

Coree

# young socialist forum



P.O. BOX 471 COOPER STATION NEW YORK 3, NY

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# A REPORT ON THE STUDENT PEACE MOVEMENT

IN THE BAY AREA

by Jim Petersen

The following report is submitted in response to a request from the N.E.C. issued early this semester.

1.

The Peace movement in the Bay Area has not followed the pattern which exists in other areas such as Detroit or New York. In fact, there is virtually no peace movement at all. The following summary of the Peace groups in the area will serve to illustrate this fact.

A.) Student Peace Union. 1.) Berkeley: BSPU has, at the most, seven active members, three of whom are also YPSL functionaries. Some of the other members are active in A.D.A. It has held only three or four meetings this semester, none of which had any more than ten people in attendance. It has done nothing besides discuss what it should do, and hold a few "Peace seminars" which were also very poorly attended. It did not participate in the April Peace demonstrations because "some of the members felt that direct political action would not be too effective at this time." 2.) San Francisco State College: SFSC SPU has declined in membership until only two or three people are left. It has not been active this semester and is essentially equivalent to SFSC-YPSL. 3.) San Francisco City College: The San Francisco SPU is a very new group which not yet affiliated with the National SPU. To date it is the only political group of its kind on the CCSF campus and it has enjoyed a monopoly in left wing politics. In this respect it is more like the SPU groups in other areas.

B.) Acts for Peace. This group has for all practical purposes, been dissolved into Turn Toward Peace, although it still lends its name to the Headquarters which both groups occupy.

C.) Turn Toward Peace. In spite of the fact that TTP has one of its major Headquarters in Berkeley, it has failed to make any impact on the student community. It has let it be known that it will sponsor any demonstration which meets its requirements and let it go at that. It has confined itself to letter writing campaigns, public opinion polls and press conferences.

D.) Sane. No Sane exists in the Bay Area.

E.) Women for Peace. Women for Peace is fairly strong and has been able to muster up to 500 people at a demonstration but it has two deficiencies which have kept it from growing. 1.) It orients toward the Democratic party and the liberals. 2.) It has failed to move on to the campus. Recently, the latter deficiency has been overcome in Berkeley where a Campus Women for Peace was established, but no sooner had this group been established than it adopted the orientation of the adult group and turned its back on any genuine anti-war activities in the area (see my report on the anti-bomb demonstrations in April).

The Failure of any strong Peace Group to develop in the Bay Area is due to the prior development of relatively large numbers of political action groups such as Slate, Scope, YPSL and the YSA. Consequently, the burden of organizing Peace activities was shouldered by these groups and no need was felt by radical students to join a group devoted to the issue of peace alone. Peace has become only one of many important political questions which are dealt with by these groups.

## CARBONDALE SPU REPORT

April 9, 1962 by Jim P. SPU - YSAer

" Last Monday ( 2nd) I received abrupt notice that the field sec. for SPU, Peter Allen, would arrive here two days later and to set up an SPU meeting for him to address. I was surprised at the sudden interest of the national office in our local group, just when we were to select delegates to the convention, when the national had never before evidenced anything more than a very passive surface interest in the affairs of the SIU-SPU, certainly not to the extent of sending anyone down here to help us with any "problems" we might have. Allen arrived Wednesday afternoon, and my relationship with him was less than fervent from the beginning. I was very interested in learning why the YSA, along with Advance and the youth group of the Labor-Negro Vanguard, all of whom are peace-oriented, had been left off the list of groups invited to send observers to the convention, while YPSL, Young Dems, and Young GOP had all been included in the welcome category. His answers were interesting:

- 1.) YSA people are all cocoo, and have machine guns in their basements.
- 2.) YSA people are just trouble makers, are too militant (whatever that is supposed to mean) and are all old New York radicals.
- 3.) These groups aren't really interested in peace, they just want to subvert SPU to their own ends.
- 4.) Nobody from YSA belongs to SPU, maybe one or two in N.Y. but nobody else.
- 5.) (Last answer, desperately) Well we (the steering committee) just decided to invite the groups listed, and you out here are just out of touch with political realities, and YSA is disreputable, and loud, and activist, and they aren't going to be invited to extend greetings to our convention, and that's that.

