



# YSA

# DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Vol. 8 No. 4

December 1964

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35 pages

35¢

# Young Socialist Alliance

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, New York



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## YSA Election Campaign Work

Our participation in the Youth for DeBerry and Shaw has shown once again the value of a national organization working on a national campaign. Through YDS we were able to talk to large numbers of people who we would not have otherwise reached. A significant number of contacts joined the YDS and were recruited to the YSA as a result of campaign activity. A new local in Philadelphia was formed out of a YDS chapter there. Although some YSA locals were slow in mobilizing for the campaign, enough momentum was gained in most areas to take advantage of the opportunities for making new contacts and recruiting.

On their fall tours the candidates spoke before approximately 7,500 people at their various meetings. This does not count their many T.V. and radio appearances. Over 120,000 pieces of campaign literature were printed and sent out to YDS chapters across the country. Articles on the campaign appeared in many campus newspapers and most locals were able to arrange for at least some radio and T.V. time. Chicago reported that they were able to arrange for 8 hours and 20 minutes of free radio and T.V. time for the candidates and YDS spokesmen. In New York Pete Camejo was on the radio for five hours of debate with representatives of the Youth for Goldwater and Youth for Johnson. The election campaign gave YSAers valuable practice in learning to put forth our ideas to many different groups of people all the way from the broad radio audience to the diverse crowds at street corner meetings.

One of the most important results of the campaign was the education of YSAers and close contacts. The campaign, combined with our experiences in the Negro struggle, gave the YSA a deeper understanding of one of the key issues of our time: independent political action. Participation in civil rights demonstrations and direct action projects made YSAers more conscious of the limits of these forms of struggle when not combined with political action. The campaign raised this consciousness further. Fear of Goldwaterism reduced the numbers of young people who supported our campaign, but both YSAers and those contacts who did come around came to a better understanding of the fallacy of "lesser evilism."

The national office received 100 inquiries resulting from distributions of leaflets around the country. (Most inquiries went directly to the local YDS chapter or to the SWP). A good number of these were followed up by YDS chapters.



Without exception our opponents failed the test of this election. Some supported Johnson openly, others advocated abstention or boycott. In many locals we were able to take advantage of this fact to put our opponents on the defensive and to win people away from them. YSAers can be proud that we helped to keep the idea of independent political action alive in the face of capitulation to Johnson on the part of most of the Negro leadership, the "old" radicals and our opponents.

The following shows the distribution of literature for the campaign according to receipts of money in the National Office. Some areas such as Detroit distributed materials not listed because they were printed locally. Other areas such as Austin and Philadelphia were sent some free materials. If all YDS bills were paid \$48.00 of materials would be added to the list. Some locals who did campaign work are not listed because they have not paid for any materials.

|                 |        |                      |        |
|-----------------|--------|----------------------|--------|
| Ann Arbor.....  | 1.00   | Milwaukee.....       | 5.00   |
| Antioch. ....   | 14.50  | Minneapolis .....    | 28.00  |
| Austin.. . . .  | 5.00   | New York .....       | 61.10  |
| Baltimore. .... | 2.50   | Philadelphia. ....   | 2.00   |
| Berkeley. . . . | 43.75  | San Diego. . . . .   | 11.75  |
| Boston. ....    | 58.60  | San Francisco .....  | 8.00   |
| Chicago.....    | 124.75 | SWP N.O.. . . . .    | 21.25  |
| Cleveland. .... | 10.00  | W. Springfield ..... | 10.00  |
| Denver. ....    | 12.00  | Vancouver . . . . .  | 3.00   |
| Detroit. ....   | 42.00  | Assorted At large    | 37.00  |
| Los Angeles...  | 3.00   | Dealers. . . . .     | 113.40 |

Note: Dealers are men who buy campaign materials to sell to people who collect them as a hobby.

Betsey B.  
December 1, 1964

## REPORT ON DeBERRY AND SHAW CAMPAIGN CONFERENCES

All three of our regional conferences together attracted close to 800 participants: 200 on the West Coast, 250 in the Midwest and 300 on the East Coast. More important is the number of closer contacts and YSAers who attended the full conferences. Registration for the full conferences numbered 140 on the East Coast and 115 in the Midwest. We have no equivalent figure for the West-Coast conference available but the ration was probably similar. In each case it represents a substantial number of closer contacts.

In terms of building the movement under present conditions and reaching out with our ideas the 1964 Presidential campaign and the three regional conferences were very successful.

### EAST COAST CONFERENCE REPORT

A good description of the conference is contained in a full page article in the Militant of Nov. 9. This report will assume that YSAers have the Militant article.

This was the first large conference on the East Coast as compared to last years Midwest conference or the West Coast Vacation School. The key to the success of the East Coast conference was the large division of work and campaign style effort to build it. The YDS chapters each plastered their campuses and made huge distributions. With the assistance of the SWP local in New York, for instance, there was a distribution of 15,000 rally leaflets in harlem. Ads were placed in the local radical press and in campus papers. Three comrades, two from New York and one from Boston, trail blazed to campuses outside of YSA local areas. And most important of all direct personal contact work was done by each local to build the conference.

In the specific setting up of the conference there was a division of work. New York uptown local YSAers organized the registration and handling of the money. Downtown local YSAers took care of decorations, refreshments and housing and in collaboration with Pioneer, literature. The SWP also helped us in getting the very impressive list of speakers.

The success of the conference helped solidify the gains we were making during the election campaign. As a direct result of the conference over 10 contacts requested formal membership in the YSA.

Pete O.

### WEST COAST CONFERENCE REPORT

The West Coast Conference was extremely successful. It ran for one day from 9:30 in the morning until 10:30 that evening and was followed by a party. About two hun-

dred people attended one or more of the sessions, some coming from as far away as Los Angeles and Seattle.

After registration which lasted from 9:30 until 10:30 A.M., the first session began with William F. Warde speaking on the history of third parties in the United States. After lunch, Steve Roberts spoke on "Problems of the United States Economy."

At 3:30 the conference divided into three work shops. Clyde Carter of the Freedom Now Party led one discussion on the Negro Revolution and the necessity for the Negro people to politicalize their struggle for full equality. John Thomas, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee against US intervention in Viet Nam, and Asher Harer, former executive secretary of the Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Committee, led a discussion on the bi-partisan nature of US foreign policy and the need for a third party to effectively oppose this policy. Jim Herndon, former chairman of the San Francisco Negro American Labor Council, and Oscar Coover, former Chairman of the Southern California Socialist Workers Party led a discussion on independent political action and labor.

The highlight of the conference was the evening symposium on political roads for the Negro Struggle. Participants were Willie Brown, Democratic candidate of California's 18th Assembly District; his opponent Aaron Chapman of the Freedom Now Party also running for assemblyman in the 18th district; Howard Jeter, former Democratic candidate from the seventh district in Berkeley; and Clifton DeBerry.

After the evening session, an informal party was held for all those who had attended the conference. During the day, literature worth \$15.00 was sold, and a great deal of campaign literature was distributed. The admission of 50¢ covered all the expenses for the conference including publicity, conference rooms and travel expenses for Warde from L.A.. All in all the conference was a great success.

Mary-Alice S.

MIDWEST CONFERENCE REPORT

Publicity

15,000 brochures advertising the conference were printed. These were distributed on campuses throughout the Midwest where there were YSAers and by the Michigan and Ohio trail blazers.

A mailing was sent out to a list of YSA sympathizers, Socialist Clubs and contacts around the Midwest describing the conference, and asking for help in building it. There were no replies from this mailing.

500 conference posters were put on Midwest campuses by YSA locals and trail blazers.

There were a few requests for materials to help build the conference by people who clipped out the blank provided in the brochure and sent in.

