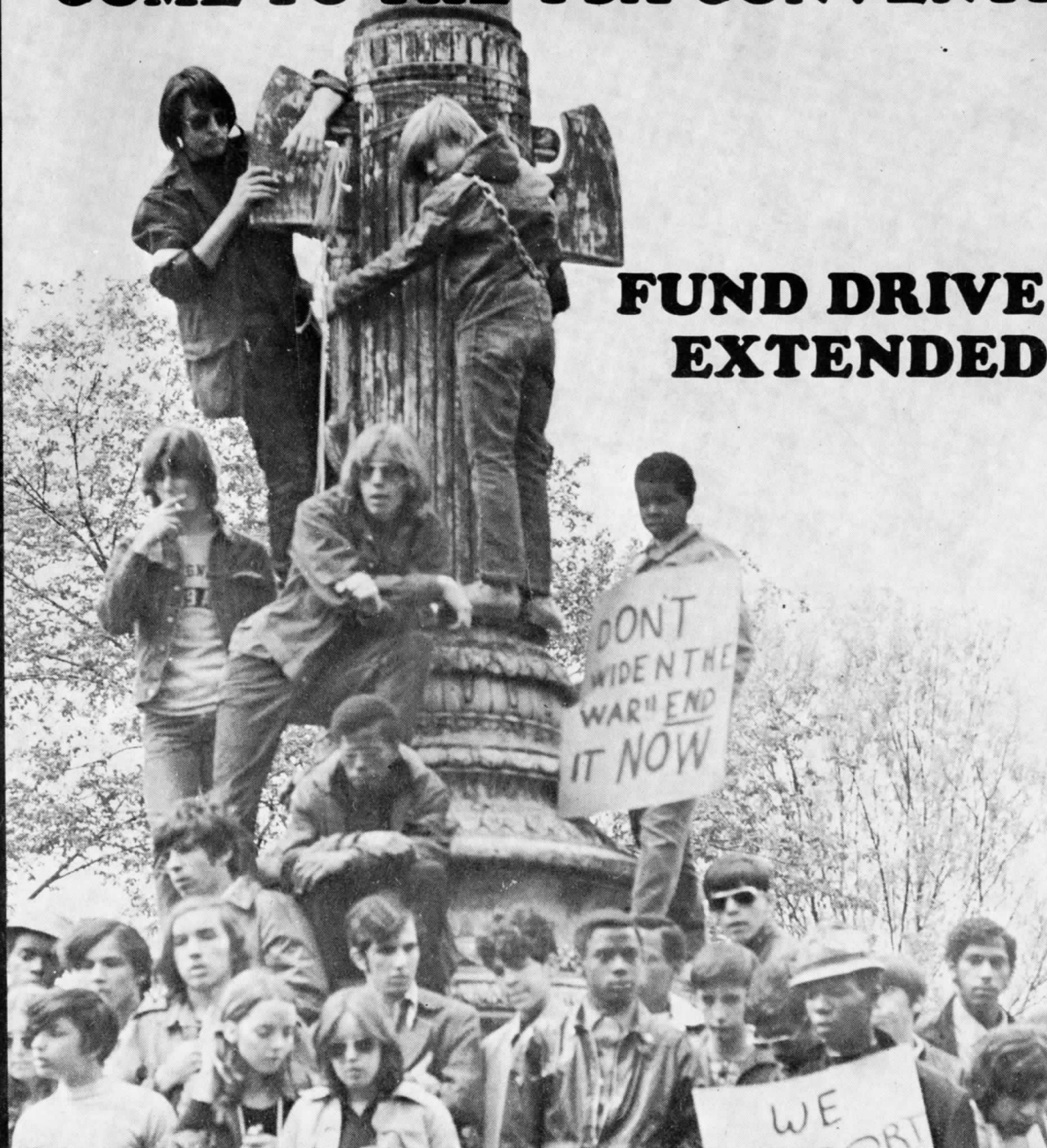


young socialist **the organizer**

12-9-70

COME TO THE YSA CONVENTION!



**FUND DRIVE
EXTENDED**

10 Cents

Fund Drive Critical--Deadline Extended

Three locals are now over the top on the fall fund drive: Red Hook, N. Y., Albany, N. Y., and San Diego, Cal., have all reached 100 per cent or more of their quotas. Let's have dozens of locals in this category for the next issue of *The YS Organizer!*

Although several pace-setting locals are staying on time or ahead of schedule, the fund drive as a whole is critically behind. As the scoreboard, which was compiled December 1, shows, we are roughly \$7000 behind schedule. In other words, the National Office does not have at this time \$7000 which was anticipated in the national budget.

Continuing in this financial crisis not only means that many of our national expansion projects must be delayed but also hampers the normal day-to-day functioning of the national organization. We must take emergency measures to correct this situation immediately.

The National Executive Committee has voted to extend the fund drive through December 24. If locals which are seriously behind schedule begin immediately with the kind of plans outlined below for a fund-raising campaign, these extra nine days may make it possible for us to reach the national quota. All money received by December 24 will be included on the final fund drive scoreboard, which will be available at the YSA Convention.

The following are some suggestions for how locals which are behind can organize themselves most efficiently to raise the money for their quotas.

First, the executive committee of the local should meet to discuss the financial situation in detail and to select several leading activists in the local to constitute, along with the financial director and local organizer, a special fund drive committee. The executive committee can map out the basic strategy for raising the fund drive money, and the special committee can then implement these plans. Some of the elements of such a strategy would be:

- Going over a list of the comrades in the local one by one, examining the financial situation of each person and evaluating how much he or she should be able to donate for the fund drive;

- Holding discussions with each comrade in the local, suggesting an amount for a fund drive pledge (if the comrade hasn't made one yet) or for an additional pledge (if she or he already has), and securing a definite commitment;

- Investigating the possibilities for raising additional money through such devices as rummage sales, old book sales, raffles, dinners or other socials, etc.;

- Approaching sympathetic professors or others in our periphery, explaining to them how important it is to the YSA's continued growth that this money be raised, and asking for a contribution.

