will be putting out study guides on the following topics: Stalinism, labor history, history of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S., Negro history and black nationalism. These will include a reading list, questions on the reading, and lists of recommended tapes. We hope to have these out by the middle of April.

In addition, the Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party has question outlines available on the following books. These can be ordered from Evelyn Reed, 873 Broadway, New York, New York.

<u>In Defense of Marxism</u>	15 cents
<u>History of American Trotskyism</u>	15 cents
<u>The Struggle for a Proletarian Party</u>	20 cents
<u>State and Revolution</u>	15 cents
<u>The Revolution Betrayed</u>	15 cents
<u>History of the Russian Revolution</u>	15 cents

Also available is a handbook on public speaking which each local can order for reference. The cost is 40 cents. Please include the money with each order.

Speakers from New York will be available to lecture in the locals. We will try to have at least one speaker from New York go to each local that is holding a summer school. In addition, the locals can write to other areas for speakers.

There are a number of good tapes available which can be used. These will be listed in the study guide which is sent out and can be ordered directly from Chicago. These tapes can be used in lieu of a lecture for some of the sessions.

Please keep us informed on the plans for your summer school. The National Office will be glad to give any help or suggestions it can.

Comradely,

*Janet Daniels*  
Janet Daniels  
YSA National Office

Minutes of the Plenum of the National Committee, March 6, 1966

Present: Full: Betsey, John Ben., Joel, Daniels, Kipp, Les, Jan, Gus, Caroline, Doug, Lew, Marilyn, Paul, Derrel, Derrick, Danny, Melissa, Syd, Dan, Mary-Alice

Alternates: Robin, Charles, Linda, Ernie, Dick, Eloise, Francine, Roland, John C., Joe, Larry, Suzanne, Walter, Peer

Chairman: Lew

Agenda:

1. Election of National Officers
2. Election of National Executive Committee
3. Editor of the Young Socialist
4. National Tour

Motion: To approve the agenda.

Carried

1. Election of National Officers - Betsey

Motion: That Lew be National Chairman.

Motion: That Betsey be National Secretary.

Carried

2. Election of National Executive Committee - Lew

Motion: That the following compose the NEC: Betsey, Daniels, Caroline, Doug, Lew, Melissa, Dan, Mary-Alice.

Carried

3. Editor of the Young Socialist - Lew

Motion: To table to the NEC.

Carried

4. National Tour - Lew

Suggestion that Doug make a national tour this spring on the general topic of "Socialism or How to Change the World."

Discussion: Doug, Paul, Les

Straw vote on suggestion.

Carried

5. Motion: To adjourn.

Carried

MINUTES OF THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE  
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MARCH 4-6, 1966

First Session, Friday, March 4, 1966, Convened at 1:15 p.m.

I. ORGANIZATION OF CONVENTION

Motion by Jack B. for the National Committee: That the Presiding Committee consist of Betsey B., Jack B., Jon B., Daniels, Jan G., Doug J., Lew J., Ralph L., Derrel M., Melissa S., Dan S., Mary-Alice S.

Carried

Motion: That Betsey B. present the National Committee motions on the organization of the convention.

Carried

1. Motion: That procedural questions be decided by majority vote with one speaker for and one against, each with one minute.

Carried

2. Motion: To approve the agenda as written with the addition of National Committee Elections as the sixth point.

Carried

3. Motion: To approve the schedule as written with the addition of 15 minutes to the Majority Antiwar Report.

Carried

4. Motion: To adopt the following rules for the convention:
  - a. Delegates and alternates seated in place of absent delegates have voice and vote. Fraternal delegates have voice and consultative vote.
  - b. Only those delegates seated at the roll call of particular session may vote.
  - c. All sessions be open, with the exception of the session electing the new National Committee which shall be closed.
  - d. The National Committee be elected by secret ballot.

- e. Discussion presentations be limited to ten minutes.
- f. In any discussion period no one may speak a second time before each person desiring the floor has had a chance to speak.

Carried

- 5. Motion: That the fraternal delegates by NCers and special guests. That the special guests be the two representatives from Canada and one representative from the Socialist Workers Party.

Carried

- 6. Motion: That there be a nominating commission made up of one delegate from each local.

Carried

- 7. Motion: That the nominating commission be chaired by John Ben. and Gus H. who shall have voice and no vote.

Carried

- 8. Motion: That the convention be open to YSAers and sympathizers vouched for by the locals.

Carried

- 9. Motion: That Steve C. and Debbie R. be convention secretaries.

Carried

- 10. Motion: That two people elected by the convention serve as the credentials committee to be chaired by Syd S.

Carried

Nominations: Dennis S., Eloise M., Jim K.

Motion: To elect all three nominated to the credentials committee.

Carried

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Kipp D. be chairman of the first session.

Motion: To approve.

Carried

II. PRESENTATION ON STEVE FOX APPEAL

Reporter - Mary-Alice S.

Discussion: None

Motion from National Committee: That the National Convention of the YSA uphold and commend the action of the Detroit local in expelling Steve Fox.

Vote on motion by NC:

Delegates: 39 for, none opposed, no abstentions

Consultative: 25 for, none opposed, no abstentions

Carried

First Session adjourned at 2:05 p.m.

Second Session, Friday, March 4, 1966, Convened at 2:25 p.m.

Recommendation from Presiding Committee that Walter L. be chairman of the Second Session.

Motion: To approve.

Carried

I. FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Presented by Ed S., National Organizational Secretary of the SWP.

II. POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Reporter - Lew J.

Discussion on Political Resolution: Dick R., Francine C., Bonnie S., Jon Brit., Robin M., Jan G., Derrick M., John Char., Melissa S., Suzanne W., Dan S.

Recess for dinner 5:30 p.m. - reconvene 7:05 p.m.

Discussion on Political Resolution continued: Syd S., Les E., Norma L., Mary M., Dave P.

Summary on Political Resolution - Lew J.

Motion from Presiding Committee: To affirm the general line of the majority political resolution and report and to reject the general line of the Shumm and M. Jones - Ginther minority resolutions.

Vote on Presiding Committee motion:

Delegates: 38 for, none against, no abstentions

Consultative: 26 for, none against, no abstentions

Carried

Motion from Presiding Committee: To change the convention schedule as follows in hopes that Comrades Larry S. and Mellina J., who are still snowbound, will arrive by tomorrow afternoon: Constitution report tonight from 8:00 - 9:00 p.m. followed by discussion, summary and vote. To postpone the antiwar report until tomorrow morning, and schedule a minority antiwar report for 5:30 p.m. tomorrow.

Carried

Recommendation from Presiding Committee that Derrick M. be chairman of Third Session.

Motion: To approve.

Carried

Second Session adjourned at 8:10 p.m.

Third Session, Friday, March 4, 1966, Convened at 8:20 p.m.

I. CONSTITUTION REPORT

Reporter - Dan S.

Motion by Walter L.: That the proposed constitution be amended to read as follows:

1. Article III, sec. 4: "...dues are a minimum of fifty cents a month for high school students and one dollar a month for all other members."
2. Article III, sec. 5: "...may be dropped after 15 days notification."
3. Article IV, sec. 3: "Each local unit shall normally elect an executive committee."
4. Article IX, sec 3: "...15 days in advance of trial."  
"A 2/3 vote is required for expulsion."

Discussion on Constitution Report: Walter L., Robin M., Toby R., Marilyn L., Les E., John R., Francine C., John Bel., Roland S., Linda B.

Summary on Constitution Report - Dan S.

Walter L. withdraws proposed amendments #1, 2, and 4.

Vote on proposed amendment #3 that "Each local unit shall normally elect an executive committee."

Delegates: 1 for, 39 against, no abstentions

Consultative: none for, 27 against, no abstentions

Defeated

Vote on adoption of proposed constitution.

Delegates: 39 for none against, no abstentions

Consultative: 27 for, none against, no abstentions

Carried

Third Session adjourned at 10:25 p.m.

Fourth Session, Saturday, March 5, 1966, convened at 10:00 a.m.

Recommendation from Presiding Committee that Linda B. be chairman of the Fourth Session.

Motion: To approve.

Carried

I. ANTIWAR REPORT

Reporter - Doug J.

Announcements:

Panels on Civil Liberties and the Negro Struggle will be held from 1:30 to 3:30.

Nominating Commission will meet at 12:30.

Recessed at 11:05 a.m. -- reconvene at 5:40 p.m.

Announcement:

As Comrades Larry S. and Mellina J. have not arrived and we have had no word from them, there will be no minority antiwar report.

Motion by Ralph L. for the Presiding Committee: That we send the following telegram to the National Office of the W.E.B. DuBois Club:

"The Fifth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance expresses complete solidarity with you against the undemocratic attempt of United States Attorney General Katzenbach on March 4 to force your organization to register under the unconstitutional McCarran Act. The YSA offers



its full collaboration to defeat this threat to the democratic rights of all Americans, especially our generation of fighting youth."

Carried unanimously

Discussion on Antiwar Report: Dick R., Kipp D., Gus H., Caroline J., Wendy R., Toby R., Roland S., Pete C., Judy H., Marilyn L., Derrel M., John R., John Ben., Larry S., Ralph L., Robin M., Pat C., Walter L., Jaimey A., Jack B.

Summary of antiwar Report - Doug J.

Motion from Presiding Committee: To affirm the general line of the majority resolution and report, and reject the general line of the Shumm resolution.

Vote on the Presiding Committee motion:

Delegates: 40 for, none against, no abstentions

Consultative: 27 for, none against, no abstentions

Carried

Motion from Presiding Committee: To make the Canadian Report the first point on the agenda Sunday morning.

Carried

Fourth Session adjourned at 10:15 p.m.

Fifth Session, Sunday, March 6, 1966, convened at 10:40 a.m.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Dave S. be chairman of the fifth session.

Motion: To approve.

Carried

## I. CANADIAN REPORT

Reporter - John R.

Questions and Summary

Motion by Mary-Alice S. for the Presiding Committee: That we send the following message to Comrade Joe Johnson:

"The Fifth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance expresses complete support to your fight against the unconstitutional attempt of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport you from your native country and deprive you

of your American citizenship. The YSA offers its full collaboration in defeating this attempt to inflict on you the cruel and unusual punishment of being a stateless person, which is a threat to the civil liberties of all."

Carried unanimously

## II. ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

Reporter - Betsey B.

Discussion on Organizational Report: Derrel M.

Recess for lunch at 1:05 p.m. - reconvene at 2:00 p.m.

Discussion continued: Robin M., Joel B., Roland S., Dick R., Beverly B., Walter L., Bonnie S., Eloise M., Linda B., Mary-Alice S., Jan G., Les E., Joe H., Marilyn L., Dave W.

Summary on Organizational Report - Betsey B.

Motion from the Presiding Committee: That the convention approve a fund drive of \$6,7000 to run from March 15 to June 15, 1966.

Carried

Motion from Presiding Committee: To approve the general line of the organizational report.

Carried

Appreciation and thanks to the kitchen staff, Suzanne W., and the entire Chicago local for the excellent convention arrangements.

## III. CREDENTIALS REPORT

Reporter - Syd S.

Delegates: Present 40: 25 men, 15 women, or 37.5% women. Average age 22 years. Average age last year was 22. Number of years in YSA - 7.5% less than 1 year, 55% 1-2 years, 25% 3-4 years, 12.5% 5 years or more.

Fraternal delegates: Present 35: 25 men, 10 women, or 28.6% women. Average age 23.9 years. Average age last year was 23.5 years. Number of years in YSA - 0% less than 1 year, 16% 1-2 years, 42% 3-4 years, 42% 5 years or more.

Alternates: Present 36: 25 men, 11 women, or 30.5% women. Average age 22 years. Average age last year was 20. Number of years in YSA - 18% less than 1 year, 55% 1-2 years, 21% 3-4 years, 12.5% 5 years or more.

Visitors: Present 87. Average age 21.8 years. Average age last year was 20.5. 32 non-YSAers, 55 YSAers. Of those in YSA, 50% in less than 1 year, 32% 1-2 years, 15% 3-4 years, and 3% 5 years or more.

Summary: 205 present, of which 166 are YSAers (statistics based on 198). Last year there were 143 in attendance of which 130 were YSAers. Average age is 22 years, and the average length of time in YSA is 2 years and 2 months. Last year the average length of time in YSA was 1 year and 11 months.

63 YSAers, or 38% of those registered are on campus, representing 32 schools. Last year 45% were on campus, representing 32 schools and two high schools. 65% are engaged in academic, professional, semi-professional, or clerical occupations. 35% are in production and industrial occupations. Last year it was approximately 70% - 30% respectively. 35% had some previous political affiliation, although not everyone answered that question. Last year it was about 22%.

Speakers in discussion were 28 men and 23 women. Reporters were 3 men and 3 women.

Last year 31% had been in YSA less than 1 year, 21.5% 1-2 years, 22.5% 2-3 years, 13.2% 3-4 years, and 17.8% 5 years or more.

Appreciation expressed to comrades graduating from the YSA.

Singing of the Internationale

Fifth Session adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

Sixth Session, Sunday, March 6, 1966, convened at 4:00 p.m.

Delegates and fraternal delegates only.

## I. NOMINATING COMMISSION REPORT

Reporter - John Ben.

Proposed slates of full members and alternates read.

Slate for Regular National Committee Members (20)

Betsey B.	Caroline J.	Melissa S.
John Ben.	Doug J.	Syd S.
Joel B.	Lew J.	Dan S.
Janet D.	Marilyn L.	Mary-Alice S.
Kipp D.	Paul L.	
Les E.	Derrel M.	
Jan G.	Derrick M.	
Gus H.	Danny R.	

Slate for Alternates to the National Committee (15)

- |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Robin M.    | 9. Roland S.   |
| 2. Charlie B.  | 10. John C.    |
| 3. Linda B.    | 11. Joe H.     |
| 4. Ernie E.    | 12. Larry S.   |
| 5. Dick M.     | 13. Suzanne W. |
| 6. Irving K.   | 14. Walter L.  |
| 7. Eloise M.   | 15. Peer V.    |
| 8. Francine C. |                |

Motion by John Ben.: To set the number of full National Committee members at twenty.

Carried

Motion by John Ben.: To accept the slate of twenty as proposed by the Nominating Commission.

Carried

Motion by John Ben.: To set the number of alternates at fifteen.

Carried

Motion by John Ben.: To accept the list of alternates as ordered by the Nominating Commission.

Discussion: Roland S. (declines nomination and nominates Howard S. to take his place)

Motion by John Ben.: To reconsider the previous motion setting the number of alternates at 15, in light of Roland S.'s declination.

Discussion: Mike T., Gus H., John Bel., Norma L., Jack B., Howard S. (declines nomination), Roland S. (withdraws declination), John Ben. (withdraws motion to reconsider)

Vote on motion to accept the list of alternates as ordered by the nominating commission.

Carried

CONVENTION ADJOURNED: 4:40 p.m.

Minutes of the Plenum of the National Committee, March 4, 1966

Present: Full: Jack, Betsey, John Ben., John Bel., Jon Brit., Joel, Pete, Daniels, Les, Jan, Gus, Doug, Lew, Ralph, Paul, Darrel, Melissa, Dan, Mary-Alice, Judy

Alternates: John C., Marilyn, Syd, Roland, Joe, Dick, Derrick, Francine, Kipp, Caroline, Dave

Chairman: Jack

Agenda:

1. Plenum Guest
2. Procedural Questions and Schedule
3. Steve Fox Case
4. Jones-Ginther Resolution

Motion: To approve the agenda.

Carried

1. Plenum Guest - Jack

Motion: To seat Ed Shaw as a guest.

Carried

2. Procedural Questions and Schedule - Betsey

1. Motion: That the Presiding Committee be the NEC, Lew J., an NCer from the West Coast and an NCer from the Midwest.
2. Motion: That procedural questions be decided by majority vote with one speaker for and one against, each with one minute.
3. Motion: To approve the following agenda:
  - a. Steve Fox Case
  - b. Political Report
  - c. Antiwar Report
  - d. Organizational Report
  - e. National Committee Elections
4. Motion: To approve the schedule as written.
5. Motion: To have two panels, one on civil liberties to be chaired by Daniels, and one on the Negro Struggle to be chaired by Joel B.
6. Motion: To adopt the following rules to be proposed by the Plenum to the convention:
  - a. Delegates and alternates seated in place of absent delegates have voice and vote. Fraternal delegates have voice and consultative vote.

- b. Only those delegates seated at the roll call of a particular session may vote.
  - c. All sessions shall be open, with the exception of the session electing the new National Committee which shall be closed.
  - d. The National Committee shall be elected by secret ballot.
  - e. Discussion presentations shall be limited to ten minutes.
  - f. In any discussion period no one may speak a second time before each person desiring the floor has had a chance to speak.
7. Motion: That the fraternal delegates be NCers and special guests. That the special guests be two representatives from Canada and Ed Shaw from the SWP.
  8. Motion: That there be a nominating commission made up of one delegate from each local.
  9. Motion: That the nominating commission be chaired by John Ben. and Gus H. who shall have voice and no vote.
  10. Motion: That the convention be open to YSAers and sympathizers vouched for by the locals.
  11. Motion: That Steve C. and Rhoda L. be convention secretaries.
  12. Motion: That Syd S. and two people elected by the convention serve as the credentials committee.

Discussion: Ralph, Jack, Pete

All Motions Carried

3. Steve Fox Case - Jack

Motion: That the National Committee present the following motion to the convention: That the National Convention of the YSA uphold and commend the action of the Detroit local in expelling Steve Fox.

Carried

4. Jones-Ginther Resolution - Jack

Motion: To take up this resolution under the political report and not as a separate point.

Carried

5. Motion: To adjourn.

Carried

NEC Minutes for March 20, 1966 - No. 11

Present: NEC: Melissa, Mary-Alice, Lew, Doug, Caroline, Daniels,  
Dan, Betsey  
NC: Gus  
NC ALT: Roland

Chairman: Melissa

Agenda: 1. Fund Drive  
2. Tour  
3. Young Socialist  
4. Pamphlets  
5. Education  
6. DuBois Club Defense  
7. Antiwar Movement Report

1. Fund Drive - Mary-Alice

Motion: That Mary-Alice be in charge of the fund drive.

Motion Passed

2. Tour - Doug

Report given.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Lew

Motion Passed

3. Young Socialist - Mary-Alice

Motion: That Doug remain editor of the YS.

Motion: That Daniels be YS business manager.

Motion: That the editorial board be Doug, Mary-Alice,  
Dan, Lew, Melissa, and Betsey.

Report given on tentative plans for the next issue.

Motions Passed

4. Pamphlets - Lew

Motion: That we try to publish three pamphlets in the near future, one on independent political action, one throw away on "Introducing the YSA" and one with reprints from Che Guevara's speeches and writings.

Discussion: Melissa, Daniels, Betsey, Daniels, Betsey,  
Melissa, Betsey, Roland, Caroline, Melissa, Mary-Alice, Melissa.

Motion Passed

## 5. Education - Daniels

Although it will be up to each individual local to plan a school with speakers, readings, etc., the N.O. will be getting out lists of suggested tapes, readings, and questions that the locals can use. The topics being prepared are: Stalinism, labor history, party history, and Negro history and nationalism. We will be writing the locals on plans for providing outside speakers for each area.

Motion: That Daniels handle education.

Motion Passed

## 6. DuBois Club Defense - Betsey

Reports have come in from around the country on the response to the attack on the DuBois Clubs. SDSers, antiwar committee members, and radicals have all tried to show in various ways their desire to help fight the attack. On the other hand the DuBois Clubs have, in the areas we know about, done very little to provide people with a good way to aid the defense. They have emphasized joining the DuBois Clubs as the best way to build the defense. They are not setting up a defense committee and their meetings have not been carefully planned with broad sponsorship.

Around the country YSA has tried to help with the defense of the DuBois Club by offering to sponsor DuBois Club speakers at our forums, by offering our headquarters for meetings in their defense, by speaking at their defense meetings, and by building their defense picket lines and rallies.

The DuBois Clubs have hurt the whole movement by their sectarian approach to their defense. We should continue to do what we can to educate the people in the antiwar movement on the proper way to conduct a defense. We should also try to keep in contact with the DuBois Clubs in light of the new people they have drawn around them as a result of the attack. Reports from the YSA locals indicate that in most areas we are doing this.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Roland, Lew, Betsey, Roland, Doug, Caroline, Melissa, Roland, Mary-Alice, Doug, Melissa, Gus

Motion Passed

## 7. Antiwar Report - Lew

Motion: To approve the report. (See attached.)

Discussion: Roland, Lew, Betsey, Roland, Doug, Caroline, Melissa, Roland, Mary-Alice, Doug, Gus, Roland, Doug.

Motion Passed



Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003

March 17, 1966

TO ALL ORGANIZERS:

Re: National Tour

Dear Comrades,

The title of the talk for the scheduled national tour by Doug Jenness is

SOCIALISM AND THE NEW RADICALS

How This Generation Can Change Society

Doug has prepared only this one speech. Please do not ask him to give talks on other subjects.

Doug may be advertised as the Editor of the Young Socialist and as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Each local should arrange a meeting with the local NC members and the organizer, or with the executive committee, during Doug's stay in your area. In addition, Doug will have a report on the anti-war situation and a tour report to be given at membership meetings in each area.