Shortly after this one of our high school kids came in and met Allen, and, unknowingly, began talking about how Sheppard was here two weeks ago, and how effectively he spoke, and how everyone was impressed, and Mr. Allen was visibly upset. He wanted to know why Sheppard was here, who had invited him, and after he asked me point-blank if I was in YSA and I replied that I was, our relationship deteriorated sharply.

Allen is a gem, unkempt inept, and totally without political or social awareness. He calls himself a "militant pacifist anarchist (?)" and is a fuzzy-wuzzy YPSL type. He seems to know nothing of civil rights and less about international politics, and when pressed to go beyond the "line" somebody in the national org. has fed him, he is helpless. As an organizer he is absurd.

As the militant line our local SPU is taking became more obvious to him, he became more upset. At the meeting that night, when it became obvious to him that two militants were going to be elected as delegates to the National Convention (one of them myself) he broke in during the middle of the election to give a long harangue suggesting that the moderates in our group were being denied a voice at the convention, and suggesting that we postpone the election of delegates until all members had more time to learn the "real" views of the candidates for delegates. The rest of his stay here was devoted to a fumbling attempt to woo people who

he thought might form an opposition to the left-wing leadership of the local organization. This was an utter failure, as the people he talked to would immediately come to me asking "what's he talking about?". Mr. Allen became more upset, and frustrated, and by the time he left our campus he was reduced to mumbling about "extremists positions separating the group from the mass student body".

Beyond the obvious personal incompetence of Mr. Allen as a thinker and as an organizer, certain important conclusions can be drawn, I think, and certain inferences hinted at from all this. The fuzzy-wuzzy, e.g., YPSL and allied types, are firmly in the saddle nationally and, in a fumbling way, they are endeavoring to set up a convention which will be closed to militant orientation. Their view of SPU (as translated through Allen) is of SPU as a large issue oriented organization directed toward giving kids a taste of activity which will carry with them through life as some kind of long-range cultural influence. They dislike militancy and want to avoid any real political commitment. Apparently the national committee is divided between YPSL's and not-religious-vegetarian CNVA types, and since both these groups live in a pleasant nether world of fuzzy talk . . . etc. These people like running the group, however, and obviously don't relish the idea of a strong left group forming within SPU to lead it to real commitment. I think it was not accidental that Allen was delegated to tour mid-western chapters just at the time when delegates to the national convention are being chosen. It will be very interesting to observe how much minority opinion is allowed representation at the national. My YSA affiliation is now known to the national org., unavoidably, and no doubt should have become obvious soon anyway. My local SPU trusts and supports me with full knowledge of my YSA membership. I am preparing to run for the National Committee if the situation is appropriate at the convention. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

\* \* \* \* \*

The letter also mentioned a demand being sent to the National Office of SPU demanding representation for all pro-peace groups. The letter ends by saying that Sheppard's tour helped the militant leadership in SPU "100 %".

May 9, 1962

SPU Report:

I'll divide this report into three parts:

- 1) the convention itself
- 2) general political comments
- 3) our participation and miscellaneous  
(i.e. anything I forgot)

I The Convention Itself. April 27-29

I'll follow the agenda I've enclosed to make the whole thing more coherent.

Friday afternoons

I arrived before registration and found Joe Hansen and George S., Bev and Dave all in the Antioch parking lot talking to three SPU kids: Hunter Morey and Ian McMahan from Princeton and Howard Evans from Swarthmore. I took over the jawing and spent two or three hours with these kids having coffee and talking about politics. The reason I mention this is that they were the typical non-YPSL SPUers there. Friendly to YSA, interested in its views, but having had very little contact with it. The key thing was they considered our views a legitimate part of the "peace movement". They also saw and commented on the obvious contradiction between the way the YPSL's had pictured YSA and the way I acted, i.e. not an insane "Stalinist" with plastic bombs.

Friday evening:

Several of the organizational workshops were not held. Only 2, 3 and 7 came off. Jim P. attended 7 and Steve and Dan attended 3 and should include them in their reports. In 3 the first real red-baiting started when a CCNY delegate said that YSAers and Advancers should be expelled from SPU. Steve and Dan spoke up of course and the YPSLs, while refusing to support this girl all the way, did begin their theme of: "YSA is in SPU in bad faith"---"YSA doesn't even really support our statement of purpose"---"therefore why is YSA really in SPU?"---"Pro-Soviet etc."