Locally, 500 rally posters were put up in store fronts in the Negro community in Detroit.

2,000 rally leaflets were distributed downtown and at supermarkets.

Our press releases were reprinted in the Courier and Chronicle (Detroit's Negro weeklies) and there were articles on the conference and rally in Wayne University's daily, The Daily Collegian, and in the Militant. Ads also were printed in the Militant.

Articles on the conference itself appeared in The Militant and the Michigan State University daily, The State News. There was no coverage by any of the city's major dailies or weeklies. WXYZ TV did show up at the conference to do spot interviews with Clifton DeBerry and James Shabazz. There is no information as to whether these were ever shown on television. The GOAL show, a local radio program put on FM, replayed tapes of the panel discussion at the conference.

### Attendance

200 attended the rally where DeBerry, Shaw, Cleage, and Shabazz spoke. 130 attended the panel which featured a debate between Democratic Party politicians and representatives of the FNP and SWP. Average attendance for all the meetings was 108.

### Literature

|              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| 35 Militants | 3.50         |
| YSA lit.     | 2.75         |
| ISR          | 3.00         |
| other        | <u>56.00</u> |
|              | \$62.25      |

### Evaluation

The gains that were made by the conference in terms of attracting the number of non-YSA radical youth that was originally expected were small. On the other hand, the gains that were made from the participation of those we could bring to the conference were great.

When we began projecting plans for the conference, we had the perspective of it not being a usual YSA Midwest Conference because of the nature of the pre-election period we were in. We looked at the last Midwest Conference held in Chicago where 170 attended. This was mainly an internal YSA conference bringing those contacts who were already in the periphery of the YSA. We envisioned this conference as being much broader. We felt that there was a good amount of interest centered around

the election campaign, and we wanted to attract non-committed students around the Midwest who were sympathetic to the concept of independent political action. For this reason, we did not call it a YSA conference but a Midwest Student Conference on Independent Political Action sponsored by the Wayne State University Youth Committee for DeBerry and Shaw.

The reason for our underestimation was the same reason for our candidates not receiving more votes, That is, the successful Goldwater scare which caused all the liberals and most of the radicals to jump on the Democratic Party bandwagon. We just didn't find a lot of students interested in independent political action this year.

One area in which gains were made was in direct benefits to the comrades who worked in the conference. This was the first time that the Detroit YSA had attempted to organize an activity of this nature and scope. The work prior to the conference and at the conference itself was done well and greatly added to the practical organizational experience of the Detroit Comrades.

The other important area was the effect the conference had on contacts and recruitment. Prior to the election campaign we had pretty much exhausted the layer of contacts around us. Through our general election work on the campus a whole new layer of contacts was brought around, and the conference served the function of drawing these contacts closer to the YSA. One contact was recruited directly from the conference and two others joined soon afterwards. Chicago also reported recruits from the conference.

Marilyn L.  
Nov. 1964

#### TRAIL BLAZING REPORTS

In October and November Jack M. and myself of N.Y. and Ray W. of Boston went on a four week trail blaze which covered 27 campuses between New Hampshire and Pennsylvania. Our main tasks were to build the East Coast Conference and to introduce the new YS.

We sold 875 copies of the Young Socialist and 515 Militants as well as assorted books and pamphlets. The trail blaze cost \$150.00 including gas and lodging for three people or about \$50 a piece. (Jack paid his own way. His records show he spent \$55.) Expenses, except for Jack's came out of sales profits. \$91.60 was sent to the N.O. during the four week stretch.



Most of the campuses we hit, we hit cold. We either had no contact or only a vague idea of a person who might be helpful if we could find them. In general we found selling the best way to reach the campus. Two of us sold YS's and Jack (the oldest) usually sold the Militant at main gates, cafeterias, student unions and snack bars. The best approach on most campuses is to sell as much as possible. Discussion is also important but talk reaches fewer people for less time than the YS or the Militant. In fact, often it is better to try to sell pamphlets on specific issues rather than to get into prolonged arguments. Discussions and the subsequent building of a crowd helps sales are slow. At Rutgers in New Brunswick New Jersey sales were slow and we started to discuss with various people. Soon we drew increasing numbers of students who were coming out of dinner and before long we had a steady crowd of about 300-500 students for about two hours. I estimate that approximately 1000 students took part in these debates and despite their almost universal vocal disagreement with our ideas, the students put down hecklers and cowed a campus cop when he tried to remove us. We were featured on the campus radio and newspaper, but we sold very poorly because of the full time job of talking, after the cop came we had to stop selling altogether.

During a slow sales period we would try to get an interview or a story on the conference in the local campus newspaper. The editor usually turned out to be very helpful in putting us in touch with left-wing elements on campus. Every campus had a small, usually fragmented left. These left wingers were usually characterized by cynicism, and were often disorganized and isolated from the campus. The only organization we found in any numerical force was SDS. The campus politicos often could put us up or feed us. When we asked students to put us up, they usually agreed or found someone else who could do it.

The three hottest issues on campus were Cuba, Vietnam, and the Negro struggle. Bringing up one of these issues immediately caused a hostile reaction, even if in the course of conversation a student was won over. Interest in our ideas was mainly an intellectual one.

Besides introducing students to the YS, the tour opened the way for possible speaking engagements, got the name of the YSA around, and provided a good learning experience for the trail blazers. Only a handful of people showed up at the conference as a result of the trail blaze and only a few Militant and YS subs were sold. While we were at a campus, enthusiasm for the conference often ran high with talks of car pools and busses but obviously things cooled down after we left. A number of subs came in from schools we were at, as well as Pioneer orders.

The experience of this trail blaze shows that we should plan more in the future. Future trail blazers should sell subs rather than single copies. When possible female YSAers should be sent out to trail blaze and speak.

Robin D.  
Nov. 1964

### Report on Trail Blazing in Ohio

We originally planned to go to campuses in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to build support for the election campaign and to publicize the Midwest Student Conference on Independent Political Action. We had the names of some individuals who had written to New York indicating an interest in the campaign. We were going to try to meet new people and help finance ourselves by selling the Militant and the Young Socialist. We had to change our plans because of our arrest in Bowling Green Ohio, which was our first stop. We were arrested for "soliciting without a license." The bail was set at \$50.00. We were very fortunate to get an attorney through the Toledo A.C.L.U. to represent us at the preliminary hearing that night. We entered a plea of innocent but the judge ruled that we would have to go to court and set the date at October the 14th.

In order to get back to Bowling Green without too much difficulty or expense we decided to drop our plans of going to Indiana and Illinois. We asked at the police station in every town that we visited if they had a similar ordinance and sure enough most of them did. Since we did not want to make this a civil liberties tour we did not sell in towns which had such ordinances, which greatly limited our effectiveness.

There were two bright spots on our tour. At Ohio State University and Oberlin College we sold over 115 copies of the Young Socialist. Our sales at O.S.U. upset them so much that there was three pictures of us on the front page of the campus newspaper and the headline "Socialists Sell Literature on O.S.U. Campus."

Back in Bowling Green our ACLU lawyers contended that we were innocent under an existing exemption in the ordinance and that if the judge did not agree, he should find the ordinance unconstitutional as applied to us. The trial attracted much interest in the town and the courtroom was packed. As soon as the prosecution rested its case, our lawyer made a motion that the charges against Thadd be dropped because in his case the prosecution had only proven that Thadd had sold the Militant, which is a newspaper and newspapers are clearly exempted in the ordinance. I was found guilty and the case is being appealed by the ACLU.

Paul Iodico, Dec. 1964

## Report on Trail Blazing in Michigan

The trail blazing activities of the Michigan YSAers had a dual purpose. First, they were designed to assist us in building up the Midwest Conference on Independent Political Action. These activities included the distribution of literature on the campaign, sales of Young Socialists and Militants, and the organization of speaking engagements for the various SWP candidates.