Comradely,



Lew Jones  
National Chairman

## Antiwar Report

Given to the NEC March 20, 1966 by Lew Jones

The March 25-26 Days of Protest, from all indications, will be larger, more militant, and take place in more areas than the October Days of Protest. The New York Parade Committee expects a minimum of 30,000 marchers. The trailblazers report that practically every campus they have visited will be having some form of protest. "Bring the Troops Home Now" appears to be the most popular slogan in the preparations for the marches.

However, in contradiction to this growth in numbers and militancy, the movement continues to be "localized" with no national ties or perspective. As we noted both before and after the Washington NCC Convention, a movement like the antiwar movement with no strong national center or organization tends to lack clear direction, lack national ties and identification, is more susceptible to demoralization, and is not able to take full advantage of its potential.

This localization of the movement has resulted most graphically in the lack of a clear perspective for the coming period. Following the Days of Protest, the committees and newly radicalized individuals who protested will not see a next step to take. We must project campaigns that will lead the antiwar movement and serve to draw it together laying the basis for our aim of a national organization to "Bring the Troops Home Now".

The Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter will be a valuable ally in this process. It has been steadily gaining influence in the movement. The interest in it spreads with each issue in terms of the numbers interested, and in the numbers of areas where it is distributed. The response to its efforts in building the International Days of Protest has been encouraging.

Experience has shown, however, that the perspective of affiliating individual antiwar committees to the Newsletter is difficult to carry out. Far greater success has come from affiliating individuals through groups like the Organizing Committees to Bring the Troops Home Now or the Supporters of the Newsletter. The organizing committees draw their membership from individual CEWV'S and exist parallel to the CEWV'S, while the members participate in both the CEWV'S and the organizing committees. In actuality the organizing committees have become committees that have as members the key activists and builders of the movement.

The Newsletter is beginning a campaign to build the Newsletter around these organizing committees and supporter groups. In doing this, the Newsletter is projecting several campaigns which the organizing committees can use as axes of activity in the coming period. YSAers in these organizing committees and supporter groups should pick up these campaigns and try to draw local committees into them.

Two of these potential campaigns are:

1). The Lt. Henry Howe defense case. This is a case revolving around the right of soldiers to have and express ideas against the war in the armed forces. This case has the potential of appealing to many antiwar activists. It can also eventually build bridges into the armed forces themselves. From all indications, the case does not appeal to our opponents, even though it will be difficult for them to ignore it. Building, propagandizing, and aiding the Howe defense will become a major task for the BTHN supporters.

2). In several cities (New York, Boston, Chicago, and Detroit) attempts are being made to launch Afro-American Committees Against the War in Vietnam. If these committees are successful in the coming demonstrations in mobilizing black contingents, their viability and potential will be established. Mobilizing Negro sentiment through the AAAWV would stand in stark contrast to the lack of success of the "peace and freedom" proponents. If the committees are a success, helping to build them would be an arena of valuable work.

The New York Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now is planning a regional conference on April 17, where these campaigns can be presented and discussed. Called in the name of the Organizing Committee, the conference will try to draw antiwar militants together for a discussion of the perspectives of the movement and concrete ideas on future campaigns. The agenda as planned now will include Lt. Howe's parents, a panel or speaker on the AAAWV, a presentation of opposition to "peace" candidates, and a presentation by someone on the Newsletter staff on how to build the antiwar movement. The staff member of the Newsletter will outline a perspective involving the campaigns mentioned above. In addition, he will outline such things as membership cards, introductory brochures, and more speaking and initiation of activities by the Newsletter. The Organizing Committee plans in this way to orient the activists in New York so that they will take the projected campaigns back to their individual CEWV's.

The influence and authority of the National Coordinating Committee has not grown. They have evolved from a coordinating committee to a committee with an open political position. The NCC forces want to use the summer to go into the community and organize the "peace forces". They see themselves playing much the same role as SNCC has in the South during the summer months. That is, asking students to take their summer months and devote them to the 'movement'. It is perfectly clear that they want to use this 'crusade' to mobilize support for the peace candidates. They say this openly in Peace and Freedom News # 17: "In regard to the summer it might be possible to offer campaign help to various antiwar people who are running such as Robert Scheer, Sen. Gaylord Nelson (Wisc.), etc."

More and more openly now, the NCC is lining itself up with the peace candidate forces and the right wing of the antiwar movement. Thus the polarization in the antiwar movement deepens. Two paths for building are projected ever more clearly --- one by the NCC and the other by the Newsletter. Our job will be to support the campaigns projected by the Newsletter and counterpose them to the right wing of the movement and their peace candidates. In this way we will maintain the militancy of the movement and lay the basis for more coordination of the militant section of the movement on a national scale, and the basis for the eventual formation of a national organization to Bring the Troops Home Now.

March 20, 1966

# **YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE**

P. O. BOX 471 COOPER STATION  
NEW YORK, N. Y., 10003 YU9-7570

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 9, 1966

## **YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE URGES BROAD DEFENSE OF DUBOIS CLUBS**

Lew Jones, National Chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), stated today that "the Fifth National Convention of the YSA, meeting in Chicago on March 4-6, unanimously adopted a motion to send a message to the National Office of the W.E.B. DuBois Club expressing 'complete solidarity' with them against the undemocratic attempt of United States Attorney General Katzenbach to force them to register under the unconstitutional McCarran Act."

He said that the "YSA offered its collaboration to defeat this threat to the democratic rights of all Americans, especially our generation of fighting youth."

Jones stated that the subsequent bombing of the DuBois Club national headquarters in San Francisco and the physical attacks on individual members of the DuBois Club in New York City are the sorry results of the government attack on the organization.

"The registration order comes," he said, "at a time when thousands of young people are involved in a protest movement against the Vietnam war. The government's

Young Socialist Alliance Press Release  
March 9, 1966

-2-

red-baiting attack on the DuBois Club is an attempt to drive a wedge into the antiwar movement and divide it. It is designed to deal a blow against the growing anti-war movement in this country and scare people away from exercising their constitutional right to organize and protest against government policy.

"The YSA strongly protests the action of Attorney General Katzenbach and the failure of the New York police department to protect the rights of individual members of the DuBois Club from physical attack."

Jones reaffirmed the offer of the YSA National Convention to collaborate in defeating this threat to the democratic rights of all Americans, and urged the broadest possible defense of the DuBois Club.

Young Socialist Alliance Press Release  
March 9, 1966

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RESOLUTION ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE FIFTH NATIONAL  
CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (March 5, 1966)

That we send the following cable to the National Office of  
the W.E.B. DuBois Club:

The Fifth National Convention of the Young Socialist  
Alliance expresses complete solidarity with you against the  
undemocratic attempt of United States Attorney General  
Katzenbach on March 4 to force your organization to register  
under the McCarran Act. The YSA offers its collaboration  
to defeat this threat to the democratic rights of all  
Americans, especially our generation of fighting youth.

NEC Minutes - February 17, 1966 - No. 9

Present: NEC: John, Dan, Mary-Alice, Ralph, Melissa, Betsey,  
Jack, Doug, Daniels

NC ALT: Roland, Dick, Caroline

Chairman: Jack

Agenda: 1. Convention Guests  
2. Political Resolution  
3. Steve Fox Appeal

1. Convention Guests - Jack

Motion: That the NEC request the SWP to send a fraternal  
observer to the YSA convention.

Motion Passed

2. Political Resolution - Jack

Presentation of draft political resolution.

Motion: To approve the general line of the draft political  
resolution.

Extensive Discussion

Motion Passed

3. Steve Fox Appeal - Jack

Outline of the reply to Steve Fox's letter appealing the  
decision of the Detroit local to the convention.

Motion: To approve the general line of the reply to Steve Fox.

Motion Passed



FINANCIAL REPORT

January-December, 1965

INCOME

EXPENDITURES

Dues	1,238.45	YS	6,473.42
YS Bundles	3,852.43	Edit	4,380.00
Fund Drive & Sus.	12,245.45	Rent	751.75
YS Subs	347.78	Phone	773.86
Combined Sub Drive	611.78	Office Supplies	148.05
Vietnam Pamphlets	1,155.35	Stamps	388.85
Congo Pamphlets	233.80	Antiwar Work	639.10
"How A Minority" Pam.	54.00	1st Vietnam Pam.	582.42
Malcolm X Pamphlet	14.10	2nd Vietnam Pam.	1,119.60
Intro.YSA	99.50	Congo Pamphlet	422.44
Internal Bulletins	123.05	Intro. YSA (Reprint)	51.37
Builder	26.60	Builder	33.74
Initiation	78.00	Youth Festival Trip	655.91
Tour Quotas	181.30	Tours	688.66
Trailblaze	81.00	Travel Expenses	243.41
Lit. Table-Washington	22.71	Trailblazing	263.14
Convention Assessments	197.60	Tapes	23.00
Late Convention Bus	39.00	Convention Bus	20.00
Miscellaneous	108.52	Miscellaneous	701.97
Total	20,710.42	Total	18,365.69

NEC Minutes February 27, 1966 No. 10

Present: Dan, Betsey, Jack, Doug, Mary-Alice, John, Ralph, Daniels  
NC Full: Lew  
NC Alt: Caroline, Dick, Roland

Chairman: Ralph

Agenda: 1. Convention Procedures  
2. Fund Drive  
3. Tour Report  
4. Gus Hall meeting  
5. Dissolution of May 2

1. Convention Procedures - Betsey

a. Proposed Convention agenda read.  
Motion: To accept the agenda.

Motion Passed

b. Proposed convention schedule read.  
Motion: To accept the schedule.

Discussion: Dick, Jack, Dick, Jack, Doug, Jack, Betsey,  
Dick, Jack, Doug, Betsey, Dan, Jack

Motion Passed

c. Motion to approve the following reporters.

- 1) Political Report - Lew
- 2) Antiwar Report - Doug
- 3) Organizational Report - Betsey
- 4) Constitution Report - Dan
- 5) Presentation on Steve Fox Case - Mary-Alice

Motion Passed

d. Motion: To have two panels, one on civil liberties to be chaired by Daniels, and one on the Negro Struggle to be chaired by Joel.

Discussion: Dick, Jack, Ralph, Jack, Lew

Motion Passed

e. Convention Rules

Motion: That all sessions be open, with the exception of the session electing the new NC, which shall be closed.

Motion: That the NC be elected by secret ballot.

Motion: That delegates and alternates seated in place of absent delegates have voice and vote. That fraternal delegates have voice and consultative vote.

Motion: That procedural questions be decided by majority vote with one speaker for and one against each with one minute.

Motion: That discussion presentations be limited to ten minutes.

Motion: In any discussion period no one may speak a second time before each person desiring the floor has had a chance to speak.

Discussion: Ralph, Jack

Motions Passed

- f. Motion: That the fraternal delegates be NCers and special guests.

Motion Passed

- g. Motion: That there be a nominating commission made up of one delegate from each local.

Motion Passed

- h. Motion: That the nominating commission be chaired by ~~John~~ Benson and Gus Horowitz, with voice and no vote.

Motion Passed

- i. Motion: That the presiding committee be the NEC, Lew, and an NCer from the West Coast and one from the Midwest.

Motion Passed

- j. Motion: That there be two convention secretaries.

Motion Passed

- k. Motion: That there be a credentials committee made up of three people.

Motion Passed

- l. Steve Fox Case

Motion: That the National Convention of the YSA uphold and commend the action of the Detroit local in expelling Steve Fox.

Discussion: Dick, Jack, Ralph

Motion Passed

2. Fund Drive - Betsey

Motion: To have a major fund drive running from March 15-  
June 15. Specific goals will be incorporated into the  
organizational report.

Discussion: Ralph, Betsey, Ralph, Betsey, Dick, Jack

Motion Passed

3. Tour Report - Lew

Report on national tour.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Roland, Dick, Lew, Dick, Daniels, Lew, Dick,  
Lew, John, Jack

Motion Passed

4. Gus Hall Meeting - Doug

About 1100 people attended the public meeting of the Communist  
Party at which their new draft program was announced. 200-  
300 young people were present. Militants, with the OPEN  
LETTER TO THE DUBOIS CLUBS, were distributed.

Discussion: Ralph

5. Informational report on dissolution of May 2nd - Doug

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Jack, Doug

Motion Passed

Box 471 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003  
March 11, 1966

To All YSAers:

Dear Comrades,

The Fifth National Convention of the YSA voted to have a spring fund drive to run from March 15 - June 15. The \$6700 goal which was accepted by the convention is the highest in the history of the YSA. Since this fund drive must cover a seven month time period (from March to September) instead of the five month time period which the last drive covered, it is important that we make the drive if we are to continue the present high level of functioning.

As in the past, sustainers which have been sent in since the last fund drive and through the period of this fund drive may be applied to the local's total quota. Sustainers which have been paid for the months of January through June will be counted on this drive.

The proposed quotas are enclosed. Please send in the attached form indicating your accepted quota as soon as possible. Since the quotas were discussed with the organizers at the convention, we are asking that the locals begin paying immediately (even before the accepted quota is sent in) so that the fund drive can begin March 15 as scheduled. At-large YSAers should return the form indicating the amount they think they can give.

Please make all fund drive checks payable to the Y.S.A. (You can use the initials).

Let's aim not only to make the quota, but to go over the top!

Comradely,

*Betsy Barnes*  
Betsy Barnes  
National Secretary

Proposed Quotas -- Spring 1966 National Fund Drive

Ann Arbor	250
Berkeley	600
Boston	850
Chicago	1000
Cleveland	450
Detroit	350
Los Angeles	400
Madison	200
New York--down	450
New York--up	600
Philadelphia	250
San Diego	50
San Francisco	350
San Jose	125
Seattle	100
Twin Cities	475
Washington	200
	<u>6700</u>

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Please fill this in and send it back to the National Office before March 23.

Local \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

Address of Director \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks :

Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003

March 10, 1966

To All NCers and Organizers:

Dear Comrades:

The attacks on the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs in the forms of the Katzenbach registration order, the San Francisco bombing, and the Brooklyn police-hoodlum beating are part of an attack on the antiwar movement as a whole. A sharp reaction and defense against these attacks by the antiwar movement as a whole is imperative.

Wherever possible we should attempt to mobilize broadly based meetings, sponsored by the maximum number of antiwar, radical, and liberal groups, to protest these attacks on the civil liberties of the DBC's and the attack on the antiwar movement as a whole. The Committees to End the War in Vietnam can take the lead in initiating such meetings and setting up a broad spectrum of sponsors and speakers.

The initial reaction of the DBC thus far has been to push purchases of their membership cards to "show solidarity," to ask for direct financial contributions, and to call meetings in their own name, rather than building a broad defense. While we will not take out membership cards nor give direct contributions, we will, of course, support, take part in, and offer to speak at rallies against the attacks, even if organized solely under DBC auspices.

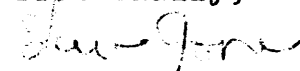
This gives us an opportunity to further fraternize with and get to know the DBC members and their periphery. For example, in Chicago the YSA plans to have an open house at the YSA hall after participating in a rally called by the DBC to protest the government's action.

The March 11 issue of the Militant has a long factual article on the events and future issues will carry more analysis, including the role of the Democratic party in these attacks.

The editorial in the YS for sale March 25-26 will be on the attack on the DBC. If you do not have enough open letters to insert in all the YS's, they should be ordered immediately.

Please inform us immediately of any activities in your area and our participation in them. Copies of local statements of support should be sent to the NO.

Fraternally,

  
Lew Jones

Box 471 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003  
March 11, 1966

To All YSAers:

Dear Comrades,

The Fifth National Convention of the YSA voted to have a spring fund drive to run from March 15 - June 15. The \$6700 goal which was accepted by the convention is the highest in the history of the YSA. Since this fund drive must cover a seven month time period (from March to September) instead of the five month time period which the last drive covered, it is important that we make the drive if we are to continue the present high level of functioning.

As in the past, sustainers which have been sent in since the last fund drive and through the period of this fund drive may be applied to the local's total quota. Sustainers which have been paid for the months of January through June will be counted on this drive.

The proposed quotas are enclosed. Please send in the attached form indicating your accepted quota as soon as possible. Since the quotas were discussed with the organizers at the convention, we are asking that the locals begin paying immediately (even before the accepted quota is sent in) so that the fund drive can begin March 15 as scheduled. At-large YSAers should return the form indicating the amount they think they can give.

Please make all fund drive checks payable to the Y.S.A. (You can use the initials).

Let's aim not only to make the quota, but to go over the top!

Comradely,

*Betsy Barnes*  
Betsy Barnes  
National Secretary



Proposed Quotas -- Spring 1966 National Fund Drive

Ann Arbor	250
Berkeley	600
Boston	850
Chicago	1000
Cleveland	450
Detroit	350
Los Angeles	400
Madison	200
New York--down	450
New York--up	600
Philadelphia	250
San Diego	50
San Francisco	350
San Jose	125
Seattle	100
Twin Cities	475
Washington	200
	<u>6700</u>

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Please fill this in and send it back to the National Office before March 23.

Local \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

Address of Director \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Remarks :

Box 471 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003  
February 23, 1966

To All Majority NCers and Organizers:

With the submission of the Shumm-Jones counter resolutions, we now have two conflicting general lines before the membership. We should make sure that delegates are elected following a formal vote to establish the political division, if any, in the local. We know of no support for the Shumm-Jones position outside of Seattle, but the same procedure should nevertheless be followed in each local.

The proper motion for the majority leadership to submit is: "Move to approve the general line of the NEC draft political and antiwar resolutions taken as a whole." Those who vote for this motion are members of the majority and are the ones eligible to elect the majority delegates.

The proper motion for a Shumm-Jones supporter would be: "Move to approve the general line of Shumm-Jones resolutions taken as a whole."

If there is any question from newer members we should explain clearly that we vote on conflicting general lines. The Shumm-Jones documents can't be separated. They together constitute an alternate general line for the YSA. In the same manner, the NEC political and antiwar drafts together constitute a general line for the YSA.

We received no indications of any major disagreement with the NEC draft constitution. Unlike the political and antiwar documents it is not a line resolution and should not be involved in defining the political division for election of delegates. If, in your local, some comrade suggested an amendment to it during the preconvention discussion, it may be wise to have a local straw vote on the suggested amendment so as to give the delegates an idea of what percentage of the local supports an amendment.

Let me know if any Shumm-Jones supporters turn up in your local.

Fraternally,

*Jack Barnes*  
Jack Barnes

Box 471 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003  
February 15, 1966

To Be Read to Locals

Dear Comrades,

The resumption of the bombing of north Vietnam has stimulated a resurgence of the antiwar movement. The conflict within the ruling class itself has become sharper, creating an atmosphere more and more favorable to antiwar sentiment.

The rising militancy of the movement was manifested in the demonstrations and rallies that were held across the country following the renewed bombing. In nearly every area speakers came out for immediate withdrawal of troops, and large numbers of demonstrators carried slogans demanding: Bring the Troops Home Now. In other areas the demonstrators chanted "Bring the Troops Home Now." New forces of young people are flowing into the CEWV's or, in some areas, militant antiwar-oriented SDS chapters.

Distribution of the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter is now over 3000 per issue and the sale of buttons is increasing. It is safe to say that the Newsletter reaches a wider and more important audience than the Peace and Freedom News.

These developments make it very important for us to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in helping to push the demand for immediate withdrawal of troops. The most important test of our ability to do this is the March 25-26 International Days of Protest. This action is less than six weeks away.

We have a greater chance to intervene and influence these protests than any that have been held up to this time.

Our general approach is:

- 1) Organize as many people as possible to participate in the Days of Protest around the demand for immediate withdrawal of troops. In some areas the formal theme of the protests will be "Bring the Troops Home Now." and in others this will be impossible. Whatever the case, supporters of the Newsletter should mobilize as many people as possible to support the "Bring the Troops Home Now" demand and to carry signs with this demand. Calls, press releases, etc., can be used in mobilizing people on the basis of this demand.
- 2) The Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter is conducting a full scale campaign to help build the March 25-26 protest. Their office has put out buttons with the inscription, "Build the March 25-26 Days of Protest - Bring the Troops Home Now." They will be issuing a call and press release as well as covering the demonstrations, rallies, and other activities that are geared to building the March 25-26 Days of Protest.

3) The Newsletter office is putting out enlarged runs of the next few issues expecting increased bundle orders. The March 7 issue will be a special "build the March 25-26 Days of Protest" issue. The March 21st issue is planned to be published and mailed to reach locals in time for the March 25-26 Days of Protest.

4) Many areas have been very lax about sending regular up-to-date reports of local activities. These reports should include the growth of committees, and Newsletter supporter groups, which committees support immediate withdrawal, and regular accounting of Newsletter and button sales. Also pictures of demonstrations and other local activities should be sent to the Newsletter office.

5) Reports to the YSA NO should be more regular, especially as the tempo of activity increases.

Comradely,

*Doug Jenness*

Doug Jenness  
National Office

Note: We have been informed that the May 2nd Movement formally dissolved at a recent conference held in New York. They decided to send their forces into SDS and CEWV's, depending on the local situation.

## SUMMARY OF ANTIWAR ACTIVITY

BOSTON - The antiwar activity has been slow in Boston the last couple of months and it is taking awhile to overcome the inertia. Nevertheless the YSA has had good luck gaining contacts and recruits from their antiwar activity.