Saturday morning:

We had a caucus before the political workshops and discovered to our pleasant surprise that a comrade from Hiram College, Les Baltimore (Hiram, Ohio---just south of Cleveland) whom we had not counted on was there as an SPU delegate. I assume you know of his existence. We decided to concentrate 1) on the basic political document from Detroit with our line and 2) on the question of internal democracy in general for political ideas instead of the specific points Jim P. had. Our forces were limited, politics is primary, and his points weren't as strong as they had originally seemed. We decided to bring them up if the area was raised but not to force them. I thought the key was getting our political program for peace to the uncommitted kids plus establishing the legitimacy of our views and our democratic right to express them.

Political workshops 1 and 6 were combined and were attended by Comrades as were 2 and 3d. 3a, b, and c were called off. Their reports will deal more specifically with these workshops. The civil liberties one (2) was very interesting.

A resolution was passed explicitly stating that membership in another organization or the holding of political views different from those of the majority of SPU in and of itself was not grounds for expulsion and furthermore anyone in SPU should have the privilege, free from any restraint or repercussions, to put forth the views he considers correct.

The origin of this resolution, which was presented by Hunter Morey, is interesting. Hunter was with me when I registered Friday afternoon and as I went down the line (made up mostly of YPSLs) they began a subtle series of semi-insults and red-baiting. Although Hunter said nothing it really incensed him and at the Saturday morning civil liberties (2) workshop he attacked the YPSLs by name, related the incident in its entirety, and said it was the motivation for the resolution. The YPSLs were already cutting their own throats.

#### Saturday afternoon:

Alan's report covers the "spirit" of the tasks and perspectives session very well. The YPSL attack on the Detroit document was most basically that it ignored Russia and was thus pro-Kruschev by implication. The amendment in section II of the Detroit document (indicated on it) slowed down this particular attack. Basically they were merely calling on the YSA to "stand up and admit their position on Russia." Our comments from the floor (Steve, Dan and Jim being the delegates) were mostly political explanation for the document although Steve's summary contained a brief explanation of a defen-sist position toward the Soviet Union. They kept trying to interpret the Statement of Purpose of SPU as saying in essence "a plague on both your houses to an equal degree" toward both USA and the USSR. We tried to explain that this was a sectarian attempt by the YPSLs to impose their particular politics on SPU which would be allowed a broader range. This received some favorable response. We got our best response from 1) our point on no support to the major parties (in fact toward the end of the session YPSLs were getting up saying that they had "no illusions in either war parties) and 2) the referendum on military decisions section. At least two non\*YSAers stood up and said that it should be included in all political actions. We ended up with 6 yes and 6 abstentions. The Parker and Gordon documents are in the discussion bulletins.

#### Saturday evening:

Melman's talk was a rehash of his book—I didn't bother to attend, talked to kids instead.

The party was called off and the Political Action session began. We tried to make points on the Irons document (in Discussion Bulletin) which was finally passed in somewhat amended form. The interesting thing pointed out was that if Iron's nine criteria for support to candidates was followed no Democrat or Republican could be supported. There was strong feeling expressed to the effect that it is a waste of SPU's limited resources to plunge into electoral campaigns.

#### Sunday morning:

The constitutional amendments session merely put a little more meat on the Statement of Purpose. The first sentence was changed to read: "Because both East and West have pursued policies not in the interest of their own peoples or the peoples of the world and because both share a major responsibility for the Cold War..." and the phrase "use the same

standards of criticism for both power blocs..." was thrown in. These were put in so there would be "no misunderstanding by the Pro-Soviet tendencies." (That's us). Once again the YPSLs went too far and some non-YSAers began responding by saying that the primary responsibility for the Cold War lay with the West and by "condemning both East and West blindly" the SPU was blurring the real issues. Needless to say we supported and extended his position from the floor.

In order to get to Carleton I had to leave before the National Council elections but Jim P's report should cover that fully. He was supported by the National Secretary, Don McKelvy, on the basis of minority representation but was defeated I understand.