With the exception of Mt. Pleasant (where nearly half a dozen sincere responses were turned up), general response to the trail blazing activities was poor. Students were generally overwhelmed by the barrage of capitalist propaganda, and those layers with whom we would normally be able to propagandize were being stamped into the Johnson camp by the Goldwater scare.

A second aspect of the trail blazing was the probe that the YSAers were able to make in the student communities on the various campuses. The general situation is one in which the YSA appeared as the only organized tendency advocating socialism. The various "socialist discussion groups," left political groups, black nationalists formations, peace, civil rights, and civil liberties groups that were cropping up on many campuses in the last period have fallen apart in the face of one test or another.

In Windsor, the reverse is the case; a NDY club was recently formed and we were able to bring two contacts over to the conference. Oakland University is an ideal spot to set up weekly classes. There are around half a dozen young students who were drawn to us during the campaign. Eastern Michigan University also turned up a few students who saw through the Goldwater hysteria and who want to learn more about socialism. Central Michigan University turned up half a dozen names plus a black nationalist nucleus which was very friendly to the SWP campaign. Little was found at Michigan State where there is one YSA comrade on campus, but the fact that it is the only outstate university with a functioning non-YSA socialist group, coupled with the presence of a student body of nearly 30,000 make it a fertile area to cultivate.

Sales of literature regularly, speaking engagements and classes are to be organized by the YSA for these areas. From reports nationally it appears that those people who gave even lukewarm support to our campaign are coming to us on a much higher level. Many of these outstate respondents are further away from capitalist politics than would have been the case if Johnson's opponent had been someone like Rockefeller.

Pete S.

Dec. 1964

THE JOSEPH JOHNSON DEPORTATION CASE

Currently, a member of the Trotskyist movement, Joseph Johnson, is under an unprecedented political attack and harassment from the federal government. Johnson, the organizer of the Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party, is threatened with deportation to an unknown country for the "crime" of having lived in Canada as a young man as if he were a Canadian citizen.

Although the case is completely fabricated, it is virtually unprecedented and its importance cannot be underestimated. The position of the government clearly challenges the right to citizenship and residence. Moreover, it is a case of unusual and inhuman punishment -- what the government demands in this case is tantamount to banishment. Never before in the United States have these rights been so cynically attacked.

The political importance of the case is also very clear. By the nature and timing of the charges there can be no doubt of the government's intentions -- political persecution and harassment. The government knows no more than it knew when Johnson supposedly committed his crime. Yet it waited a full five years to pursue its allegations. These were five years of very public and vigorous activity by Johnson for the SWP. They were also five years when the government had many opportunities to act.

The case is a clear attack on the Trotskyist movement. Johnson is being attacked for being a Trotskyist. It is therefore the duty of the Trotskyist movement as a whole to answer the attack.

Defense efforts have already been proceeding in the Twin Cities and surrounding areas. The case, however, is a national case in that it involves the right of citizenship and is being pursued by the federal government. The purpose of this report is to give the YSAers a grasp of the facts, issues, and significance of the case. Such a knowledge will be important when the time comes to expand the defense effort, but all comrades should become acquainted with the case in any eventuality.

The attack against Joe stems from what he decided to do with his life. In 1953, when Joe was 22, he left home to live in Canada. He left the US because he felt the same things that many other youth feel -- "vague and not very well directed feelings of rebellion against racism and militarism." He obtained a job in Canada, assumed a name, and lived there for six years.

While living there, he found no essential difference between Canada and the US and became interested in Socialism. He became publicly active with the Socialist Education League.

In 1959 he learned that the FBI was looking for him on the charge of draft evasion. He decided immediately to return to the States to face the charge, crossed the border into Buffalo, and was seized and questioned without access to a lawyer. (The fact that he was immediately seized and held in government custody for the next 2 years is important, for the government now charges that Johnson has overstayed a 48-hour visitor permit and should be deported. The only way Johnson could have left at the end of those 48 hours would have been to break jail.)

He served 2 years in federal prison for draft evasion, a penalty only an American citizen can serve. He then moved to the Twin Cities. Still interested in Socialism he joined the SWP, and later became the organizer of its branch in the Twin Cities. As a member of the SWP he ran for U.S. congressman from Minnesota and for Mayor of Minneapolis.

Last summer, three years after his release from prison and five years after his return from Canada, the Immigration and Naturalization Service notified Joe of deportation proceedings against him. He was asked to appear before their board to prove why he should not be deported. In other words, he was presumed guilty until proved innocent. Moreover, he learned that not only was the case being initiated and prosecuted by the Immigration Service, but the decision on the case would be made by the Immigration Service.

The charges of the Immigration Service are that Johnson, while living in Canada, had been a candidate and voted in elections, and had taken an oath of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth in the process. The Immigration Service charges that he lost his American citizenship by these acts (although he did not gain Canadian citizenship) and is now a stateless person. As a stateless person, he has overstayed his visitor's permit in this country and is subject to immediate deportation.

This is the first time in American history that a native-born American citizen has been threatened with loss of citizenship and deportation in such a manner. Other cases have dealt with loss of citizenship and the same laws (the Immigration and Naturalization Acts of 1940 and 1952) but never before has there been a case so cynical as this.



Previously anyone stripped of his American citizenship has at the same time held citizenship in another country. This case, however, involves the concept of a stateless person. The consequences of being stateless are hard to imagine. As local defense counsel Douglas Hall said in a speech: "It's hard for me to put into words just what this stateless concept means. It means you're completely defenseless, naked. You have nothing. You're at the complete whim of the government. The concepts of due process do not apply to you. You're not even an alien. An alien is entitled to due process of law. As a stateless person you have none of this. And we're so accustomed to believe that we cannot be arrested or tried without all these basic rights, it's hard to conceive that anyone would be in the position of having none of them. But this is what is involved. And this would be the first case, if they're successful, in which a native American born citizen would be declared stateless and end up with having no other nationality." That is to say Joe would have no rights whatsoever anywhere in the world.

The case however gets even more macabre. If the government is unsuccessful in finding a country for deportation, then it is legally Joe's responsibility to deport himself. If the government proves that he is not doing a good enough job of this, he can be thrown in jail for a felony. Once out of jail, the whole process can be repeated again and again.

The formation of the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson met the attack. This committee has sought sponsors, funds, members, statements, and so forth. In addition, informational material has been published and circulated. As a result of these efforts two committees now exist, one at the University of Minnesota and one in the Twin Cities generally, while a student civil liberties committee at Carleton College has given full-hearted support to the defense.

In taking the case to the public, the defense committees have stressed the following fundamental issues:

1. The case means loss of native-born citizenship rights in a totally unconstitutional manner. In order to lose citizenship constitutionally one must renounce it. Joe has never done this. Moreover, none of the acts Joe has supposedly committed can constitutionally result in loss of citizenship.

2. The government's case goes even farther. Not only is the right of citizenship undermined, but so is the right to residence. Having been born in this country, Joe has the right to live here as a resident, whether

he has citizenship or not. To deport such a person is banishment, which is unconstitutional.

3. To deport someone for the supposed "crime" of this case is a classic example of cruel, unjust, and inhuman punishment. It is truly hard to believe that a person born and raised in this country can be forced to live in a country he is totally unfamiliar with and has no connections with. Such a punishment clearly violates the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution.

4. Finally, Joe is caught in a classic case of double jeopardy. On the one hand he is sent to federal prison for draft evasion, a crime only a citizen can commit. On the other hand, he is threatened with deportation for not being a citizen. This is heads I win, tails you lose on an exotic scale.

