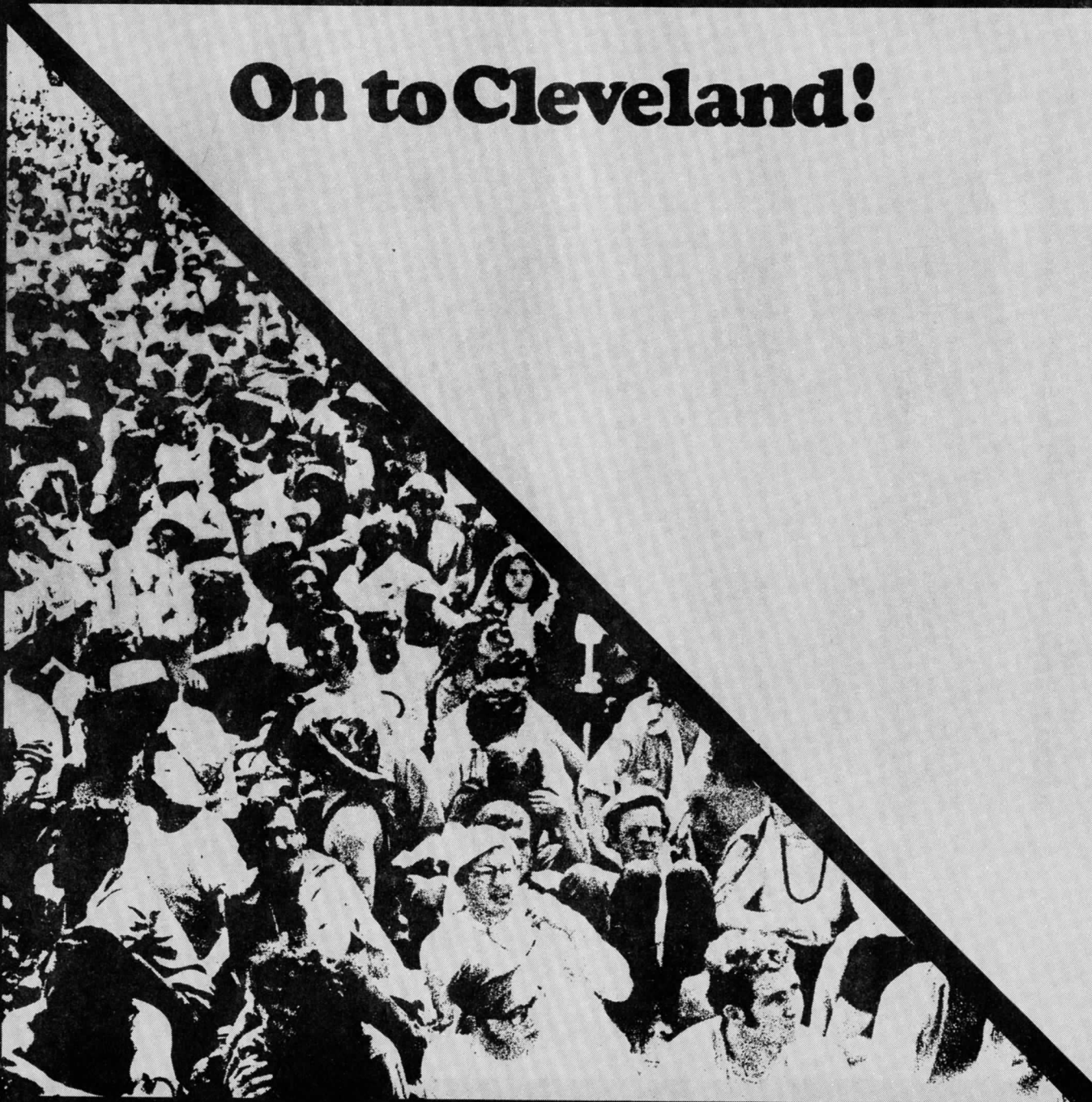


young socialist  
**the organizer**

6-24-70

**On to Cleveland!**



**10 Cents**

## All Antiwar Activists to Attend

# Report on Emergency Antiwar Conference

The national antiwar conference in Cleveland on June 19-21 is the next major focus of the antiwar movement. Called and sponsored by an increasingly broad spectrum of groups and prominent individuals, the conference is to be hosted by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council.

The importance of this conference is increased by the unprecedented antiwar upsurge that followed Nixon's announcement of the Cambodian invasion. With universities operating as organizational centers, massive demonstrations—often involving large sections of the non-student population—were mounted in extremely short periods of time.

The antiwar actions of May signal a permanent deepening of the antiwar struggle, illustrating the direction and enormous potential for the movement. The involvement of sections of the trade union movement, of Third World communities and increased antiwar activity among GIs represent real gains that must be extended. It is necessary to plan actions designed to translate the newly-awakened antiwar sentiment of millions of Americans into effective activity.

The antiwar actions on May 30, although much smaller than we had anticipated, were attempts to focus the energies of the movement in such a way.

The inevitable diffusion of the momentum of the student strike as the schools began to close, along with Nixon's shift to a conciliatory public posture and his apparent "pull back" from wider escalation, were sufficient to temporarily slow down the rapid pace which the antiwar struggle had developed during May. But the overriding obstacle to taking full advantage of the opportunities present during May was the absence of a unified, nation-wide antiwar coalition with the ability to issue authoritative calls for mass actions.

With this in view, the Memorial Day antiwar demonstrations can be seen as a limited thrust in the correct direction—one which we expect to be consolidated at the national antiwar conference into a program for massive actions in the summer and fall.

The written call for the Cleveland conference clearly places the gathering in this context:

*It is imperative—and at this time it is possible—that the movement expand to embrace the millions of Americans who have not previously protested. It is imperative and it is also possible that significant elements of organized labor be involved and integrated in the antiwar struggle. This is the time for those opponents of the war who understand the importance of immense masses in action, for those who understand the importance of giving form to the majority sentiment against the war, to unify for that task and launch a program of action on which such broad forces can agree.*

Taking place in the context of greatly enhanced potential for mass antiwar mobilizations, the Cleveland conference offers the best opportunity for cementing a national antiwar coalition and for projecting the call for demonstrations this summer and this fall.

Since the November 15 demonstration in Washington, the New Mobilization Committee has continued to deteriorate organizationally and has lost its original character as a viable antiwar coalition. Its leadership is a hodge-podge of radical pacifists, assorted ultralefts and miscellaneous individuals looking for a movement. They have made it impossible to project a program of antiwar activity that could widen the movement to encompass the broader forces now possible to involve. New Mobilization Committee deliberations have tended to focus on murky-minded variants of multi-issue reformism and, recently, on "resistance"—or other forms of civil disobedience—as the necessary tactic to prevent the coming "nuclear holocaust."

The Cleveland conference offers a clear political axis upon which the discussions and decisions can take place, in contrast to that which has recently characterized meetings of the New Mobilization Committee. As the call states:

*The purpose of the emergency conference is simple and to the point: to plan antiwar demonstrations and other antiwar activities of the most massive kind centering on the crucial issue of withdrawal from the war and conducted*

*in a peaceful and orderly fashion. This is the way to involve masses of ordinary people, trade unionists, GIs and their families, students, moderates, liberals and radicals, young and old, and all those who oppose the war regardless of their differences on various other matters.*

*This conference is not intended to solve or even necessarily to discuss all the problems of our crisis-ridden society. It is not a conference to hammer out the strategy or tactics of social revolution or to found a new political party or movement. It is not a conference in competition with any tendency or movement for social change. IT IS A CONFERENCE TO ORGANIZE MASSIVE OPPOSITION TO THE WAR.*

At this time, most of the New Mobe leadership has taken a hostile attitude towards the Cleveland conference. They have been discussing holding another conference on the last weekend of June. Regardless of whether or not they get this meeting off the ground, the Cleveland conference will take place as scheduled.

The Communist Party has recently increased its intervention in the existing antiwar organizations and coalitions, hoping to direct the energies of the broad social forces that have been attracted by the movement. In many local antiwar coalitions they have pushed the petition drive to secure signatures supporting the McGovern-Hatfield amendment. Within the university organizations, the Communist Party is, of course, working for the proposed two-week moratorium on classes this fall, so that students can be released to campaign intensively for liberal "peace candidates."