The Boston Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam is organizing the March 25 and 26 Days of Protest. A recent picket line against the bombings of north Vietnam drew 100. The May 2nd Committee has dissolved and entered the Harvard SDS. A new independent committee has been organized at Harvard.

NEW YORK-The C'sEWV have once again become very active with the resumption of bombings. A couple of committees support the Newsletter and a couple of others support immediate withdrawal. The largest committee, the Columbia committee has experienced a new influx of members and is planning a stepped up series of activities. Discussions for the March 25 and 26 Days of Protest are being conducted within the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee that emerged around the October 15 and 16 Days of Protest. The New York supporters of the Newsletter are organized into the Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now. This group organizes sales for the Newsletter, holds public forums, and is planning to play an active role in mobilizing people for the March 25 and 26 protests around "Bring the Troops Home Now".

PHILADELPHIA- There are three committees in Philadelphia that support withdrawal- the Philadelphia Area Committee, the University of Pennsylvania Committee, and the Temple University Committee. Another committee is being organized in Camden, N.J. There have been regular demonstrations against the chemical-biological warfare project at the University of Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Area Committee organized a big project for February 12th along the lines "Freedom Now-Withdraw Now". Big plans are in motion for a broad March 25 and 26 action organized by the "ad hoc committee for March 25 and 26". The Newsletter supporters are growing and have had good luck selling the Newsletter.

CLEVELAND- The Cleveland Committee is very active and dynamic and held a successful demonstration against Vice President Humphrey recently. They were red baited in the press around this demonstration. The DuBois Club is retreating from antiwar work in order to do community organizing.

DETROIT- A large demonstration of 250 against the resumption of bombing was recently called by the DCEWV. A DuBois Club member initiated a chant demanding: Bring the Troops Home Now.

WASHINGTON, D.C.- There are two committees in Washington that support immediate withdrawal, the new Students to End the War in Vietnam centered primarily at American University and the

Washington CEWV. There is a more conservative conglomerate of groups called the Washington Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam. A broad, ad hoc formation is working on organizing the March 25-26 Days of Protest. Newsletter sales are going well.

Kansas- There is an active committee at the University of Kansas of about 30 people, and there is a smaller grouping that subscribes to and likes the Newsletter.

San Diego- The antiwar activity is carried out through an SDS chapter of about 25. Some of the members like the Newsletter, but the leadership is hostile to it.

San Francisco- The San Francisco State College VDC has a membership of 400 and supports the slogan of immediate withdrawal. The San Francisco VDC has also put out a button with the inscription "Supersam-Get Out of Vietnam" which has sold well. The committee sells a lot of literature and buttons to high school teachers and high school students at their regular literature table. The Newsletter supporters have had excellent luck selling both the Newsletter and the button.

Los Angeles- There are three C'sEWV in Los Angeles - Los Angeles CEWV, UCLA, and LA City College. The independents like the Newsletter and have given thought to holding a "Bring the Troops Home Conference." The Newsletter bundles have sold out. The split in the DuBois Club over the question of withdrawal vs. negotiations is very acute.

Chicago- The Chicago Committee to End the War in Vietnam has declined to insignificance, but the antiwar movement has had a resurgence through the growth of a couple independent committees and several militant SDS chapters. The SDS chapter at Roosevelt University has grown to 60 members in a couple of weeks because of its antiwar orientation.

At a recent regional conference of SDS, 80 to 100 members voted to push the slogan of "Bring the Troops Home Now" in opposition to the Chicago Peace Council's slogan of "negotiations" for the March 25-26 Days of Protest. The only opposition came from DuBoisers in SDS and they ended up voting for withdrawal under pressure. However, the slogan is still under discussion. These militant SDS chapters embrace the majority of militant antiwar activists in Chicago and are oriented primarily toward antiwar activity. An ad hoc committee of all antiwar organizations in the Chicago area is organizing the March 25-26 Days of Protest. The Chicago Supporters of the Newsletter have a representative in this formation.

San Jose- The San Jose CEWV has a membership of about 200. It supports the slogan of immediate withdrawal and is on record in support of a national organization based on this demand. The Newsletter Supporters have had good

luck in selling the Newsletter.

Denver- There is an excellent committee in Denver and two more committees are being organized in Colorado Springs and Boulder. The leading independent supports immediate withdrawal and likes the Newsletter.

Seattle- The Seattle Youth for Peace in Vietnam has about 30-35 people attending its meetings. The committee is planning a Northwest regional conference in March.

Champaign-Urbana (Univ. of Ill.)- No work around the Newsletter has been done. A teach-in is being planned for March 25-26.

Berkeley- The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee has held regular protests against the resumption of bombings in the past couple of weeks. The high point of these was a student strike where hundreds of students left their classes to attend an antiwar rally. A women's march on the draft board is planned for this week based on the theme "Bring the Troops Home Now." Bettina Aptheker and Jaimey Allen are slated to speak.

The VDC has endorsed the Robert Scheer campaign (running in the Democratic primary) and Jerry Rubin is spending most of his time on this. The DuBois Club has also endorsed the campaign and is immersed in it. The YSA played the leading role in opposing it.

Jack Weinberg, who spent a few weeks in the Madison office after the Milwaukee meeting is back in Berkeley to stay. He opposes the Scheer campaign. The Berkeley VDC has gone on record for immediate withdrawal. There is no Newsletter Supporter group organized yet but the Newsletter sells well.

Madison- There has been a great deal of controversy in the Madison Committee over the question of immediate withdrawal vs. negotiations. So far the committee has not taken a forthright position for withdrawal. There is constant battling between the Stalinist-progressive majority of the committee, and the militant wing.

The Newsletter Supporters have had good luck selling Newsletters not only at vigils and demonstrations but at public meetings. There has also been success in winning leading independents to the Newsletter Supporters. The Madison Newsletter Supporters are helping to set up a committee at Whitewater College in Whitewater, Wisc.

Twin Cities- A recent report indicates that "Vietnam activities seem to be on the upgrade locally." Immediately after the bombings a seminar was held on the U. of M. campus that drew 200 people. Mulford Q. Sibley (well known pacifist and on editorial board of Liberation) came out for immediate withdrawal. One hundred and ten marchers came out for a spur of the moment picket line in downtown Minneapolis.

Business meetings and seminars are held weekly on campus with attendance running close to 50, mostly new people. The U. of M. has given the committee permission to have a regular bulletin board for publicizing activities.

On February 11, a large rally was held on campus with "Freedom Now - Withdraw Now" as the theme. Larry Seigle, chairman of the Minneapolis CEWV, spoke. The DuBois Club is no longer active in the Committee, sending a token representation of 2 people to meetings. The Newsletter is "selling like hotcakes" and they are palnning to order larger bundles. The buttons go even faster - 100 sold in two days.

Plans are being laid for March 25-26 Days of Protest.



Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003

March 12, 1966

TO ALL ORGANIZERS:

Dear Comrades,

A national propaganda tour is planned for March, April, and May for Doug Jenness. Doug is preparing a talk which can be given at forums and on campus. As soon as the title for the talk is chosen we will notify the locals.

Enclosed is the proposed tour schedule. Please call us or write immediately if there are any major problems with the dates assigned to your area.

The money for the tour quotas should be given to Doug when he comes to the local or sent in ahead of time.

Comradely,

*Lew Jones*

Lew Jones  
National Chairman

YSA NATIONAL TOUR DATES AND QUOTAS

<u>AREA</u>	<u>DATES</u>	<u>QUOTA</u>
Denver	March 28-29	5.00
Travel	March 30	
Los Angeles	March 31-April 2	30.00
San Diego	April 3-4	10.00
Travel	April 5	
Berkeley	April 6-8	40.00
San Francisco	April 9-11	30.00
San Jose	April 12-13	15.00
Travel	April 14	
Seattle	April 15-17	10.00
Vancouver	April 18	
Travel	April 19	
Boston	April 20-23	60.00
Travel	April 24	
Washington	April 25-26	15.00
Philadelphia	April 27-29	30.00
Travel	April 30	
Cleveland and Kent	May 1-3	40.00
Detroit	May 4-6	35.00
Ann Arbor	May 7-9	30.00
Travel	May 10	
Antioch	May 11	5.00
Travel	May 12	
Chicago (Milwaukee)	May 13-16	65.00
Madison	May 17-18	25.00
Travel	May 19	
Twin Cities	May 20-23	35.00
Travel	May 24	
Toronto	May 25-26	
New York	May 27- June 2	35.00 N.Y.Up 35.00 N.Y.Down

March 12, 1966

Box 471 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003  
February 23, 1966

To All Majority NCers and Organizers:

With the submission of the Shumm-Jones counter resolutions, we now have two conflicting general lines before the membership. We should make sure that delegates are elected following a formal vote to establish the political division, if any, in the local. We know of no support for the Shumm-Jones position outside of Seattle, but the same procedure should nevertheless be followed in each local.

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Fraternally,

*Jack Barnes*  
Jack Barnes

## SUMMARY OF ANTIWAR ACTIVITY

BOSTON - The antiwar activity has been slow in Boston the last couple of months and it is taking awhile to overcome the inertia. Nevertheless the YSA has had good luck gaining contacts and recruits from their antiwar activity.

The Boston Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam is organizing the March 25 and 26 Days of Protest. A recent picket line against the bombings of north Vietnam drew 100. The May 2nd Committee has dissolved and entered the Harvard SDS. A new independent committee has been organized at Harvard.

NEW YORK-The C'sEWV have once again become very active with the resumption of bombings. A couple of committees support the Newsletter and a couple of others support immediate withdrawal. The largest committee, the Columbia committee has experienced a new influx of members and is planning a stepped up series of activities. Discussions for the March 25 and 26 Days of Protest are being conducted within the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee that emerged around the October 15 and 16 Days of Protest. The New York supporters of the Newsletter are organized into the Organizing Committee to Bring the Troops Home Now. This group organizes sales for the Newsletter, holds public forums, and is planning to play an active role in mobilizing people for the March 25 and 26 protests around "Bring the Troops Home Now".

PHILADELPHIA- There are three committees in Philadelphia that support withdrawal- the Philadelphia Area Committee, the University of Pennsylvania Committee, and the Temple University Committee. Another committee is being organized in Camden, N.J. There have been regular demonstrations against the chemical-biological warfare project at the University of Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Area Committee organized a big project for February 12th along the lines "Freedom Now-Withdraw Now". Big plans are in motion for a broad March 25 and 26 action organized by the "ad hoc committee for March 25 and 26". The Newsletter supporters are growing and have had good luck selling the Newsletter.

CLEVELAND- The Cleveland Committee is very active and dynamic and held a successful demonstration against Vice President Humphrey recently. They were red baited in the press around this demonstration. The DuBois Club is retreating from antiwar work in order to do community organizing.

DETROIT- A large demonstration of 250 against the resumption of bombing was recently called by the DCEWV. A DuBois Club member initiated a chant demanding: Bring the Troops Home Now.

WASHINGTON, D.C.- There are two committees in Washington that support immediate withdrawal, the new Students to End the War in Vietnam centered primarily at American University and the

Washington CEWV. There is a more conservative conglomerate of groups called the Washington Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam. A broad, ad hoc formation is working on organizing the March 25-26 Days of Protest. Newsletter sales are going well.

Kansas- There is an active committee at the University of Kansas of about 30 people, and there is a smaller grouping that subscribes to and likes the Newsletter.

San Diego- The antiwar activity is carried out through an SDS chapter of about 25. Some of the members like the Newsletter, but the leadership is hostile to it.

San Francisco- The San Francisco State College VDC has a membership of 400 and supports the slogan of immediate withdrawal. The San Francisco VDC has also put out a button with the inscription "Supersam-Get Out of Vietnam" which has sold well. The committee sells a lot of literature and buttons to high school teachers and high school students at their regular literature table. The Newsletter supporters have had excellent luck selling both the Newsletter and the button.

Los Angeles- There are three C'sEWV in Los Angeles - Los Angeles CEWV, UCLA, and LA City College. The independents like the Newsletter and have given thought to holding a "Bring the Troops Home Conference." The Newsletter bundles have sold out. The split in the DuBois Club over the question of withdrawal vs. negotiations is very acute.

Chicago- The Chicago Committee to End the War in Vietnam has declined to insignificance, but the antiwar movement has had a resurgence through the growth of a couple independent committees and several militant SDS chapters. The SDS chapter at Roosevelt University has grown to 60 members in a couple of weeks because of its antiwar orientation.

At a recent regional conference of SDS, 80 to 100 members voted to push the slogan of "Bring the Troops Home Now" in opposition to the Chicago Peace Council's slogan of "negotiations" for the March 25-26 Days of Protest. The only opposition came from DuBoisers in SDS and they ended up voting for withdrawal under pressure. However, the slogan is still under discussion. These militant SDS chapters embrace the majority of militant antiwar activists in Chicago and are oriented primarily toward antiwar activity. An ad hoc committee of all antiwar organizations in the Chicago area is organizing the March 25-26 Days of Protest. The Chicago Supporters of the Newsletter have a representative in this formation.

San Jose- The San Jose CEWV has a membership of about 200. It supports the slogan of immediate withdrawal and is on record in support of a national organization based on this demand. The Newsletter Supporters have had good

luck in selling the Newsletter.

Denver- There is an excellent committee in Denver and two more committees are being organized in Colorado Springs and Boulder. The leading independent supports immediate withdrawal and likes the Newsletter.

Seattle- The Seattle Youth for Peace in Vietnam has about 30-35 people attending its meetings. The committee is planning a Northwest regional conference in March.

Champaign-Urbana (Univ. of Ill.)- No work around the Newsletter has been done. A teach-in is being planned for March 25-26.

Berkeley- The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee has held regular protests against the resumption of bombings in the past couple of weeks. The high point of these was a student strike where hundreds of students left their classes to attend an antiwar rally. A women's march on the draft board is planned for this week based on the theme "Bring the Troops Home Now." Bettina Aptheker and Jaimey Allen are slated to speak.

The VDC has endorsed the Robert Scheer campaign (running in the Democratic primary) and Jerry Rubin is spending most of his time on this. The DuBois Club has also endorsed the campaign and is immersed in it. The YSA played the leading role in opposing it.

Jack Weinberg, who spent a few weeks in the Madison office after the Milwaukee meeting is back in Berkeley to stay. He opposes the Scheer campaign. The Berkeley VDC has gone on record for immediate withdrawal. There is no Newsletter Supporter group organized yet but the Newsletter sells well.

Madison- There has been a great deal of controversy in the Madison Committee over the question of immediate withdrawal vs. negotiations. So far the committee has not taken a forthright position for withdrawal. There is constant battling between the Stalinist-progressive majority of the committee, and the militant wing.

The Newsletter Supporters have had good luck selling Newsletters not only at vigils and demonstrations but at public meetings. There has also been success in winning leading independents to the Newsletter Supporters. The Madison Newsletter Supporters are helping to set up a committee at Whitewater College in Whitewater, Wisc.

Twin Cities- A recent report indicates that "Vietnam activities seem to be on the upgrade locally." Immediately after the bombings a seminar was held on the U. of M. campus that drew 200 people. Mulford Q. Sibley (well known pacifist and on editorial board of Liberation) came out for immediate withdrawal. One hundred and ten marchers came out for a spur of the moment picket line in downtown Minneapolis.

Business meetings and seminars are held weekly on campus with attendance running close to 50, mostly new people. The U. of M. has given the committee permission to have a regular bulletin board for publicizing activities.

On February 11, a large rally was held on campus with "Freedom Now - Withdraw Now" as the theme. Larry Seigle, chairman of the Minneapolis CEWV, spoke. The DuBois Club is no longer active in the Committee, sending a token representation of 2 people to meetings. The Newsletter is "selling like hotcakes" and they are palnning to order larger bundles. The buttons go even faster - 100 sold in two days.

Plans are being laid for March 25-26 Days of Protest.

Box 471 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003  
February 15, 1966

To Be Read to Locals

Dear Comrades,

The resumption of the bombing of north Vietnam has stimulated a resurgence of the antiwar movement. The conflict within the ruling class itself has become sharper, creating an atmosphere more and more favorable to antiwar sentiment.

The rising militancy of the movement was manifested in the demonstrations and rallies that were held across the country following the renewed bombing. In nearly every area speakers came out for immediate withdrawal of troops, and large numbers of demonstrators carried slogans demanding: Bring the Troops Home Now. In other areas the demonstrators chanted "Bring the Troops Home Now." New forces of young people are flowing into the CEWV's or, in some areas, militant antiwar-oriented SDS chapters.

Distribution of the Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter is now over 3000 per issue and the sale of buttons is increasing. It is safe to say that the Newsletter reaches a wider and more important audience than the Peace and Freedom News.

These developments make it very important for us to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in helping to push the demand for immediate withdrawal of troops. The most important test of our ability to do this is the March 25-26 International Days of Protest. This action is less than six weeks away.

We have a greater chance to intervene and influence these protests than any that have been held up to this time.

Our general approach is:

- 1) Organize as many people as possible to participate in the Days of Protest around the demand for immediate withdrawal of troops. In some areas the formal theme of the protests will be "Bring the Troops Home Now." and in others this will be impossible. Whatever the case, supporters of the Newsletter should mobilize as many people as possible to support the "Bring the Troops Home Now" demand and to carry signs with this demand. Calls, press releases, etc., can be used in mobilizing people on the basis of this demand.
- 2) The Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter is conducting a full scale campaign to help build the March 25-26 protest. Their office has put out buttons with the inscription, "Build the March 25-26 Days of Protest - Bring the Troops Home Now." They will be issuing a call and press release as well as covering the demonstrations, rallies, and other activities that are geared to building the March 25-26 Days of Protest.



3) The Newsletter office is putting out enlarged runs of the next few issues expecting increased bundle orders. The March 7 issue will be a special "build the March 25-26 Days of Protest" issue. The March 21st issue is planned to be published and mailed to reach locals in time for the March 25-26 Days of Protest.

4) Many areas have been very lax about sending regular up-to-date reports of local activities. These reports should include the growth of committees, and Newsletter supporter groups, which committees support immediate withdrawal, and regular accounting of Newsletter and button sales. Also pictures of demonstrations and other local activities should be sent to the Newsletter office.

5) Reports to the YSA NO should be more regular, especially as the tempo of activity increases.

Comradely,

*Doug Jenness*

Doug Jenness  
National Office

Note: We have been informed that the May 2nd Movement formally dissolved at a recent conference held in New York. They decided to send their forces into SDS and CEWV's, depending on the local situation.

Box 471 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003  
February 14, 1966

TO ALL ORGANIZERS

Dear Comrades,

The March-April issue of the Young Socialist will be off the presses by the middle of March. It will include articles on the effects of the war in Vietnam on the U.S. economy, and the New York transit strike, an interview with Joe Johnson, a book review of Gideon's Army (a history of the Progressive Party), and a picture spread on the YSA national convention.

Bundles will be air mailed out in time to reach the locals for the March 25-26 days of protest.

Please return the enclosed bundle order forms by February 22. Also, please indicate on the form how many YS's you want air mailed for the March 25-26 demonstrations.

Comradely,

Mary-Alice Styron

873 Broadway  
New York, N.Y. 10003  
December 24, 1965

FOR N.C. INFORMATION

(The following is a transcript from tape of Comrade Cannon's remarks during a recent Los Angeles branch discussion of the Thanksgiving Anti-War Convention.)

I presume the assumption is that I was only 3,000 miles away from Washington so I would know all about it. And that I can give you all the dope. The fact is when the meeting occurred last week I knew very little about the events in Washington, but just enough from the general reports to make me curious as to what had happened and decide to get a picture of the whole situation and the forces at work before coming to a conclusion about it. That's the best way to proceed on all questions.

What happened in Washington two or three weeks ago had to be regarded as an incident in the long-drawn-out struggle in which we are going to participate from now on. A struggle under conditions of constant urgency the like of which has never before been known by our movement or any other movement. Above all what's new and different and what almost everybody understands is that the bomb hangs over the world and the war we're talking about is the nuclear war we are trying to head off. It's an atomic war which would not be just another war like the last two world wars in which America got fat and prosperous, but a war that could very well mark nothing less than the end of the adventure of the human race on this planet.

I recall that when the formula for the production of the H-bomb was perfected and had been tested, Einstein wrote a memorandum to the President in which he said that it is now theoretically possible to destroy all life on the planet Earth. That seemed like a far-fetched assumption at the time, but it has since been repeated by practically all disinterested scientists. The movement against this war -- what is sometimes rather incorrectly called the peace movement -- which has grown up out of this new situation must be recognized also as a new phenomenon; a new movement which is taking forms and intensities that we have not known in previous wars. I am talking now about the war in Vietnam.

It's the first time in the knowledge of the present generation that there has been an open, active protest movement against a war in wartime. Prior to World War I there was a tremendous opposition against the entry of the United States into the war but when the shooting started the movement evaporated. There

was nothing left of it except the Socialists, the IWW and the Anarchists, who were ferociously persecuted and suppressed from the very beginning. In the Second World War there was no vocal opposition at all except for some conscientious objectors and our party. In the Korean war, which I am sure most of you can recall, the press of our party was the only press that attacked America's action.

Now we have a very widespread and diverse protest movement against the war while it is going on. That, I say, should be recognized as a new phenomenon.

Another new thing is that the dynamic militant action, and even the leadership for the opposition to the present war, comes from the campus -- primarily from students. And that, as far as I know, is something quite new in this country. The academic world never led anything of any social consequence in this country before. We have not had, as the other advanced Western countries have had a radical and socialistic student movement we now see developing in this country.