The fact that this case attempts to undermine such basic rights and the fact that it is an attack from the federal government makes the Joe Johnson case possibly even more significant politically than the Bloomington case. The experience of the Bloomington case, has made the defense effort in the Twin Cities much easier. The YSA has already gone through the experience of setting up and directing a defense effort, and the importance of this cannot be underestimated in the defense of Joe Johnson.

The response to the case has been very encouraging. Without a full-blown sponsor drive sponsors including Norman Thomas have been coming in. Sympathy has come from totally unexpected places. The University of Minnesota committee has had many fresh people turn out for its meetings. The University of Minnesota Daily ran an editorial on the case, giving full support to Joe. The WCCO-TV station ran an editorial on the case, giving full support to the rights of Joe Johnson. Action Party at Carleton College issued a statement to the press not only supporting Johnson, but also urging students around the country to come to his aid.

Thus, we have found the case to be a very easy one for which to publicize and gather support. Because of the defense effort the Twin Cities local has come into contact with fresh youth who are interested in the ideas Joe is being attacked for. Even the not-so-fresh youth are supporting the case. Both the YPSL and the DuBois clubs have indicated their support of the case.

The Militant has run several articles on the case and will be running more covering each significant occurrence in the case. Also, the defense committee itself has published several pieces of literature and is anticipating putting out another in the very near

future. All comrades are urged to read and study these sources.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has agreed to take the case as a test case. The services of Leonard B. Boudin have been given to carry the case through the courts. In addition a well-known Twin Cities attorney, Douglas Hall, is serving as local counsel.

The first of three Immigration Service hearings has already been held. No decision was reached at the hearing. However, the Immigration Service has stated that it will hand down a decision when it is "practicable." Douglas Hall assumes this will be sometime in early Spring. If this hearing is lost it will be necessary to go through two more hearing before reaching the court level.

The first hearing was characterized by the disorganization of the government case and the vigor of the defense. Much of the success of the hearing can be attributed to the efforts of the defense committee. At a usually small hearing the defense committee stuffed the hearing room, with 15 people waiting outside. The defense put the Immigration Service to the test on all questions of fact and was successful in this endeavor. The Immigration was forced to contradict itself in testimony on several points. In addition, some of the evidence presented was not allowed.

The defense of Johnson is the defense of all revolutionary socialists from governmental persecution. The time will come in the not too far future when the defense effort will have to move nationally. This means each local will have to participate in the formation and activity of defense committees in their area.

Although the case has no direct connection with the campus, the response from the campus indicates that this will not hinder defense efforts. Students seem to grasp the issue of civil liberties much easier than many other issues. We have had no trouble in the Twin Cities attracting students to the case and getting their active support. Sponsorship by professors as well has not been difficult. The Bloomington experience in this regard has proven particularly valuable. Sponsors of CABS have shown a willingness to be sponsors much more so than at the outset of the Bloomington case.

No action for the YSA is proposed by this report. This case at present is a major task for the Twin Cities YSA and will remain so for the duration. For the time being, it is important for the comrades to acquaint themselves with the case, in preparation for eventually taking on the task of defending Joe.

Lew J., Twin Cities, Dec. 1964

DETROIT YOUTH COMMITTEE FOR DEBERRY & SHAW REPORT

The 1964 SWP election campaign has been the primary area of work for the Detroit YSA for the last 6 months and produced growth, political solidification, the creation of a periphery and a new layer of contacts, a more general awareness of our existence and increased position vis-a-vis our opponents.

Wayne State University

Wayne is the campus where the Detroit local has its strongest forces - between 5 and 8 during the campaign. The size and strength of this fraction allowed us to do very concentrated work there. This included weekly literature tables - which several times developed into debates in the hallway - and weekly campus meetings. Altogether we had 8 meetings on campus around the campaign, four in the spring and four in the fall. There were more evidences of our campaign in terms of leaflet distributions, posters and even campus press coverage than both the capitalist parties. Our intensive work on the Wayne campus has led to three good recruits since November 3 and some more contacts who are considering joining.

Contacts and Responses

We have recruited 4 people directly out of the campaign work, one of whom has since dropped away. During the same period, we recruited two other contacts of longer standing, who could be attributed only partly to the election campaign. There are several more contacts we have the perspective of recruiting in the near future. In addition, there is a layer of 10 - 15 youth who were around the campaign at least some of whom can be developed into good contacts.

Altogether the forces of the Party and the Youth Committee distributed tens of thousands of pieces of campaign literature. Fifteen thousand of these were Youth Committee leaflets listing the basic election platform with a coupon on the bottom. We received 54 mailed responses to our distributions. Of these 10 asked to join the Youth Committee. Many of the responses indicating interest came on the coupon from the brochure for the Midwest Conference. The best contacts and the most came from personal contact work, literature table or campus meetings and not from responses in the mail, quite a few of which were practical jokes or not really interested. There were a few exceptions to this rule.

## Freedom Now Campaign

The election campaign of the Freedom Now Party created the climate in which we could concretize to contacts the meaning of independent political action and concretely show our support to independent black political action as it develops. Cleage's meeting at Wayne drew 80 people at the same time that Conyers, a Negro Democrat and darling of the liberals, was speaking on campus and drew only 50. At every literature table we had free literature from the FNP to pass out.

The Youth Committee for DeBerry and Shaw, as an organization, did not specifically call for a vote for either the FNP or SWP state campaigns. The common denominator of membership was support to the national campaign of DeBerry and Shaw. Supporters of both the FNP and SWP state campaigns were invited to participate. We pointed out that a vote for either campaign was effective protest against the two capitalist parties. This formulation allowed us to link up with Negro militants who supported the FNP on a state level and were interested in the DeBerry campaign and the ideas of socialism. It was our consistent propaganda for the FNP that attracted one Negro militant who has since joined the YSA. Since the specifically FNP forces, outside of our Negro comrades, were not strong on campus, we established ourselves as the student supporters of the FNP.

During the summer, the YSA was mobilized for a one week petition campaign to help put Dr. Louis Cleage and Richard Henry, FNP-endorsed candidates on the ballot for the Detroit Board of Education.

On the day of the election itself, we were approached by the FNP to assist them in passing out their slates in Negro districts. The YSAers and every close contact who had been active in the campaign mobilized and covered several precincts from morning till night. In the evening, some of us served as pollwatchers, making sure that the votes of both the SWP and FNP were counted.

## High School Distributions and Work

In the spring we distributed thousands of Youth Committee leaflets to the high schools in the Negro community. We also distributed several times at Cass Technical High School, which has traditionally been the most political and where we presently have comrades functioning. We did not receive any mailed responses from the ghetto schools, but did receive several from Cass Tech, one of whom joined the YSA.



The Youth Committee supporters in this high school situation were not able to function in the same fashion as the YSAers at Wayne. The internal regime is much stricter on such questions as forming an organization, publicizing a meeting, getting speakers approved, etc. This placed such limitations on the high school comrades that they functioned almost exclusively through personal contact work. The one exception was a meeting they organized for Rev. Cleage at Cass.

The distributions at high schools led to an extended conflict with the police over our right to distribute. During both the spring and fall, we were picked up half a dozen times and ticketed under two ordinances: 1) distributing within 300 feet of a school - a law that clearly applies to commercial advertising and excepts political or educational material (these tickets were withdrawn by the police after being issued); and 2) disturbing a school while in session - it was admitted by the Board of Education that this law could not be applied and complaints were withdrawn on the eve of a court date. At present, they have stated that we have the right to distribute so long as we are on the public sidewalk and at least 40 feet from an entrance.

### Other Campaigns and Activities

In addition to our normal campaign work, we participated in the Militant sub campaign this summer which brought in 634 subscriptions in 2 months. Over the summer we sold a bi-weekly Militant bundle of from 250-500 on the streets. We also gained valuable experience in helping the party organize a series of four street meetings. YSAers helped to plan, build, and speak at these meetings.