The goal of the Communist Party remains the same as before: to divert the antiwar movement from the course of independent mass action towards support of liberal capitalist candidates in the 1970 elections. In certain recent cases the Communist Party has functioned in a temporary bloc with the radical pacifists and ultralefts, with whom it shares a common antagonism towards mass action, on conjunctural

continued on the following page

## Violence or Democracy in the Radical Movement?

The Student Mobilization Committee has launched a national campaign around the question of violence in the movement. This campaign is in response to the May 24th attack by members of Progressive Labor Party and SDS on the SMC national steering committee held in Boston. As leaders of the radical movement who understand and are committed to the principle of democracy within the movement, YSAers must play a central role in this campaign.

The SMC has put out two pieces of literature which local SMCs can use in gaining support for the campaign. One is a fact sheet which describes the attack on the steering committee meeting. This fact sheet should be circulated widely throughout the antiwar and radical movements in order to get out the facts of what really happened and to counter PL's and SDS's attempts to paint the incident as an attack on them. The second piece of material is a statement on the question of violence within the movement for which the SMC wants to get broad endorsement. In addition to coming out against the use of violence in the movement and for united defense of all movement meetings, the statement asks SDS and PLP to repudiate their actions of May 24th. The SMC statement should be taken to all kinds of organizations and individuals for endorsement: antiwar organizations, Third World and women's liberation groups, community organizations, high school groups, trade unions and civil liberties organizations, as well as professors, student government officers and

movement figures. Attempts should be made to get the SMC fact sheet and statement printed in movement and underground papers.

This campaign can help educate the entire movement on why democratic norms must be protected and how the movement can defend itself against such violent attacks. It will be a political counteroffensive which will isolate PLP, SDS and any other group which resorts to goon squad methods. We want to convince every section of the movement that this attack against the SMC is a threat to the right of every group and organization in the antiwar, women's liberation, Third World, student and labor movements to function and carry on their activities.

An atmosphere must be created in which the politics of disruption will be totally alien and repulsive to the movement as a whole, and strongly fought against. To achieve this, the primary battle must be waged on the political front.

In addition to educating the movement on the need for democracy, a vigorous campaign will also have an effect on the rank-and-file of those groups which resort to strong-arm tactics. If the rank-and-file of these groups think their ideas are important enough, they will repudiate the use of violence in order to be able to present their ideas in groups like the SMC. We think that PL, SDS and all other groups should have the right to present their ideas within the SMC. But SMC decisions must be made democratically—by majority rule—rather than by physical force.

Disruptions and physical attacks, whether successful or not, create a feeling of demoralization and disorientation among many newly radicalized activists. Even if a meeting or demonstration is successfully defended against attack, the activity is disrupted to a certain extent—and this is the aim of the ultralefts. Therefore, our basic orientation should be to prevent all attempts of physical assaults by making those attacks devastating politically through instilling a determination among all movement activists to jealously guard their democratic rights.

We should discuss these problems thoroughly with the antiwar organizations and coalitions and with key individuals in the movement, urging groups and individuals to sign the SMC statement. If possible, we should try to involve PL, SDS or other ultraleft groups in these discussions. This will help create an atmosphere of discussion of political differences, as well as win activists to support for the SMC campaign.

The organization of marshals for rallies, demonstrations and meetings should be seen as an extension of this political defense.

The marshals, in order to have authority, must be politically representative of all sectors of the movement who believe in the right of any group to hold undisrupted demonstrations, rallies and meetings. Marshals, in other words, should not be selected solely on the basis of how big they are. If the marshals are representative their

continued on the following page

## ... Emergency Conference

continued from the preceding page

questions such as developing a multi-issue program. Such an alliance is maintained by one overriding consideration: anti-Trotskyism.

In light of the divisions within the movement, a campaign effort to build the Cleveland conference is essential.

Sponsorship that has already been obtained includes organizations and representatives from regionally diversified student body governments, strike committees, SMC chapters, high school antiwar groups and faculty organizations. Established peace organizations, former Moratorium groups and many regional coalitions and local affiliates of the New Mobe have readily signed the call.

In addition, sponsorship for the conference includes representatives of GI organizations and the women's liberation movement, as well as groups and prominent individuals within the Third World community.

The most encouraging new sign has been the amount and breadth of sponsorship from the trade union movement.

Publicity of these developments—including the purposes for which the conference is being convened—will help establish the legitimate authority of the conference and prevent back-door whispering campaigns to undermine its success.

The efforts of the YSA in the coming days before the conference must be to work within local SMC chapters and antiwar coalitions to assure the largest and most representative attendance. We must direct our energies to the

systematic distribution of pre-conference publicity, and the active solicitation of the attendance of individuals prominent in the movement, as well as activists in the local organizations. While it is very important to reach out to broad new forces, especially from the labor movement, we should not overlook the need to involve the established antiwar groups and individual leaders. Personal contact with them and discussion of the aims and structuring of the conference is the best way to assure their participation.

New conference information and reports on local building efforts should be telephoned to the offices of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (216-621-6516), or to the new national office of the Student Mobilization Committee (15 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y. 10003, telephone 212-675-8465).

In addition to holding news conferences and obtaining articles in the campus and underground press, local antiwar groups should send out mailings on the conference to their membership and organize the distribution of the conference call. Transportation arrangements, if not already planned, should be organized immediately.

The national antiwar conference will, of course, serve a larger need in the course of planning the next series of national actions. We hope to achieve political clarification regarding the united-front character of the antiwar coalition

and deepen the understanding of many activists about the mass action approach to building the antiwar movement. We want to thoroughly explain our position as the dynamic approach that will enable the antiwar movement to become a more powerful and challenging social force, through its ability to involve the millions of Americans now ready to actively demonstrate their opposition to the imperialist aggression of their own government.

As the debate on political perspectives for the antiwar struggle now widens within the movement and its publications, we should make an expanded effort to explain our views to movement activists. This is also the best way to achieve fruitful discussion and decisions at the Cleveland conference.

We can present, from our perspective as revolutionary socialists, a dynamic program for the antiwar struggle that coincides with our fundamental concern for social revolution in the United States. In the process, we can expect to recruit the best and most serious antiwar activists to the program of the revolutionary socialist youth movement and to the organization that carries this perspective into practice: the YSA.

**CARL FRANK**  
National Antiwar Director  
YSA National Office

## ... Movement Democracy

continued from the preceding page

mere presence can often prevent ultraleft groupings from attempting to disrupt a movement function, because the marshals testify to the fact that the vast majority of the movement is against violence within the movement and is willing to unite against it. When the ultralefts see that they are up against the entire movement they may realize that they will lose more politically from an attempted assault than they will gain.

Assuring adequate marshaling, i. e., marshals who are as representative as possible, who understand the necessity of defending the right of

democracy and who understand that acting as marshals has nothing to do with looking for revenge, is necessary to defend movement meetings and activities from ultraleft attacks.

If comrades have not read "On Workers Democracy" by Ernest Mandel (see order blank below) they should do so right away. Passing out this four-page flyer at mass meetings and making it available on literature tables will help make our position clear on the question of democracy within the movement. The YSA's participation in the SMC campaign can help educate the entire left on the necessity for democratic norms in the mass movements.

PL, SDS and most ultraleft groups have never printed their position on the question of democracy in the movement for obvious reasons. Few other organizations have ever made their positions clear either. The position of revolutionary socialists, however, is clear: We unequivocally stand for and are willing to fight for the right of workers democracy.

**CAROLINE LUND**  
YSA National Executive Committee

## YSA National Executive Committee Statement

A serious and dangerous problem confronts the entire American radical movement. Exemplified by the physical attack on the May 24 Student Mobilization Committee national steering committee meeting by members of the Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society, this problem is the substitution of physical violence for political discussion within the radical movement.

The Young Socialist Alliance extends its complete solidarity to the campaign initiated by the SMC to eliminate the use of violence within the movement.