## II General Political Comments

Several things stand out on reflection:

- 1) SPU's general political orientation gives us opportunities to work as a political tendency, which we never could have in other "peace groups" such as Same, FOR etc.
- 2) The YPSL's effectively control SPU but
  - a: locals have autonomy.
  - b: there are enough non-YPSL civil-libertarians (even in the national office) to prevent an immediate witch-hunt. Most kids are quite conscious about what red-baiting did to Sane and don't want a repeat performance. We should make a point of emphasizing this. Homer Jack made an ass of himself trying to defend Sane from the floor.
  - c: a lot of non-YPSL's we found were happy to get more than one political view even if they don't agree.
  - d: the YPSL's tendency to panic and identify all dissenters as "Pro-Soviet YSAers" does us an obvious service.
- 3) Our personal actions and our political views were both different than YPSL had painted them. This plus their exaggerated "fear" of our small forces didn't increase the average independent kid's confidence in them.
- 4) As I stated above there was a good reception to both
  - a: Our exposure of the two war parties and the significance of of this and our call for a referendum on military actions.
  - b: our position that the Statement of Purpose of SPU should not interpreted so as to restrict views which are not "orthodox" Third Campism. Therefore our legitimacy as "really being for peace."
- 5) SPU is growing and starting to get some high schools along with the colleges. The political level of the kids is quite low as a perusal of the discussion Bulletin will show, but they do have the basic idea that the fight for peace is a political fight and are willing to listen to different ideas. As their disillusionment with the Kennedy administration grows it should make them more receptive to our ideas. I feel it was a mistake not to hit the Washington Action more than we did at the convention.

The key is that we can do these things most effectively on a local level. Active fractions of YSAers in SPU locals can present our politics and build left wings--the Detroit and SIU experiences are examples. They



are also examples of how active fractions can recruit. We will face more and more YPSL bandit excursions on some locals such as the one at SIU (the SPU National Office is planning to send one of their hacks to Carleton to "straighten out the Pro-Soviets"), but if we handle them intelligently there is no reason why this can't rebound to our advantage as it did at SIU. On the YPSLs: their main SPU people are their sophisticated left-wingers. Thus they are willing to "bend" to the left if they think we are making an impact. This was especially obvious in their gradual disavowal of the Democratic party. The point is they don't "bend" quite as well in action. This is what we have to take advantage of. I couldn't tell how much they considered SDS a new reformist regroupment center but they were very friendly to it.

The Stalinists were all good liberals and to the right of the YPSLs for most of the convention. I think they spend most of their time (those who are in SPU) reminiscing about Student Sane. They don't seem to be any sort of force in SPU nationally.

### III Our Participation and Miscellaneous

1) Art M. manned a literature table all day Saturday. This also aggravated the YPSLs and they made fools of themselves objecting. We didn't take as much advantage of the literature as we should have since Art was the only one not at Plenary Sessions. Still sold about \$18 worth.

2) We should try to have working papers for the political workshops next time. They are captive audiences and the YPSLs had to cancel several of them, for lack of working papers.

3) We shouldn't YPSL-bait. They make fools of themselves by red-baiting us and it doesn't do any good telling a kid that "YPSL runs SPU"—show him. They give us a lot of free publicity, no use returning the favor.

4) I attended and registered at the convention as the official representative of YSA—a good precedent. Enclosed are names of contacts and kids we met there whom you should get ahold of. Jim P. is writing the article for the YS and Militant. Enough!

Jack B.

**REPORT TO NC OF CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE- DEMONSTRATIONS held in Baltimore May 11-13**

sponsored by CORE, SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Comm.), NAG (Non violent Group-Washington affiliate of SNCC) and CIG (Civic Interest Group- Balt.)  
Those attending: Melissa S., Shirley S., Balt. local. by Shirley Stoute

Saturday morning, workshops were held on Civil Rights - Civil Liberties, and Nonviolence and Direct Action. Since both were held the same time I attended the one on C.R.-C.L. which included about 50 people. Most of the people came late and only about 15 people spoke.

Norman Hill (Sp member and leader of CORE) who led the workshop, started out by criticizing the Kennedy administration for its anti-civil rights policies in not too strong terms or in a fundamental manner. He then said "but that's on the bad side" and proceeded to praise Kennedy for all the good things he has done.

The points he concentrated on and threw out for discussion were: 1. How to keep from having to fight for our C.L. while fighting for our Civil Rights and avoid repeats of the criminal anarchy case. 2. How to fight the criminal anarchy case in particular - outside of the court battle. 3. How to engage in political action and maintain independence of any political party.