There is also a new type of pacifism. The classic pacifism we know which Lenin denounced as worse than useless, was a pacifism that denounced war until it started and then rallied around the flag. I don't know whether many of you present here have seen that characteristic of the old pacifism, as I recall it, especially from the First World War. At that time there was a tremendous movement of opposition to America's entry into the war. So strong was the popular sentiment that Woodrow Wilson was reelected to the Presidency primarily on the slogan "he kept us out of war."

Many public speakers, politicians and, of course, preachers, spoke against entry into the war. I can't forget the effect it had upon us militants. We thought we had the population with us in our opposition -- until the declaration of war. Then everything went out of the movement and the loudest pacifists became the loudest patriots, right away. They said you don't fight the government when it is at war. So the pacifists had simply led the people up to the expectation of opposition and then led them down immediately.

We have a sort of pacifism today that is still operative after the shooting has started. We have an active war in Vietnam, rapidly escalating since last February when they began bombing right and left, but there is still a considerable segment of the pacifist movement that does not cease to protest. That's new.

Now this peace movement, as I have undertaken to examine it, has many components and it behooves us as Marxist revolutionists to analyze the different segments of this movement and see which are useful, which can be considered as possible allies of ours, and which are not and not to confuse the one with the other. At first glance it is a very heterogeneous assortment of all kinds of people. You even have a few people who are part of the political establishment, such as Senator Morse. They are against the war in Vietnam not by any means as opponents but as advisers, on the ground that it is not a profitable war for the U.S. There is even, in my opinion, a considerable segment of the ruling powers that has grave doubts about the wisdom of the policy of the administration on the same grounds; that it's the wrong war in the wrong place. They are not against the government or against American imperialism, but on the grounds of tactics, maneuver, time and circumstance, they think this is not the way to begin a showdown.

Then there is a big assortment of others like the SANEites -- is that the right word for them? Those who make up this respectable body of middle-class people held the March in Washington a few weeks ago. They want to make it clear that they are not against the government and they are not in favor, by any means, of the revolutionary people of Vietnam, but would like the government to get out of the situation through negotiations. This implies that Americans have a right to be there in the first place, and it's just a question of bargaining back and forth as to how long they stay, how much they keep of that country, and how much of it they destroy.

Now I don't consider these people allies of the revolutionary workers. On the contrary, a year or so ago they conducted an enormous witch-hunt in their organization to drive out everybody suspected of being reds. The Communist Party people had been sneaking into their local assemblages and calling themselves SANEites, and all that was needed was for one Jim Crow senator to get up on the floor of Congress and denounce one of the people in an organizing committee in New York to just scare the lights out of them and they started a wholesale purge of their organization. And the March they held in Washington a few weeks ago was a very polite affair. They had some trouble with the people who wanted to carry genuine anti-war slogans like the central slogan: Bring the Troops Home Now, and even some who wanted to carry the flag of the National Liberation Front. They were in a quandary as to whether they should call the cops or counter-balance this scandalous performance some other way. So they worked out a system of surrounding the flags of the National Liberation Front with a little American flag. This was to make it clear to the President that they were with him and not with them.

The Social Democrats and the Stalinists are also negotiators, not real opponents of the war. There are some independents and these are some of the most important people in the movement, especially new young people who have never been a part of any of the sectors of the traditional radical movement and who are sincerely opposed to the war and want to do something about it but have not yet found any definite political ideology. And then, of course, you have the revolutionary socialists represented by our party.

I think the party is proceeding correctly in its attempt to cooperate in action with anybody who will help to make a demonstration against the war, while at the same time making it clear they stand for certain definite slogans which really means opposition to the war. Especially a slogan which means that America has no right whatever in South Vietnam -- and that is the slogan: Bring the Troops Home Now. In my opinion, that is the correct slogan. I don't see how any revolutionist could oppose it. It is a revolutionary slogan. And it is the one the party and the youth think is the proper one around which to rally the really militant and earnest opposition to the continuing war.

This slogan appealed to me right away, partly out of nostalgia because this is not the first time it was raised by the socialist movement in this country. When Wilson sent American troops across the Mexican border in the period just before our entry into the First World War, the Socialist Party called an emergency meeting of its National Committee and adopted a Manifesto which bore the title: "Withdraw the Troops." That was the essence of the demand upon the government; get out of Mexico and stay out of Mexico. That was all the situation called for, and it created both the basis for organizing the broadest opposition of people who were really against this monstrous attack upon the Mexican people and at the same time made no concession whatever in principle because the withdrawal of the troops signified the victory of the Mexicans.

When we entered the Korean war, as far as I know the only paper in the country that came out with a forthright denunciation of the war and a demand which incorporated all that was necessary from a revolutionary point of view, was our paper the Militant. I was appointed by the P.C. to write an Open Letter to the President and the members of Congress. And this letter contained the demand: "Bring the American soldiers out of Korea and let the Korean people alone to settle their own affairs." It never entered anybody's head so far as I know or heard, to suggest that this was not fully adequate as an expression of our support to the Korean people and our opposition to our own government.

So I think that slogan which our comrades have settled

on as the central, motivating agent for the building of a genuine anti-war movement, stands up both historically and for the needs of the present day. I don't think that's the purpose of the political elements in the so-called peace movement beside ourselves and some of the pacifists and independents. As far as I can make out both by past experience and present operations, the Stalinists and the Social Democrats are primarily concerned with gearing the so-called peace movement toward the next election campaign for "peace" candidates, and peace candidates can be any kind of political faker who will say he is in favor of negotiations while the troops are still there and still bombing the people. It's an important question whether they will be able to take this inchoate and unclearly defined peace movement down the blind alley of coalition politics or whether a big section of the movement will respond to a different slogan and a different line of action.

I was greatly impressed by the reports that we got from the Washington conference. I am not speaking now of the March organized by SANE but of the conference called by the National Coordinating Committee, with delegates from various elements of the peace movement. I was impressed by the feeling that this was a new political experience for the younger generation of revolutionists. This is the first time they have had a serious confrontation with political opponents on a national scale. This marks the emergence of our small party from previous isolation toward the center of what radicalism there is in the country. It is the first opportunity they have had to learn at first hand what it means to deal with political opponents who are presumably all united in the same wonderful camp -- unity, gosh, it's wonderful -- but in actuality have entirely different objectives. They learned how to handle themselves when they meet these opponents at close range. That I consider a great victory for our young comrades. They were an active part in the preparations of this gathering and they participated in it as revolutionists. And they learned something that could not be learned fully out of books. Some things have to be learned in experience, although the books help to prepare for them.

I recall talking with Trotsky -- on a delegation that went to see him in 1938 in preparation for the Founding Conference of the Fourth International -- about the experience we had just finished in the Socialist Party. We were drawing the balance sheet on what had been achieved or not achieved, and he wanted a very full and detailed report. I recall his remarking that he was well pleased with the practical results; with the recruits, the fact that we had kept our own forces intact and had gained some new forces. And he said, the principal gain is the experience. Those who have been through this experience of a direct confrontation with centrists and right-wing socialists, have acquired something that cannot be

lost. That is necessary for the full development of a revolutionary political leadership.

I think that is the big gain out of the Washington Conference. And even mistakes that could have been made or defeats suffered can be turned to good account if it's all understood and assimilated as part of the experience.

As to what really happened in Washington, we had conflicting reports. At first I was surprised to hear our delegate come back and say we had done very well there. Then I heard other reports, some comrades thought a terrible mistake had been made and a catastrophe had overtaken us because we had run head-on into a battle with the majority of the steering committee and others there. So I thought the best thing I could do was to try to find out what had happened.

I read in my attempt to inform myself about all aspects of the event. I studied the National Guardian. I studied the Militant, the People's World and the New Republic. I heard the reports of Comrade Derrel and I read the account of the Conference in this Newsletter of the National Caucus for the organization of independent committees united on the slogan of withdraw the troops now. And I also read -- you don't know how thorough I am when I am looking for information as to who really hid the body -- I even read the circular letter distributed by a united combination of two people here, the Spartacist and the Wolforthites and the Phillips tract. I even read a couple of copies of the Bulletin of the Fourth International printed by a couple of other people in New York. And everything I read except the Militant seemed to point directly at the Trotskyites in Washington as the people who had committed the crime. And I was just about to say it looks like a perfect case -- because it was so unanimous -- until I remembered that I am a Perry Mason fan and that I have often noticed the one who is accused of the crime turns out to be innocent, and the dirty dog who did the job fixed things so that he could clear himself and throw the suspicion on an innocent man.

The minute I read the Guardian -- being a politician -- and knowing what the Guardian is and how it has been evolving, I said, that's a poisonously slanted article. It's aimed with deadly malice to compromise what they call -- quoting others -- the "Trotskyite splitters." That put me on guard. Then I later got hold of the People's World, published up here in San Francisco, and I read their account; how everybody was for unity except some disgruntled and disruptive minority that they didn't even dignify by naming. The Guardian did; they said we had been denounced as "Trotskyite splitters."



The People's World informed me that Dave Dellinger and Professor Staughton Lynd of Liberation magazine worked with Communist Party delegate Arnold Johnson and Irving Beinin of the Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action, and many others to find a common ground for agreement. Now the minute I saw just that paragraph informing me that Arnold Johnson was working down there, and that he was backed up by Beinin, I knew there was something crooked going on. Because I know who Johnson is; he's the organization secretary of the Stalinist party. I know who Beinin is. He's the ex-Cochranite who has been making a profession of baiting Trotskyism ever since he got kicked out of the party twelve years ago. I know that he's identified not merely with the Guardian but with the right-wing group which has recently conducted the swing of the Guardian to the right.

Another report I got/<sup>was</sup> of a meeting down in Houston, Texas, which one of our comrades by accident attended. He told me they had received before the conference a letter from the SDS office in New York tipping them off about the Trotskyists and preparing them for a fight.

So out of all this a clearer picture emerged. And if I would criticize our comrades who were in charge of the fight in Washington, it would perhaps be for a fault that is hard to avoid in the absence of experience of this sort. That is, the underestimation of political opponents; an assumption that everything is going to be on the level, which is a very bad assumption when you have Stalinists and Social Democrats to deal with. They may possibly have been caught by surprise.

I didn't doubt for one minute about the ambush being prepared after I heard that several weeks before the conference was held the Daily Worker and the People's World suddenly began to promote the conference in high gear. I know what that means. I don't have the slightest doubt that they stacked the convention with every kind of delegate from every kind of paper organization they could mobilize. I don't doubt that they stacked the steering committee, that they rigged the agenda, in such a way that the delegates of many independent committees and our own people ran into a prepared fight in which there was room for everything except the one thing they were most interested in. That was promoting the real slogan of the anti-war movement, "Bring the Troops Home Now." And of the right and necessity of the independent committees organized under that slogan to unite themselves nationally.

Our operations and those of the caucus were called a "splitting move." If you examine the evidence of that convention it's the most fantastic accusation imaginable. Splitting what? Every tendency represented in that convention had its national or-

ganization. There were the DuBois Clubs, S.D.S., Women's Strike for Peace, the Committee for Non-Violent Action, the Communist Party and many others. But the independent committees who have adopted the central slogan which tests whether you are really serious about opposing American imperialism, the war, or not, that is the withdrawal of the troops, were denied the right to organize themselves. There was no provision on the agenda or any of the workshops to even discuss that question and take it to a vote.

I'll admit my ignorance -- I asked what is this National Coordinating Committee anyhow? From the reports we got about splits, splits, splits I thought maybe there was a national organization that we were breaking up. It's not a national organization at all. It's just what its name says: it's a national coordinating committee. And where did it come from? Where was it elected? It wasn't elected anywhere. It's a self-appointed committee constituted in Washington a few months ago at the Conference of Unrepresented People. It has headquarters in Wisconsin, and it has as its president or chairman a man named Emspack.

Now that rang a bell for me. I have heard that name before. It isn't the same Emspack I am told. He's the son, and from all accounts, a chip off the old block. Emspack was a Stalinist hack; he was the secretary of the United Electrical Workers Union. Emspack was the central figure in 1941, when we came to open warfare in Minneapolis in the split with Tobin, who blocked the issuance of a CIO charter to the Minneapolis Local of the Teamsters who wanted to join the CIO. But the charter was issued to us -- not by the CIO -- there it was blocked by Emspack. There's your Stalinist hacks...It was issued by District 50 of the United Mineworkers Union. So in order to get into the CIO in the heyday of the Stalinists, the Teamsters had to join the Miners.

All this aroused the natural suspicion that proved to be a reality; that the NCC is in fact stacked and rigged and controlled by Stalinists, and it's not an organization. It's a committee, an unelected committee. It's not like a union or a political party or a cooperative or fraternal order; it's just what its name says -- a coordinating committee to coordinate the activities of other organizations in the peace movement. And all tendencies have the right to have their own national organization. But the independent committees to end the war in Vietnam, who adopted the fighting slogan, Bring the Troops Home Now, when they ask to have a gathering to discuss the proposal that they should organize themselves nationally, they were denounced as "splitters."

Well, I think that is crooked. I think the slogan of

Bring the Troops Home Now is an absolutely correct slogan, the one upon which you can organize an anti-war movement that really means business. Anybody who will not adopt that slogan isn't really fighting the war. Because if you agree to leave the American troops there, with all their equipment, there is never going to be any peace or independence for the Vietnamese people.

I think our comrades were correct to adopt that slogan and their militancy at the conference and their refusal to be bluffed or bulldozed is quite admirable. All the more so that they were perhaps taken by surprise and hadn't had previous experience with what the peridy of Stalinism and the Social Democracy is really like. I will guarantee you that they will never be taken by surprise again.

These are permanent assets which speak well for the future. Whether some error or misstep of a tactical character was made in the heat of the fight I would not be competent to judge at this distance. But even so, tactical mistakes or setbacks or defeats can be corrected as long as the principal line is correct and as long as we don't get stubborn, when we do make a mistake, trying to rectify it by doing the same thing over again.

Nothing definite as far as I know was settled at this conference. No policy was adopted; no slogan was approved or rejected. They just met; they talked -- and attacked the Trotskyites -- and the only motion of any consequence that was passed that I could discern from what I studied, was to call some new demonstrations in March and to support the demonstrations in the South in February. I presume we will participate in that.

No formal organization was constituted. So how can you split the NCC? It's only a coordinating committee. And not only was it not elected when first constituted, it was not even elected at this conference. It's rigged and stacked with representatives of god-knows-what kind of organizations. With a Stalinist at the head of it. And anybody that will put any confidence in the fairness and justice or revolutionary militancy of such a committee has my sympathy. He badly needs attention -- and not the kind I can give, because I am not what they call a head-shrinker.

No definite program. Anybody that's for peace is entitled to be represented on the Committee. No formal organization; all the local organizations have their own autonomy. No elected national officers. Just a National Coordinating Committee. I wouldn't worry about accusations on trying to split that outfit -- because our people didn't split. The accusation is false. They stayed in the convention to the end, and they openly announced they were organizing a caucus of people who stood for the idea and the slogan: Bring the Troops Home Now. And the right of these inde-

pendent committees operating under this slogan to form a national organization of their own and to affiliate to the NCC like the other national organizations, such as the Women's Strike for Peace and others.

Now, I read the first Newsletter and thought it was well written, very intelligent and an honest report of the convention. Their proposals seemed sound to me from a revolutionary point of view. It remains to be seen whether they will be successful in their endeavor to create a national organization of independent committees on this slogan, or whether they will receive a setback. Experience will tell us. But if there is a setback or defeat I think our comrades will know how to recuperate from it and plan other tactics. Tactics can be changed if you've got the right line and know how to be a little flexible in your tactics, you're not easily destroyed.

The whole anti-war movement is, as I see it, at a very critical stage, because the war is escalating. The more the war escalates the more pressure will be brought upon the movement to conform. The weaklings and the negotiators and all the others will talk in softer and softer voices until you can't even hear them whisper any more. And the militants will get hardened and they'll get new recruits because every time the word gets out of another soldier killed there is his family and friends who hear about it. And the public opposition to the senseless slaughter will grow up and there will be new recruits. And the end of the movement, as far as I can see it, can only be toward more militancy and more assertion of the types shown by our caucus and our associates in Washington. And they will then have to seriously look from the campus where things started to the sources of power of the social struggle -- among the less privileged workers in the first place and eventually toward the organized workers.

And out of that I think we can see the beginnings of a new radical movement which raises great perspectives of world-historical significance for America, the most backward of countries in all things that concern culture, intelligence and social awareness. That America finally is producing a revolutionary and radical grouping on the campuses of this country. From the beginning of the socialist movement we have understood, and our fathers before us, that the power that can change society is the working class. But we understood also that from other classes could come what the Communist Manifesto calls elements of enlightenment and progress.

We should not forget that Marx and Engels began as students. We shouldn't forget that Marx and Engels and Lenin and

Trotsky -- and practically all the leaders of the Russian Revolution -- began as students in the colleges. And it really almost takes your breath away -- the prospect that we may be on the verge of a period when a new elite is taking shape among the student bodies across this vast country. They will find their way to collaboration with the working class in this country and bring with them the benefits of their talents and education. They will contribute new thinkers, new writers, new orators, and new agitators who know how to identify themselves with the working class movement. I think we will not neglect that field and I think that we have made a good start already with the organization and development of our Young Socialist Alliance.

I think that the experience in Washington -- regardless of what mistakes in tactics here and there might have been made -- has to be regarded as a great achievement for our movement.

# # #

Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003

February 4, 1966

ATTENTION ORGANIZERS:

Dear Comrades,

The Joseph Johnson Case has reached a new stage. Joseph Johnson has received a final ruling from the district office of the U.S. Immigration Service in Minnesota. The original ruling which declares Joe a stateless person and orders his deportation has been upheld. The deportation order is stayed pending appeal. The next step in the defense will be an appeal to the Immigration Service headquarters in Washington, D.C. and whatever court actions may prove advisable.

During the period that Joe's case was limited to hearings before the Minnesota district office, his expenses were handled entirely by the Twin Cities Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, except for the legal services of Leonard Boudin which were provided by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in New York. The new stage of the case and the greater expenses entailed make it necessary to expand the activities of the committee and to make it a national committee.

During the next months Joseph Johnson will be on a nationwide tour speaking on his case. The tour will help publicize the case, raise money, and gain new support. Enclosed is a schedule for the tour.

YSAers should do all they can to help support the tour and the defense effort. Each local should:

1. Assign a YSAer to be responsible for work on the case.
2. Help arrange meetings for Joseph Johnson on campus and wherever possible.
3. Help collect sponsors for the committee.
4. Help raise money for the case.
5. Help publicize the case by writing articles for school papers, etc.
6. Involve non-YSAers who become interested in the case in defense work.

The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson is planning to transfer its headquarters to New York. Until this occurs the headquarters will be in Minneapolis. Correspondence to the committee should be sent to:

The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson  
P.O. Box 8731, North Star Building  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

Comradely,  
*Betsy Barnes*  
Betsy Barnes  
YSA National Secretary

Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003

February 4, 1966

ATTENTION ORGANIZERS:

Dear Comrades,

The NEC has voted to place a point on the agenda on the constitution. All locals should reserve a session in their pre-convention discussion for consideration of the draft constitution. There will be no line resolution on the Negro Struggle, so locals are not required to schedule time for discussion on this question, although they may want to do so.

Comradely,

*Betsy Barnes*  
Betsy Barnes  
National Secretary  
YSA

Box 471  
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February 4, 1966

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Comradely,  
*Betsy Barnes*  
Betsy Barnes  
YSA National Secretary



## TOUR SCHEDULE

### Travel Days

Denver	Feb. 6-8	Feb. 9-10
Seattle	Feb. 11-13	Feb. 14-15 (a.m.)
Bay Area	Feb. 15 (p.m.)-19	Feb. 20
Los Angeles	Feb. 21-25	Feb. 26
San Diego	Feb. 27-28	March 1
Tucson	March 2	March 3
Albuquerque	March 4-5	March 6
Austin	March 7	March 8
Houston	March 9-10	March 11
New Orleans	March 12	March 13
Tallahassee	March 14	March 15
Atlanta	March 16	March 17
Washington, D.C.	March 18	March 19 (a.m.)
Philadelphia	Mar. 19 (p.m.)-22	March 22 (p.m.)
New York	March 23-30	March 31
Newark	March 26	
Boston	April 1-6	April 7
Ithaca	April 8	April 9
Buffalo	April 10-11	April 12
Cleveland	April 13-17	April 18
Detroit	April 19-23	April 24
Chicago	April 25-29	April 30
Cincinnati	May 1-2	May 3
St. Louis	May 4-5	May 6
Des Moines	May 7-8	May 9

Attachment: Jack's Report ... 1

The Standing Committee of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam met on January 8-9 in Milwaukee. The purpose of this meeting was to take up the unresolved problems of the Thanksgiving Convention. Three major issues which were implicit at the Thanksgiving Convention came into the open at Milwaukee.

First, there was a discussion on political perspectives for the NCC. The Stalinists and other coalitionists presented arguments for supporting political candidates who oppose the war in Vietnam. They argued that supporting such candidates would help in building a mass movement and would influence the "status people." This was an undisguised presentation of coalition politics which helped open the eyes of people in Milwaukee to some of the basic roots of the fight in Washington. Although there was no vote taken or resolution passed on this subject by the meeting, the discussion helped to expose the political character of the people who opposed us. This was certainly a step forward from the confusion generated by our opponents at the Washington Convention.