There are four principal reasons for our serious concern about the use of violence inside the movement:

1) We must not lose sight of the real enemy. Our main enemy is the capitalist system and the ruling class, the architects and defenders of the South East Asian war, racism, poverty and the oppression of women. Any group with which we have differences about how to fight this system is not our enemy. It is self-defeating for the movement to devour itself instead of turning its energies against the enemy we have in common, despite our differing political approaches.

2) Our goal is to reach the masses of the American people. Today the antiwar movement has reached the stage of beginning to draw these masses into active struggle against the war. The employment of violent physical force within the movement can confuse these newly radicalizing forces, and delay their joining in action which they are ready to join in right now. In order for the antiwar movement, as well as the Third World and women's liberation movements, to grow and attract masses of people, it must be clear that we aim our attack at the government and not at each other.

3) There are many important issues posed before the antiwar, Third World liberation and women's liberation movements today—questions of orientation and program, of strategy and tactics. A free and

open atmosphere of democratic discussion must exist for activists to be able to work out and choose the positions they take on these issues. Coercion cannot resolve the differences which exist; instead, it makes such resolution impossible. We cannot allow a climate of intimidation to interfere with the democratic decision-making process of the movement.

4) What is involved here is the democratic right of the various sections of the movement to organize themselves, carry out activities, and, in the last analysis, to exist. While we feel that the YSA has the correct political perspective for bringing about a revolutionary change in this country, we do not feel that any organization has a monopoly of the truth. Only a politically sterile organization needs to resort to force to convince others of its ideas, or can believe that it can eliminate ideas with which it disagrees through violence.

Any group of people within the movement must have the right to hold its own meetings and to decide

how they will be conducted—who will be invited, of what the agenda will consist and any other matters on which it chooses to decide. Even in the case of meetings which practice indefensible exclusion of political tendencies from coalitions or united fronts, force must not be used to break into or disrupt meetings of groups within the movement. All differences within the movement should be settled politically—in debate and practice—not physically.

The YSA urges all organizations in the radical movement to join in condemning the attack on the national SMC meeting in Boston and to join in condemning all use of violence within the movement. Together we must create an atmosphere in which any part of the movement attempting to use violence against any other part of the movement is politically isolated for doing so. We will participate, when necessary, in united defense of the right of the antiwar movement or any other section of the movement to hold meetings, conduct demonstrations and carry out its activities if that right is threatened by physical force.

We call upon members of SDS and PL, as well as the organizations themselves, to repudiate the vicious attempt made by some of their members to disrupt the May 24 national SMC meeting.

### ON WORKERS DEMOCRACY

(3c ea under 200; 2c ea over 200.  
PO Box 471 Cooper Sta. NY 10003)

LOCAL OR AT-LARGE AREA \_\_\_\_\_

NUMBER OF COPIES \_\_\_\_\_

ENCLOSED IS \$ \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE BILL US \_\_\_\_\_



## Culmination of Summer Preparation

# Socialist Conference Called

YSAers will have a new experience this summer which will be extremely valuable in our preparation for the fall offensive—the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference, to be held at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, August 8-15. This conference is being organized by the Socialist Workers Party in collaboration with the National Office of the YSA.

This conference—the first of its kind since 1947—will provide an opportunity for comrades from all over the country to get together and discuss how we can best organize ourselves to take advantage of the unparalleled opportunities which now exist for the expansion in size and influence of the revolutionary movement.

The purpose of the conference is to "tool up" both the YSA and SWP for the coming period. Its purpose is not to discuss political orientation, which we decide upon at our yearly YSA conventions. The conference is designed to aid in implementing the decisions of the YSA and SWP conventions in light of recent political events and the rapid growth of the YSA and SWP.

The conference will be divided into two parts. One will be the educational sessions at which key questions relating to the problems of building the revolutionary movement will be presented and discussed. Leaders and educators of the Socialist Workers Party will prepare many of these talks.

The other part of the conference will be those sessions and workshops at which comrades can exchange experiences from various fields of work and put forward suggestions for making the campaigns in which we are engaged more effective. Some of these workshops will be YSA workshops, others will be held jointly with the SWP.

Among the points taken up by the workshops will be such aspects of our work as finances, forums, election campaigns, education, *Militant* sales, publications, local organization, regional work, *The Young Socialist Organizer*, campus struggles, and our work in the antiwar, Third World and women's liberation movements.

In this issue of *The Young Socialist Organizer*, the YSA National Executive Committee is initiating a special pre-conference written discussion on questions of an organizational nature. YSAers will be participating in the discussion through *The YS Organizer*, while SWP members will be exchanging reports through the *Party Builder*, a special SWP publication for the pre-conference discussion. YSAers will be able to purchase the *Party Builder* from SWP branches and should follow the discussion in it along with the discussion in *The YS Organizer*.

With the initiation of this discussion, it is especially important for YSA locals and at-large members to discuss and prepare articles dealing with the various aspects of implementing our program. These reports should be triple-spaced and 40 characters in width, and should be sent in as soon as possible. When necessary, reports will be edited by *The YS Organizer* editorial board.

Experiences in regional work, particularly the maintenance and structure of the regional apparatus, not only in large locals which act as regional centers but also in smaller locals, would be an important contribution to the discussion. Evaluation of the student government election campaigns that have been waged by YSAers on high school and college campuses across the country this spring is another topic that should be covered well. Many YSAers have built support actions for labor struggles—this is another area of work that will continue to be important and should also be discussed. What are the best ways that YSAers have found to distribute our literature, sell *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*? What experiences have at-large members gone through in trying to build a local? What do at-large members find is the best way to sell our literature, build the SMC and participate in campus struggles? How should smaller locals set up educationals, how can they best use the resources of the SWP branch nearest them? These are other

topics that should be written about, in addition to the organization of our work in the central political arenas of the antiwar, Third World and women's liberation movements. The role of the YSA in the recent antiwar upsurge and the concrete gains that were made should be a prominent part of the discussion.

These are only a few of the organizational questions that all YSAers are confronted with while trying to implement our program and they should all be thoroughly discussed. Every YSAer will be able to participate in the discussion on the organizational questions as well as in the educational part of the conference.

The Socialist Activists and Educational Conference represents a tremendous step forward for our movement. Our deep involvement in the current mass movements, our extensive propaganda work, and the recruitment of hundreds of new comrades to the YSA and SWP have made such a conference both possible and necessary for the first time in 23 years. Active participation in the discussion and the conference itself is a key political task for all comrades.

The entire week of intensive discussion and exchange of experiences with comrades from around the country, preceded by a thorough pre-conference discussion through *The Young Socialist Organizer*, will be an important step in developing the cadres of the YSA to give leadership and direction to the movements and struggles that lie ahead.

\* \* \*

Costs for the conference will be \$8.00 per day total for food and dormitory housing. Child care facilities will be available.

**SUSAN LAMONT**  
YSA National Secretary

## Only One More Scoreboard

# Fund Drive: Still Behind Schedule

Congratulations to Chicago, Portland and Boston—the first three locals to go over the top in the Spring Fund Drive! With 11 days left, a total of 13 locals have reached or exceeded their quotas and many others are nearly at 100%. However, many locals are still seriously behind schedule and nationally we are more than \$3,000 short of where we should be.

A concerted campaign effort by all YSA locals and at-large members is absolutely necessary at this time. We must round up any uncollected fund drive pledges, hold fund raising events if possible, and immediately send the remainder of the quotas in to the National Office.

Contributions to the "general" category have increased recently and 80% of the general quota has been filled. Oberlin and Denver have each sent in \$50 and the brand-new Tampa local contributed \$20 within a week after being chartered. At least another \$120 is still needed from the at-large members and newer locals in order to make this quota. Every new local should send in at least some payment to the fund drive, even though these locals were not assigned formal quotas.

It is now important to begin assessing the experiences of YSA locals during this fund drive. The discussion which is beginning in *The Young Socialist Organizer* should include articles from locals that made their quotas easily and finished early or went over 100%, and also from locals that had difficulty in making their quotas and have begun discussing the reorganization of their finances. Ideas for successful fund raising projects (and warnings about unsuccessful ones!) should also be sent in.

\* \* \*

The total national quota now stands at \$27,900. This is due to the fact that Athens, Ohio, has returned to the status of an at-large area and its quota has been deleted.

### FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD (as of June 5)

LOCAL	QUOTA	PAID	%
CHICAGO	\$2100	\$2240	107
PORTLAND	100	105	105
BOSTON	1700	1714	101
BERKELEY	1500	1500	100
TWIN CITIES	1500	1500	100
PHOENIX	150	150	100
WORCESTER	125	125	100
HOUSTON	100	100	100
PATERSON	100	100	100
ST LOUIS	100	100	100
SAN DIEGO	100	100	100
BLOOMINGTON	100	100	100
YELLOW SPRINGS	100	100	100
WASHINGTON DC	650	573	88
ATLANTA	550	481	88
DEKALB	200	175	87
NEW YORK	3200	2600	81
KENT	100	80	80
LOS ANGELES	1800	1400	78
SEATTLE	500	390.20	78
PROVIDENCE	250	195.60	78
PHILADELPHIA	1600	1200	75
MADISON	875	640	73
HAYWARD	150	110	73
CLEVELAND	1900	1221.50	64
DETROIT	1900	1209	63
ANN ARBOR	100	62.45	62
KANSAS CITY	100	60	60
COLUMBUS	100	60	60
SAN FRANCISCO	1600	920.50	57
GAINESVILLE	100	54	54
AUSTIN	500	225	45
NEWARK	250	100	40
BOULDER	200	50	25
OXFORD	100	25	25
RED HOOK	100	7	7
ALBANY	100	0	0
BINGHAMTON	100	0	0
E WASHINGTON	100	0	0
MANSFIELD	100	0	0
MILWAUKEE	100	0	0
SAN JOAQUIN	100	0	0
YPSILANTI	100	0	0

NATIONAL OFFICE	2000	2000	100
GENERAL	600	480.24	80
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$27,900.00</b>	<b>\$22,253.49</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>SHOULD BE</b>	<b>27,900.00</b>	<b>25,389.00</b>	<b>91</b>

### GENERAL SCOREBOARD

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA	\$102.40
TACOMA, WASHINGTON	56.50
OSHERLIN, OHIO	50.00
DENVER, COLORADO	50.00
TAMPA, FLORIDA	20.00
NEW CONCORD, OHIO	15.00
NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS	15.00
MONMOUTH, ILLINOIS	15.00
NEW HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT	15.00
CINCINNATI, OHIO	13.00
LACROSSE, WISCONSIN	12.00
CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA	11.50
MARIETTA, OHIO	10.00
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE	10.00
FAYVILLE, MASSACHUSETTS	10.00
HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA	10.00
LOGAN, UTAH	10.00
OAKLAND CITY, INDIANA	9.50
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE	8.00
HEMPSTEAD, NEW YORK	5.00
ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA	5.00
CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS	5.00
IOWA CITY, IOWA	5.00
NEW CANAAN, CONNECTICUT	5.00
AKRON, OHIO	3.40
GRAND PRAIRIE, TEXAS	2.00
PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE	2.00
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO	1.90
FLINT, MICHIGAN	1.54
CHESAPEAKE, VIRGINIA	1.50
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$480.24</b>

**ANDY ROSE**  
Fund Drive Director  
YSA National Office

## The History of the YSA

# Ten Years of Struggle (Part 3)

(This is the final section of a three part series commemorating the first ten years of the YSA. The series is based on a talk presented in Boston on March 22 by Peter Camejo, a founding member and long-time leader of the YSA. Peter Camejo is presently the SWP senatorial candidate in Massachusetts.)

Now let me give you a quick rundown of some of the important events in the history of the antiwar movement.

After the April 1965 SDS march on Washington and the International Days of Protest called from Berkeley in the fall of 1965, the first real antiwar conference took place over Thanksgiving vacation in 1965. At that conference, the Communist Party was fighting for the demand of negotiations and we were fighting for an immediate withdrawal position. We were also fighting for an organization that united everybody to build antiwar demonstrations while the CP came in with their classical multi-issue line. The Communist Party's purpose in pushing multi-issuism was to try to diffuse the movement against the war, and to try to unite people into some type of general "progressive" spectrum, so that they could get them to support liberal Democratic Party politicians.

The CP carried the majority at that conference. The national coalition that came out of that conference—the National Coordinating Committee—never really had the character of a national antiwar coalition—it was always run by the CP. It called the next big action, and we supported the action of course, even though we had lost the vote at the conference. We urged people to carry signs in that demonstration calling for immediate withdrawal, while others were urging people to carry signs for negotiations. One of the good indications that the movement was radicalizing was that these demonstrations were much larger than before and the majority of the people marching were carrying signs demanding immediate withdrawal.

Another development of this period was that the caucus of people at the NCC conference who supported immediate withdrawal—the "Bring the Troops Home Now Caucus"—stayed together and published the "Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter," to push for the withdrawal position within the antiwar movement.

The demonstrations in the spring of 1966 came off well. However, when we entered into the fall actions, during the election period, they tended to collapse. You'll notice the same thing happened in 1968. Every time you have an election period, demonstrations tend to collapse. Then right afterwards they grow again. The fact that the antiwar coalitions have trouble holding together has to do directly with the bourgeoisie running candidates who claim to be against the war. Parts of the coalition, like the CP, are trying their best to disorient people and get them into supporting these "peace" candidates.

So naturally around this period the NCC started to fall apart. It held a meeting in which the majority voted against putting out a statement calling for immediate withdrawal. Then the leadership of the NCC began endorsing Democratic Party candidates without asking anybody. They just did it. So what we did was initiate an antiwar conference in which antiwar forces could coalesce, bypassing the NCC. We got such a conference called which set the November 5-8, 1966, actions. They turned out very small—we were about the only ones who built them.

The coalition by then had collapsed, so we initiated another conference. Only 180 people showed up, but it formed the Spring Mobilization Committee. We helped get coalitions organized in other cities and got the thing off the ground. Before three or four months were out, we had half a million people demonstrating in the streets against the war—April 15, 1967, the biggest demonstration in the history of the antiwar movement until November 15. Without the YSA, it would never have happened.

The CP at this time was looking for some handle to pull some antiwar people around them, and they hit on the idea of calling some sort of student strike around April 15. Since everybody was working for April 15, this would get some kids involved with them. Of course, after April 15, you can imagine where they were going to take these kids. So they called a small conference, for Chicago, late in 1966.

We found out about this, and since a student strike to build April 15 sounded really good to us, we went to Chicago. That's how the Student Mobilization Committee was formed. The SMC was originally a maneuver by the CP in which they tried to exclude us. But when we got to Chicago, it turned out there were about as many YSAers as there were CPers, plus a few independent "radical" pacifists. So the SMC began as a coalition between us and the CP and a very few other people.

Well, right after that, the Spring Mobilization Committee became the National Mobilization Committee. Lots of people in it said it should continue but it shouldn't continue along the same line. We have this mass organization now, they said, so we should become multi-issue. Eventually, the National Mobilization Committee became multi-issue, just like the National Coordinating Committee, and it began to die.

Ultraleftism was growing in this period. The next action called was a March on Washington in the fall of 1967. The National Mobilization

The result of this disintegration of the antiwar coalitions was that there were virtually no demonstrations that fall. The small demonstrations that did take place were built by us and virtually nobody else. As the coalition got smaller, the ultralefts had more weight in it. The ultralefts called for actions on November 3, to disrupt the election. SDS called a general student strike. Nobody talks about that very much now, because of course it didn't happen.

The period after the elections was a real low point for the antiwar movement. But our analysis was that there was still a terrific sentiment against the war, that that sentiment was going to increase because we knew Nixon wasn't going to end the war. We used the fact that the GI antiwar movement was growing rapidly and was one of the most important parts of the movement to call a GI-Civilian Antiwar Conference for late 1968, which was rather small. The *Guardian* said that it was just a Trot front; everybody criticized it and said that nothing would come of it.



Committee was controlled at the top by radical pacifists, like Dellinger, who were fundamentally opposed to mass action. The nature of the action began changing into a confrontation. They made it clear that there was going to be a confrontation. That just began killing the numbers of people that would go. During this whole period, the YSA was carrying out a rear guard action, trying to save the demonstration. Our line was "All right, some people want a confrontation, so do your confrontation, but first we have a mass legal peaceful demonstration and try to separate the two things." This was the famous March on



the Pentagon, when they tried to stop the war by levitating the Pentagon.