### Educationals

During the entire election period we continued internal educationals for the local. As the campaign began, we were studying Black Reconstruction by W. E. B. DuBois. During the summer we had intensive bi-weekly sessions that included the History of the Russian Revolution, a series of lectures by Harry Ring on the history of the Troskyist movement, and a series by George Breitman on the theory of the Negro struggle. During the most intensive part of the campaign after school began, we oriented the educationals toward questions of independent political action or questions likely to be raised by contacts, such as: What is Fascism? What did McCarthy Represent? How do Capitalist Politics Operate? The History of the Left on Political Action. The Development of the Troskyist position on the Labor Party.

REPORT ON HIGH SCHOOL WORK

Since the 1963 Convention the YSA has found that in some areas there is a growing interest in socialism on the part of high school students. Several locals have recruited high school students to the YSA, and have had contact with a number of others.

In the Twin Cities, a number of high school students have been coming to the Labor Book Store over the past year. Some of them are working on school projects and others are simply curious. During the election campaign we received responses from a number of high school students including three from rural areas, and the SWP senatorial candidate spoke three or four times to high school audiences. At one suburban high school, we found out later, a group of students had fought with their teachers and the administration to have DeBerry and Shaw appear on a mock election ballot. They won, and 33 out of the 1000 students voting chose DeBerry and Shaw. At another high school a student joined Youth for DeBerry and Shaw and organized a group of five or six others to distribute campaign literature. This group also held regular discussions on the various campaign speeches and platforms they were distributing. The organizer of this group has since joined the YSA and is still conducting discussions on socialism with a small group of friends.

An example of how the Negro revolt is penetrating the consciousness of high school students was the mobilization of hundreds of high schoolers to sell "brotherhood buttons" in order to raise money for the Minnesota contingent in Mississippi. Over \$12,000 was raised in this manner in three days. At the kick-off rally, members of the Youth Committee for DeBerry and Shaw distributed leaflets calling for federal troops to protect Negroes in Mississippi. It was clear to the Youth Committee members that it was the first time most of the students there had ever been involved in any kind of social action. This rally in St. Paul could not have been conducted one or two years ago, and is clearly a reflection of the struggle.

It is difficult to determine any specific issue that attracts high school youth. The Cuban Revolution is very appealing to those who have partially radicalized, but it seldom seems to be the initial spark. The defense of civil liberties is appealing especially to students who are stepped on for asking radical questions. Freedom of speech and assembly are so much taken for granted that it comes as a shock to high school students to discover bars to these rights. The fight for basic democratic rights by the Negroes and the colonial world is unquestionably a source of interest and stimulation to these students.

In order to have a correct orientation towards high school students for the purpose of systematic recruitment, the locals that have had experience along these lines should discuss them at the convention. If there is a general tendency for a thin layer of high school youth to show interest in socialism, it warrants serious consideration. Perhaps a pamphlet or two directed at high school youth would be useful in contact work. Also some high-school-directed articles could be written for the Young Socialist with sales at high schools. Whatever media the YSA uses, we have a responsibility to make contact with as many of these youth as possible and to recruit them to the YSA.

Doug J.  
Twin Cities  
December 1964

AREA REPORTS

ANN ARBOR

Our membership at the beginning of the semester was four, but two non-serious comrades quit, and we have recruited two. Prospects for recruitment continue.

After the fiasco of the Student Employee's Union, SDS has been largely inactive. The Union still exists on paper, but nothing is being done with it. With every moment of their inactivity the relationship of forces puts us less and less on the defensive, although we expect to be on the defensive for some time. However, with campus recognition, friends on the faculty and a fairly wide periphery, I'm not worrying about SDS.

Tapes are proving indispensable to us; we have played Midwest Conference tapes and gotten a friendly reception.

Howard S.  
Nov., 1964

ANTIOCH

This quarter (fall) and last quarter (summer) political activity has sharply dropped here. Consequently, the nature of the Antioch YSA's activity has had to change over to more of an emphasis on individual contact work. We meet people these days primarily by accident rather than in political activity.

We have conducted two forums during this quarter and we have managed to some extent to get our literature around. One of our members has been writing a regular column for the school newspaper which comes out once a week.

It has been several months since we recruited anyone but on the other hand we have had no turnover. Between the two divisions (one is working while the other studies) we have five members here -- most of whom have been recruited in the last year and a half. We have noted that a number of former Antioch students have joined the YSA after they left here. The continued presence of the YSA at Antioch should accelerate this phenomenon.

One of the problems that makes recruitment difficult is the presence of too many opponents -- one or two of just about everything (Brezhnevite, Maoist, YPSL, Wolforthite -- you name it, we got it). Another is our isolation from the resources an SWP local nearby would provide, not to mention what it would do for our morale.

Arthur M.  
Nov., 1964

BERKELEY

Since the last convention the Berkeley YSA has gone through a process of slow and consistent growth. In the fall of 1963 we had around 15 members and at the present time we have 26. We have also developed a solid group of members capable of working effectively in other organizations

and carrying on the education of new members. We still have a long way to go, but at least have a secure base to work from.

Here as in every local, we have had many growing pains in the process of recruiting and developing. When we were small and relatively isolated a year and a half ago there was a strong tendency towards in-group talk and petty apolitical gossip about other organizations and individuals in them. Several good people were naturally turned away by this closed, hostile attitude and we had to very consciously work to eliminate it. It is now well understood in YSA that our criticisms of other organizations must be political ones, and that even in criticizing tactics, the political reasons for tactical errors are the central concern.

As we started to move outward during the second semester last year, we tended to over compensate for our previous isolation. Undoubtedly, we wasted many hours covering every picket line and sending people into virtually every existing campus group. Although we were able to widen our periphery considerably and to bring some new kids to our discussion group, the activities which we carried out in our own name were not consistent or well publicized, and we failed to educate new members quickly and integrate them into the YSA. During the summer of 1964 we began to move in the direction of solving these problems, but it was not until this fall that we really established a balance between working in other organizations and running our own YSA activities. At the present time we have members assigned to cover the public campus meetings of other campus groups. We sell the Militant and YS, take the floor on political questions, talk with kids informally, and bring them around to our Friday night forums and parties, and our weekly discussion group. In addition we have a schedule of weekly Militant and YS sales on campus, and we run two internal classes, attendance at one of which is required of every YSA'er. Thus we have a central core of YSA activities to which we can recruit, and a level of activity in other organizations which allows us to attract kids to us.

To overcome the problems of educating new kids we have established a program for new members. Those joining the YSA are accepted into the Berkeley local for a period of 2 months. During that time one of the older members is assigned to work closely with them, to set up a basic reading list for them, and to make sure they learn to run the mimeo, make leaflets, posters, and sell Militants. At the end of the two months the new members are voted on again for national membership.

### The Student Movement

The student movement has taken many different forms during the last few years. At one time it was anti-HUAC, at another SPU, civil rights, or Free Speech. The activist-independents put a great deal of pressure on YSA to get totally committed to each of these issue-oriented groups as



it arises, but being the "best" or most militant activists, or even providing a significant part of the leadership for these groups will not, in itself, recruit to YSA. The most difficult thing is to learn to allocate forces so that we are involved in these various struggles, supporting them on a day-to-day basis and talking to the radicalizing kids, but still maintain our independence from issue-oriented groups, carry on our own activities, consistently explain the need to combine direct action with independent political action, and put these various struggles in the perspective of revolutionary socialism.

In February and March of 1964 the students in the Bay Area grouped around the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination for several large demonstrations in San Francisco. These ended in mass arrests, very rapid demoralization, and months of court cases in which about 400 kids were convicted on several charges. Seven members of the Berkeley local were arrested and even though this cut into our activities at the time, it was very important for us to be involved. Our major mistake, though, was a failure to consciously decide how many would risk arrest, and who.