Second, debate occurred around the question of whether or not the NCC Standing Committee should issue a press release exposing Johnson's "peace offensive" and calling for immediate withdrawal. Arguments were presented on both sides and a vote was taken of individual delegates present. The motion to issue a press release including a call for immediate withdrawal passed 19 to 18. This result was overturned by the use of proxy and weighted votes indicating to everyone present that the Stalinists had assured themselves a mechanical majority in the Standing Committee as they had at the Convention. Jerry Rubin and Jack Weinberg from the Berkeley VDC supported immediate withdrawal. Since the Milwaukee meeting the Berkeley VDC has gone on record in support of immediate withdrawal. The Berkeley and Chicago delegations voted with us on most major points. This had all been preceded by a fight against the legitimacy of proxies led by the Berkeley delegation and a fight for the right to elect chairman of sessions led by us.

Third, the meeting discussed the organizational character of the NCC. The basic question here was who would control the apparatus of the NCC? The fact of the domination of the Madison office by the Stalinists was raised openly by non CPers like Rubin and Beinin. (Beinin diplomatically said Madison was "dominated politically by a DuBois Club-like tendency even if there is no organized BuBois Club there.")

The Rubin proposal which called for a dynamic national organization based on the CEWV's and centered in Chicago was postponed for further consideration and discussion. It will be brought up again at a Standing Committee meeting in April. This proposal would place control in the hands of either himself or other independents.

In a partial compromise Jack Weinberg agreed to go to Madison for several weeks to "see whether we can accomplish anything" and help out. The net result was that the apparatus of the NCC remains in the hands of Frank Emspak and continues to be dominated by the Stalinists.

A general feature of the entire meeting was the realignment of many of the "independent" leaders like Rubin and Weinberg as well as people like Irving Beinin. Their bloc with the Stalinists against us at the Thanksgiving convention had disintegrated and many of them found themselves voting with us against the Stalinists. A most remarkable revelation was made by a Stalinist from a midwestern state who publicly denounced Rubin and Weinberg for splitting away from the convention bloc against the "Trotskyites."

#### Caucus Meeting

Members of the Caucus to Constitute a National Organization of Independent Anti-Vietnam War Committees for the Withdrawal of U.S. Troops Now held a meeting following the Standing Committee meeting.

The first order of business was to change their name to supporters of the Bring The Troops Home Now Newsletter.

Secondly it was decided to change the three-man steering committee formed in Washington into a five-man editorial board composed of people who live in Boston. This will facilitate making editorial decisions in the Newsletter office. Gus Horowitz was chosen to be editor of the Newsletter.

It was agreed that the Newsletter office would issue pamphlets and buttons as well as put out a call for the March 25 and 26 International Days Of Protest. The first button is ready and will be mailed out this week; others are on the drawing board. A pamphlet on immediate withdrawal vs. negotiations is written and will be out soon. The meeting also encouraged supporters of the Newsletter to go into new areas and organize CEWV's and recruit Newsletter supporters. The decision was made to encourage both local organizations and individuals

to formally become Newsletter supporters.

The failure of the NCC Standing Committee to create a dynamic center based on the independent CEWV's means that the Newsletter will become very important as a national center of militant anti-war activity. The supporters of the Newsletter will be getting their CEWV's to look more and more to the Newsletter for information about and coordination of anti-war actions.

There has been a downturn in anti-war activity since the Thanksgiving Convention and many of the CEWV's are less active. This decline is due in part to the failure of the Thanksgiving Convention to inspire the anti-war activists and in part due to the confusion and pressures generated by Johnson's current "peace offensive." However, it would be a mistake for us to believe that this lull is permanent. The continued escalation of the war insures an objective base for the movement and its resurgence. When the next upturn comes it will be around the CEWV's and local united fronts which are the primary vehicles of anti-war opposition. It will go through them because they are the existing formations which have demonstrated in practice that they can mobilize thousands.

The task of Newsletter supporters is to get as many committees as possible to support the Newsletter while reaching out and helping to build new committees.

There is currently a division within the DuBois Club over the question of immediate withdrawal vs. negotiations. We should make contact and discuss with as many DuBois Club members as possible. We must get the Newsletter, the YSA Vietnam pamphlet and the Newsletter pamphlet on withdrawal to them. We should talk with them and find out what they are thinking.

The division goes right into their top leadership. There were many DuBois Club members present in Milwaukee but none as voting representatives from CEWV's.

January 22, 1966

February 1, 1966

Confidential

Dear Gus & Judy,

In the past several months an important development within the DuBois Club has emerged. This is an internal debate on the question of immediate withdrawal vs. negotiations. We first became aware of this dispute when we received a report on the DuBois Club National Coordinating Committee meeting in Philadelphia after the Thanksgiving convention (copies were sent to NCers and organizers in December). We learned from this report that the DuBois Club leaders held a six hour discussion on the question of immediate withdrawal vs. negotiations, that a resolution supporting negotiations was adopted, and that a minority calling for immediate withdrawal was unreconciled with this position. Furthermore, we learned that this minority extended into the top leadership including both Mike Myerson and Carl Bloice. Since then we have received reports from many areas in the country indicating that the conflict is widespread.

The clearest statements of the two positions are printed in Dimension (Vol 1. no. 1) which is the DuBois Club's new discussion journal. The article in support of negotiations is written by Terrence Hallinan and the statement for immediate withdrawal is signed by Mike Myerson, Carl Bloice, Harold Supriano, Leni Seigal, and Jamie Huberman.

This debate is important for several reasons. First of all, it reflects the pressure of the strong sentiment for immediate withdrawal that exists within the antiwar movement. It indicates that many DuBois Club members have trouble defending their position in arguments with antiwar activists and other socialists. Secondly, it opens the door for us to engage members of the DuBois Club in discussions around the central political question facing the antiwar movement. We can reach out and talk to the questioning, confused and dissident DuBois Club members and sympathizers. With our more articulate and consistent expression of the immediate withdrawal approach. Thirdly, it gives us a chance to hit American stalinism at its most vulnerable point by putting pressure on a wing of the DuBois Club and recruiting defectors to Newsletter supporters groups and the YSA.

Tasks

- 1) Our intervention in the DuBois Club internal debate must be organized in every local area. If necessary a comrade should be assigned to be responsible for this work;
- 2) Regular and complete reports about the activities of the DuBois Club, the extent of the internal conflict, the number of defections, and the progress of contact work should be sent to the NO;
- 3) Copies of all reports, leaflets, bulletins, publications, etc. that are published by the DuBois Club should be mailed to the NO
- 4) Locals should subscribe to DuBois publications. The most important are Insurgent and Dimension (write 954 McAllister St., San Francisco, Cal.)
- 5) YSAers should take advantage of DuBois Club conferences, meetings, forums, etc. to meet and talk to DuBois Club members, contacts and sympathizers. A policy of fraternization should be developed with dissidents and defectors.
- 6) An attempt should be made to recruit DuBois Club defectors to Newsletter Supporter groups and to the YSA.

Comradely,

Doug Jenness

Present: NEC: Mary-Alice, Dan, Betsey, John, Daniels,  
Melissa, Doug, Jack

NC ALT: Caroline, Dick, Roland

Chairman: Jack

Agenda: 1. National Office  
2. YS  
3. Subscription Drive  
4. Bloomington Defense  
5. Antiwar Work  
6. Convention

1. National Office - Betsey

a. Report read from Lew on the first leg of his tour. Audiences have been very good and at each step compliments on the Newsletter have been made to Lew by non-members.

b. NC ALT Ray W. has been dropped from membership for non-payment of dues.

c. Letter from Robin M. asking about requirements for voting on convention resolutions and delegates. Betsey to write Robin explaining the constitutional requirements.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

2. YS - Mary-Alice

The YS will be stapled on Monday and Tuesday and mailed out on Wednesday and Thursday.

3. Subscription Drive - Dan

Since the final Militant scoreboard the total number of combined subscriptions collected has risen to 1582.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Daniels, Jack, Dan, Daniels

Motion Passed

4. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

Report on defense work.

Discussion: Dan, Daniels, Jack, Daniels

5. Antiwar Work - Jack

Report on the Milwaukee Standing Committee Meeting and the meeting of the caucus and general report on antiwar work.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Melissa, Jack, Betsey, Jack, Daniels, Jack, Dan, Doug, Jack, Melissa, Jack, Mary-Alice, Dan, Jack, Betsey, Dan, Caroline

Motion Passed

6. Convention - Jack

a. Negro Struggle: It is proposed that we do not have a line resolution on the Negro Struggle at the coming convention. Our last two resolutions are a sufficient general guide for our work at this juncture. We will try to organize a panel discussion on the Negro Struggle.

Motion: To handle any conjunctural questions on the Negro Struggle in the Political Resolution or report.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Daniels, Jack, John, Jack, Betsey

Motion Passed

b. Constitution: Extensive discussion on the draft Constitution.

Motion: To approve the draft Constitution.

Motion Passed

c. Antiwar Movement Resolution: Presentation by Doug and extensive discussion on the antiwar movement resolution.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Antiwar Movement Resolution.

Motion Passed.

# Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students

P. O. Box 213 Cooper Station New York, New York 10003  
Phone: YU 9-7680 Area Code: 212

## National Co-Chairmen:

Herbert J. Muller  
Distinguished Service Professor  
of English and Government  
Indiana University  
Mark DeWolfe Howe  
Professor of Law  
Harvard University

Honorary Chairman: Lord Bertrand Russell  
National Secretary: Joyce DeGroot

## Attorneys:

Leonard B. Boudin, New York City  
Daniel T. Taylor III, Louisville, Ky.

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SCLC

January 21 1966

## FEDERAL COURT ASKED TO RULE IN BLOOMINGTON CASE

Dear Friend:

Two professors at Indiana University and two citizens of Indiana have joined the three Indiana University students, Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan, and Jim Bingham, in their fight against the unconstitutional state Anti-Communism Act. In October a motion requesting an injunction to stop the prosecution of the three students on the grounds that the law is unconstitutional was filed in the U.S. district court in Indianapolis.

Included as plaintiffs in this appeal, along with the three indicted students, are: Professor Joseph Schneider, Professor of Sociology, Professor James Dinsmoor, Professor of Psychology, and William and Rhoda Lindner, citizens of Indiana. They are protesting the law's infringement on their freedom of speech and assembly. They maintain that the existence of this unconstitutional law and the threat of indictment under it, inhibits their freedom of expression, and thus deprives them of basic constitutional liberties.

In the light of the precedent set in the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court last April in the Southern Conference Educational Fund Case (Dombrowski Case), the Young Socialist Alliance is also included as a plaintiff. It maintains that the law infringes upon its rights as an organization on the Indiana University campus.

A motion for summary judgment, along with supporting affidavits, were filed December 17, 1965. Professor Schneider, who teaches a course in Social Theory and Social Problems, states in his affidavit that he feels "inhibited from freely discussing in my classes all



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**GENERAL**

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 Sociologist  
 ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN  
 Lecturer and Writer  
 REED WHITTEMORE  
 Carleton College

*Institutions and publications cited for purposes of identification only.  
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 A partial list of names and universities.*

shades of social theory" because of apprehension over the possible threat of indictment inherent in the statute. He further states that he has "discerned a reluctance on the part of students to discuss 'radical' social theories in their relationship to social problems as freely as they did prior to" the indictment of the three students.

Professor Dinsmoor points out in his affidavit that public statements by Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley and the indictment of the three students has "created a repressive climate of opinion in the local press and among the students at Indiana University.

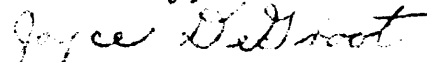
In his reply to the request for an injunction, Prosecutor Hoadley agreed that the three students had suffered injury and that the federal court should rule on the case. He stated that "there is a danger of irreparable, clear, imminent, great and immediate injury" to the three students if they were to be tried under the criminal charge prior to determining the constitutionality of the statute.

A panel of three federal judges has been selected to hear the case and a date for oral arguments is expected shortly.

This appeal to the federal court is part of the continuing fight against this unconstitutional state statute which began over two and one half years ago in May, 1963, when the students were first indicted. The protection of civil liberties and academic freedom is, as you can see, a prolonged and costly procedure. The outcome of this case can vitally affect the rights of individuals critical of the administration's foreign policy, civil rights workers opposing white supremacy in the South, and students and faculty members throughout the country.

We cannot win without your financial help as well as moral support. Please contribute generously to help fight this encroachment on the civil liberties of all Americans.

Sincerely,

  
Joyce DeGroot  
National Secretary

Box 213  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003

January 28, 1966

TO ALL THOSE WORKING ON CABS:

The enclosed letter has been sent to all sponsors to inform them of the filing for the injunction.

We are now waiting for a date for oral arguments which will take place in Indianapolis. Regardless of the decision, an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court will follow. If the decision is not in our favor, we will appeal. If it is in our favor, Hoadley will appeal.

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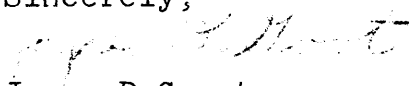
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3. Raising money. Cocktail parties, faculty mailings, folk concerts and rummage sales should be continued and repeated. The legal appeals are long and expensive, and we need funds to pay the continuing publicity costs and legal expenses.

Remember: An appeal to the Supreme Court appears to be inevitable. We need publicity and money!

Sincerely,

  
Joyce DeGroot  
National Secretary  
Committee to Aid the  
Bloomington Students

# Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students

P. O. Box 213 Cooper Station New York, New York 10003  
Phone: YU 9-7680 Area Code: 212

## National Co-Chairmen:

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Distinguished Service Professor  
of English and Government  
Indiana University  
Mark DeWolfe Howe  
Professor of Law  
Harvard University

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## FEDERAL COURT ASKED TO RULE IN BLOOMINGTON CASE

Dear Friend:

Two professors at Indiana University and two citizens of Indiana have joined the three Indiana University students, Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan, and Jim Bingham, in their fight against the unconstitutional state Anti-Communism Act. In October a motion requesting an injunction to stop the prosecution of the three students on the grounds that the law is unconstitutional was filed in the U.S. district court in Indianapolis.

Included as plaintiffs in this appeal, along with the three indicted students, are: Professor Joseph Schneider, Professor of Sociology, Professor James Dinsmoor, Professor of Psychology, and William and Rhoda Lindner, citizens of Indiana. They are protesting the law's infringement on their freedom of speech and assembly. They maintain that the existence of this unconstitutional law and the threat of indictment under it, inhibits their freedom of expression, and thus deprives them of basic constitutional liberties.

In the light of the precedent set in the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court last April in the Southern Conference Educational Fund Case (Dombrowski Case), the Young Socialist Alliance is also included as a plaintiff. It maintains that the law infringes upon its rights as an organization on the Indiana University campus.

A motion for summary judgment, along with supporting affidavits, were filed December 17, 1965. Professor Schneider, who teaches a course in Social Theory and Social Problems, states in his affidavit that he feels "inhibited from freely discussing in my classes all

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**GENERAL**

NELSON ALGREN  
 Author  
 JOAN BAEZ  
 BARD COLLEGE COMMUNITY  
 COUNCIL  
 DOROTHY DAY  
 Editor, The Catholic Worker  
 MARK LANE  
 Former N.Y. Assemblyman  
 JOHN LEO  
 Associate Editor, The Commonweal  
 JULIAN MAYFIELD  
 Editor, The African Review  
 OTTO NATHAN  
 Economist  
 FRITZ PAPPENHEIM  
 Sociologist  
 ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN  
 Lecturer and Writer  
 REED WHITTEMORE  
 Carleton College

*Institutions and publications cited for purposes of identification only.  
 Sponsorship in no way implies agreement with the political ideas of the defendants.  
 A partial list of names and universities.*

shades of social theory" because of apprehension over the possible threat of indictment inherent in the statute. He further states that he has "discerned a reluctance on the part of students to discuss 'radical' social theories in their relationship to social problems as freely as they did prior to" the indictment of the three students.

Professor Dinsmoor points out in his affidavit that public statements by Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley and the indictment of the three students has "created a repressive climate of opinion in the local press and among the students at Indiana University.

In his reply to the request for an injunction, Prosecutor Hoadley agreed that the three students had suffered injury and that the federal court should rule on the case. He stated that "there is a danger of irreparable, clear, imminent, great and immediate injury" to the three students if they were to be tried under the criminal charge prior to determining the constitutionality of the statute.

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January 28, 1966

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Bloomington Students

C O P Y      C O P Y      C O P Y

**SUMMARY OF W.E B. DUBOIS CLUBS NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING held in Philadelphia December 2-4, 1965**

The main points of the agenda are listed below with a brief notation of conclusions and/or decisions reached, and, in some instances, a brief resume of discussion. In several areas, separate documents are being issued by the National Executive which will develop these points in detail.

**I. DISCUSSION OF THE CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM (NCCTEWN)** See the DBC Report on NCCTEWN Convention for full analysis.

**II. PEACE**

**A. CN CALLING FOR NEGOTIATIONS**

After a six-hour discussion on whether or not our demands concerning the war in Vietnam should include a call for negotiations to implement the Geneva Accords and end the war, differences of opinion still existed. Those who argued for the negotiations demand (a majority of the NCC) contended that 1) This war like any other must end at the negotiations table, 2) To oppose this demand is actually to oppose the one realistic means of ending the war, 3) A call for negotiations to implement the Geneva Accords can counter LBJ's misuse of the slogan of negotiations in his effort to confuse the American people 4) A call for negotiations is a demand to which the American people will be receptive and is one around which Americans can be mobilized.

Those who argued against a call for negotiations contended that 1) As a socialist organization we have a certain responsibility to the world socialist movement, and to the NLF which is a part of that movement, and that we have no right to call for negotiations when the NLF has not done so. 2) By calling for negotiations, we are compromising ourselves and playing into LBJ's hands by adding to the confusion of the American people about the complicated issue of negotiations.

At the end of this discussion, a majority of the NCC accepted the following as our demands concerning the war in Vietnam:

**"IN ORDER TO END UNITED STATES AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM, THE W.E.B. DUBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA DEMANDS:**

- 1) Immediate cessation of bombing in North and South Vietnam
- 2) Recognition of the National Liberation Front
- 3) Negotiations to honor and implement the 1964 Geneva Accords
- 4) Withdrawal of all United States and allied troops."

**B. ASSISTANCE FOR THE NCCTEWN**

Frank Emspak, National Chairman of NCCTEWN, made a series of requests which the DBC NCC will attempt to fulfill. These include sending the NCCTEWN our international contacts list and our national key contact list, and attempting to supply a fulltime staff person for the NCCTEWN. Further, ALL LOCAL CLUBS SHOULD SEND ALL REPORTS ON PEACE ACTIVITY TO THE NCCTEWN AS WELL AS TO THE DBC NATIONAL OFFICE. We urge maximum support for the NCCTEWN.

## Summary of W.E.B. DuBois Clubs NCC meeting.....2

### C. DRAFT PROGRAM (See our pamphlet on the DBC Draft Program)

It was generally agreed that our draft program should have secondary emphasis to our main peace effort which is directed at Ending the War in Vietnam. To implement our draft program, we adopted the following measures:

- 1) Accepted the anti-draft petition, accompanied with a cover letter (See at end of NCC Summary)
- 2) The National Executive shall prepare a series of leaflets aimed at different sections of the American people and illustrating how the war in Vietnam works against their self-interest.
- 3) A Speakers Bureau on the War in Vietnam shall be organized
- 4) The DBC shall initiate an international youth and student petition against the war
- 5) The National Executive shall prepare a prospectus assisting local clubs in raising the peace issue in conjunction with the 1966 elections.

D. EVERY LOCAL CLUB SHOULD ELECT A PEACE COORDINATOR WHO WILL COMMUNICATE REGULARLY WITH NATIONAL PEACE COORDINATOR MIKE MYERSON.

### E. DEC. 20 DEMONSTRATIONS

We agreed wherever possible to support with educationalists the hemispheric demonstrations on December 20 commemorating the founding of the NLF and opposing the war.

## III. ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR YOUTH

This section of our NCC was of utmost importance. SEE SEPARATE DOCUMENT ON ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR ANALYSIS AND PROGRAMATIC SUGGESTIONS, including a National Youth Plank for the War on Poverty.

## IV. SUMMER PROJECT

Again people from more developed areas will be recruited to work on concentrated summer organizing projects. Cities definitely selected (with number of full-time workers needed) include: CHICAGO (10 people) CLEVELAND (6 people) DETROIT (7 people) PHILADELPHIA (5 people).

A final decision on a project in MEMPHIS (with 10 people) will be reached at our next NCC after our Southern Coordinator Phil Davis has made an assessment from his upcoming southern tour.

The programmatic basis of our summer project will be our Economic Program with the issue of Vietnam being raised in relationship to the War on Poverty (Make Jobs Not War, etc.)

Other cities to be considered for summer projects if funds and personnel are available include Baltimore, Pittsburg, Washington, St. Louis and Hazard, Ky. Two persons are needed to work with Carl Braden on the staff of the SOUTHERN PATRIOT and two others will work with the TENNESSEE FREE LABOR UNION. Persons interested in any of these projects should contact the National Office at once.