In the spring of 1968 there were fairly good actions, and the SMC called a national student strike that was the biggest student strike ever held in this country. But then under the pressure of the elections the elements in the antiwar coalitions started to fragment. The CP was out working for McCarthy. The International Socialists and Progressive Labor Party were working in the Peace and Freedom Party. They said the Peace and Freedom Party was not just a single-issue party—it was an ongoing mass movement. We said, "No, it is an unprincipled, opportunist grouping just to run candidates and to try to get out antiwar votes, and it will disappear as soon as the elections are over." We still haven't had anyone explain to us how we turned out to be right.

But that conference called for actions on April 5 and 6, 1969. Those actions were built without any national antiwar coalition; they were just built by the local coalitions. When April 5-6 turned out to be the huge success that it was, the antiwar movement got off the ground again. The SMC was the only national organization of any scope that supported and built April 5-6. Those demonstrations were a real breakthrough for the SMC and a big step towards making it the mass student antiwar group it is today.

During the election period of 1968 the SMC had split. The Communist Party and the pacifists, who had been working in SMC, said that SMC was finished and they walked out. They said SMC was too limiting. You see, they wanted to build a much "broader" movement, a multi-issue movement. So they formed the Radical Organizing Committee, which existed for about three months and then disappeared.

The National Mobilization Committee also disappeared. You can notice a tendency these organizations have: a single-issue antiwar group is formed and grows very large and then if it becomes multi-issue it disappears. The SMC is now the oldest antiwar organization in the United States. It's the only one that survived, because it's the only one that our influence has kept oriented against the war.

After April 5-6, a conference was called in Cleveland for July 4-5, and it was the same old thing all over again. We went to the traditional national leaders of the antiwar movement and begged them to come to a conference, and they said no. Dellinger got on the phone and



called people all over the country trying to keep them from coming. Finally they agreed to come only if it was a delegated conference, not an open conference, and if they got to choose the people who could vote.

At a meeting of the Steering Committee the night before the conference, everyone voted against calling November 15 except three people: a YSAer, an SWPer and Jerry Gordon from the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council.

If all these people were against it, how did we get November 15 passed? There were a lot of people at the conference besides the ones that could officially vote. And naturally most of these people, students, people from local antiwar committees, were for mass actions against the war. During the course of the conference we were even able to win over many of those hand-picked people who had votes.

Finally, when the little bureaucrats sitting up there on the stage saw that practically the whole conference was against them, and that even among the people they had brought there they might lose the vote, they came to us and said, "Well, you can have your little November 15 thing, your march on Washington, and in return, you let us do the Chicago demonstration with SDS."

We said, "Sure. All we want is a mass, united action. We don't want a split. We don't want a situation where one section of the antiwar movement is doing one thing and another is calling something else because it will destroy the impact on the masses of people who aren't involved in any way in these discussions, but who are against the war."

You all know what happened to the SDS actions. After they agreed to form a coalition with SDS, SDS told them to get lost. SDS proceeded to hold one of the smallest demonstrations ever held in this country on October 8-11 in Chicago.

You also know what happened with November 15. It was the biggest political demonstration of any kind ever held in this country, and it helped set the tone for the whole new stage we are now in in the antiwar movement.

Now let me wind up by summarizing some of the things that have happened in this period other than the antiwar movement. The radicalization has now begun to go much deeper. It's reaching mammoth proportions. Other layers of society are moving now that weren't before: women, Chicanos, labor. And the YSA has moved into every one of these areas, analyzed what was going on, and has developed a successful strategy for intervention in these movements. If you study that, you see that what I said at the beginning is still correct: that in our entire history there isn't any position that we have taken that we have to repudiate. Not one political position.

There has to be some reason why we have been correct all the time. If you're consistently wrong, that just shows that you have a wrong analysis of this society. If we have a tendency to be consistently correct about what is happening and what attitude we should have, then it is precisely because the YSA does have a correct analysis of this society.

That's a large part of the reason why, as the radicalization continues, we are growing very rapidly while other groups have disappeared, are standing still or at best are growing much more slowly than we are. That's a simple fact: we started out the weakest and we've ended up the strongest. There are many reasons for that, but basically it's our program.

And very closely related to our program is our whole concept of the way we function internally, our democratic centralism and also our concept of team leadership. We try to create a working team, which always expands itself by helping other people develop as leaders. We're not interested in having "stars." We understand that everyone can make mistakes, so we depend on a collective effort and collective, democratic decision-making.

Now, let me say one other thing. Our strength today is purely relative. We're now stronger than these other groups, but we're not dominant in the left, nothing like what the Communist Party was in the past. We've simply got an edge

now.

We're strong in a certain context, but when this context opens up, when we're fighting for much bigger stakes, we're going to appear weak. Look at the SMC conference, for example, where 4,000 people showed up. We're obviously the strongest tendency in the antiwar movement. There were several hundred YSAers there, the strongest socialist current. But that's within a certain context of student radicals. What about in the context of the trade union movement? Or in the context of the battle of the oppressed national minorities? We still have a very long way to go.

But you learn from history that whatever political current within the socialist movement has got the edge in terms of cadres is the one that ends up winning when the masses begin to move.

We have to understand that what we've done in the 1960s is simply to prepare for the possibilities of the 1970s. This radicalization is not going to slow up, it's going to continue. The YSA can grow; we can become an organization larger than any revolutionary group has ever been in the entire history of the United States; there is no limit.

There is absolutely no limit, but the key is to build cadres, to develop YSA cadres. The relationship between our numbers and the mass movement will always be very small, as it was with Lenin's party, but our cadres will penetrate and become leaders in every mass movement.

In the 1970s we're going to see more of the type of crises of capitalism we've seen in the 1960s. This process is accelerating. There is no saying where we will be at the end of the 70s.

And I'll say one last thing: don't think it's a straight road either. There may be days when the YSA's membership will decline. There may be days when we face defeats. But in the last analysis, it is only by the recruiting and building of cadres around a revolutionary socialist program, that we're going to be able to change society.

## Tips on Distribution of the I S R

In order to achieve the widest possible distribution for the *International Socialist Review*, each branch, local and at-large member should initiate a summer campaign for increasing *ISR* bundle orders.

The best way to organize this campaign is to assign a sales representative who will be responsible for securing *ISR* sales outlets in the area — in newsstands, college and paperback bookstores, shopping centers, drug stores, movement centers, etc. There are more possibilities of this kind in the larger cities but comrades in other areas have many opportunities as well. To give an indication of the kind of response that can be expected, New York is setting its own quota of 25 new *ISR* accounts. Bookstore reaction has already been favorable and no difficulty in reaching this goal is anticipated.

Mike Baumann, a comrade who has worked in a New York bookstore for several years, offers the following suggestions for *ISR* sales representatives:

1) Never try to sell during a store's rush hour, usually 11:30am — 2:30pm. The buyer will be too busy to do more than take a glance at the *ISR* and will probably give you a quick "no thanks," just to get rid of you. The best time to go is normally around 10:00am or 3:00pm.

2) Walk up to the sales counter. Ask if the buyer is in. Introduce yourself to him or her as the local distributor for the *ISR*. As you do this hand him or her a copy of the magazine and begin a prepared sales presentation. Don't be afraid to make the most obvious points about the *ISR*:

- That it costs 50 cents.
- That it is a monthly.
- That it will be nationally advertised and distributed.
- That it is a theoretical journal of revolutionary socialism.
- That it is the first of its kind and scope in 20 years.
- That it contains in-depth coverage and analysis of the antiwar, Black, Third World and women's liberation movements.
- That it contains articles and reviews by leading Marxist scholars.

3) Unless the buyer is politically sympathetic all of this will be taken with a grain of salt. So

go into the next part — why the *ISR* will sell and be worth carrying. Keep the buyer's point of view in mind.

a) Point out the large and growing potential market for this kind of magazine — radical students and professors, women's liberation activists, Black studies groups, etc.

b) Talk about the attractive cover. Put a copy of the *ISR* next to another book or magazine of approximately the same size and point out how well it stands out. This is very important to both us and the buyer. To be sold commercially the *ISR* must attract the browser's eye immediately.

c) Mention the attractive layout and the high quality of the graphic work.

d) Point out that the discount is 40%. This is the standard bookstore markup. He will pay you 30 cents for each copy sold and keep 20 cents.

e) Point out that if he wishes there will be no paperwork involved for him. You will "service the account," that is, come in each month with the new issue, take back unsold copies (if any) and collect the money for those which were sold.