During the discussion period, speakers gave priority to "Civil Liberties in the Civil Rights movement, "even though Norman Hill was frowning. He showed his frustration by repeated attempts at the beginning of each round to veer the discussion away from this subject. The main reason for this occurrence was the fact that Bob Kaufman and other YSAers participated in the discussion. Let me point out that people were interested in discussing this even though it was raised by a YSAer.

To my surprise, most people spoke within the general framework of non-exclusion pointing out that people should be judged on the basis of sincerity as demonstrated by activity, with many shades of difference. For instance, one speaker who expressed the above viewpoint stated that selling one's favorite paper on CORE activities was not acceptable. A guy who called himself a socialist said there was nothing wrong with this. This resulted in a bit of discussion on how a person with a special point of view can best reach people without damaging an action in which he is participating.

Some of the minority elements - When the need for internal democracy in CORE - discussion of tactics was raised, a YPSL said there are certain things that cannot be discussed and that the general trend of the Civil Rights movement is nonviolence and if you don't agree with it you shouldn't participate. He was answered by a guy who said that non-violence is a tactic, and grumbled about the way some people in CORE are trying to ~~make~~ the C.R. mvt. adopt non-violence as a way of life. Another fink said that Communists might want to use the movt. for their own purposes and might not really be for civil rights. A few people tried to equate non-exclusion with including racists. One guy answered this well by saying "We must define Civil Liberties. If it means letting in racists then we must be for it. We can't afford to red-bait. Red-baiting killed Sane and it can kill us."

Civil Liberties for racists (Rockwell Klan etc.) - consensus of opinion was that we should not call on the gov't to enact laws curbing their speech and right of assembly because the same laws would be used against us.

Political Action and the importance of voter registration work. - When Norman Hill raised this point at the beginning, he did so in a very hazy manner; for instance, I don't think he really used the words: political action. This was the essence of what he said, however, and was discussed in that light. One guy,

in pointing out that the vote was a political weapon, stressed the importance of voter registration. He also said that while getting people to vote, it is our job to offer them something worth voting for. There is no incentive. He then mentioned something about liberal candidates. This did not solve the problem in the minds of many. After the session, I talked to a few people who were trying to grapple with the problem of combining direct effective political action with our demonstrations. Someone suggested visiting congressmen but this fell flat. This problem is hanging in the air.

On ways to fight the Criminal Anarchy case - someone suggested a mass sit-in in Kennedy's office with signs demanding to be arrested for criminal anarchy, since we are also civil rights fighters.

The workshop on Non-violence and Direct Action, based on reports, consisted of demonstrations on how to take beatings passively. The reason given for the use of non-violence was to appeal to the inner core of love of the attacker. The people I talked to didn't go for the love-thine-enemy bit.

### Demonstrations

Besides the restaurant invasions that were planned for Baltimore, a group of student leaders were picked to go to Ellicott City where a Civil War Centennial was being held with shooting of cannons, etc. Richard Crowder, who attended, was one of those picked to go. They planned to size up the situation and hold some kind of demonstration, but were unsuccessful because they were not well enough organized and the cops were on the ball.

The rest of us were divided up into groups of about 6, each group with a leader chosen on the basis of experience. Bob Kaufman was co-leader of my group with a YPSL. Each group was equipped with picket signs and a list of about 3 restaurants to hit. It was organized so that each restaurant would be hit a few times by different groups. This was publicized in the Balt. press for weeks in advance - the rest. owners knew we were coming. Standard procedure was to get an integrated group into rest., grab seats, and after being read out join picket line set up by rest of group.

One demonstrator was arrested and a picket line of about 200 people was held around the jail that night. It was the most militant, spirited picket line you can imagine. We sang freedom songs; (the only thing that we did right was the day we started to fight...), some were religious. We were boisterous, undignified, and unrespectable. At the end of the picketing Dion Diamond asked the group to meditate in prayer for a few minutes. He preached a short sermon. A few snickered quietly and others just beared it. This was not done for politeness sake alone but because he is a leader of this militant stu. mvt. and not just any old preacher.