It may be that the committee will be able to develop plans for raising the local's quota, but that not all of the money can be obtained by December 24. In this case, either comrades or sympathizers who would be in a position to do so should be approached about loaning a certain amount to the local, with a definite schedule for repayment established.

The perspective for making the fund drive should be presented to the local with a thorough political motivation of the importance of finances, an explanation of the emergency situation that now exists, and all of the details of where the fund drive stands, exactly how the local can make its quota, and what is needed from the membership—this will include both direct financial contributions and time and effort put into fund-raising projects.

In order to gear the local into the kind of campaign effort that will be necessary to make the fund drive, the local leadership must be prepared to lead a full discussion on the YSA's attitude toward finances, on the importance of this specific fund drive, and on how the local's finances should be organized. To ensure success in our effort to raise the remaining \$15,600, every member of the YSA should understand and agree with the plans that his or her local has made.

Because we are so far behind at this point, it is only realistic to assume that some locals will not be able to make up in the last few weeks of the drive for all the money that was not raised earlier in the fall. This means that our success in meeting the total national quota will also depend on as many locals as possible not only meeting but going over their quotas. In all the locals which are roughly on or ahead of schedule, the executive committee and the local should examine carefully any possibilities for raising additional money.

The at-large members have an extremely important role to play in winning the fall fund drive. The excellent response by the at-large comrades in the spring fund drive was one of the key factors which enabled us to go over the national quota. There are now over 200 at-large members, so that a similar response can take us well over the top on the at-large quota, and be a significant aid in making the fall fund drive a success.

ANDY ROSE
YSA Financial Director

FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD

REGION AND LOCAL	QUOTA	PAID	%
UPPER MIDWEST	\$1000	\$750	75
TWIN CITIES	1000	750	75
(AT-LARGE)		(0)	
MICHIGAN	\$2725	\$1934.50	71
DETROIT	2200	1817	83
ANN ARBOR	200	100	50
EAST LANSING	75	17.50	23
FLINT	125	0	0
YPSILANTI	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(0)	
NEW ENGLAND	\$3195.01	\$2244.65	70
NORTH BOSTON	866.67	716.67	83
SOUTH BOSTON	866.67	639.21	74
PROVIDENCE	250	180	72
WORCESTER	225	160.10	71
CAMBRIDGE	866.67	546.67	63
PITTSFIELD	20	2	10
AMHERST	100	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(5.50)	
PENNSYLVANIA	\$1875	\$1300	69
PHILADELPHIA	1800	1300	72
MANSFIELD	75	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(0)	
NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY	\$4745	\$3105.50	65
ALBANY	125	127	101
RED HOOK	120	120	100
NEW YORK CITY	4000	2845	71
BINGHAMTON	100	10	10
LONG ISLAND	50	3.50	7
NEWARK	200	0	0
PATERSON	150	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(15.50)	

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	\$2900	\$1818.27	63
SAN DIEGO	100	102.57	103
PHOENIX	200	150	75
LOS ANGELES	2400	1565.70	65
RIVERSIDE	200	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(0)	
MARYLAND-VIRGINIA	\$900	\$570.50	63
WASHINGTON DC	900	570.50	63
(AT-LARGE)		(41)	
TEXAS-LOUISIANA	\$1165	\$629.50	54
HOUSTON	350	219.50	63
AUSTIN	600	360	60
EL PASO	125	35	28
FT WORTH-DALLAS	90	15	17
(AT-LARGE)		(4)	
SOUTHEAST	\$1400	\$744.40	53
ATLANTA	1100	713	65
TAMPA	200	31.40	16
CHAPEL HILL	100	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(33.53)	
OHIO-KENTUCKY	\$2550	\$1250	49
CINCINNATI	125	100	80
YELLOW SPRINGS	250	150	60
OXFORD	125	75	60
CLEVELAND	1900	925	49
COLUMBUS	150	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(61)	
ROCKY MOUNTAIN	\$300	\$120	40
DENVER	150	120	80
BOULDER	125	0	0
COLORADO SPRINGS	25	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(70)	
WISCONSIN	\$775	\$303.10	39
LACROSSE	125	66	53
MADISON	350	135.40	39
MILWAUKEE	300	101.70	34
(AT-LARGE)		(.50)	
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA	\$3925	\$1470.30	37
BERKELEY	2000	1000	50
HAYWARD	100	44	44
SAN FRANCISCO	1700	426.30	25
SAN JOAQUIN	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(51)	
MIDWEST	\$3550	\$589.50	17
KANSAS CITY	200	55	27
BLOOMINGTON	150	34.50	23
CHICAGO	3000	500	17
DEKALB	200	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(47.50)	
PACIFIC NORTHWEST	\$900	\$150	17
PORTLAND	200	150	75
SEATTLE	700	0	0
(AT-LARGE)		(6)	
TOTAL AT-LARGE	\$1000	\$335.53	34
TOTAL	\$32,905.01	\$17,315.75	53
SHOULD BE		\$24,678.76	75

SCOREBOARD COMPILED DECEMBER 1, 1970

Sub Drive Victory

The *Militant* sub drive ended in victory November 15 with a total of 15,776 new subscribers by the last day of the drive. The 15,000 total has been even further surpassed as late subs have continued coming in to *The Militant* business office; as of December 1, the total stood at 16,044 subs!

In this drive, the largest sub campaign in which YSAers have ever participated, subscriptions were sent in from 87 areas, 41 of which made or went over their quotas. The success of those areas which made their quotas hinged on organizing the kind of vigorous campaign described in the Berkeley sub drive report in this issue of *The YS Organizer*. The lessons contained in Berkeley's experience should help those areas which did not make their quotas this time do better in the next sub campaign.

Over 50 independent *Militant* readers obtained subs during the drive. Pacesetter in this field

was Dean Reed from Santa Cruz who amassed a grand total of 122 new subscriptions. Of course, somewhere around his 85th sub he joined the YSA.