4) Have copies of the magazine with you so that if the buyer says "yes" you can fill the order on the spot. Order forms, which you can easily make, should be prepared for your record of the order. Offer the buyer a receipt for any money collected. Keeping accurate records is absolutely necessary to avoid misunderstandings and confusion.

5) Be realistic. Don't try to pressure the buyer into taking more than he thinks he can sell. If he only takes 5 and sells them out within a week he'll be sure, with a little encouragement, to take 10 or 15 the next month.

6) Finally, in a movement or college bookstore, or with a buyer who is politically sympathetic, try to get a good display for the *ISR*. Get a copy into the window or in a highly visible area of the store.

These suggestions should enable us to obtain a number of new outlets for the magazine.

The billing procedure is as follows: If the buyer wants to deal directly with us he may do so by mailing the bundle order form, which you should give him, to the *ISR* here in New York.

The bundles and billing will then be handled from New York. Many buyers will prefer, however, that you handle the account.

This is the procedure we suggest be followed if you service the bookstores from your own bundle. The bookstore rate for the *ISR* is 30 cents on consignment. This means that we charge 30 cents for the copies they sell and give credit to the branch or local for the copies they don't sell. The bundle rate for branches and locals is 35 cents per copy.

Each month after you deliver the new *ISR* to the bookstores, send us an accounting of the total number of copies of the previous issue placed in bookstores and the number of copies sold, and send in the mastheads from the unsold copies. The business office will then give you 5 cents credit on your next bill for each copy sold in the bookstores (the difference between the price of your regular bundle and the bookstore rate). For each unsold bookstore copy, 35 cents will be deducted from your bill. Your bill will be higher if you fail to send in this information, since there is no charge for unsold bookstore copies and the bookstore rate is only 30 cents. So be sure to keep us informed.

Since the *ISR* does not have the financial resources necessary to pay for the services of a national distribution agent to handle these details, as the capitalist publishers do, this whole area of bookstores and newsstands should be viewed as a primary sales responsibility. It is up to the locals, branches and at-large YSAers to make sure that the *ISR* is on the shelves right next to *Ramparts* and the *Wall Street Journal*. Just as our election campaigns enable our candidates to gain a national hearing for revolutionary ideas, our publications give us a national voice which can reach thousands of readers in direct competition with the capitalist press.

Such a goal is only realizable if the comrades understand the importance of such efforts, organize them efficiently and report results and offer suggestions to the staff.

**MARTY RUDENSTEIN**  
Business Manager, *International Socialist Review*



# National Field Report

*Editor's note: The first part of the following article by Rich Finkel, YSA National Field Secretary, reports on the results of the spring national field tour. The second section deals with general questions of the YSA's regional work in this period.*

The spring national field tour lasted from early March until the end of May. Three new locals were established—in Pittsburgh, Pa., Knoxville, Tenn., and Tampa, Fla.—and it is likely that locals will be formed this fall in Nashville, Tenn., Murfreesboro, Tenn., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., as a result of the tour. Twenty-six members were directly recruited in eight different areas.

Meetings on "The Coming American Revolution" were set up at 13 college and university campuses and I spoke to approximately 515 students during the tour at the different meetings. Literature sales totalled \$902.33 and included 56 introductory subscriptions to *The Militant*. Forty-five dollars was raised through speaker's fees. We were also able to set up literature tables at another 5 schools where meetings could not be arranged.

The first area of my tour was Buffalo. The major campus, the State University of New York at Buffalo, or UB, has been dominated by ultra-left SDSers and YAWFers. There has never been an independent antiwar movement on the UB campus, although the radicals at other campuses and high schools in the area have been involved in the antiwar movement. The ultraleftists have previously held unchallenged hegemony over the student movement in Buffalo, but we were able to recruit two at-largers.

The radical movement in Pittsburgh, in contrast, has long been dominated by the Communist Party. The Young Workers Liberation League exists there but does not function openly. An example of the political atmosphere in a city dominated by the CP is the fact that the April 15 demonstration had the theme, "New Priorities

During the May upsurge millions of students were galvanized into action by Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the bloody suppression of dissent at home. Questions of strategy and tactics for the student movement were raised on nearly every campus in the United States.

Our comrades provided leadership for the struggles on many campuses, building united-front strike committees, involving thousands of students in democratic mass meetings and hundreds of thousands in effective actions against the war. We played a key role in opening up a whole new stage for the student movement with the development of the antiwar university.

Yet on scores of other campuses the concept of mass action was not adequately understood, and some student activists did not see the absolute necessity of reaching out beyond the campus to the labor movement, GIs and the oppressed Third World communities. Some strikes were hampered by ultraleft acts of frustration. On many other campuses conscious reformists were able to channel the mass outrage into do-nothing university committees or petitioning for capitalist "peace" proposals.

The crucial importance of our regional work was underscored by the nation-wide student strike. As the radicalization continues to grow and deepen the pressing need for revolutionary leadership and coordination of the student movement can only intensify. Our primary objective today must continue to be building the YSA as a nation-wide revolutionary youth movement that can provide this leadership and coordination.

The May events created millions of new campus activists—we must aim to reach them on every campus in

Day."

We held meetings at Duquesne University, Robert Morris College and the University of Pittsburgh. A local of ten members was formed which immediately initiated a high school SMC. Several of the comrades from this local are attending summer school in Philadelphia.

From Pittsburgh I travelled to Kentucky. At the University of Kentucky in Lexington there is a large and active SMC. One at-large member was recruited. We also set up literature tables at several schools in Kentucky.

In Tennessee I spoke to a meeting of 35 students at East Tennessee State University in Johnson City where we have at-large members. At the University of Tennessee in Knoxville a YSA local was established which played an active role in the national student strike. In Nashville we were also able to recruit several at-largers and lay the base for a YSA local after more than 75 students came to our meeting on "The Coming American Revolution."

Perhaps most indicative of the growing radicalization in the south was our experience at Middle Tennessee State University in Murfreesboro, a small town about 40 miles from Nashville. We met a student there who was interested in joining the YSA and he arranged for us to set up a literature table on campus. MTSU, however, had never even had an antiwar committee and we were asked to leave the Student Center after being confronted by a crowd of about 100 hooting students. Our new at-large comrade was not intimidated and he has now organized a "bicycle club" which plans to wage a fight to be recognized as a YSA local in the fall.

In Florida I was able to spend several days at the University of South Florida in Tampa. More than 1000 people had participated in an antiwar demonstration on April 18 which was attacked by the police. (See *The Militant*, May 8, page 4.) A student strike was called at USF soon after news of the Kent State murders reached Florida.

this country with a revolutionary socialist program for action. This means intensifying our regional expansion.

The geographic expansion of the YSA has already been of tremendous value in reaching out to new areas of the country and training new revolutionary cadres for the YSA. One particularly exciting side of our participation in the May upsurge was the way in which small new locals of the YSA, and many at-large members, quickly grasped our approach to the strikes and moved into leadership positions. The strike wave made it dramatically evident that we have a greater geographical breadth and depth than any other tendency in the student movement.

This summer hundreds of comrades from new locals and at-large areas will be transferring into our major centers for the socialist summer schools. These comrades will then be able to return to their local areas in the fall with a far greater understanding of the revolutionary movement, able to extend the branching out process even further.

Every YSA member and local can and should be doing regional work. Smaller locals can send out teams on short trips to neighboring schools, set up meetings for regional and national travelers and keep in touch with contacts through newsletters and conferences. The Gainesville local, for example, has been able to help set up and work with three new locals in Florida; this success can be duplicated in every area of the country.

Ads in underground papers, literature tables, speakers and educational tapes are all effective tools in reaching out to the millions of radicalizing youth who have not yet come in contact with the YSA. Even at-

Six people joined the YSA that night after a meeting in which we had a lengthy debate with several students on the question of mass action versus small confrontations.