## V. NATIONAL ACTION

Projected was a March on Washington for Jobs to climax the summer project, and to be held on August 28 (a Sunday, the anniversary of the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom) or Labor Day (Monday, September 5). Many ideas were raised, including a mass meeting to discuss the Youth Plank for the War on Poverty, a

## Summary of W.E.B. DuBois Clubs NCC meeting .....3

conference to draft such a plank, torchlight parade, etc. A discussion paper on the proposed National Action will be sent to local clubs shortly. It was felt that this action could 1) be the next step for the Movement, which must be to link the issues of foreign and domestic policy 2) be a vehicle of expression for the community people who will be working with us in the summer project (the people who must be mobilized to force an end to LBJ's war in Vietnam) 3) provide an excellent tool for organizing and/or building DuBois Clubs this spring and summer. OBVIOUSLY THIS PROJECT IS IN THE EARLIEST TENTATIVE STAGE AND YOUR IDEAS AND OPINIONS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED AND REQUESTED.

### VI. PUBLICATIONS

#### A. INSURGENT

It was generally agreed that while the last issue of INSURGENT was the best one yet produced, that the magazine should more consciously aim itself at the great majority of working class and student youth who are not yet actively committed to the left and that

#### B. DIMENSIONS

will aim at activist and left youth, and will aim at becoming a journal of the Movement. DIMENSIONS will be published January 15.

#### C. SPUR

In addition to being an organizational communications bulletin, SPUR should reflect the political discussions inside the National Executive, and can reprint other position papers. ALL THREE PUBLICATIONS ARE NOW LARGELY WRITTEN BY PERSONS IN THE NATIONAL OFFICE, AND IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT CRITICISMS, SUGGESTIONS FOR ARTICLES, MANUSCRIPTS, ETC. BE FORTHCOMING FROM OTHER AREAS. Each club should appoint a Publications Chairman, who will communicate regularly with Jim Peake and Celia Rosebury.

### VII. EDUCATION

Syllabi will be forthcoming on the Power Structure, on Negro History, on the Civil Right Movement, on Labor History, and on the Working Class. Each club should appoint an Education Chairman (in addition to Chairman for Peace, Publications and Fund-Raising) who should communicate with the National Education Secretary, Dynamite Hallinan, immediately.

### VIII. FINANCES

We have already incurred a debt of slightly less than \$1000 since the Chicago Labor Day conference. Beside that debt, if we are to carry out the plan for a convention in June, a summer project, and a national action, we obviously must raise more funds than we have in the past. Several suggestions were made.

### IX. MOVING THE NATIONAL OFFICE

The National Office will be moved to Chicago by June 1. The NATIONAL CONVENTION of the DuBois Clubs will be held on the third or fourth weekend in June in Chicago.

Summary of W.E.B. DuBois Clubs NCC meeting .....4

X. THE NEXT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING will be on the last weekend in February (25-27) in Chicago. Final decisions on moving the National Office, the Convention, and the Summer Project will be made at that meeting, as well as a decision and planning on the National Action.

I THINK IT WAS GENERALIY AGPEED BY ALL WHO ATTENDED THIS NCC THAT IT WAS VERY ENCOURAGING AND EXCITING. THIS WAS BECAUSE WE COULD SEE DUBOIS CLUBS POLICY AND PROGRAM ARE REALLY BEGINNING TO DEVELOP. FULLER PREPARATION BY ALL MEMBERS OF THE NCC (WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE) CAN INSURE AN EVEN MORE PRODUCTIVE CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO IN FEBRUARY.

Hugh Fowler, National Chairman

C O P Y   C O P Y   C O P Y

REPORT OF THE DUBOIS CLUBS ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY, Terence Hallina

In the process of growing up any organization goes through a number of stages. Unless it is able to master each of them and move on to the next level, it will cease growing and eventually begin to wither away.

The DuBois Clubs has reached such a plateau. We have mastered the stage of initiating chapters. Now unless we are able to consolidate those chapters and develop a long-range perspective for our organization, than we shall suffer the fate of so many other shortlived groups of the past.

The first step in this direction is to formalize our organization. At the Chicago Conference it was recommended that membership cards be printed by the National Office. This has been done and such cards are now available. According to the proposal, local clubs are to undertake a widespread sale of these cards, the only criterion for membership being a willingness to pay the required fee. In this manner, we can find out exactly how many members we have and who they are and can begin building a mass membership organization. Once five membership cards from any chapter have been received by the National Office a charter will be sent to that club. Where no chapter is operating, people can still join as independent individuals.

By using four cards, one of which is to be retained by the applicant with the others going to the local, regional and National offices, we hope to be giving structure to the organization at several levels. Area committees should be established in the major population centers to direct the growth and activity of clubs in that area. It was recommended at the last NCC that club chairman serve on these committees. The regional offices must be becoming more than just a roving coordinator. Regional coordinators should begin to concentrate on one or two major centers in their area and establish a regional office in one city. The area and regional conferences scheduled for the Christmas and Easter holidays must be taken seriously and carried out with a maximum of advanced preparation.

One thing which became clear during the discussion of structure at the NCC is that we have seriously overextended ourselves. The tremendous growth we have experienced this first year has been almost purely a horizontal one. We have not really reached new people and have not begun to tap the masses of American youth. The potentials for organizing chapters have been so great that there has been a tendency to set up chapters throughout an area without building any strong center. Similarly, within the big cities chapters have been splintered into a number of small localized groups which are incapable of developing or carrying out program. Although much of this has been motivated by the worthy desire of reaching more, and particularly working class, young people it has had the

## DBC Clubs Organizational Report .....2

opposite effect. The truth is that such people are reached by what you are doing, rather than by setting up little chapters in their neighborhoods. When at least one chapter is operating really effectively in each area then you will get the kind of spontaneous growth needed to build the DuBois Clubs into a mass organization.

We must begin to consolidate chapters and to concentrate our efforts, even at the cost of some local clubs and individuals. Experience has shown us that in order for a DuBois Club chapter to operate effectively it should have at least 50 members. It is then possible to set up committees in several special interest fields. Each of these committees should develop and organize activity in their respective areas, checking back with the executive only for approval and to gain the participation of other members. The president's job will then consist of supervising the work of these committees, paying special attention to those that are having problems.

While our organization places its principal stress on the action aspects of our program, work must also be carried on in the educational and social fields. Unless there is an educational program that can develop the people contacted on the basis of your activity (and remember it is exactly when the club is operating most successfully that it is going to attract people who are not socialists) and a social program to make it enjoyable to remain in the club the chapter will become one-sided and cease to function effectively.

The key to mastering this new stage we are entering is program. But program cannot be developed without organization. The National Office is beginning to turn out materials which can help local chapters gain direction and sustain activity. But, this is a two-way street. To develop really meaningful program on a national level we must learn about the experiences of different areas and the results of attempts to put the program developed into practice. This means communications must be strengthened and that someone in each chapter must accept the responsibility for steady communication with the National Office.

We are today in a position to become the most important organization in the Movement, because we are developing the program that everyone else is looking for. But, this will not happen by itself. It will only happen if people in this organization are willing to get out and fight to see that it does. And they can only do that if they have an effective structured and operating organization behind them.

C O P Y   C O P Y   C O P Y

REPORT ON THE CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM (In Washington, D.C. from Nov. 25-28, 1965)

From the National Executive of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

Most of this report will necessarily focus on the struggle over structure which dominated the entire conference. This struggle reflected the attempt that was made by a minority faction around YSA to withdraw the more than one hundred independent Viet Nam committees out of a broad National Coordinating Committee where each committee retains full autonomy and equal voting representation, and to reorganize the independent committees into a narrow, self-isolating organization. It is important that this discussion be prefaced and framed by a brief analysis of the forces represented at this meeting and the trend they represent in the American peace movement.

....

The reasons given by the minority faction for the need for a different type of organization seemed valid to many delegates at first in that they reflected legitimate concerns of many independent groups. It was argued that the National Coordinating Committee was dominated by national organizations; that a single independent Viet Nam committee could have no real say in policy-making. Therefore, it was proposed that a separate organization be established which could express the feelings of local committees, which would be completely dominated by them, and which could meet their needs. This would be a membership organization which would be organized at the convention.

At the same time, the minority faction said they wanted a National Coordinating Committee -- an umbrella organization for the peace movement which would coordinate activity for the entire movement. This Committee would include every organization from SANE and Turn Toward Peace to the YSA, and would include the new organization of independents as a member.

In fact, the claim that the NCC was dominated by national organizations was untrue. 68 out of 73 steering committees seats were controlled by independent committees. There were 5 votes for national organizations, while the independents had 68. Therefore, national domination could not be the real issue.

Likewise, the charge that independent committees were denied a voice in policy making was not valid. As the NCC was structured originally, each local committee had an equal voice in policy making, one vote, the same as any other local or national organization. And yet, they were permitted the greatest degree of independence to protest the war in whatever way they thought best, considering local conditions, etc.

In actuality, the proposed new organization did away with the



independence of the local committees -- they would now be part of a national organization, bound by a common set of principles, with policy being determined not by local groups but by a national leadership. What was actually happening was that an attempt was being made to consolidate the new anti-war movements around a single, left political trend. What was actually being proposed was not an organization of the independents, but only of a small number of independent committees; not meeting the need of coordinating activity between a variety of different kinds of independent groupings, but splitting the more radical independents away from the others. What would have emerged would have been a left sectarian organization that would have isolated the new radical forces in the peace movement, rather than allowing them to work more closely with the whole peace movement in finding new ways to reach the American people.

The proposed new organization contained in its statement of purpose two political requirements: 1) U.S. aggression deprives the Vietnamese people of their right to self determination. 2) A demand for immediate withdrawal now!

The majority of independents at the convention, even though they agreed with the statements, did not feel their committees could operate successfully around those principles.

What is really needed is an NCC which could service all Viet Nam committees, no matter what their level or approach to the war. As it was (and is) structured, it can provide forms for the broad, as well as the radical, sections of the peace movement and can find ways in which they can work together.

Though early in the convention it became clear to us that the minority faction was using the question of structure to promote divisive maneuvers, we did not want to be drawn into the position of opening a factional fight by publicly exposing them. Our intention was to speak with the independents about the problem, to participate in the workshops fully emphasizing programmatic development, and attempt to aid others in defining and resolving the problem. Unfortunately we were hamstrung by a paucity of concrete proposals. To accomplish this we called a series of DBC caucuses for local and national members and other interested individuals. These caucuses were a great aid in providing clarity and direction for those who participated. Though these were of great benefit and did much to improve our relations with key people they were quickly thrown together, informally structured, and the leadership was little better prepared to help than the membership. The full effects of the caucuses were not felt because the DBC members did not take the caucus discussions out of the caucuses to the independents in the convention. While the leadership could have spoken out more in the sessions, the membership could have played a better role in bringing clarity and understanding to the independents who in the main were confused and demoralized by the tactics of the minority faction.

DBC Report of Convention of NCCTEWN .....3

....

The significance of the convention is that the dominant forces in the radical section of the peace movement became more convinced of the need for unity and breadth in the peace movement with strong opposition to the trend toward isolation. This was a move in the opposite direction, toward finding the means to work with all those forces who oppose the war no matter what their level of understanding might be. The convention is now history, and we must face the problems created by it and around it by others at home. We must seek to build the strongest and broadest NCC feasible.

(Note: Sections of this report were omitted to save time and space. Omissions are indicated by .... The sections which are included contain the main points of the report.)

C O P Y      C O P Y      C O P Y

## LOCAL DBC ACTIVITY AND VIET NAM COMMITTEES

It is now apparent that YSA is going to continue to push to build its narrow, national, co-called "independent" committee. From what we can gather here in California, it looks as if they are encouraging individuals to join so as to build a national membership organization. This is what they originally were pushing for some months ago. However this issue is raised by YSA, local DBC people should be prepared to deal with it.

The following deals with problems which local DBC's may encounter within local Viet Nam committees after the Washington N.C.C.

It is the feeling of the DuBois N.C.C. that these problems best be approached by (1) pushing for the broadest possible program within local committees; (2) urging strong support for the National Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam by all local committees, and urging participation by local committees in the programs it will help to co-ordinate; (3) avoiding, whenever possible, a replay of the struggles which divided the Washington Conference by urging, on the merits of the issues involved, for broad programs and support of the N.C.C.

The truly independent committees, those free of any decisive YSA influence, will probably not be affected by the negative aspects of the Washington conference. They may, however, have other organizational problems which local DBC's might help them to overcome. The DBC must have a few members active in every independent committee, and must give all possible organizational support to the activities of the local committees.

Many independent committees, in which the majority of the membership has no formal political affiliation, have been dominated in the past by YSA. This has occurred because YSA people have been active in forming the committees, have volunteered to do whatever work was necessary to carry out committee program, or because they have stood for election to committee offices or steering committee positions. The problems of working within these committees are great, but every effort should be made to steer these committees along lines which can allow for broad participation by the masses of the American people who oppose the war. It must be constantly pointed out that the war in Viet Nam is not in the interests of the American people. Massive opposition to the war can be mobilized, but this will be done by meeting people at their own level and making them aware of what the war means to them, and how it effects their lives as workers, wives, students, tax payers, etc., and not by forcing discussions about the war into the framework of radical politics or restrictive, narrow slogans. If efforts are made through forced discussion to encourage these committees to join the YSA national organization, it should be pointed out that this will cost the independent committee its representation on the existing N.C.C. nationally and locally also, if another group forms. The major contradiction in YSA's argument for their independent national organization" is that the local committees by virtue of affiliation with it sacrifice the independence they now enjoy in

the existing N.C.C. This should certainly be pointed out.

There do exist a few committees which were established by YSA as fronts, or which are dominated by YSA to such an extent to make broad programmatic activity meaningless. If efforts to broaden the activities of these committees fail, it may be possible for DBC people to work to establish another local committee independent of YSA control. It should be noted that the N.C.C. policy encourages separate committees in any geographical area, such as neighborhood committees, trade union groups, groups on different campuses, etc. To allow for anti-war activity of a broad nature DBC may undertake the formation of new committees. This is an action requiring much consideration, as our primary responsibility is not to build Viet Nam committees, and such an action does not necessarily build the DBC, although it does gain it good will. In several areas where YSA dominates a local committee, many people should be sought out and may aid in the formation of a new, independent committee. Care must be taken not to sacrifice growth of the local DBC which must continue to function as a multi-issue organization. In areas which have several local committees, YSA influence in one may be lessened by forming area coordinating committees and attempting to draw out groups together for broad, area-wide activities.

In committees which YSA attempts to use as recruiting grounds for its national membership organization, DBC people should raise the obvious questions. What is the program of this organization? Is this organization going to conduct activities paralleling those of the existing N.C.C.? Few really independent people will be attracted to this body if any substantive discussion of its program, goals, etc., is conducted as recruitment pitches are made.

The problems raised by YSA and the S.W.P. must be seen more as an irritant than an obstacle. The fact that they were able to disrupt the Washington conference was due not to the dubious merits of their proposals and stratagems, but to the lack of preparation of program and planning by those who are sincerely interested in talking to the masses of the American public and building an effective peace movement. The thousands of sincerely motivated people active in the peace movement will not be swayed from their tasks by the efforts of one left group which seeks to use the movement to build its own organization. The DBC must locally work in support of the independent committees to insure the continued growth and success of the peace movement.

Box 471  
Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003

January 12, 1966

Attention NCers and Organizers:

For your information we are enclosing a transcript from a tape of some remarks made by James P. Cannon at an SWP meeting in Los Angeles after the Washington anti-war convention.

Comradely,

*Betsy Barnes*  
Betsy Barnes  
National Secretary

New York, N.Y.  
January 25, 1966

TO ALL LOCALS AND BRANCHES

Dear Comrades,

The enclosed transcript of Comrade Cannon's remarks at the Los Angeles Branch Meeting was sent earlier to National Committee members, but was inadvertently left out of a branch mailing.

The tape library in Chicago will have this speech and can fill orders for any branch that wants the tape.

It should always be kept in mind that this speech was given at a branch meeting and not intended for use outside the Party framework of discussion.

Comradely,



Ed Shaw

Organizational Secretary

ES;ba

873 Broadway  
New York, N.Y. 10003  
December 24, 1965

FOR N.C. INFORMATION

(The following is a transcript from tape of Comrade Cannon's remarks during a recent Los Angeles branch discussion of the Thanksgiving Anti-War Convention.)

I presume the assumption is that I was only 3,000 miles away from Washington so I would know all about it. And that I can give you all the dope. The fact is when the meeting occurred last week I knew very little about the events in Washington, but just enough from the general reports to make me curious as to what had happened and decide to get a picture of the whole situation and the forces at work before coming to a conclusion about it. That's the best way to proceed on all questions.

What happened in Washington two or three weeks ago had to be regarded as an incident in the long-drawn-out struggle in which we are going to participate from now on. A struggle under conditions of constant urgency the like of which has never before been known by our movement or any other movement. Above all what's new and different and what almost everybody understands is that the bomb hangs over the world and the war we're talking about is the nuclear war we are trying to head off. It's an atomic war which would not be just another war like the last two world wars in which America got fat and prosperous, but a war that could very well mark nothing less than the end of the adventure of the human race on this planet.

I recall that when the formula for the production of the H-bomb was perfected and had been tested, Einstein wrote a memorandum to the President in which he said that it is now theoretically possible to destroy all life on the planet Earth. That seemed like a far-fetched assumption at the time, but it has since been repeated by practically all disinterested scientists. The movement against this war -- what is sometimes rather incorrectly called the peace movement -- which has grown up out of this new situation must be recognized also as a new phenomenon; a new movement which is taking forms and intensities that we have not known in previous wars. I am talking now about the war in Vietnam.

It's the first time in the knowledge of the present generation that there has been an open, active protest movement against a war in wartime. Prior to World War I there was a tremendous opposition against the entry of the United States into the war but when the shooting started the movement evaporated. There

was nothing left of it except the Socialists, the IWW and the Anarchists, who were ferociously persecuted and suppressed from the very beginning. In the Second World War there was no vocal opposition at all except for some conscientious objectors and our party. In the Korean war, which I am sure most of you can recall, the press of our party was the only press that attacked America's action.

Now we have a very widespread and diverse protest movement against the war while it is going on. That, I say, should be recognized as a new phenomenon.

Another new thing is that the dynamic militant action, and even the leadership for the opposition to the present war, comes from the campus -- primarily from students. And that, as far as I know, is something quite new in this country. The academic world never led anything of any social consequence in this country before. We have not had, as the other advanced Western countries have had a radical and socialistic student movement we now see developing in this country.

There is also a new type of pacifism. The classic pacifism we know which Lenin denounced as worse than useless, was a pacifism that denounced war until it started and then rallied around the flag. I don't know whether many of you present here have seen that characteristic of the old pacifism, as I recall it, especially from the First World War. At that time there was a tremendous movement of opposition to America's entry into the war. So strong was the popular sentiment that Woodrow Wilson was reelected to the Presidency primarily on the slogan "he kept us out of war."

Many public speakers, politicians and, of course, preachers, spoke against entry into the war. I can't forget the effect it had upon us militants. We thought we had the population with us in our opposition -- until the declaration of war. Then everything went out of the movement and the loudest pacifists became the loudest patriots, right away. They said you don't fight the government when it is at war. So the pacifists had simply led the people up to the expectation of opposition and then led them down immediately.

We have a sort of pacifism today that is still operative after the shooting has started. We have an active war in Vietnam, rapidly escalating since last February when they began bombing right and left, but there is still a considerable segment of the pacifist movement that does not cease to protest. That's new.



Now this peace movement, as I have undertaken to examine it, has many components and it behooves us as Marxist revolutionists to analyze the different segments of this movement and see which are useful, which can be considered as possible allies of ours, and which are not and not to confuse the one with the other. At first glance it is a very heterogeneous assortment of all kinds of people. You even have a few people who are part of the **political** establishment, such as Senator Morse. They are against the war in Vietnam not by any means as opponents but as advisers, on the ground that it is not a profitable war for the U.S. There is even, in my opinion, a considerable segment of the ruling powers that has grave doubts about the wisdom of the policy of the administration on the same grounds; that it's the wrong war in the wrong place. They are not against the government or against American imperialism, but on the grounds of tactics, maneuver, time and circumstance, they think this is not the way to begin a showdown.

Then there is a big assortment of others like the **SANEites** -- is that the right word for them? Those who make up this respectable body of middle-class people held the March in Washington a few weeks ago. They want to make it clear that they are not against the government and they are not in favor, by any means, of the revolutionary people of Vietnam, but would like the government to get out of the situation through negotiations. This implies that Americans have a right to be there in the first place, and it's just a question of bargaining back and forth as to how long they stay, how much they keep of that country, and how much of it they destroy.

Now I don't consider these people allies of the revolutionary workers. On the contrary, a year or so ago they conducted an enormous witch-hunt in their organization to drive out everybody suspected of being reds. The Communist Party people had been sneaking into their local assemblages and calling themselves **SANEites**, and all that was needed was for one Jim Crow senator to get up on the floor of Congress and denounce one of the people in an organizing committee in New York to just scare the lights out of them and they started a wholesale purge of their organization. And the March they held in Washington a few weeks ago was a very polite affair. They had some trouble with the people who wanted to carry genuine anti-war slogans like the central slogan: Bring the Troops Home Now, and even some who wanted to carry the flag of the National Liberation Front. They were in a quandary as to whether they should call the cops or counter-balance this scandalous performance some other way. So they worked out a system of surrounding the flags of the National Liberation Front with a little American flag. This was to make it clear to the President that they were with him and not with them.