THE ISR SUB DRIVE

Although our initial projections for the *ISR* were not quite realized in the sub drive, we can count the *ISR* drive as a success also. The 2,500 quota was an estimate made without previous experience in a sub drive for our magazine. The campaign was run from the outset as a low-key campaign, undertaken as a companion drive to *The Militant* campaign. Yet we gathered a total of 2,325 subs, or about 95 per cent of the national quota. Some areas, such as Washington, D.C. and Tampa, surpassed their quotas! Washington, with a quota of 50 subs, obtained 80; Tampa, with a quota of 8, obtained 21.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND THE "NEW" MILITANT

We must continue to expand the sub base of *The Militant* in order to pave the way for a mass-circulation revolutionary socialist weekly in the future. The fall sub drive victory has helped prepare us for the spring *Militant* subscription drive. *The Militant's* increasing circulation will make possible the kind of expansion and improvement in format and coverage represented in the "new" *Militant* which will be appearing December 18.

A revolutionary socialist press helps give direction to the developing radicalization. By getting *The Militant* into the hands of student activists this fall we have helped to lay a political base for upcoming struggles on the campuses and in the high schools.

LAURA MILLER
YSA National Office

Berkeley Sub Drive Report

The Berkeley YSA undertook the sub drive this year in a markedly ambitious manner, attempting to sell twice as many subscriptions (600) in one-half of the time (2 months) compared with last spring's sub drive. This goal, although it seemed almost unattainable late last August, must now be seen as a conservative quota.

The sub drive has been a concrete manifestation to every comrade in Berkeley of the depth of the current radicalization and the dramatic increase in the number of persons open to our ideas since the May events on campus.

Even as comrades were still arriving home from Oberlin, the first indications of the tremendous potential occurred on August 26. Our comrades sold 38 subs in addition to the 56 subs sold by San Francisco comrades at the women's liberation demonstration! This great success on August 26 was indicative of a definite trend, as well as being the springboard for our overall Fall Sub Blitz. We found that women in the Bay Area, as they come to a new stage of feminist consciousness, are the most open to the ideas and analysis presented in our press. The women's liberation fraction took on a large fraction quota and easily surpassed it through consistent fraction mobilizations and by conscientiously making sub selling an integral part of their work.

In order to carry out a sub quota twice that of last spring, we found it necessary to make organizational adjustments and experiment quite a bit. The first of these adjustments was having a subs/sales committee to organize and coordinate the sub drive, rather than a single sub director as had been the practice previously. This committee was made up of the SWP director, the YSA director and five other comrades who worked with the committee as a secondary assignment. By having regular subs/sales committee meetings, the best ideas were taken and we organized as a team to get the job done, rather than having the responsibility fall on one or two people. This kept the momentum of the drive at a high level and increased actual participation by comrades in the sub drive.

We felt it decisive to get all comrades conscious of selling subs at all times! We did this through the use of professional charts—charts which took comrades hours of time to prepare—which set the tone for how serious we were about the drive. We also made sure that political motivation was constantly presented in a well-thought-out sub report at each meeting. Whenever possible, the sub report was first on the agenda of the local meeting to further emphasize the importance of the drive and to emphasize the priorities of our movement from week to week.

Taking the ball from the comrades at Oberlin, we first systematically covered the entire student housing area of the University of California. We hit every dorm and residence within 10 blocks of the campus. We also travelled to the married student housing project where we met with unexpected success—selling subs to about one door in four—over eighty in all. Well over half of our subs came from organized and systematized door-to-door blitzes. We found that in order to get every comrade out selling it required some sort of organized effort every day of the week at various times in addition to the interventions at rallies, meetings, etc.

We found that the best time during the week to sell was before dinner from about 5 to 7 p.m. However, when daylight-saving time ended, we moved the blitzes up to 4 to 5:30 p.m. and concentrated on the dorms where there was adequate lighting. People are definitely less responsive to *Militant* salesmen and saleswomen after dark, and this should be taken into consideration when mobilizing at night! On Saturdays we called for full mobilizations, whenever possible sending comrades to student areas and the Black and Brown communities. We consistently sold 40-60 subs per mobilization, but this was the hardest and most tiring aspect of the drive.

The projection at Oberlin was to break the back of the sub drive early, as school opened, and coast to the finish. This was exactly what we did in Berkeley, and it proved beyond a doubt to be the most efficient way of handling the sub drive. By maximizing both the interest and energy of comrades at the very beginning we were able to motivate and organize the drive at peak levels and get the overwhelming majority of our subs in time to free up comrades for last-minute work on the October 31 demonstrations, as well as on the campaign windup. We were able to let up a bit and still go far over our quota of 600!

From October 15 until the end of the drive it was no longer a question of making the quota but a question of whether or not we could get salesmen and saleswomen to all of our potential sales areas.

Some recommendations for future sub drives would be to use the committee approach rather than a single sub director in a large local. It is a distinct advantage both motivationally and organizationally.

The fraction quota idea gives excellent results, but it *must* be motivated within each fraction, and one leading comrade from each fraction should be assigned to the subs/sales committee and be responsible for keeping that fraction conscious of subs all the time, as well as pushing for fraction mobilizations specifically to sell subs. Newly organized fractions (such as high

school fractions) can utilize the sub drive as a means of concretely working together as a fraction.

It is also essential to prepare the local for a sub drive by simply demonstrating how to sell a sub. More comrades are hesitant to sell subs simply because they don't have the confidence or aren't sure how to actually approach people. *The YS Organizer* was extremely valuable on this point, but this should be supplemented by other methods such as teaming the best salesmen and saleswomen with newer comrades so the newer comrades can get a clear picture of what to actually do and say. We can raise our quotas in the future in direct proportion to the degree of confidence each comrade has in selling our press. If we can increase the productivity of our salespeople, we can increase the circulation of our ideas proportionately.

With the results of this drive behind us and *The Militant* now the most widely-read socialist newspaper in America, we look forward to a doubled effort again this spring. On to the 30,000!

MIKE LUX
Berkeley YSA

More Membership Gains

Membership continues to grow at a rate which promises to make the fall membership campaign a success. Below are some more excerpts from reports from locals around the country.