During the summer, most of the civil rights activities centered around campus CORE, which in turn rapidly dwindled under the impact of the Free Speech Movement (FSM). In the FSM, as in the earlier civil rights demonstrations, we found ourselves in a position of having a number of members taken out of YSA activity for a couple of months and playing an active part in the leadership of the FSM.

#### DuBois Club

Since the founding convention of the National DuBois Club in June in which the west coast YSA'ers effectively intervened, the Berkeley DuBois Club is no longer the major political force on campus. At last count they had less than 20 members and are undergoing great demoralization, although they continue to be one of our main opponents.

#### Progressive Labor

There are only two PLers on the campus and they have done almost nothing aside from attempting to organize a May 2nd Committee. Whatever reputation they have in the area is a result of the Cuba trips.

## CORE

CORE, the most active single-issue group six months ago is now of little importance, as a result of the Free Speech Movement to which most of the "activists" gravitated.

## Social Democrats

In Berkeley there is formally a split within the Social Democrats. The left wing has formed a group around Hal Draper called the Independent Socialist Club, which is now the second most important political group on campus, YSA being first. Most of their activity is simply a reaction to ours, as they wait to see what our forums will be then schedule theirs on the same topics. The right wing (Norman Thomas chapter of the YPSL) is working in SDS.

## Area-2

In the spring of 1964 the Bay Area Friends of SNCC began a project of block organizing in San Francisco, to oppose urban renewal. Three to five Berkeley YSAers were involved in the work of building block committees in the ghetto for about six months. In the fall we withdrew our members from the work, with very little to show for it except the experience gained.

## Oakland City College

At various times in the past there have been YSAers attending OCC, a junior college in the north Oakland Ghetto, but this fall is the first time we have been able to establish any real base there. OCC has become our second most important area of work with several members doing full time political work on the campus. They have set up a Socialist Discussion Group, sponsored speakers on campus, sold Militants and YS's, and have drawn contacts into a weekly YSA class. With a very hostile administration, no real campus, no dorms, and a real ghetto character, the work there has been extremely difficult but is beginning to pay off.

## Cal Campus

Our main base of work in Berkeley is of course still the U. of California campus. We have also just established a YSA headquarters and book store within a few blocks of the campus, which should be a great help. Our main problem remains one of being consciously consistent about recruiting.

Mary-Alice  
Nov 1964

BOSTON

Since the last convention Boston has lost 8 members of a local of 19. Two of the 8 transferred to other locals, one left the youth because of the age limit and 5 dropped from membership completely. However during this period we have recruited ten new YSAers, including four recruited this fall. All of these, with the exception of one are on campus.

At the present time Boston is faced with a situation that has both advantages and disadvantages. That is, there are many campuses in this area with good potential politically but not enough YSAers to go around. Though we do have a membership of 25 as of November 24th (including four who transferred here from Baltimore this fall), of whom 13 are on campus, we are only able to do effective work on the four campuses where we have members in the campus socialist clubs. From these clubs we bring serious youth to Boston's Militant Labor Forum, an invaluable aid to us in education and recruitment of contacts. Since we do have a natural area for contacting youth already interested in socialism in the campus clubs, we don't have to spread our membership extensively to other campus organizations like SDS, civil rights groups, etc. in order to find contacts. We only work with these broader groups in occasional action projects.

We have tried to utilize our non-campus comrades in civil rights work and off campus sales. This work has given us valuable contact with Negro militants in the ghetto though we have not had luck in recruiting in this area.

The contacts that we got around us during the election campaign are, as we expected, on a much higher level than the ordinary contact. We are now involved in educating this periphery through classes, and in trying to consolidate our membership (including the four recruits of this fall) through reading and pre-convention discussion.

With regard to our opponents: we still have one or two YPSLs in Boston who are doing nothing; PL is trying to organize in this area in the name of the May 2nd Committee but so far nothing much has been achieved; the Stalinists in Boston have been working in SDS trying to "defeat Goldwater" and now are trying to organize a protest against the McCarran Act and the Subversive Activities Control Board. None of these opponents have offered us any serious impediment to recruiting serious youth.

Judy P.  
Nov. 1964

## CHICAGO

### Young Socialist Summer School

In a joint effort with the Chicago SWP, we organized our third summer school, studying Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution, the Trotskyist theory of the Negro struggle, the history of American Trotskyism and the 1934 Minneapolis truck drivers strikes. The high points of the summer were the presentations on the Russian Revolution by Evelyn Sell, the Lovells, and Bob Himmel from the Detroit SWP, the series by Harry Ring on American Trotskyism since 1940, and the talks by Farrell Dobbs on the 1934 strikes. The school met at least twice a week an average of 23 attending each session (the low was 15 and the high 59).

### Press work

YSAers participated with the SWP in the two Militant subscription campaigns since the last convention. The total in the fall of 1963 was about 1600 subs and in the spring drive, about 1200. The New Young Socialist has been placed in several bookstores; these sales will account for a large share of our total. We've used the YS in door to door dormitory contact work with success, but haven't got going on large scale campus sales. Eventually we hope to use the YS as the powerful arm it is, on campuses in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, where we want to maintain or extend contact with radicalizing students. At the school where we've done the most consistent work since the last convention, Roosevelt University, we've had literature tables (recently every week) where we sell the YS, Militant, ISR, and pamphlets. Sales vary from none to several dollars for an hour or two stand.

### Election work

The YSA was active in the Chicago Youth for DeBerry and Shaw, distributing over 20,000 pieces of campaign literature (not counting stickers). In response to this literature and our radio and TV time and speakers on campuses, 185-200 people sent in coupons or letters or signed mailing lists for further information. A regular newsletter kept local partisans of DeBerry and Shaw up to date on local activities. Due to the stampede to Johnson and our weakness on campus, we were not able to systematically involve a large number of non-YSAers in election work. But we were able to reach students on new college campuses and at two high schools. DeBerry spoke to almost 1000 students at campus meetings on his last tour.

### Campus

Since the last convention we've been consistently weak on the campus--at most we've had about 1/3 of our membership on campus and at present it is about 1/6. To attempt to overcome this handicap we have used off campus members to sell YS's and Militants in dorms and at public meetings on campus. This work takes place on weekends and evenings. It is a poor substitute for being on the campus but this work has resulted in a regular discussion session being held with the contacts we found. Most of our opponents have become inactive on campus or active at a much lower level than previously. However, the Chicago based Barton-Brown YPSLs have just come out with a newspaper - The American Socialist.

### Midwest

Midwest work was aided by the Chicago YSA which was able to free people to visit and correspond with new locals and isolated contacts. Since the convention, the bulk of the work revolved around the Bloomington case, the January educational conference in Chicago and the spring tour which took two comrades across most of the Midwest, selling literature (\$100.00) and subs and talking to contacts. When possible we have exchanged speakers with other locals.

### Negro Work

Civil rights and Negro work: since the last convention we have not been active in any one civil rights groups. However, due to our campus work we recruited three Negroes, one of whom actively but unsuccessfully worked with another Negro comrade and contacts in an organizing committee for a Freedom Now Party. Most of the 2800 new subscribers to the Militant were Negroes.

### Membership

We are weaker than at the last convention since at that time many had come in for the summer school that year. At that time we had about 35. Since then we were able to give up six very active members for assignment in other locals, and have remained at 25-30 members.

Joe H.  
Nov. 1964

## CLEVELAND

The Cleveland YSA was organized a little over one year ago with the help of Chicago. Starting with 5 members, we have recruited 15 more since then. Three have transferred to other branches, five were from Kent State University and have subsequently formed their own local in Kent, and three have dropped out. At present we have nine members.