The Social Democrats and the Stalinists are also negotiators, not real opponents of the war. There are some independents and these are some of the most important people in the movement, especially new young people who have never been a part of any of the sectors of the traditional radical movement and who are sincerely opposed to the war and want to do something about it but have not yet found any definite political ideology. And then, of course, you have the revolutionary socialists represented by our party.

I think the party is proceeding correctly in its attempt to cooperate in action with anybody who will help to make a demonstration against the war, while at the same time making it clear they stand for certain definite slogans which really means opposition to the war. Especially a slogan which means that America has no right whatever in South Vietnam -- and that is the slogan: Bring the Troops Home Now. In my opinion, that is the correct slogan. I don't see how any revolutionist could oppose it. It is a revolutionary slogan. And it is the one the party and the youth think is the proper one around which to rally the really militant and earnest opposition to the continuing war.

This slogan appealed to me right away, partly out of nostalgia because this is not the first time it was raised by the socialist movement in this country. When Wilson sent American troops across the Mexican border in the period just before our entry into the First World War, the Socialist Party called an emergency meeting of its National Committee and adopted a Manifesto which bore the title: "Withdraw the Troops." That was the essence of the demand upon the government; get out of Mexico and stay out of Mexico. That was all the situation called for, and it created both the basis for organizing the broadest opposition of people who were really against this monstrous attack upon the Mexican people and at the same time made no concession whatever in principle because the withdrawal of the troops signified the victory of the Mexicans.

When we entered the Korean war, as far as I know the only paper in the country that came out with a forthright denunciation of the war and a demand which incorporated all that was necessary from a revolutionary point of view, was our paper the Militant. I was appointed by the P.C. to write an Open Letter to the President and the members of Congress. And this letter contained the demand: "Bring the American soldiers out of Korea and let the Korean people alone to settle their own affairs." It never entered anybody's head so far as I know or heard, to suggest that this was not fully adequate as an expression of our support to the Korean people and our opposition to our own government.

So I think that slogan which our comrades have settled

on as the central, motivating agent for the building of a genuine anti-war movement, stands up both historically and for the needs of the present day. I don't think that's the purpose of the political elements in the so-called peace movement beside ourselves and some of the pacifists and independents. As far as I can make out both by past experience and present operations, the Stalinists and the Social Democrats are primarily concerned with gearing the so-called peace movement toward the next election campaign for "peace" candidates, and peace candidates can be any kind of political faker who will say he is in favor of negotiations while the troops are still there and still bombing the people. It's an important question whether they will be able to take this inchoate and unclearly defined peace movement down the blind alley of coalition politics or whether a big section of the movement will respond to a different slogan and a different line of action.

I was greatly impressed by the reports that we got from the Washington conference. I am not speaking now of the March organized by SANE but of the conference called by the National Coordinating Committee, with delegates from various elements of the peace movement. I was impressed by the feeling that this was a new political experience for the younger generation of revolutionists. This is the first time they have had a serious confrontation with political opponents on a national scale. This marks the emergence of our small party from previous isolation toward the center of what radicalism there is in the country. It is the first opportunity they have had to learn at first hand what it means to deal with political opponents who are presumably all united in the same wonderful camp -- unity, gosh, it's wonderful -- but in actuality have entirely different objectives. They learned how to handle themselves when they meet these opponents at close range. That I consider a great victory for our young comrades. They were an active part in the preparations of this gathering and they participated in it as revolutionists. And they learned something that could not be learned fully out of books. Some things have to be learned in experience, although the books help to prepare for them.

I recall talking with Trotsky -- on a delegation that went to see him in 1938 in preparation for the Founding Conference of the Fourth International -- about the experience we had just finished in the Socialist Party. We were drawing the balance sheet on what had been achieved or not achieved, and he wanted a very full and detailed report. I recall his remarking that he was well pleased with the practical results; with the recruits, the fact that we had kept our own forces intact and had gained some new forces. And he said, the principal gain is the experience. Those who have been through this experience of a direct confrontation with centrists and right-wing socialists, have acquired something that cannot be

lost. That is necessary for the full development of a revolutionary political leadership.

I think that is the big gain out of the Washington Conference. And even mistakes that could have been made or defeats suffered can be turned to good account if it's all understood and assimilated as part of the experience.

As to what really happened in Washington, we had conflicting reports. At first I was surprised to hear our delegate come back and say we had done very well there. Then I heard other reports, some comrades thought a terrible mistake had been made and a catastrophe had overtaken us because we had run head-on into a battle with the majority of the steering committee and others there. So I thought the best thing I could do was to try to find out what had happened.

I read in my attempt to inform myself about all aspects of the event. I studied the National Guardian. I studied the Militant, the People's World and the New Republic. I heard the reports of Comrade Derrel and I read the account of the Conference in this Newsletter of the National Caucus for the organization of independent committees united on the slogan of withdraw the troops now. And I also read -- you don't know how thorough I am when I am looking for information as to who really hid the body -- I even read the circular letter distributed by a united combination of two people here, the Spartacist and the Wolforthites and the Phillips tract. I even read a couple of copies of the Bulletin of the Fourth International printed by a couple of other people in New York. And everything I read except the Militant seemed to point directly at the Trotskyites in Washington as the people who had committed the crime. And I was just about to say it looks like a perfect case -- because it was so unanimous -- until I remembered that I am a Perry Mason fan and that I have often noticed the one who is accused of the crime turns out to be innocent, and the dirty dog who did the job fixed things so that he could clear himself and throw the suspicion on an innocent man.

The minute I read the Guardian -- being a politician -- and knowing what the Guardian is and how it has been evolving, I said, that's a poisonously slanted article. It's aimed with deadly malice to compromise what they call -- quoting others -- the "Trotskyite splitters." That put me on guard. Then I later got hold of the People's World, published up here in San Francisco, and I read their account; how everybody was for unity except some disgruntled and disruptive minority that they didn't even dignify by naming. The Guardian did; they said we had been denounced as "Trotskyite splitters."

The People's World informed me that Dave Dellinger and Professor Staughton Lynd of Liberation magazine worked with Communist Party delegate Arnold Johnson and Irving Beinin of the Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action, and many others to find a common ground for agreement. Now the minute I saw just that paragraph informing me that Arnold Johnson was working down there, and that he was backed up by Beinin, I knew there was something crooked going on. Because I know who Johnson is; he's the organization secretary of the Stalinist party. I know who Beinin is. He's the ex-Cochranite who has been making a profession of baiting Trotskyism ever since he got kicked out of the party twelve years ago. I know that he's identified not merely with the Guardian but with the right-wing group which has recently conducted the swing of the Guardian to the right.

Another report I got/<sup>was</sup> of a meeting down in Houston, Texas, which one of our comrades by accident attended. He told me they had received before the conference a letter from the SDS office in New York tipping them off about the Trotskyists and preparing them for a fight.

So out of all this a clearer picture emerged. And if I would criticize our comrades who were in charge of the fight in Washington, it would perhaps be for a fault that is hard to avoid in the absence of experience of this sort. That is, the underestimation of political opponents; an assumption that everything is going to be on the level, which is a very bad assumption when you have Stalinists and Social Democrats to deal with. They may possibly have been caught by surprise.

I didn't doubt for one minute about the ambush being prepared after I heard that several weeks before the conference was held the Daily Worker and the People's World suddenly began to promote the conference in high gear. I know what that means. I don't have the slightest doubt that they stacked the convention with every kind of delegate from every kind of paper organization they could mobilize. I don't doubt that they stacked the steering committee, that they rigged the agenda, in such a way that the delegates of many independent committees and our own people ran into a prepared fight in which there was room for everything except the one thing they were most interested in. That was promoting the real slogan of the anti-war movement, "Bring the Troops Home Now." And of the right and necessity of the independent committees organized under that slogan to unite themselves nationally.

Our operations and those of the caucus were called a "splitting move." If you examine the evidence of that convention it's the most fantastic accusation imaginable. Splitting what? Every tendency represented in that convention had its national or-

ganization. There were the DuBois Clubs, S.D.S., Women's Strike for Peace, the Committee for Non-Violent Action, the Communist Party and many others. But the independent committees who have adopted the central slogan which tests whether you are really serious about opposing American imperialism, the war, or not, that is the withdrawal of the troops, were denied the right to organize themselves. There was no provision on the agenda or any of the workshops to even discuss that question and take it to a vote.

I'll admit my ignorance -- I asked what is this National Coordinating Committee anyhow? From the reports we got about splits, splits, splits I thought maybe there was a national organization that we were breaking up. It's not a national organization at all. It's just what its name says: it's a national coordinating committee. And where did it come from? Where was it elected? It wasn't elected anywhere. It's a self-appointed committee constituted in Washington a few months ago at the Conference of Unrepresented People. It has headquarters in Wisconsin, and it has as its president or chairman a man named Emspack.

Now that rang a bell for me. I have heard that name before. It isn't the same Emspack I am told. He's the son, and from all accounts, a chip off the old block. Emspack was a Stalinist hack; he was the secretary of the United Electrical Workers Union. Emspack was the central figure in 1941, when we came to open warfare in Minneapolis in the split with Tobin, who blocked the issuance of a CIO charter to the Minneapolis Local of the Teamsters who wanted to join the CIO. But the charter was issued to us -- not by the CIO -- there it was blocked by Emspack. There's your Stalinist hacks...It was issued by District 50 of the United Mineworkers Union. So in order to get into the CIO in the heyday of the Stalinists, the Teamsters had to join the Miners.

All this aroused the natural suspicion that proved to be a reality; that the NCC is in fact stacked and rigged and controlled by Stalinists, and it's not an organization. It's a committee, an unelected committee. It's not like a union or a political party or a cooperative or fraternal order; it's just what its name says -- a coordinating committee to coordinate the activities of other organizations in the peace movement. And all tendencies have the right to have their own national organization. But the independent committees to end the war in Vietnam, who adopted the fighting slogan, Bring the Troops Home Now, when they ask to have a gathering to discuss the proposal that they should organize themselves nationally, they were denounced as "splitters."

Well, I think that is crooked. I think the slogan of

Bring the Troops Home Now is an absolutely correct slogan, the one upon which you can organize an anti-war movement that really means business. Anybody who will not adopt that slogan isn't really fighting the war. Because if you agree to leave the American troops there, with all their equipment, there is never going to be any peace or independence for the Vietnamese people.

I think our comrades were correct to adopt that slogan and their militancy at the conference and their refusal to be bluffed or bulldozed is quite admirable. All the more so that they were perhaps taken by surprise and hadn't had previous experience with what the peridy of Stalinism and the Social Democracy is really like. I will guarantee you that they will never be taken by surprise again.

These are permanent assets which speak well for the future. Whether some error or misstep of a tactical character was made in the heat of the fight I would not be competent to judge at this distance. But even so, tactical mistakes or setbacks or defeats can be corrected as long as the principal line is correct and as long as we don't get stubborn, when we do make a mistake, trying to rectify it by doing the same thing over again.

Nothing definite as far as I know was settled at this conference. No policy was adopted; no slogan was approved or rejected. They just met; they talked -- and attacked the Trotskyites -- and the only motion of any consequence that was passed that I could discern from what I studied, was to call some new demonstrations in March and to support the demonstrations in the South in February. I presume we will participate in that.

No formal organization was constituted. So how can you split the NCC? It's only a coordinating committee. And not only was it not elected when first constituted, it was not even elected at this conference. It's rigged and stacked with representatives of god-knows-what kind of organizations. With a Stalinist at the head of it. And anybody that will put any confidence in the fairness and justice or revolutionary militancy of such a committee has my sympathy. He badly needs attention -- and not the kind I can give, because I am not what they call a head-shrinker.

No definite program. Anybody that's for peace is entitled to be represented on the Committee. No formal organization; all the local organizations have their own autonomy. No elected national officers. Just a National Coordinating Committee. I wouldn't worry about accusations on trying to split that outfit -- because our people didn't split. The accusation is false. They stayed in the convention to the end, and they openly announced they were organizing a caucus of people who stood for the idea and the slogan: Bring the Troops Home Now. And the right of these inde-

pendent committees operating under this slogan to form a national organization of their own and to affiliate to the NCC like the other national organizations, such as the Women's Strike for Peace and others.

Now, I read the first Newsletter and thought it was well written, very intelligent and an honest report of the convention. Their proposals seemed sound to me from a revolutionary point of view. It remains to be seen whether they will be successful in their endeavor to create a national organization of independent committees on this slogan, or whether they will receive a setback. Experience will tell us. But if there is a setback or defeat I think our comrades will know how to recuperate from it and plan other tactics. Tactics can be changed if you've got the right line and know how to be a little flexible in your tactics, you're not easily destroyed.

The whole anti-war movement is, as I see it, at a very critical stage, because the war is escalating. The more the war escalates the more pressure will be brought upon the movement to conform. The weaklings and the negotiators and all the others will talk in softer and softer voices until you can't even hear them whisper any more. And the militants will get hardened and they'll get new recruits because every time the word gets out of another soldier killed there is his family and friends who hear about it. And the public opposition to the senseless slaughter will grow up and there will be new recruits. And the end of the movement, as far as I can see it, can only be toward more militancy and more assertion of the types shown by our caucus and our associates in Washington. And they will then have to seriously look from the campus where things started to the sources of power of the social struggle -- among the less privileged workers in the first place and eventually toward the organized workers.

And out of that I think we can see the beginnings of a new radical movement which raises great perspectives of world-historical significance for America, the most backward of countries in all things that concern culture, intelligence and social awareness. That American finally is producing a revolutionary and radical grouping on the campuses of this country. From the beginning of the socialist movement we have understood, and our fathers before us, that the power that can change society is the working class. But we understood also that from other classes could come what the Communist Manifesto calls elements of enlightenment and progress.

We should not forget that Marx and Engels began as students. We shouldn't forget that Marx and Engels and Lenin and



Trotsky -- and practically all the leaders of the Russian Revolution -- began as students in the colleges. And it really almost takes your breath away -- the prospect that we may be on the verge of a period when a new elite is taking shape among the student bodies across this vast country. They will find their way to collaboration with the working class in this country and bring with them the benefits of their talents and education. They will contribute new thinkers, new writers, new orators, and new agitators who know how to identify themselves with the working class movement. I think we will not neglect that field and I think that we have made a good start already with the organization and development of our Young Socialist Alliance.

I think that the experience in Washington -- regardless of what mistakes in tactics here and there might have been made -- has to be regarded as a great achievement for our movement.

# # #

Present: NEC: Mary-Alice, Dan, Betsey, John, Daniels,  
Melissa, Doug, Jack

NC ALT: Caroline, Dick, Roland

Chairman: Jack

Agenda: 1. National Office  
2. YS  
3. Subscription Drive  
4. Bloomington Defense  
5. Antiwar Work  
6. Convention

1. National Office - Betsey

a. Report read from Lew on the first leg of his tour. Audiences have been very good and at each step compliments on the Newsletter have been made to Lew by non-members.

b. NC ALT Ray W. has been dropped from membership for non-payment of dues.

c. Letter from Robin M. asking about requirements for voting on convention resolutions and delegates. Betsey to write Robin explaining the constitutional requirements.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

2. YS - Mary-Alice

The YS will be stapled on Monday and Tuesday and mailed out on Wednesday and Thursday.

3. Subscription Drive - Dan

Since the final Militant scoreboard the total number of combined subscriptions collected has risen to 1582.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Daniels, Jack, Dan, Daniels

Motion Passed

4. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

Report on defense work.

Discussion: Dan, Daniels, Jack, Daniels

5. Antiwar Work - Jack

Report on the Milwaukee Standing Committee Meeting and the meeting of the caucus and general report on antiwar work.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Melissa, Jack, Betsey, Jack, Daniels, Jack, Dan, Doug, Jack, Melissa, Jack, Mary-Alice, Dan, Jack, Betsey, Dan, Caroline

Motion Passed

6. Convention - Jack

a. Negro Struggle: It is proposed that we do not have a line resolution on the Negro Struggle at the coming convention. Our last two resolutions are a sufficient general guide for our work at this juncture. We will try to organize a panel discussion on the Negro Struggle.

Motion: To handle any conjunctural questions on the Negro Struggle in the Political Resolution or report.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Daniels, Jack, John, Jack, Betsey

Motion Passed

b. Constitution: Extensive discussion on the draft Constitution.

Motion: To approve the draft Constitution.

Motion Passed

c. Antiwar Movement Resolution: Presentation by Doug and extensive discussion on the antiwar movement resolution.

Motion: To approve the general line of the Antiwar Movement Resolution.

Motion Passed.

Attachment: Jack's Report ... 1

The Standing Committee of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam met on January 8-9 in Milwaukee. The purpose of this meeting was to take up the unresolved problems of the Thanksgiving Convention. Three major issues which were implicit at the Thanksgiving Convention came into the open at Milwaukee.

First, there was a discussion on political perspectives for the NCC. The Stalinists and other coalitionists presented arguments for supporting political candidates who oppose the war in Vietnam. They argued that supporting such candidates would help in building a mass movement and would influence the "status people." This was an undisguised presentation of coalition politics which helped open the eyes of people in Milwaukee to some of the basic roots of the fight in Washington. Although there was no vote taken or resolution passed on this subject by the meeting, the discussion helped to expose the political character of the people who opposed us. This was certainly a step forward from the confusion generated by our opponents at the Washington Convention.

Second, debate occurred around the question of whether or not the NCC Standing Committee should issue a press release exposing Johnson's "peace offensive" and calling for immediate withdrawal. Arguments were presented on both sides and a vote was taken of individual delegates present. The motion to issue a press release including a call for immediate withdrawal passed 19 to 18. This result was overturned by the use of proxy and weighted votes indicating to everyone present that the Stalinists had assured themselves a mechanical majority in the Standing Committee as they had at the Convention. Jerry Rubin and Jack Weinberg from the Berkeley VDC supported immediate withdrawal. Since the Milwaukee meeting the Berkeley VDC has gone on record in support of immediate withdrawal. The Berkeley and Chicago delegations voted with us on most major points. This had all been preceded by a fight against the legitimacy of proxies led by the Berkeley delegation and a fight for the right to elect chairman of sessions led by us.

Third, the meeting discussed the organizational character of the NCC. The basic question here was who would control the apparatus of the NCC? The fact of the domination of the Madison office by the Stalinists was raised openly by non CPers like Rubin and Beinin. (Beinin diplomatically said Madison was "dominated politically by a DuBois Club-like tendency even if there is no organized BuBois Club there.")

The Rubin proposal which called for a dynamic national organization based on the CEWV's and centered in Chicago was postponed for further consideration and discussion. It will be brought up again at a Standing Committee meeting in April. This proposal would place control in the hands of either himself or other independents.

In a partial compromise Jack Weinberg agreed to go to Madison for several weeks to "see whether we can accomplish anything" and help out. The net result was that the apparatus of the NCC remains in the hands of Frank Emspak and continues to be dominated by the Stalinists.

A general feature of the entire meeting was the realignment of many of the "independent" leaders like Rubin and Weinberg as well as people like Irving Beinin. Their bloc with the Stalinists against us at the Thanksgiving convention had disintegrated and many of them found themselves voting with us against the Stalinists. A most remarkable revelation was made by a Stalinist from a midwestern state who publicly denounced Rubin and Weinberg for splitting away from the convention bloc against the "Trotskyites."

### Caucus Meeting

Members of the Caucus to Constitute a National Organization of Independent Anti-Vietnam War Committees for the Withdrawal of U.S. Troops Now held a meeting following the Standing Committee meeting.

The first order of business was to change their name to supporters of the Bring The Troops Home Now Newsletter.

Secondly it was decided to change the three-man steering committee formed in Washington into a five-man editorial board composed of people who live in Boston. This will facilitate making editorial decisions in the Newsletter office. Gus Horowitz was chosen to be editor of the Newsletter.

It was agreed that the Newsletter office would issue pamphlets and buttons as well as put out a call for the March 25 and 26 International Days Of Protest. The first button is ready and will be mailed out this week; others are on the drawing board. A pamphlet on immediate withdrawal vs. negotiations is written and will be out soon. The meeting also encouraged supporters of the Newsletter to go into new areas and organize CEWV's and recruit Newsletter supporters. The decision was made to encourage both local organizations and individuals

to formally become Newsletter supporters.

The failure of the NCC Standing Committee to create a dynamic center based on the independent CEWV's means that the Newsletter will become very important as a national center of militant anti-war activity. The supporters of the Newsletter will be getting their CEWV's to look more and more to the Newsletter for information about and coordination of anti-war actions.

There has been a downturn in anti-war activity since the Thanksgiving Convention and many of the CEWV's are less active. This decline is due in part to the failure of the Thanksgiving Convention to inspire the anti-war activists and in part due to the confusion and pressures generated by Johnson's current "peace offensive." However, it would be a mistake for us to believe that this lull is permanent. The continued escalation of the war insures an objective base for the movement and its resurgence. When the next upturn comes it will be around the CEWV's and local united fronts which are the primary vehicles of anti-war opposition. It will go through them because they are the existing formations which have demonstrated in practice that they can mobilize thousands.

The task of Newsletter supporters is to get as many committees as possible to support the Newsletter while reaching out and helping to build new committees.