SEATTLE

"We are trying to use every means available which will facilitate recruitment. At all YSA local meetings we pass a mailing list to observers. We also keep such a list on any literature table we set up. If people leave their phone numbers we call and encourage them to observe the next meeting, and also to meet with us informally to discuss the YSA. We try to hold such informal meetings after local meetings with those who have attended.

"We also have two form letters — one for people who sign at a business meeting and one for those who sign at literature tables. These letters are sent to people who don't leave their phone numbers. In the letters we explain that we build the SMC, Vets Against the War, Campus Women's Liberation, etc. We encourage them to call us for more information on any of these groups and the YSA. We also tell them about the Socialist Workers Party forums and any big public YSA meetings which are coming up. When we have reason to believe a person is especially interested in joining, we enclose some literature — usually a copy of *How to Make A Revolution in the U. S.*

"Recently we built a meeting on the University of Washington campus with Stephanie Coontz speaking on "Why Socialism?" which included a pitch for joining the YSA. The meeting drew close to 300 people, most of whom were new students. Afterwards, three people asked to join and 20 asked for more information. After the meeting about 10 of these people stayed to help us build another meeting. We expect to recruit from this group."

MINNEAPOLIS

The Minneapolis local reports the following steps they have taken to maximize recruitment:

"● Letter and phone follow-up on mailings from the N. O. concerning requests to join and for more information on the YSA.

"● Weekly YSA class series at the University of Minnesota, sometimes at Macalester and Augsburg.

"● Paying special attention to such things as *Militant* sales, forum publicity and literature tables in conjunction with our work in the mass movements.

CHICAGO

"Since the beginning of school, we have recruited sixteen new members. Nine of these are college students, four are high school students, five are women and one is Black."

Most of the Chicago recruits, according to the report, came from SMC work.

BLOOMINGTON

"We planned an Introducing the YSA meeting in coordination with the Indiana University Activities Fair. At the Fair, we sold our literature and promoted our meeting. We also collected an extensive list of names on a mailing list. About 40 people attended the meeting. Out of this first phase, we were able to recruit three new members in the first week of school.

"The second phase marks a period of an organized approach to contact work. A two-member contact committee was established to contact the most outstanding prospects for membership. These prospective members are asked to meet with the contact chairman and a member of the EC to discuss the YSA's politics. They are then invited to attend one or two YSA meetings. If, after seeing how the YSA operates, they want to join, they are voted in at the following meeting."

Recruits from the second phase of Bloomington's recruitment campaign include a leading campus women's liberation activist.

BERKELEY

The Berkeley local reports that it has begun to meet with success in the recruitment drive by taking the following steps:

"● Establishing an Education/Contact Committee that puts out a fortnightly newsletter designed to get contacts involved in our activities. The committee also regularly writes and phones contacts.

"● Holding classes on Marxism at three campuses on a weekly basis — Merritt, Laney and Cal (60 people are signed up for the Cal classes).

"● Holding educationals immediately before YSA meetings, and inviting contacts who attend to stay for the business meeting.

"● Consciously developing the *three bases* on which we are located — Cal, the Berkeley and Oakland high schools and the Oakland college campuses. This concentration puts us in contact with the maximum number of students.

"● Inviting close contacts in the women's liberation movement to attend women's fraction meetings. These contacts sometimes take on assignments, and one of them is about to join."

EAST LANSING

"We are holding weekly Monday night forums. Of the three held, attendance has been 80, 45 and 17. In addition, we set up literature booths twice a week and hold weekly contact meetings on Sunday nights. At our last contact meeting seven contacts were present."

* * *

Locals should continue to send in regular reports, keeping the N. O. up to date on the recruitment campaign's progress in each area. The Organizer's Report forms for the YSA convention will be mailed out shortly, and the figures from these reports will be the ones used in the convention Organization Report. Areas which are holding or have held regional educational conferences should include figures on the recruitment consolidated at these gatherings in reports on the conferences mailed to the N. O.

LEE SMITH
YSA National Office

A Fund-Raising Idea

Editor's Note: The text below is taken from a leaflet prepared by the comrades in San Francisco and mailed to speakers bureaus and other campus organizations which bring speakers to their schools. The idea of the leaflet is one which could very well be duplicated for comrades other than Peter Camejo who are good public speakers and have credentials which would justify significant fees in honoraria money. The leaflet was professionally printed in a very modest 9 point type with a photograph of Peter confronting Kennedy.

Most locals have comrades who are prominent in the mass movements and could command the kind of fee indicated on the Camejo leaflet. Every local has comrades who are qualified to speak on a variety of subjects and could command a fee of \$100 or \$200 on the basis of their experience in the mass movements.

Locals should consider which comrades are most likely to be able to receive the highest honoraria and to best present themselves to an audience, both in terms of conveying our line and in terms of satisfying those who pay the honoraria.

Then a professional-looking leaflet should be prepared and mailed to college forums and similar groups in the local area. Such an activity presents the opportunity to raise a significant amount of money while doing what we want to do in any case: reaching the maximum number of radicalizing students with our revolutionary ideas.

* * *

WHO IS PETER CAMEJO?

"Peter Camejo has been involved in every large scale demonstration for the last four years. He

is 29 years old. He is the leader of the Socialist Workers Party."

Gov. Ronald Reagan

"Unquestionably, Camejo is the most interesting of the activists. His election — by the highest margin of any candidate — to the student senate had to be celebrated in jail."

San Francisco Chronicle

"Peter Camejo, Trotskyite activist who is no stranger to Berkeley, made his position crystal clear before the City Council. He would have his illegal rally anyway and he inferred the responsibility for a riot would rest on the police."

Editorial

Berkeley Gazette

"A worthy opponent."

Senator Edward Kennedy

We want to offer you . . .

an unequalled opportunity to have the most dynamic revolutionary socialist speaker in the United States speak on your campus.

Hear Peter Camejo speak on . . . the current radical upsurge in this country among students, women, GIs, Third World nationalities and the labor movement and their implications for the coming American Socialist Revolution.