We then went to a party during which some teen-age drunken thugs broke the window of a car belonging to a couple leaving the party. The cops were called. When they arrived and were told of events they took a ride. A group of freedom riders walking back to the center were followed by thugs armed with knives, hoses, etc. who escaped after other cops who arrived on scene made a feeble attempt to catch them. Cops questioned a freedom rider. Bill Hansen asked why he was being questioned and informed cops that he was "one of us." Hansen was thrown up against brick wall. Others yelled and people streamed out of center. Dion Diamond and Sydnor were arrested while telling people to go back inside. Mahoney was arrested for refusing to obey police order to "move on" while standing on island waiting for traffic to cease. Dave Williams arrested for asking Mahoney if he wanted him to take his bag. Total four.

While Dion and Bill Mahoney were being booked in station, they spoke French so jailors could not understand. Cops then denounced "them niggers". When Mahoney was searched, 50 SNCC buttons were found in his pocket with the inscription "We Shall Overcome". The jailor asked "overcome what". Mahoney, his voice dripping with venom said "white people and cops". When the cops were questioned by the jailors they said there was a regular riot.

About 50 people milled around the station until bail and trial were set. Stokely Carmichael assembled us to give out the information. He opened by saying: "It is my contention that this is a case of police bigotry because we are an integrated group. Leo Burroughs said it was a case of misunderstanding. It is also my contention that Leo Burroughs is a pedantic ass. (Burroughs until very recently was head of Balt. CORE) After a pause one person said "go on with the story" and there were no other comments. The trial was set for 8 a.m. the next morning. While we were waiting, Carmichael also said "The freedom riders are becoming radical and we're going to become radical with them". At this point someone must have cautioned him about being red-baited, for he shouted: "the freedom riders are going to be called Communist" and something to the effect that we better keep on fighting.

The next morning, before the trial when Bill Hansen (SNCC) was gathering witnesses, he said; "Just make sure Leo Burroughs doesn't say anything because he'll get up there and say it was our fault". (I was later informed that Burroughs made this statement to the cops). The four were acquitted.

The last scheduled point on the agenda was a speech by James Farmer Sun. morning. Something much better happened instead. Some of the student leaders gave an evaluation of the weekend and problems facing the movement today. Dion Diamond, field secretary of SNCC, said; To end racism we must change society because we are fighting society. Segregation is part of this society. He also said that our main enemy seems to be the lower classes, for it is they who attack us on picket lines.

Bill Mahoney - NAG - "Last night I said we shall overcome white people and cops. But it is the upper classes that we are fighting. The lower classes attack us but they are mere tools of those who make billions of dollars off of segregation". He then said he was organizing the garbage collectors in Washington into a union because they are the worst paid and have the worst jobs.

Another person from SNCC said that last December there were 400 people at such a conference and now there are only 200. He said these recent freedom rides have not had the tenacity and determination of the previous ones. There is a lack of interest. We are becoming stagnant; people are getting tired; we are not as active as we once were; we must do more than have exciting picket lines and demonstrations. He also said that we must get to work on routine humdrum tasks of knocking on doors and getting people out to vote because the vote is a political weapon and we must take some political action. He also cited Mahoney's work with the garbage collectors as the kind of thing that should be done.

After the speeches we stood together in a circle for about an hour singing songs of the movement. After every major activity this occurred. In general and at times like this in particular, one felt the fiery spirit of the movement and intense comradeship.

A workshop was scheduled on Monroe, but Paul Dietrich who was organizing it never showed up.

The participants were predominantly Negro students and there were no preachers. People came from New Orleans, Phila., New Haven CORE, N.Y., and largest contingents



from Howard U., and Balt. During the workshops several students referred to the peace movement and many wore peace buttons.

The division of labor seemed to be CORE leading workshops and SNCC leading the actions. SNCC is a movement of southern youth; even the few whites. In this movement the militants are not in the minority; they are in the majority; they are not an oppressed majority, but are the leading majority. The students at this conference are soldiers in the front line. They have been conducting voter registration drives in the deep south. Dion Diamond is one of those accused of criminal anarchy in Baton Rouge. Some of the leaders of SNCC are in YPSL (Car-michael for ex.) but are much too militant for YPSL politics. The leaders of this movement are determined to fight to the finish whatever tools may be necessary. YPSL has a high level of participation in the freedom riders movement and for that reason has been recruiting from it. More students are preparing to do more intensive work in the south and deep south this summer. This is a movement that we must be part of. If we weeek to recruit these militants from the outside, they will see us as a bunch of PEDANTIC ASSES, and rightly so.