There is currently a division within the DuBois Club over the question of immediate withdrawal vs. negotiations. We should make contact and discuss with as many DuBois Club members as possible. We must get the Newsletter, the YSA Vietnam pamphlet and the Newsletter pamphlet on withdrawal to them. We should talk with them and find out what they are thinking.

The division goes right into their top leadership. There were many DuBois Club members present in Milwaukee but none as voting representatives from CEWV's.

January 22, 1966

NEC Minutes - January 4, 1966 - No. 7

Present: NEC: Doug, Melissa, John, Daniels, Betsey, Dan,  
Mary-Alice, Ralph  
NEC Excused: Jack  
NC: Lew  
NC ALT: Roland, Dick, Caroline

Chairman: Mary-Alice

Agenda: 1. National Office Report  
2. Subscription Drive  
3. YOUNG SOCIALIST  
4. Anti-war Movement

1. National Office Report - Betsey

Announcement that we have moved into a larger national office in the same building on a different floor.

2. Subscription Drive - Dan

We now have 1355 subscriptions in. At this point it looks as though we will not make our goal, but may come fairly close.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

3. YOUNG SOCIALIST - Mary-Alice

We hope to have the YS out by the middle of the month. We were unable to get the Iranian interview and have substituted a section from a speech by Fidel relating to self-determination.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Ralph, Mary-Alice, Betsey, Melissa, Betsey

Motion Passed

4. Anti-war Movement Report - Doug

Report on the NCC meeting in Milwaukee and current activities of the Caucus.

Motion: To approve the report

Discussion: Dick, Doug, Dick, Doug, John, Dan, Dick, John, Dan, Doug, John, Doug, Betsey, Dan, Betsey, John, Doug, Betsey

Motion Passed

C O P Y      C O P Y      C O P Y

**SUMMARY OF W.E.B. DUBOIS CLUBS NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING held in Philadelphia December 2-4, 1965**

The main points of the agenda are listed below with a brief notation of conclusions and/or decisions reached, and, in some instances, a brief resume of discussion. In several areas, separate documents are being issued by the National Executive which will develop these points in detail.

**I. DISCUSSION OF THE CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM (NCCTEWN)** See the DBC Report on NCCTEWN Convention for full analysis.

**II. PEACE**

**A. ON CALLING FOR NEGOTIATIONS**

After a six-hour discussion on whether or not our demands concerning the war in Vietnam should include a call for negotiations to implement the Geneva Accords and end the war, differences of opinion still existed. Those who argued for the negotiations demand (a majority of the NCC) contended that 1) This war like any other must end at the negotiations table, 2) To oppose this demand is actually to oppose the one realistic means of ending the war, 3) A call for negotiations to implement the Geneva Accords can counter LBJ's misuse of the slogan of negotiations in his effort to confuse the American people 4) A call for negotiations is a demand to which the American people will be receptive and is one around which Americans can be mobilized.

Those who argued against a call for negotiations contended that 1) As a socialist organization we have a certain responsibility to the world socialist movement, and to the NLF which is a part of that movement, and that we have no right to call for negotiations when the NLF has not done so. 2) By calling for negotiations, we are compromising ourselves and playing into LBJ's hands by adding to the confusion of the American people about the complicated issue of negotiations.

At the end of this discussion, a majority of the NCC accepted the following as our demands concerning the war in Vietnam:

**"IN ORDER TO END UNITED STATES AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM, THE W.E.B. DUBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA DEMANDS:**

- 1) Immediate cessation of bombing in North and South Vietnam
- 2) Recognition of the National Liberation Front
- 3) Negotiations to honor and implement the 1964 Geneva Accords
- 4) Withdrawal of all United States and allied troops."

**B. ASSISTANCE FOR THE NCCTEWN**

Frank Emspak, National Chairman of NCCTEWN, made a series of requests which the DBC NCC will attempt to fulfill. These include sending the NCCTEWN our international contacts list and our national key contact list, and attempting to supply a fulltime staff person for the NCCTEWN. Further, ALL LOCAL CLUBS SHOULD SEND ALL REPORTS ON PEACE ACTIVITY TO THE NCCTEWN AS WELL AS TO THE DBC NATIONAL OFFICE. We urge maximum support for the NCCTEWN.



**C. DRAFT PROGRAM (See our pamphlet on the DBC Draft Program)**

It was generally agreed that our draft program should have secondary emphasis to our main peace effort which is directed at Ending the War in Vietnam. To implement our draft program, we adopted the following measures:

- 1) Accepted the anti-draft petition, accompanied with a cover letter (See at end of NCC Summary)
- 2) The National Executive shall prepare a series of leaflets aimed at different sections of the American people and illustrating how the war in Vietnam works against their self-interest.
- 3) A Speakers Bureau on the War in Vietnam shall be organized
- 4) The DBC shall initiate an international youth and student petition against the war
- 5) The National Executive shall prepare a prospectus assisting local clubs in raising the peace issue in conjunction with the 1966 elections.

**D. EVERY LOCAL CLUB SHOULD ELECT A PEACE COORDINATOR WHO WILL COMMUNICATE REGULARLY WITH NATIONAL PEACE COORDINATOR MIKE MYERSON.**

**E. DEC. 20 DEMONSTRATIONS**

We agreed wherever possible to support with educational the hemispheric demonstrations on December 20 commemorating the founding of the NLF and opposing the war.

**III. ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR YOUTH**

This section of our NCC was of utmost importance. SEE SEPARATE DOCUMENT ON ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR ANALYSIS AND PROGRAMATIC SUGGESTIONS, including a National Youth Plank for the War on Poverty.

**IV. SUMMER PROJECT**

Again people from more developed areas will be recruited to work on concentrated summer organizing projects. Cities definitely selected (with number of full-time workers needed) include: CHICAGO (10 people) CLEVELAND (6 people) DETROIT (7 people) PHILADELPHIA (5 people).

A final decision on a project in MEMPHIS (with 10 people) will be reached at our next NCC after our Southern Coordinator Phil Davis has made an assessment from his upcoming southern tour.

The programatic basis of our summer project will be our Economic Program with the issue of Vietnam being raised in relationship to the War on Poverty (Make Jobs Not War, etc.)

Other cities to be considered for summer projects if funds and personnel are available include Baltimore, Pittsburg, Washington, St. Louis and Hazard, Ky. Two persons are needed to work with Carl Braden on the staff of the SOUTHERN PATRIOT and two others will work with the TENNESSEE FREE LABOR UNION. Persons interested in any of these projects should contact the National Office at once.

**V. NATIONAL ACTION**

Projected was a March on Washington for Jobs to climax the summer project, and to be held on August 28 (a Sunday, the anniversary of the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom) or Labor Day (Monday, September 5). Many ideas were raised, including a mass meeting to discuss the Youth Plank for the War on Poverty, a

conference to draft such a plank, torchlight parade, etc. A discussion paper on the proposed National Action will be sent to local clubs shortly. It was felt that this action could 1) be the next step for the Movement, which must be to link the issues of foreign and domestic policy 2) be a vehicle of expression for the community people who will be working with us in the summer project (the people who must be mobilized to force an end to LBJ's war in Vietnam) 3) provide an excellent tool for organizing and/or building DuBois Clubs this spring and summer. **OBVIOUSLY THIS PROJECT IS IN THE EARLIEST TENTATIVE STAGE AND YOUR IDEAS AND OPINIONS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED AND REQUESTED.**

## VI. PUBLICATIONS

### A. INSURGENT

It was generally agreed that while the last issue of INSURGENT was the best one yet produced, that the magazine should more consciously aim itself at the great majority of working class and student youth who are not yet actively committed to the left and that

### B. DIMENSIONS

will aim at activist and left youth, and will aim at becoming a journal of the Movement. DIMENSIONS will be published January 15.

### C. SPUR

In addition to being an organizational communications bulletin, SPUR should reflect the political discussions inside the National Executive, and can reprint other position papers. **ALL THREE PUBLICATIONS ARE NOW LARGELY WRITTEN BY PERSONS IN THE NATIONAL OFFICE, AND IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT CRITICISMS, SUGGESTIONS FOR ARTICLES, MANUSCRIPTS, ETC. BE FORTHCOMING FROM OTHER AREAS.** Each club should appoint a Publications Chairman, who will communicate regularly with Jim Peake and Celia Rosebury.

## VII. EDUCATION

Syllabi will be forthcoming on the Power Structure, on Negro History, on the Civil Right Movement, on Labor History, and on the Working Class. Each club should appoint an Education Chairman (in addition to Chairman for Peace, Publications and Fund-Raising) who should communicate with the National Education Secretary, Dynamite Hallinan, immediately.

## VIII. FINANCES

We have already incurred a debt of slightly less than \$1000 since the Chicago Labor Day conference. Beside that debt, if we are to carry out the plan for a convention in June, a summer project, and a national action, we obviously must raise more funds than we have in the past. Several suggestions were made.

## IX. MOVING THE NATIONAL OFFICE

The National Office will be moved to Chicago by June 1. The NATIONAL CONVENTION of the DuBois Clubs will be held on the third or fourth weekend in June in Chicago.

X. THE NEXT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING will be on the last weekend in February (25-27) in Chicago. Final decisions on moving the National Office, the Convention, and the Summer Project will be made at that meeting, as well as a decision and planning on the National Action.

I THINK IT WAS GENERALLY AGREED BY ALL WHO ATTENDED THIS NCC THAT IT WAS VERY ENCOURAGING AND EXCITING. THIS WAS BECAUSE WE COULD SEE DUBOIS CLUBS POLICY AND PROGRAM ARE REALLY BEGINNING TO DEVELOP. FULLER PREPARATION BY ALL MEMBERS OF THE NCC (WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE) CAN INSURE AN EVEN MORE PRODUCTIVE CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO IN FEBRUARY.

Hugh Fowler, National Chairman

REPORT OF THE DUBOIS CLUBS ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY, Terence Hallina

In the process of growing up any organization goes through a number of stages. Unless it is able to master each of them and move on to the next level, it will cease growing and eventually begin to wither away.

The DuBois Clubs has reached such a plateau. We have mastered the stage of initiating chapters. Now unless we are able to consolidate those chapters and develop a long-range perspective for our organization, than we shall suffer the fate of so many other shortlived groups of the past.

The first step in this direction is to formalize our organization. At the Chicago Conference it was recommended that membership cards be printed by the National Office. This has been done and such cards are now available. According to the proposal, local clubs are to undertake a widespread sale of these cards, the only criterion for membership being a willingness to pay the required fee. In this manner, we can find out exactly how many members we have and who they are and can begin building a mass membership organization. Once five membership cards from any chapter have been received by the National Office a charter will be sent to that club. Where no chapter is operating, people can still join as independent individuals.

By using four cards, one of which is to be retained by the applicant with the others going to the local, regional and National offices, we hope to be giving structure to the organization at several levels. Area committees should be established in the major population centers to direct the growth and activity of clubs in that area. It was recommended at the last NCC that club chairman serve on these committees. The regional offices must be becoming more than just a roving coordinator. Regional coordinators should begin to concentrate on one or two major centers in their area and establish a regional office in one city. The area and regional conferences scheduled for the Christmas and Easter holidays must be taken seriously and carried out with a maximum of advanced preparation.

One thing which became clear during the discussion of structure at the NCC is that we have seriously overextended ourselves. The tremendous growth we have experienced this first year has been almost purely a horizontal one. We have not really reached new people and have not begun to tap the masses of American youth. The potentials for organizing chapters have been so great that there has been a tendency to set up chapters throughout an area without building any strong center. Similarly, within the big cities chapters have been splintered into a number of small localized groups which are incapable of developing or carrying out program. Although much of this has been motivated by the worthy desire of reaching more, and particularly working class, young people it has had the

opposite effect. The truth is that such people are reached by what you are doing, rather than by setting up little chapters in their neighborhoods. When at least one chapter is operating really effectively in each area then you will get the kind of spontaneous growth needed to build the DuBois Clubs into a mass organization.

We must begin to consolidate chapters and to concentrate our efforts, even at the cost of some local clubs and individuals. Experience has shown us that in order for a DuBois Club chapter to operate effectively it should have at least 50 members. It is then possible to set up committees in several special interest fields. Each of these committees should develop and organize activity in their respective areas, checking back with the executive only for approval and to gain the participation of other members. The president's job will then consist of supervising the work of these committees, paying special attention to those that are having problems.

While our organization places its principal stress on the action aspects of our program, work must also be carried on in the educational and social fields. Unless there is an educational program that can develop the people contacted on the basis of your activity ( and remember it is exactly when the club is operating most successfully that it is going to attract people who are not socialists) and a social program to make it enjoyable to remain in the club the chapter will become one-sided and cease to function effectively.

The key to mastering this new stage we are entering is program. But program cannot be developed without organization. The National Office is beginning to turn out materials which can help local chapters gain direction and sustain activity. But, this is a two-way street. To develop really meaningful program on a national level we must learn about the experiences of different areas and the results of attempts to put the program developed into practice. This means communications must be strengthened and that someone in each chapter must accept the responsibility for steady communication with the National Office.

We are today in a position to become the most important organization in the Movement, because we are developing the program that everyone else is looking for. But, this will not happen by itself. It will only happen if people in this organization are willing to get out and fight to see that it does. And they can only do that if they have an effective structured and operating organization behind them.

C O P Y C O P Y C O P Y

REPORT ON THE CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM (In Washington, D.C. from Nov. 25-28, 1965)

From the National Executive of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

Most of this report will necessarily focus on the struggle over structure which dominated the entire conference. This struggle reflected the attempt that was made by a minority faction around YSA to withdraw the more than one hundred independent Viet Nam committees out of a broad National Coordinating Committee where each committee retains full autonomy and equal voting representation, and to reorganize the independent committees into a narrow, self-isolating organization. It is important that this discussion be prefaced and framed by a brief analysis of the forces represented at this meeting and the trend they represent in the American peace movement.

....

The reasons given by the minority faction for the need for a different type of organization seemed valid to many delegates at first in that they reflected legitimate concerns of many independent groups. It was argued that the National Coordinating Committee was dominated by national organizations; that a single independent Viet Nam committee could have no real say in policy-making. Therefore, it was proposed that a separate organization be established which could express the feelings of local committees, which would be completely dominated by them, and which could meet their needs. This would be a membership organization which would be organized at the convention.

At the same time, the minority faction said they wanted a National Coordinating Committee -- an umbrella organization for the peace movement which would coordinate activity for the entire movement. This Committee would include every organization from SANE and Turn Toward Peace to the YSA, and would include the new organization of independents as a member.

In fact, the claim that the NCC was dominated by national organizations was untrue. 68 out of 73 steering committee seats were controlled by independent committees. There were 5 votes for national organizations, while the independents had 68. Therefore, national domination could not be the real issue.

Likewise, the charge that independent committees were denied a voice in policy making was not valid. As the NCC was structured originally, each local committee had an equal voice in policy making, one vote, the same as any other local or national organization. And yet, they were permitted the greatest degree of independence to protest the war in whatever way they thought best, considering local conditions, etc.

In actuality, the proposed new organization did away with the

independence of the local committees -- they would now be part of a national organization, bound by a common set of principles, with policy being determined not by local groups but by a national leadership. What was actually happening was that an attempt was being made to consolidate the new anti-war movements around a single, left political trend. What was actually being proposed was not an organization of the independents, but only of a small number of independent committees; not meeting the need of coordinating activity between a variety of different kinds of independent groupings, but splitting the more radical independents away from the others. What would have emerged would have been a left sectarian organization that would have isolated the new radical forces in the peace movement, rather than allowing them to work more closely with the whole peace movement in finding new ways to reach the American people.

The proposed new organization contained in its statement of purpose two political requirements: 1) U.S. aggression deprives the Vietnamese people of their right to self determination. 2) A demand for immediate withdrawal now!

The majority of independents at the convention, even though they agreed with the statements, did not feel their committees could operate successfully around those principles.

What is really needed is an NCC which could service all Viet Nam committees, no matter what their level or approach to the war. As it was (and is) structured, it can provide forms for the broad, as well as the radical, sections of the peace movement and can find ways in which they can work together.

Though early in the convention it became clear to us that the minority faction was using the question of structure to promote divisive maneuvers, we did not want to be drawn into the position of opening a factional fight by publicly exposing them. Our intention was to speak with the independents about the problem, to participate in the workshops fully emphasizing programmatic development, and attempt to aid others in defining and resolving the problem. Unfortunately we were hamstrung by a paucity of concrete proposals. To accomplish this we called a series of DBC caucuses for local and national members and other interested individuals. These caucuses were a great aid in providing clarity and direction for those who participated. Though these were of great benefit and did much to improve our relations with key people they were quickly thrown together, informally structured, and the leadership was little better prepared to help than the membership. The full effects of the caucuses were not felt because the DBC members did not take the caucus discussions out of the caucuses to the independents in the convention. While the leadership could have spoken out more in the sessions, the membership could have played a better role in bringing clarity and understanding to the independents who in the main were confused and demoralized by the tactics of the minority faction.

DBC Report of Convention of NCCTEWN .....3

....

The significance of the convention is that the dominant forces in the radical section of the peace movement became more convinced of the need for unity and breadth in the peace movement with strong opposition to the trend toward isolation. This was a move in the opposite direction, toward finding the means to work with all those forces who oppose the war no matter what their level of understanding might be. The convention is now history, and we must face the problems created by it and around it by others at home. We must seek to build the strongest and broadest NCC feasible.

(Note: Sections of this report were omitted to save time and space. Omissions are indicated by .... The sections which are included contain the main points of the report.)



C O P Y   C O P Y   C O P Y

## LOCAL DBC ACTIVITY AND VIET NAM COMMITTEES

It is now apparent that YSA is going to continue to push to build its narrow, national, co-called "independent" committee. From what we can gather here in California, it looks as if they are encouraging individuals to join so as to build a national membership organization. This is what they originally were pushing for some months ago. However this issue is raised by YSA, local DBC people should be prepared to deal with it.

The following deals with problems which local DBC's may encounter within local Viet Nam committees after the Washington N.C.C.

It is the feeling of the DuBois N.C.C. that these problems best be approached by (1) pushing for the broadest possible program within local committees; (2) urging strong support for the National Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam by all local committees, and urging participation by local committees in the programs it will help to co-ordinate; (3) avoiding, whenever possible, a replay of the struggles which divided the Washington Conference by urging, on the merits of the issues involved, for broad programs and support of the N.C.C.

The truly independent committees, those free of any decisive YSA influence, will probably not be affected by the negative aspects of the Washington conference. They may, however, have other organizational problems which local DBC's might help them to overcome. The DBC must have a few members active in every independent committee, and must give all possible organizational support to the activities of the local committees.

Many independent committees, in which the majority of the membership has no formal political affiliation, have been dominated in the past by YSA. This has occurred because YSA people have been active in forming the committees, have volunteered to do whatever work was necessary to carry out committee program, or because they have stood for election to committee offices or steering committee positions. The problems of working within these committees are great, but every effort should be made to steer these committees along lines which can allow for broad participation by the masses of the American people who oppose the war. It must be constantly pointed out that the war in Viet Nam is not in the interests of the American people. Massive opposition to the war can be mobilized, but this will be done by meeting people at their own level and making them aware of what the war means to them, and how it effects their lives as workers, wives, students, tax payers, etc., and not by forcing discussions about the war into the framework of radical politics or restrictive, narrow slogans. If efforts are made through forced discussion to encourage these committees to join the YSA national organization, it should be pointed out that this will cost the independent committee its representation on the existing N.C.C. nationally and locally also, if another group forms. The major contradiction in YSA's argument for their independent national organization" is that the local committees by virtue of affiliation with it sacrifice the independence they now enjoy in

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the existing N.C.C. This should certainly be pointed out.

There do exist a few committees which were established by YSA as fronts, or which are dominated by YSA to such an extent to make broad programmatic activity meaningless. If efforts to broaden the activities of these committees fail, it may be possible for DBC people to work to establish another local committee independent of YSA control. It should be noted that the N.C.C. policy encourages separate committees in any geographical area, such as neighborhood committees, trade union groups, groups on different campuses, etc. To allow for anti-war activity of a broad nature DBC may undertake the formation of new committees. This is an action requiring much consideration, as our primary responsibility is not to build Viet Nam committees, and such an action does not necessarily build the DBC, although it does gain it good will. In several areas where YSA dominates a local committee, many people should be sought out and may aid in the formation of a new, independent committee. Care must be taken not to sacrifice growth of the local DBC which must continue to function as a multi-issue organization. In areas which have several local committees, YSA influence in one may be lessened by forming area coordinating committees and attempting to draw out groups together for broad, area-wide activities.

In committees which YSA attempts to use as recruiting grounds for its national membership organization, DBC people should raise the obvious questions. What is the program of this organization? Is this organization going to conduct activities paralleling those of the existing N.C.C.? Few really independent people will be attracted to this body if any substantive discussion of its program, goals, etc., is conducted as recruitment pitches are made.

The problems raised by YSA and the S.W.P. must be seen more as an irritant than an obstacle. The fact that they were able to disrupt the Washington conference was due not to the dubious merits of their proposals and strategies, but to the lack of preparation of program and planning by those who are sincerely interested in talking to the masses of the American public and building an effective peace movement. The thousands of sincerely motivated people active in the peace movement will not be swayed from their tasks by the efforts of one left group which seeks to use the movement to build its own organization. The DBC must locally work in support of the independent committees to insure the continued growth and success of the peace movement.