PETER CAMEJO is widely known for his radical activity in the Berkeley student movement.

In 1968 he was one of the "Berkeley Three" frame-up conspiracy case and was acquitted.

Camejo has travelled to Cuba and South America several times, speaking to revolutionary fighters in those countries. He recently returned from Peru, where he spoke with Hugo Blanco, the world famous revolutionary leader there.

Recently Camejo was the SWP candidate for U. S. Senate against Sen. Ted Kennedy in Massachusetts. Camejo successfully confronted Kennedy many times on the question of the war, racism and male chauvinism.

Camejo is the author of the pamphlets *How to Make A Revolution in the U. S.* (now a minor classic) and *Liberalism, Ultraleftism or Mass Action*. He also wrote the introduction to the latest edition of Leon Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution*.

* * *

PETER CAMEJO IS AVAILABLE TO SPEAK:
November to
His fee is \$500.00

Organized by: Socialist Speakers Forum
2338 Market Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94114

For further information contact:
Sharon Cabaniss
SSF Program Director
(415) 626-9958

NEC Proposal on Nominating Commission

One of the central functions of the YSA National Convention is the election of the National Committee. The National Committee is composed of leading comrades from around the country. It is the highest decision-making body between conventions, and is responsible for leading the YSA in carrying out the decisions of the convention. The NC meets at least once a year between conventions in order to discuss and evaluate new political developments and experiences which have occurred since the last convention. Within the framework of the convention decisions, the NC then decides upon the perspectives and orientation of the YSA until the next convention.

The method which the YSA uses to facilitate the process of democratically electing the NC is the nominating commission. This method was first used by the Socialist Workers Party, and has been used by the YSA since it was formed.

We are reprinting in this issue of *The Young Socialist Organizer*, excerpts from *Letters from Prison* by James P. Cannon, which deal with what our concept of the National Committee is, and how and why the SWP first arrived at the use of the nominating commission.

Locals should schedule prior to the convention a discussion of the function of the National Committee and the nominating commission. This discussion will aid the delegations in determining which delegates should serve on the nominating commission, and which comrades from each area should be nominated to the National Committee.

The nominating commission must be democratically elected by the convention delegates, and it must be a body representative of the convention as a whole if its recommendations are to carry the necessary authority and reflect the thinking of the national membership about who should compose the NC. In addition, it must be small enough to carry out the very lengthy and detailed discussions needed in order to arrive at the best possible slate.

In the past, nominating commissions have been composed of one delegate per local. In recent years, because of the great increase in the number of locals, the deliberations of the nominating commission have become more difficult because it has become a larger and larger body. In order to keep the nominating commission to a workable size, the National Executive Committee is presenting the following proposal for the organization of the nominating commission this year:

1) That the size of the nominating commission be limited to 28. This figure is both large enough to be representative of the YSA and small enough to allow the commission to function smoothly.

2) That delegates be elected to serve on the nominating commission from *areas*, not locals. In deciding the number of delegates to be elected from each area to serve on the commission, the NEC weighed both the number of locals in each area and the total number of comrades. Because the regional organization of the YSA is still in

the process of formation, the areas do not in every case correspond to previously-established regions.

Below are the areas, and the number of delegates from the areas to be elected to serve on the nominating commission:

AREA	NUMBER TO BE ELECTED
NEW ENGLAND	3
North Boston	
South Boston	
Cambridge	
Worcester	
Providence	
Amherst	
Pittsfield	
NEW YORK	3
New York	
Binghamton	
Albany	
Patterson, N. J.	
Red Hook	
Newark, N. J.	
Long Island	
PENNSYLVANIA	1
Philadelphia	
Mansfield	
WASHINGTON D. C.	1
FLORIDA	1
Tampa	
SOUTHEAST	1
Atlanta	
Chapel Hill, N. C.	
TEXAS	2
Austin	
Houston	
Dallas-Ft. Worth	
El Paso	
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA-SOUTHWEST	2
Los Angeles	
San Diego	
Riverside	
Phoenix, Ariz.	
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA	2
Berkeley	
San Francisco	
Hayward	
San Joaquin	
OREGON	1
Portland	
WASHINGTON	1
Seattle	

COLORADO	1
Denver	
Boulder	
Colorado Springs	
MINNESOTA	1
Minneapolis	
MIDWEST	3
Chicago	
Kansas City, Kan.	
Bloomington, Ind.	
DeKalb	
MICHIGAN	2
Detroit	
Ann Arbor	
Ypsilanti	
East Lansing	
Flint	
WISCONSIN	1
Madison	
Milwaukee	
LaCrosse	
OHIO	2
Cleveland	
Cincinnati	
Yellow Springs	
Oxford	
Columbus	

The delegations from all the locals in an area should meet and decide: 1) which delegates should serve on the nominating commission, and 2) which comrades from the area should be nominated for the National Committee. Because these discussions often take several hours or more, it is best, if at all possible, to meet prior to the convention, so that no sessions of the convention are missed. This should be kept in mind in arranging area-wide transportation to the convention.

In deciding who should be nominated to the National Committee, delegations should keep several general considerations in mind. Comrades nominated to the NC should be those who have functioned as leaders of the YSA, both internally and externally. Those comrades who have demonstrated through their experience and work that they are political and organizational leaders of the YSA, in both a local and national sense, should be considered to be nominated to the national team of leaders which makes up the National Committee.

Finally, although every local will not have a representative serving on the nominating commission, every delegate has the right to come before the nominating commission and present nominations for their consideration.

YSA NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

How To Select A Leadership

In our opinion the most important reason for stretching the convention out for another day is to give adequate time for a *free* and *well-deliberated* selection by the delegates of the new National Committee. This is one of the strongest guarantees of the democracy of the party. Our party has always been more democratic, ten times more democratic, in this respect than any other party. But there is room for improvement, and we should consciously seek out the necessary methods.