In the past year our major activities were a picket line against Governor Wallace bringing in nearly 200 people, extensive participation in the Civil Rights struggle, support of the ~~SWP~~ election campaign through the Students for DeBerry and Shaw Committee and regular distribution for the weekly Militant Forums. Recently, we have started putting out our own publication, The Radical Voice which we have sold on Cleveland campuses. So far, we have sold over 500 copies of the first two editions. We have also sold the YS.

Internal educations are held weekly after meetings, covering basic pamphlets and some longer works. We are currently studying Trotsky's The Russian Revolution. We hope to start a series of classes to be held in addition to the educationals.

Our main problem is lack of members on college campuses. Our recruiting efforts are aimed at the campus and we do have a growing student periphery.

Rachel T.

Dec. 1964

## TWIN CITIES

The Twin Cities local of the YSA lost a good deal of strenght during the past summer due to transfers and drop-outs. Since the campaign, however, we have gained much of that back by recruiting three new people. We presently have a membership of 14.

Since the campaign our main push has been on internal education and the pre-convention discussion. We have a fraction on the University of Minnesota campus of 4. We also have one comrade at St. Cloud State College and some very close contacts at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. We also have 2 high school students.

One of our main areas of work has been activity around building a campus Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joe Johnson. There will be an article in the bulletin specifically on this case so I won't go into it here.

John C.  
Dec. 1964



## DETROIT

The Detroit local has experienced considerable growth, more than half the membership of 23 having been recruited since the last convention. This includes significant recruitment among high school and Negro youth.

Our primary emphasis has been on internal education and the two national campaigns waged by the YSA -- Bloomington defense and the election campaign. Our external work has been limited both by the objective situation and the need to develop a whole new layer of YSAers.

We have had an educational series on the Communist Manifesto, Black Reconstruction, and Independent Political Action. Our summer school for YSAers and contacts included the History of the Russian Revolution, and lectures by Harry Ring on the internal history of the movement and by George Breitman on the Theory of the Negro Struggle. In addition, we have had many smaller classes for groups of comrades in areas of individual interest. Right now there are five of these smaller classes plus a replay of the Ring tapes for these who didn't hear the lectures this summer.

The 1964 SWP election campaign was our primary area of concentration for six months. The campaign brought good experience in presenting the program particularly for the newer comrades.

Youth Committees for DeBerry and Shaw were established at Wayne State U. (Detroit), University of Michigan (Ann Arbor), and Oakland University (Rochester, 20 miles out of Detroit). Supporters of the campaign also functioned in a downtown Detroit high school and at Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Since November 3, we have recruited three new members directly out of the election work. There are several more contacts we have the perspective of recruiting in the immediate period. In addition, two more members-at-large were recruited in Ann Arbor through the campaign.

We used the opportunity of the election campaign to probe Michigan campuses where we haven't had contact before. At most campuses we had no results whatsoever. However we did establish contacts at three new schools. We are presently considering setting up classes at these schools and a possible winter tour around the defense of the colonial revolution.

Among the Negroes recruited since the last convention were two of the leading activists in Uhuru who broke with that group due to its sectarianism and lack of internal democracy and came over to the YSA because

of our attitude of concrete support to the Freedom Now Party. Since joining the YSA these comrades have continued to be active in the FNP.

We also recruited the leadership of a group of high school students in a Detroit suburb who broke with YPSL after December '63 convention. A series of weekly classes on Socialism on Trial held in conjunction with the YSA and involving their own contacts was crucial in this respect.

We now have over half-a-dozen comrades on campus at Wayne State University and exist there as the only organized radical tendency. We have recruited six people directly because of our campus work since the last convention. The Detroit local has also been giving assistance to the comrades on the campus at Ann Arbor only 45 miles away.

Right now several of the YSAers are defendants in a case involving police harrassment and brutality, two of them facing possible one-to-two year sentences for "interference with officers in the performance of their duties." We recently had an educational on both the police and FBI, so that comrades would be fully conscious of what their rights are.

Right now we are organizing a demonstration on Vietnam and the Congo. In calling for the demonstration, YSAers went to several civil rights groups and were well received, although only one group formally went on record to endorse the demonstration.

### Philadelphia

As part of its program of internal education the Philadelphia chapter is continuing a series of classes on Marxism, conducted by a local SWP member. The text of The Third International After Lenin has served as the point of departure for discussion. Non-members can and do attend; attendance has stabilized at about 4 or 5. We also plan to arrange a series of public classes on Marxism at the University of Pennsylvania, starting next January. Internal discussion so far has involved only the convention bulletins.

The local has also agreed to assist the work of the newly organized Independent Forum, which will have its first public lecture December 4, when the Krebs and Ed Shaw will speak on Cuba. The forum was founded by a committee of YSA and SWP members. The attitude of the local is therefore that it should be renamed as soon as possible, preferably as the Phil. Socialist Forum or the Militant Labor Forum.

Literature sales have been conducted at this month's meeting of the Social Science Forum and at Lincoln Uni-

versity, a Negro school of about 550 students in Oxford, Pa. DeBerry spoke there in conjunction with a visit of YSAers. There are several students there of black nationalist tendencies, a few of whom have become good contacts. DeBerry will probably also speak at Chaney State Teachers College the week of December 7.

Two fraction areas, Drexel (polytechnic) Institute and Dobbins HS, appear to be bleak prospects for activity at the moment. About half of the membership attends the University of Pennsylvania, where three years of activity by the SPU, together with the extreme weakness of the YPSL, have led to the founding of a Left Discussion Club in which the YSA position predominates among the active members. Active membership in the two organizations is respectively about 15 and 10. The SPU chapter has not followed the national line for about two years: its line on Vietnam calls for American withdrawal, and the Vietcong is considered an anti-imperialist army with extensive popular support. Thus we may become strong enough at Penn to permit a formal campus chapter there in a few months.

Dan S.  
Nov. 1964

(Note: At the East Coast Conference 5 persons from Philadelphia applied for membership in the YSA: Of the 5, one is a daughter of a local SWPer, and is a high school student, and the others are college students. Contact work done by the one YSAer and the SWPers in Philadelphia, and by YSAers from N.Y., plus the experience of seeing a national organization at work at the YDS conference were all important in recruiting these people. Our stands on the election campaign, Vietnam, and the ghetto uprising all were important in their development toward the YSA. Ted F. Nov. 1964)

### Madison

The local: We have six members. Two were recruited this semester. Four are graduate students. Two are undergraduates (one of these has two kids). One of the grads is on leave of absence this semester to get familiar with the routine of being a teaching assistant. The general (political) educational level of the local is low. This means that we cannot maintain a high level of activity. Last year we had 11 members of which 2-3 were virtually full-time. They have all left for other assignments and were among the best politically educated. One comrade quit the YSA.

Campaign: We had 80 people for the meeting for Shaw and 130 for Dee. We got Dee an hour on the state television network. The campaign has not netted us much in terms of

contacts, largely because we didn't have the forces to exploit it. We were able to challenge and expose the stalinists. The sticker that said, "Withdraw the troops from Vietnam and send them to Mississippi" proved very popular. We plastered the campus with them. People came up to us and asked for them who weren't interested in the campaign or socialism directly.

### Post Campaign

We've decided to concentrate on an educational series to be held each Sunday. We started with the Dynamics of World Revolution Today. The YSAers here need the education and we think it will be a good way to recruit. Two good contacts came to the first session.

### DuBois Club

It has 40-50 members, 10-15 hard. They had all sorts of grandiose plans for getting into the Community, to the workers, etc. So far they have organized a demonstration against Goldwater. It was done with liberals and friends of SNCC and brought out 2000 people. When three of the best known leaders were publicly red-baited, their response to the attack was: capitulate. They didn't show up at the demonstration. The Madison chapter is one of the most "left wing" in the country. It is also, by admission of the "regional coordinator", bigger than all the other chapters of the Midwest combined.