## MOTION ON THE STUDENT PEACE UNION

1. In the past school year there was a great deal of anti-war activity on the campus in comparison with previous years. The Student Peace Union has been the center of much of this activity, and has taken a corresponding leap in membership. The SPU was the principal organizer of the February Washington demonstration. In the coming school year we should be prepared for more peace activity and for the continued growth of SPU.

2. The Young Peoples Socialist League dominates the national organization of SPU. The YPSL is able to do this because SPU began in Chicago where the YPSL is strong, and because the "third camp" position of the YPSL is easier to take for people new to politics than a revolutionary position.

3. The character of the people in SPU is more anti-war than pacifist. Many are open to the ideas of socialism and the socialist analysis of the causes of war. Experience has shown that we can recruit from the SPU directly.

4. The official program of the SPU contains a mildly socialist clause and a specifically third camp position, blaming the U.S. and U.S.S.R. equally for the cold war. In practice this YPSL line dominates the SPU. However, we have been able to be good members of SPU, participating with our full program. At the SPU convention this was made quite clear when a YSAer specifically stated our defensist position on the Soviet Union.

5. Our orientation within SPU is to build an anti-imperialist caucus. The YSA in the SPU will be organized in a national YSA fraction.

6. We will base our work in SPU around a series of demands. These demands may change as we gain experience and as new situations arise. At every war-making turn of the imperialists, we will raise slogans against their war actions. For the next immediate period, the following slogans will be guides for YSA work in SPU:

- a. Support to the socialist ticket in the fall election; no support to the capitalist parties.
- b. Get out of S.E. Asia.
- c. Let the people vote on nuclear testing.
- d. Take the profits out of war; a 100% tax on all war profits.
- e. Oppose the use of the war budget as an economic prop; a program of public works as an alternative to war production.

The SPU already accepts the slogans of "No more testing" and "Withdraw all foreign troops", which we will continue to support.

7. The SPU varies from area to area and section to section. It has 2100 members, and is strongest in the Midwest and weakest in the West. Local participation in SPU will consequently vary. In keeping with the national orientation, however, each local should assign at least

one comrade to work within SPU if SPU exists in the locality. Where SPU is weak or doesn't exist, the local should consider building the SPU. Where SPU is strong, the local should endeavor to send as large a fraction as possible into the SPU.

8. We will present our positions in the internal bulletin of the SPU as long as that organ remains open to us. Writing should be done by local members, but will have to be nationally coordinated.

(submitted by the NEC to the plenum)

## MOTION ON YSA SUPPORT OF STRIKES

1. In recent months the YSA has intervened in support of unions in certain strike situations. The NY local has been active in a strike of hospital workers who are seeking union recognition. Most of the workers are very poorly paid Puerto Ricans and Negroes, whom the established labor bureaucracy has shown little inclination to organize. The organizers of the hospital workers, while probably looking forward to bureaucratic privileges in the future, have been forced by the nature of the situation into a real fight. They have shown a willingness for radical youth participation in the strike, which has laid a basis for YSA intervention. The YSA saw its role as the organizer of youth support to the picket line, and we formed a committee to carry out that project. Although the school term was over, we succeeded in bringing down about 100 youth all told, mainly from other socialist tendencies. This youth support has been important in publicizing the strike and forcing the bureaucrats of the Central Labor Council to finally come out in support of the hospital union.

2. Detroit has recently aided a UAW strike where students were being used by scabs. On the grounds of student support to the union against the student scabs, the YSA was able to support the picket line.

3. The New York and Detroit experiences are an indication of a changing situation. Where a union is fighting for recognition, especially among minority group workers, attempting to organize the unorganized, or where students are involved in a strike as scabs, the YSA may have an opportunity to intervene. We can't act in opposition to the union organizers of the strike in the present period, however. The YSA should be alerted to the real possibilities for intervention that can develop, where the union will welcome youth participation.

4. Our orientation remains toward the campus, and YSA intervention into a strike situation should be one of bringing the campus to the working class. As in other actions, an ad hoc committee to aid the strikers is probably the best formation to bring students onto the picket line. The students will learn a great deal from the workers in these struggles. The YSA will gain valuable experience in union work and strengthen its position on the campus as the link with the working class.

(submitted by the NEC to the plenum)