We never went in for any of the rigging, wangling, vote-trading and leadership-pressure devices by which, in practically all other parties (strike out the word "practically") the convention delegates are usually defrauded of a large part of their democratic freedom of choice. If one has a self-sufficient revolutionary party in mind, all such methods are self-defeating. A revolutionary party needs a leadership that really represents the party, that is really one with the party.

Without this democratic corrective, freely brought into play at every convention, centralization and discipline inevitably become caricatures and forms of abuse which injure the organization every time they are exercised. A revolutionary leadership must feel free at all times to act boldly and confidently in the name of the party. For that, it needs to be sure that there is no flaw in its mandate.

No rules exist to guide us in the technical execution of this difficult and delicate task to the best advantage of the party. The democratic selection of the primary and secondary leaders is a sufficiently important question—nobody knows how much damage can be done by bungling it—but, as far as I know, nobody has ever written anything about it. Nobody has taught us anything. We are obliged to think and experiment for ourselves.

The democratic impulses of the rank and file incline them to react unfavorably to "slates,"

as they feel, not without reason, that they narrow down for all practical purposes the freedom of choice. The Social-Democratic politicians, who are as undemocratic a collection of rascals as one can ever expect to meet, have always exploited this sentiment by announcing their firm, democratic opposition to slates. Of course, there was a little catch to their virtuous slogan of "no slates." They meant no openly avowed slates which would possibly be open to discussion and amendment. Instead of that, the noble Social-Democrats rig up secret slates by means of horse trades and petty bribes to ensure their control. A good 50 percent of Social-Democratic convention "politics" is always devoted to this kind of business.

From the first days of American communism, which also coincided with the first appearance on the scene of a new type of leader with a new conception of "politics," we tried to break through the "no-slate" fraud and devise a more

honest system by which the leaders would take open responsibility for their proposals and give reasons for their preferences in the makeup of the leading committee. It became rather common practice for the leading committees, in national as well as local conventions in the communist movement, to propose a slate of candidates for the new committee to be elected. We carried the practice with us in the independent movement of Trotskyism. (During factional struggles the slate-making arrangements were carried on in the separate caucuses of the factions.)

This method was, without doubt, far superior to the "no-slate" tricks of our socialist predecessors, being more honest, and in the essence of the matter, even more democratic.

But this system also was not free from negative aspects, and even dangers. I perceived some of them long ago, have thought much about the matter, and from time to time have tried to devise corrective experiments. What impressed me most of all was the quite obvious fact that while the presentation of a slate of candidates by the leadership is the most "efficient" way to get through the business of the election of the NC—usually the last point on the agenda, carried through in a great hurry—it concentrates too much power in the leadership just at that very point—the convention—where the democratic corrective of rank-and-file control should be asserted most strongly.

It is not the election of the central, most prominent and influential leaders themselves. That problem solves itself almost automatically in the interplay of party work and internal strife. The problem arises over the selection of the secondary leaders, the new committee members, the potential leaders of the future. As a rule, this part of the slate if presented by the most authoritative central leaders, is accepted, whether enthusiastically or not, by the convention; many delegates are reluctant to oppose them.

It is senseless, of course, to speak of a revolutionary combat party without recognizing the necessity of a centralized, fully empowered leadership. But this states only one half of the problem. Leninist centralism is *democratic* centralism, a profoundly dialectical concept. The other half of the Leninist formula recognizes no less the necessity of subordinating the leadership, really as well as formally, to the party; keeping it under the control of the party. The party constitution does everything that can be done in a formal sense to provide for the interaction of centralism and democracy.

The structure of the party is strictly hierarchical. Higher committees command the lower. Full authority over all is vested in the National Committee. But the NC, like all other committees, is required to render accounts and surrender its mandate at stated intervals to the party convention to which it is subordinated. This is the formal, constitutional guarantee both for centralization and the ultimate control of the leadership.

But it is also necessary to think about the spirit as well as the letter of the party constitution. A farsighted leadership should concern itself with the elusive, intangible factors which can play such a great role in determining the actual relationship between the NC and the ranks.

Some of these factors arise from the composition of the NC and the division of functions within it. Nominally, this body consists of twenty-five members, and they all have equal rights. In addition there are fifteen alternates. But the majority come to the center only for meetings of the plenum which are not held very often. Between plenums the power is delegated to the Political Committee. From this it is quite clear that one section of the National Committee is in a position to exert far more influence on the day-to-day work and interpretation of party policy than the other.

Again, some are older, more experienced and more prominent than others, and consequently wield greater authority in the committee as well as in the party as a whole. On the other side, the committee members from the districts and the younger members of the committee generally, who are active in local work, are closer to the rank and file than the central leaders of the party are, and represent them more directly and intimately. This gives them a special function in the NC of extraordinary importance.

Their presence represents a form of continuing rank-and-file control and supervision over the central leaders. They can fulfill this function, however, only insofar as they are people of independent influence and popularity in their own localities; only insofar as they are freely elected on their own merits, not handpicked.

To be sure, the central leaders cannot be indifferent to the selection of the secondary leadership. In this, as in everything else, leaders must lead. In a certain sense, the central party leaders "select" their collaborators and eventual successors. The question is, how to go about it? It is often easy for politically experienced leaders to convince themselves that they are better judges of the qualifications and potentialities of certain candidates than the rank-and-file delegates. And, as a rule, it is not too difficult to force their selections through by means of the "slate." This may appear to be the most "efficient" way. But in my opinion, there is a better way.

Wisdom lies in "selecting" people who have popularity and influence in their own right, and whose promotion coincides with the wishes of the party members who know them best. That means to select people who are advancing under their own power.

I came to this conclusion a long time ago, and as far as I have been able to influence the course of things it has been the party method of selecting the NC. Extensive and varied experience, with every imaginable kind of experiment, has convinced me that this method, even at the cost of incidental mistakes, works out best in the long run.

The central leaders of the party who work from day to day without close contact with the internal life of the branches, need such a constitution of the NC if they are to lead the party confidently; lead it with the assurance that they know the moods and sentiments of the ranks and are in step with them. When doubt arises, or when some new important step is under consideration, it is only necessary to consult the out-of-town members of the NC by mail, or to call a plenum, in order to get a reliable sounding of the party. Approval of a given course by the plenum is a pretty certain forecast of similar action by the party.