### YPSL

The YPSLs have just organized on campus this semester. One YPSL is a Schactmenite and one is of the labor party tendency (a teaching assistant in sociology). The latter, who is chairman, helped give out leaflets for DeBerry. They've had a couple of forums.

### SDS

The chairman sat at our DeBerry-Shaw table and is coming to our classes and is a good prospect for recruitment. SDS cannot do much here besides holding forums and recruiting for its "summer with the proletariat" program. The Schactmanite and his one contact are in it, also some Stalinists and liberal Democrats.

DENVER

Until this year, the Denver YSA has more or less consisted of one or two members at a time. Since the beginning of this school year, an effort was made at recruitment from campuses in the area, and participation in the election campaign for DeBerry and Shaw drew in four new members, one of which we have since lost, leaving us with a total of three active members.

Our main activities during the past year have been the weekly sale of the Militant at Colorado University-Denver Extension, which we ~~hope~~ to extend to the University of Denver and to Colorado University in Boulder Colorado, and the sale of the YS. Aside from weekly meetings and weekly participation in the Militant Labor Forum, we are trying to organize an internal study group. Often, we work in cooperation with the Denver SWP in their various projects.

Because of the general apathy of students of the University of Denver, and a lack of members in the YSA itself, an intensive recruitment program has been difficult to organize. This will be our major effort in the coming months.

Nora B.

Nov. 1964

LOS ANGELES

During the summer the Los Angeles local lost a large number of members to other locals in the country. This was followed by a wave of recruitment. In a period of one month we recruited five new members. We are now in a process of solidifying what we have gained. Our emphasis for this period is education.

Of our 12 members, 4 are on campus at UCLA, LA City College, Santa Monica City College, and LA State College. At UCLA the YSA is recognized on campus and holds regular forums there. We have a few contacts at LA State who are helping us set up a socialist club on campus for next semester. Three YSAers are planning on attending LA City College next semester.

Our only opponents are the DuBois Clubs which are known more as a social club than a socialist club.

Irving K.

Dec. 1964

DOWNTOWN NEW YORK LOCAL

In the middle of the past summer the New York local was divided in two (Upt<sup>own</sup> and Downtown.) This report will deal largely with the period since the division.

Membership

|                   | <u>At time of division 7/13/64</u> | <u>Present 12/10/64</u> |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Active members    | 18                                 | 18                      |
| In-active members | 4                                  | 3                       |
| Candidates        | 0                                  | 4                       |
| <u>Total</u>      | <u>22</u>                          | <u>25</u>               |

Election Campaign

A downtown chapter of Youth for DeBerry and Shaw was formed last June. Early in the fall a Students for DeBerry and Shaw chapter was recognized at Hofstra University on Long Island.

Educationals and Classes

A major activity of the downtown local has been educationals and classes. Shortly before the N.Y. local was divided, Tom Kerry led a series of classes dealing with a history of the socialist movement. Running simultaneously and continuing through the summer was a series of classes for contacts. This series dealt with subjects of interest to those first coming around socialism. This fall we had an excellent series on the Cuban Revolution led by Dick Garza. A new series on "Labor's Giant Step" led by Tom Kerry is scheduled to start immediately after the convention.

Militant Labor Forum

The downtown N.Y. local has been handicapped by its lack of a campus base, especially at NYU. Consequently the local has oriented its public activities around the weekly Militant Labor Forum in order to try to overcome this disadvantage. Efforts have been made to publicize the forum so that students know about and attend it. With forums of special interest to students this has been fairly successful.

Sales

The downtown local has had sales of the Militant and YS at the forum, NYU, the Cooper Union Forum, and at miscellaneous meetings. About 75 YS's were placed on news stands with most being quickly sold out. When the new YS comes out news stand placements will be increased.

Congo Demonstration

The downtown local participated with the uptown and the SWP in a U.N. demonstration on the Congo. Other groups were invited to participate, but no one showed up except the Spartacists.

NEW YORK - UPTOWN

The last part of this summer the NY YSA split into two locals, uptown and downtown. The uptown YSA centers around the City College (CCNY) and Columbia University campuses. A private apartment now serves as the local's social and political center, with its own bookshop, YS, Militant and ISR bundles, and mimeograph machine.

Now, with the Robertson and Wholforth tendencies not active in our local (all but one member of both tendencies had been in the uptown local) we have around a dozen members. Our main task this first semester had been to "dig in" on both campuses. As the Robertsonites were practically the only contact the YSA had with the campuses until recently, we have been forced to start cold.

Our initial project was getting SDS recognized on both campuses. James Shabazz, Paul Boutelle, and SWP candidates spoke on campus for SDS. Through these meetings, along with our weekly Militant sales and extensive paste-ups and leaf-letting (we estimate 30 to 40 thousand pieces of literature were passed out on both campuses) and a few campus meetings, we have built up a periphery from which we have recruited one person thus far. We are now holding a weekly class on the basics of socialism which several of our close contacts are attending.

Now that we have blazed a trail on CCNY and Columbia, as well as having a nucleus prepared to work on campus, we are ready for an all-out offensive, in our own name, to begin the very first day of next semester. One of our main problems thus far has been too much emphasis on organizational activity as opposed to basic contact work.

Both the Robertson and Wholforth groups are active on both CCNY and Columbia. The Wholforthites have concentrated on regular sales of their bulletin at Columbia, as well as sales at meetings of ourselves or opponents. As no new faces have been seen around them, we assume that they have yet to make inroads on the campus. The Robertsonites also sell the Sparticist at some of our meetings. On both campuses they have set up Sparticist Clubs. Because of their orientation as the left opposition to the YSA and SWP, they always explain their line in terms of our position. Thus anyone attracted to them immediately becomes our contact as well. Their few meetings at CCNY have been failures (but we got a good contact from them). On Columbia where they have held a series of meetings, they have drawn those we already know or don't want.

YPSL as a formidable opponent is gone for the time. Although there are scattered YPSLs to be found, the only organized Social Democrats are in the Student Socialist Union which is on both campuses. With less than a dozen members combined, they hold esoteric meetings at which they can display their knowledge of Marxism. While our contacts know of all



the other tendencies, SSU is virtually unknown. This group of left Social Democrats claim to be the resurrection of the Schactmanite International Socialist League (ISL).

The Marcyite Workers World has Youth Against War And Fascism recognized at CCNY. This is their main concentration. They have been seen at Columbia, but have not yet operated in their own name. They recruit mainly by action, and are always calling demonstrations. Their political understanding is low and limited mainly to anti-imperialist and anti-fascist ultra-left slogans.

PL has ~~two~~, maybe three, people at CCNY and one or two at Columbia. They have held a number of demonstrations and meetings. They have regular sales of CHALLENGE on campus. Their campus work benefits from the large number of people they are able to put on full time. Now they are attempting to revive the May 2nd Committee on campus.

The WEB Dubois is our biggest opponent (numerically) at CCNY. Although they have only a dozen or so "hards", they are usually able to get over 100 people to each meeting. They have nothing at Columbia. This is the same group who were around the Marxist Discussion Club and Advance last year. They still recruit via social groupings and social ties.

Campus civil rights groups are generally inactive. The possible exception to this is Columbia CORE which has been fighting the administration's anti-union policies. SPU called a city-wide organizational meeting, and has taken part in a demonstration against the war in Vietnam.

This is the flora and fauna in which the uptown YSA finds itself immersed. Now that we have blazed a trail at both CCNY and Columbia, as well as having a nucleus prepared to be on campus, we hope to launch an all-out offensive, in our own name, to begin the very first day of the next semester.