At the branch of the University of Alabama in Birmingham, a conservative commuter campus, about 50 students came to our meeting, which followed a memorial service for the Kent students. At the main campus of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa we were also able to hold a meeting during the period of mass student demonstrations. Following it several students asked to join the YSA.

The areas covered by my tour—primarily in the south—are wide open for building the YSA and for the new YSAers to quickly take leadership in mass struggles. The only other organized radical tendency that has any strength in the south is the Communist Party; I found small YWLL groups in both Nashville and Birmingham. In general the conscious reformists are a much greater threat on the campuses I visited than are the small and isolated groups of ultra-lefts.

Several tactical innovations that we employed during this tour were very successful:

1) Taking along a tape recorder and many of our educational tapes proved to be very helpful.

2) Spending a relatively long time in each city—up to two weeks—allowed us to work with new recruits and familiarize them more with how the YSA functions.

3) Having a comrade from the nearest regional center work with the traveller from the National Office is a good idea because of his or her greater familiarity with local conditions. In the future we may be able to aim at having two comrades from the center along with one or more comrades from the region on the field tours, working as a team with several people having prepared talks.

Another product of the continuing radicalization that we can make use of in the future is the increased receptivity of official campus groups to radical speakers. We plan to arrange speaking engagements with honorariums beforehand by writing to student governments, etc., and thereby help finance the tours.

large members can arrange meetings at near-by towns and campuses and help break the ice for the regional travelers.

The large YSA locals, of course, bear the greatest responsibility for regional organizing. Many major locals now understand that it is simply impossible to do effective regional work without full-time travelers and a comrade assigned to regional coordination in the center.

We cannot set up new locals and then expect them to function independently from the regional center. The major locals must work with our newer locals and at-largers in all areas of our activity from subscription drives to educational programs to fund drives to strike coordination. We must learn to work together as a coordinated movement and develop collective leadership on a regional as well as national level.

Our state-wide election campaigns are another important avenue for regional work and for gaining new contacts. They cannot, however, substitute for developing regular regional communication and collaboration.

Our summer schools and the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference will give us new opportunities to understand the dynamics of revolutionary change and exchange experiences concerning every aspect of our day to day work. The strengthening of our regional contacts and apparatus and a detailed discussion of our experiences in regional organization will be one of the most important aspects of this summer's activity.

**RICH FINKEL**  
YSA National Field Secretary

## Summer Schools More Important Than Ever

In the context of the rapidly changing political situation in this country, the socialist summer schools this year are perhaps the most important in the history of our organization. The careful consideration of the educational needs of our comrades during this period is reflected in the exciting classes that are scheduled around the country. Young socialists from all over the various regions have moved into the central cities where summer schools are being held. Their participation in the summer schools and in the functioning of a large local is the best possible preparation for the fall offensive.

Schedules outlining the various classes and reading material are now available from the locals where summer schools are being held. Comrades who for some reason cannot attend the summer schools should obtain such a schedule from the regional center and follow it as closely as possible.

Two class outlines are now available from the National Summer School Committee: "Marxism and the Fight for National Liberation" and "Study Outline for Classes on Women's Liberation." These class outlines will be helpful in setting up a series on those particular subjects. Both are quite extensive and include bibliographies, questions to discuss from the reading and, in the case of the women's liberation class outline, tapes that are available.

The Twin Cities summer school brochure quotes an excerpt from James P. Cannon's book, *Letters From Prison*, which sums up the reasons for our socialist summer schools quite well.

"The further development of world events will certainly give rise to a great new wave of revolutionary insurgency. With it will most probably appear new manifestations of centrism in all colors of the rainbow.

On our part the new events must be the signal for the grand offensive of Marxism on all fronts. Trotsky predicted that Marxism would have its greatest flowering on American soil. That will be so if we plan and organize our study.

"The main difficulty of the average militant worker is not his lack of adequate book-learning but the fact that he has never had time, free from worry and economic responsibilities, to study. He has not known what to study and in what order, and he has not learned to study systematically. The party will not be daunted by these obstacles. The main thing is the human material—young rebels with a burning desire to learn and to know and to put their knowledge to use in the class struggle."

**FRANK BOEHM**  
National Summer School Committee

## 3 of 5 on YS slate Win

# Chicago High School Campaign Report

Approximately 1,543 students, 65% of whom are Black, attend Kenwood High School, a new school in Chicago's Hyde Park area. Our fraction at this school consists of ten comrades and a strong periphery of contacts.

For the first time during Student Council elections held at this school, candidates competed for office on a political basis—with an entire slate of Young Socialists. The slate included two comrades (Barry Boykin for President and Meryl Farber for Treasurer), and three Black activists who agreed to support our platform (Geraldine Holmes for Vice-President, Vickie Johnson for Recording Secretary and Jan Lyman for Corresponding Secretary). We ran with these three activists because their involvement in various struggles at Kenwood made them well-known to the student body and we hoped to draw them into the activities of the YSA.

Our platform contained the following planks:

1) Black Liberation—we said that we would work for the right of students to have a Black Studies program and a functioning Black Student Union.

2) Antiwar—we advocated holding a referendum on the war, a teach-in and building support for the demonstration to be held on May 30.

3) High School Rights—we endorsed the right of students to distribute leaflets and other literature, the right to form political and social organizations within the school and use school facilities for this purpose, the right to bring in speakers and the right to be free from arbitrary disciplinary action and be guaranteed due process.

4) Women's Liberation—we supported the institution of a women's history course, the right of pregnant students to remain in school and attend classes, free birth control information and a women's liberation teach-in.

Our campaign began during the week of May 11-15. Posters with the slogan, "Vote Young Socialist for Student Council," and leaflets with an outline of our platform were put into circulation.

*(The following is the text of a speech presented by Barry Boykin to the election assembly at Kenwood, May 21.)*

My name is Barry Boykin and I'm running for President of the Student Council. I'm running with a unified slate of candidates—Geraldine Holmes, Meryl Farber, Vickie Johnson and Jan Lyman. I'm running on a platform identified by the term "Young Socialist." This platform includes the following: fighting the persecution of all Black political dissidents, fighting to bring the troops home now, fighting to establish Black control of the Black community and community control of the school.

Student Council can be in the forefront of these struggles. And the Student Council we envision having a role to play in supporting the Black

The election assembly was held on Thursday, May 21, and each candidate was allowed to speak for only two minutes. The Young Socialist candidates, besides putting forth our political ideas concerning the Black, women's liberation, high school rights and antiwar movements, stressed the importance of student involvement in these struggles. Since ours was the only organized slate, we showed continuity and unity in our five speeches.

Our opponents ran as individuals hoping to win on the basis of their popularity. Three main tendencies emerged from their speeches:

1) Black Nationalism: The other Black student besides myself running for President professed to be a Black nationalist. In his speech he did not go beyond the contention that he would rid the school of racist teachers and in this way represent the students.

2) "Independence:" Our next opponent for President emphasized his belief that politics shouldn't have anything to do with the students. He said that he would represent the students if he was told what they wanted him to do.

3) "Competence:" The rest of the opponents running for the offices of Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer (our candidate for Vice-President ran unopposed), can be lumped under the category of having promised to do their duties to the best of their abilities if elected.

Voting was held the next day. The three Black independent activists on our slate won office while Meryl and I won runoffs, with myself winning a plurality but not the necessary majority. What is probably most significant is that popularity did not figure very much in this election compared to earlier elections. On the contrary, those who stressed keeping politics away from the students were the ones who lost.

Our Black "nationalist" opponent was the other candidate who survived for the Presidential runoff. He apparently was forced to consider the introduction of some political content into his stand if he was to counter

struggle that led to the Manifesto\* and a role in preventing the police, in the future, from coming in as they did and violating the right of students to protest. It would be a Student Council instrumental in informing and mobilizing students when there are mass actions such as the one called for this Saturday by SCLC in protest of the murders of Blacks in Augusta and in Jackson.