Conversely, when the plenum finds it necessary to overrule the Political Committee—and this has happened more than once, notably in 1938-1939—it is a sign that the Political Committee is out of line with the party and requires a change in its composition. The 1938-39 National Committee rebuked the PC several times and finally reorganized it, and later tests showed that the full plenum most accurately reflected the sentiment of the party.

A serious and conscientious party leadership should deliberately aim at a National Committee so composed as to be, in effect, a microcosm of the party. When the full plenum of such a National Committee meets between conventions, to all intents and purposes *the party is there in the room*. That is far more useful to responsible political leaders than a roomful of handpicked supporters without independent influence and authority. Bureaucrats who have special interests of their own to defend against the rank and file need to surround themselves with dependent henchmen; but revolutionary political leaders need support of an entirely different kind, the support of people who really represent the rank and file of the party.

There is another, and even more important, reason the rank-and-file convention delegates should take over the election of the National Committee and be free from undue pressure and influence on the part of the national political leadership in exercising this function. The free selection of the full membership of the National Committee is perhaps the most decisive way to strengthen and reinforce genuine party democracy. It puts the political leaders under the direct supervision and control of a second line of leaders who are in intimate daily contact with the local and district organizations and, in fact, represent them in the plenum.

This control doesn't have to be exercised every day to be effective. The fact that it is there, and can be demonstrated when necessary, is what counts. Strange to relate, the professional democrats have never once in the history of our party bothered their heads about the method of selecting the National Committee from the standpoint of reinforcing party democracy. This, in my opinion, is because they tend to think of democracy almost exclusively in terms of unlimited and unrestricted self-expression and forget that control of the central leadership, which in day-to-day practices is limited to a very small group, by a larger group standing closer to the rank and file, is the most important mechanism to assure the democratic half of the Leninist formula: *democratic-centralism*.

Throwing the floor open for nominations on the last day of the convention is not the only alternative to a slate presented by the outgoing NC. That only throws the delegate body into disorganized confusion and facilitates the manipulation of the election by means of secret slates and horse trades, the favorite method of Social-Democrats.

There is no infallible formula, but the results of our experiments over a period of many years argue most convincingly in favor of a slate prepared by a *nominating commission*. Of course, there are nominating commissions and nominating commissions. But the best, that is, the most democratic, is not the nominating commission appointed by the outgoing NC, nor the one elected at random from the floor of the convention. The most efficient, for the purposes set forth above, is the nominating commission selected by the branch or district delegations on a roughly proportional basis—each delegation selecting its own representative—and then ratified by the convention. The nominating commission, thus conceived, is a body actually representing the rank-and-file delegations from the districts.

It would be grossly improper for individual central leaders to intrude themselves upon the commission and seek to dominate its proceedings. That would amount to a circumvention of the democratic process aimed at in the proposal. It is the part of wisdom for the central leaders to leave the nominating commission to its own devices, respecting the essence of party democracy as well as the form.

The nominating commission should be selected on the first day of the convention; it should begin its sessions at once and meet at least once a day thereafter to consider the various nominations until a slate is decided upon for presentation to the convention when the election of the NC comes up on the agenda.

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In my opinion, the first step of the commission at the 1944 convention should be to discard formally the ruling which paralyzed the work of the nominating commission at the 1942 convention—the utterly stupid and reactionary principle that every member of the outgoing NC was, as a matter of course, to be reelected unless good cause was shown to *remove* him. That turns things upside down. Nobody can be "frozen" in any position in a revolutionary party. He must stand for election at each convention, and the election must be free and open.

Room must be left for competition and rivalry and differences of opinion to operate without artificial restraints. Members of the outgoing NC should be placed in exactly the same status as new aspirants—as *candidates* for election. The nominating commission should adopt a rule to this effect at its first session.

The most practical next step is to take a preliminary poll to ascertain how many candidates are generally favored for election as national leaders who are not counted as representatives of any special district of the party. This will clear the road for the apportionment of the remaining places on the slate for local and district representatives. Here, again, there should be no "freezing" of old representation and no automatic closing of the door to new candidates from districts previously not represented.

The object should be to provide the fairest possible representation of the districts in the new NC; but the principle of proportional repre-

sentation should be modified by other considerations: the relative importance of the district; the quality of the candidates; the special role played by certain candidates, etc.

The commission should announce the time and place of its daily sessions, and invite any delegate who wishes to argue for or against any candidate to appear and take the floor. The slate finally decided upon, either by agreement or majority vote, should be presented to the convention as the *nominations* of the nominating commission. That leaves the floor open for other nominations and free discussion before the ballot is taken.

Naturally, one would have to have some good arguments for another candidate to hope to amend the slate of the nominating commission. But if he thinks he has a strong case, there is no reason why he shouldn't make the attempt. Adequate time and patience must be accorded for the presentation of any such proposed amendments. The heavens will not fall if a slate is amended once in a while.

One word more. The convention should not shunt the election of the new NC off till the last hurried half-hour of the convention, when impatience of departing delegations would tend to discourage full discussion and ample consideration of the various nominations. The best procedure would be to fix a definite hour and day to take up the election of the NC whether the rest of the agenda is finished or not at that time. This decision should be made demonstratively

in order to call sharp attention to the vital importance of full and careful deliberation in selecting the party leadership. And even more important, the convention will thus give itself time to do the job right.

All of these measures will not guarantee the election of an ideal National Committee. But they should help to provide us with the best committee that a free party can select from the material at hand by the method of party democracy. If the returning delegates go home with the feeling that this has been accomplished, the new NC will be able to begin its work with a strong authority. On the other hand, the leadership, precisely because of the care and deliberation taken in the selection of the personnel of the NC, will feel itself to be more than ever under the watchful supervision and control of the party.

JAMES P. CANNON
National Chairman
Socialist Workers Party

More Convention Information

The YSA convention at the end of this month is the most important YSA activity of the entire year, and every YSA member should make every effort to attend. In addition to setting our line for the coming year, the YSA convention will be an educational experience for those who attend. It will help to integrate comrades and to win new members into the YSA.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

As reported in the December 4 issue of *The Militant*, in addition to holding its sessions open to those who register, the convention will host two public meetings. The first will be a speech by Joseph Hansen, who served as Trotsky's personal secretary during his exile in Mexico, on "Leon Trotsky and the New Rise of the World Revolution." Joseph Hansen is an editor of *Intercontinental Press* and the author of numerous articles, including the introduction to the latest edition of *My Life* by Leon Trotsky.

The second public meeting will feature a panel of international guests—our revolutionary co-thinkers from other countries—and a speech by Peter Camejo on "America's Road to Socialism: Historical Roots of the Coming Revolution." Peter Camejo was a leader of the YSA for many years and recently ran for U. S. Senate in Massachusetts as the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

ORGANIZING THE CONVENTION

In order to ensure the smooth and democratic functioning of the convention, all YSAers present will be expected to help with certain tasks. Those comrades who are not delegates or who are alternate delegates not seated during particular sessions should be available to help with defense, childcare, registration and other tasks. Locals will be asked during the course of the convention to provide a certain number of comrades from their areas to take these assignments during one or another session.

AT-LARGE REPRESENTATION

Each at-large area is entitled to one consultative delegate. Consultative delegates have voice but no vote. At-large areas in which there are more than one at-larger should hold meetings to decide who their delegate will be. If the at-largers in an area are unable to attend pre-convention discussions in a YSA local, they can organize such discussions among themselves.

CONVENTION ASSESSMENTS

Only those comrades who have paid their convention assessment of \$3 per comrade and who have paid their dues through November are eligible to vote on resolutions. Representation at the convention is based on the number

of comrades in the local who are in good standing and have paid their assessments.

Convention assessments must be paid by all members of the YSA, including at-large members. Locals and at-largers who have not yet done so should send this convention assessment to the N. O. right away.

HOUSING

People from the West Coast and Southwest are being guaranteed free housing with beds. There will also be some other free housing and housing for a nominal cost available. Every comrade who can should plan to stay in the New Yorker or in one of the less expensive hotels listed on the convention information sheet mailed to locals and at-largers December 1.

All hotel rooms must be paid for in advance by cash or travelers' checks at the time of registration.

DAYCARE

As stated above, locals will be asked to make assignments to help with childcare. We have advertised childcare in our convention publicity in order to make it possible for women and couples with small children to attend the convention. Excellent facilities have been obtained for childcare in the New Yorker.

It is impossible to know precisely how many children there will be or how many people we will need to staff the facility until we get to the convention. However, we cannot leave this question to chance or to volunteers any more than we could do so with regard to defense.

BUILDING THE CONVENTION

Convention-building committees in the locals and regions should put a final push on to help people who have expressed interest in the convention but are still undecided, to make up their minds to go.

In addition to the public meetings and the reports and discussions themselves, there will be panels and workshops on defense of the movement, defense of Latin American political prisoners, high school work, electoral strategy and other subjects.

The national office has invited representatives from more than 50 other organizations to attend as observers, as well as extending special invitations to the movement press to send reporters. Locals should encourage women's liberation, antiwar and Third World organizations in their areas to send observers and notify the N. O. of those that will be coming.

A national news conference announcing the convention will be held about the time this issue reaches the locals, and locals should hold news conferences in their own areas, as well as making special efforts to get reporters from local campus and underground newspapers to cover the convention.

LEE SMITH
YSA National Office



CONVENTION SCHEDULE

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27

Organization of Convention
 International Report
 Political Report
 Lunch
 Discussion
 Summary
 Panels: Socialist Electoral Action, High School, Defense, Campus
 Dinner
 Antiwar Report
 Discussion

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28

Discussion
 Summary
 Antiwar Fraction Meeting
 Lunch
 Black Struggle Report
 Discussion
 Summary
 Black Fraction Meeting

Dinner
 Public Meeting: "Leon Trotsky and The New Rise of World Revolution" — Joseph Hansen

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29

Chicano Struggle Report
 Discussion
 Lunch
 Discussion
 Summary
 Women's Liberation Report
 Discussion
 Summary
 Dinner
 Party

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30

Organizational Report
 Financial Report
 Discussion
 Lunch

Discussion
 Summary
 Mideast Panel
 Women's Liberation Fraction Meeting
 Dinner
 Chicano Fraction Meeting
 Public Meeting: International; "America's Road to Socialism: Historical Roots of the Coming Revolution" — Peter Camejo

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31

Workshops: USLA, Regional, Education, Finances, Mandel Case, Sales
 Credentials Report
 Election of National Committee
 National Committee Plenum



ЛЕВ ДАВИДОВИЧ ТРОЦКИЙ,

young socialist the organizer

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

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DECEMBER 9, 1970

The Column

The picture of Leon Trotsky in this issue of *The YS Organizer* is available as a five-color, 17" x 21" poster from our co-thinkers in the Netherlands. Send \$1 per poster to Joostkircz, Krommewall 13 hs, Amsterdam, Holland.

The YSA is considering putting out some new buttons and posters. Any comrade who has ideas for subjects and/or designs they think should be considered should submit them to the N. O. at P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10003.

* * *

All mail for the YSA national office should be mailed to the Cooper Station postoffice box address. Mail for the YSA sent to 873 Broadway can be delayed for several days or even lost.

* * *

The *International Socialist Review* can still use more reviewers for films, books or plays. Comrades who are interested in doing reviews for the *ISR* should write to Peggy Brundy at the *ISR*, 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10003.

* * *

By this time, work should be underway in all of the locals on raising money for the Mandel

Case Legal Defense Fund. Reports on the progress of this work should be sent to Laura Miller at the YSA N. O.

* * *

A fascinating example of the way the sectarian mind works is this quote from a recent issue of the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus (Spartacist) newsletter: "The YSA's political degeneration is proceeding almost as fast as its organizational growth."

— EDITOR