We are running a political slate. Why we're running a political slate is because we recognize that high schools don't exist in a vacuum. Can you wait to fight against discrimination? Can you wait to fight against the war? Can

\* This refers to a struggle which developed in the school earlier in the year around a Manifesto of demands. During the struggle, police were called into the school to arrest students participating in a sit-in in front of the principal's office.

the appeal our platform had. He printed up leaflets which included some uncomplimentary remarks about his opposition and in which he related how he was "weary in the fight for freedom of Black people," and how "active" he had been "in the fight for students' rights this year." He did not go into exactly how he had been active or even when he had been active, which must have disappointed many students who appeared unaware of his activity. At any rate, it was clear that our campaign forced him to attempt to politicize his platform and take us on.

The outcome of the runoff was that both comrades lost, though by a slim margin. The vote for President was 475-411. The fact that the results of the first election were not publicized and that the announcement of a runoff was not made until the last minute probably affected the outcome of the vote. A field trip to Malcolm X College, which left before the announcement of the runoff, caused some students to lose their opportunity to vote.

Nevertheless, our campaign was a success in that we established what should become a tradition in running high school elections on a political platform with a political slate, a precedent enabling us to run comrades for office over the next few years. The three Black activists have been drawn much closer to the YSA and the students in general have been familiarized with struggles that have taken place and which will take place. This was also the first time that Young Socialists have "legally" been allowed to pass out literature—a precedent which the administration will have a hard time reversing. For most of the comrades in the Kenwood fraction running this campaign was an enriching political experience and we came out stronger and better known than ever before.

**BARRY BOYKIN**  
Chicago YSA

you wait to fight for your rights?

You wait: and the first place you go when you get out of high school is into college where you meet oppression like the Kent students did; or into the community where you face repression like the Black Panther Party did; or into the armed forces where you get shipped over to Vietnam or Cambodia. Our platform is proving that high school students don't have to be isolated from political organizations—and political slates.

If you support the Black Liberation movement and you want the right to institute a Black Studies program or a powerful Black Student Union, if you support the antiwar movement, if you support giving yourself the rights you should have had in the first place, then vote Young Socialist ticket for Student Council.

## Women's Liberation: Successful Class Begun

A major focus of the New York Socialist Workers 1970 Campaign is the struggle for women's liberation. Because of this there are many women who have been coming around our campaign from many different sections of the population—campus and high school women, working class and older women.

In order to facilitate the maximum involvement of these women in our campaign, we are in the process of setting up a women's liberation committee of the SWP campaign. As a first step towards this, we have been holding a series of classes on "Women's Liberation and Socialism." This is the first women's liberation activity in the name of the YSA and SWP we have held in New York. In this way, we are building the women's liberation movement and at the same time getting out our ideas and our name as real defenders of and fighters for the women's liberation movement.

Our experiences from these classes clearly point out that to build the women's liberation movement is to build our movement. Before we had even held the first class we received a request from a woman professor to send some of the teachers from our classes to teach some classes at Penn State, and to attend one of their women's liberation meetings.

We recently received a letter from Smith College Library telling us how great *The Militant* is and asking us to send them some material from our classes so that they could set up classes of their own.

The classes themselves have proven to be a very valuable way of meeting independent women, edu-

cating them about socialist ideas, drawing them into campaign activity and bringing them closer to the YSA.

In order to publicize these classes we sent a mailing to our women campaign endorsers and contacts. We distributed leaflets at the recent Congress to Unite Women, on campus and at women's liberation meetings. We also had three newspaper ads, including one in *The Militant*.

In setting up the classes we chose subjects that are currently being discussed in the women's liberation movement, such as "How should women's liberation relate to other struggles?" and "Is socialism the answer to women's oppression?" In this way we can get across our basic analysis of the women's liberation movement. We will also have classes on the origins of women's oppression, women and the Cuban and Russian revolutions, Third World women's liberation, and the relationship of the independent women's liberation movement to the revolutionary party.

The classes are being taught by comrades from our joint YSA-SWP women's liberation fraction. Most of the comrades have never taught a class before and the experience they have gained in teaching is a very important part of the classes. We now have more people who can be sent out to speak publicly for our ideas.

Over 40 independent women came to the first class. The questions and discussion reflected the high

level of political discussion within the women's liberation movement as a whole: they saw the role of the capitalist system in oppressing women and wanted to know the relationship of socialism to women's liberation. Many of the women were not members of any women's liberation group, nor had most of them ever been in contact with us before.

A number of these women found out about our movement through comrades who are active in their women's liberation groups. Many of them are enthusiastic and eager to get involved in our campaign and other activities and are bringing their friends to the classes.

Through conscientious contact and follow-up work we have involved some of these women in active campaign work, such as setting up women's liberation SWP campaign tables. A number of women who attended these classes have endorsed the campaign and as their first campaign activity leafletted or sold *The Militant* on the May 30 antiwar demonstration.

As an immediate result of these classes, two women decided to join the YSA and others are considering joining and have been coming to our other classes on socialism. For a list of the classes and readings that were used by the teachers, write to the New York SWP 1970 Campaign, 873 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

**NATALIE HARARY**  
New York City YSA



# young socialist the organizer

A BI-WEEKLY ACTION PUBLICATION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, A MULTINATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION.

EDITOR: FRANK BOEHM

BUSINESS MANAGER: MARTY RUDENSTEIN

Address all correspondence to YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. *The Young Socialist Organizer*, formerly the *Young Socialist*, is published bi-weekly. Second class postage is paid at New York, New York. Vol. 13, No. 7 Subscription rates to all non-YSA members: \$2.50 per year.

JUNE 24, 1970

## The Column

Since the previous issue of *The Young Socialist Organizer* announced the addition of three new locals, we have added still another. Regular visits from Andrew Pulley, Herman Fagg and Dave Frankel, all SWP 1970 candidates, helped to consolidate the predominantly Third World local in Riverside, California.

A correction should be made in regard to the announcement in the previous issue that we have a new local in Cincinnati, Ohio. That announcement was somewhat premature—we're still expecting.

During the month of May, especially in the latter half, the number of inquiries into the National Office increased quite dramatically. As near as we can establish now, over 310 people clipped coupons or wrote letters asking for more information about the YSA, asking to join or both. This is an increase of about 100 over the average.

The increase in the number of inquiries came mainly from coupons in the special issues of *The Militant*. The importance of making sure that *The Militant* reaches as many people as possible becomes very obvious during periods of massive political motion.

Along with the rise in the number of inquiries that we received, there was a significant rise in the number of people who joined the YSA as at-large members. In the beginning of May there were approximately 110-115 at-large YSAers. This number now stands at more than 170. This figure does not include, of course, those at-large members who went into locals during this period or those who established locals in their areas.

The distribution of *The Young Socialist Organizer* to YSAers has been handled in the larger locals in several ways. Detroit, for example, includes a copy of each issue in their regular mailings to YSA members. This method makes it certain that each member will receive his or her copy of *The Young Socialist Organizer*. An-

other idea is to simply lay a copy down on every chair before YSA business meetings. The comrades could then simply pick up a copy before the meetings. In large locals the most efficient method for distributing *The YS Organizer* should be discussed by the Executive Committee. In small locals, getting *The YS Organizer* to every YSAer should be no problem. Whichever way it is done, the most important thing is that it be distributed to every YSAer as quickly as possible.

One of the interesting stories coming out of the April 15 actions is that of a 45 mile feeder march composed of high school students. The 45 mile feeder march started in Ann Arbor and ended in Detroit, all the while carrying a large 7 by 3 foot banner lettered in pink day-glo saying, "Bring All the Troops Home Now!—SMC."

The idea was conceived of by an Ann Arbor high school student. The idea created a lot of publicity and turned what began as a slow moving build-up for April 15 into a lively and spirited project. The marchers went through several towns on their way into Detroit. One of those towns was Dearborn, which voted in 1968, by a margin of 3 to 1, to bring all the troops home now. They were well received. Debby Bustin, an SMCer and YSAer, accompanied the marchers and reported that the response was very good along the whole route. As they marched the students passed out leaflets explaining exactly why they were marching. Debby reports: "The moral of the story is that small suburban areas and college towns can do something important (crazy as it was) to build big city demonstrations besides sending in a few busloads of people. We hope that the final fruits of the march will be the building of strong SMCs in area high schools and junior high schools."

The Detroit march and rally turned out to be the largest and most successful ever—until May 8, that is.

—EDITOR