

young socialist **the organizer**

1-22-71

CONVENTION REPORTS

INDEX FOR 1970

High Schools, Sub Drive, Mandel



10 Cents

New York's Fall Sub Drive

Last fall's sub drive succeeded in significantly expanding the circulation of our press. The campaign for 15,000 new *Militant* readers marked the largest subscription drive during the history of the YSA. The political and organizational lessons gained in this two month drive can provide us with invaluable experience.

The main considerations involved in projecting the enormous size of the campaign were inseparably bound to our understanding of the depth of the current radicalization with the May upsurge being the most outstanding example. We witnessed throughout the country a growing thirst for radical ideas and understood that our press was the central tool that enabled us to intervene in all the mass movements. The YSA and the Socialist Workers Party had also grown considerably, so that we had the forces necessary to carry out such an ambitious campaign.

These factors enabled us to make such a large projection and carry it out successfully. The sub drive served as an excellent *beginning* in the process of building *The Militant* and *ISR* circulation to a level commensurate with the growing radicalization.

Central to the discussion during the preparations for the sub drive was the organization and leadership of a campaign of this size. Emphasis was strongly placed on completing the major portion of the drive in the first few weeks in order to ensure meeting the goal on time.

This timing serves to maximize the immediate benefits that a sub drive can provide in all areas of work. The building of the October 31 action would have been aided by having the sub drive tucked under our belt early in the campaign with a whole new layer of people reading *The Militant's* coverage of the antiwar movement. Carrying out the drive in this way would also allow for adequate time to carry out the important follow-up work of recruitment—directly linking the subscription drive with our membership drive.

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New York's quota of 2,000 subscriptions was the largest nationally. When we accepted this quota, amidst numerous other campaigns which were being waged—the 1970 SWP election campaign, the October 31 antiwar action, building for the NPAC conference, building a coalition of women's liberation groups and the December 12 abortion and child-care action, reorganization of our finances, building an apparatus for regional work, expanding our campus work, plus moving to a new headquarters—it was clear that careful political direction and organization were required on a scale greater than ever before. In preparation for our fast approaching spring subscription drive, it is useful to evaluate both the successes and mistakes made during this past one.

In New York, the August 26 demonstration immediately gave us a concrete example of the profound radicalization taking place in a major segment of our society—women. Our intervention in this demonstration was not organized in the way it should have been. Only thirty-seven subs were sold in a demonstration of forty thousand newly radicalized people, although the few comrades who did sell subs were amazed at the ease with which subscriptions could be sold.

Great emphasis was placed on the sub drive from the beginning with weekly reports being given at all YSA meetings. Fraction quotas were set up and the process of consultation between the sub drive director and the fractions began to take shape. With the opening of campuses in the city we turned a major portion of our attention toward campus registration interventions.

Toward the middle of the sub drive, it became apparent that our projection of obtaining a major portion of our quota early in the drive had not been realized. In addition we found ourselves falling rapidly behind in the number of subs needed to make the quota.

The organizational steps carried out thus far had been correct but they proved to be inadequate considering the size of the campaign. These forms of organization—the fraction quotas, registration interventions, and charts of individual sales—were inadequate without a central leadership team working with the fractions and coordinating the efforts of all the comrades. We were faced with three weeks remaining and approximately twelve hundred subs to go.

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A serious evaluation of the problem took place and we began to take the necessary steps to place the sub drive in the position of top priority.

The first step was the expansion of the forces involved in organizing the sub drive. Five leading comrades were released from their other assignments in order to devote full attention to this area of work. In addition, every executive committee member was involved in sub sales to help develop the "sub-consciousness" of the entire local.

Our conscious decision to go on an all out campaign to make the projected quota amidst the expansion of all of our other areas of work made the careful organization and maximum utilization of each comrades' time of paramount importance. To do this effectively, all areas of work had to become completely coordinated with the sub drive.

From that point on, every fraction head consulted with the organizer and sub drive director on any new allocation of comrade power. All fraction meetings were scheduled at times other than the early evenings. We thus had a time when a large number of comrades could be organized into teams.

Daily dispatching of well planned dormitory blitz teams to the numerous campuses in New York City and the surrounding region became a major thrust of our work. This proved to be by far the most successful utilization of our forces. The first week of organizing these teams netted over 325 subs.

Enthusiasm was created by this success, giving a great boost to the drive both locally and nationally at a crucial time. Of the thirteen hundred subs sold during the last three weeks of the campaign, over a thousand were obtained on campuses in these blitz operations. Women's liberation and Third World blitz campaigns also soon began to be organized.

Visual displays of the progress being made in the drive were quite important. A large chart was placed strategically in the headquarters and filled in every day at noon in order to give comrades a day-to-day picture of our progress. As the gap began to rapidly close, the involvement of comrades in the sub teams began to increase significantly.

Weekends which had been a weak point earlier in the drive became a key time for sub getting. The greatest emphasis was placed on sending out a large number of blitz teams on Sunday evenings after the YSA meetings. The first evening this was organized, ten teams went out and one hundred and one subs were sold. The last two Sunday evenings of the drive were voted on as mobilizations by the local. These mobilizations netted 186 and 179 subs respectively.

Organizing the blitz teams required a great deal of fact-finding concerning each campus and its particular layout in order to intervene in as

efficient a way as possible. Before the teams were sent, the necessary information on the number of dormitories and cafeterias, the hours they were open, etc., were obtained. Cars and other means of transportation for the teams were planned out well in advance.

Each team captain was given a packet with all the necessary information, including maps and sub blanks. The captain was held responsible for returning the money and the subs from everyone on her or his team that evening in order to avoid any losses and to give us an accurate picture of where we stood each day.

These blitzes opened up a whole new layer of campuses for the YSA in New York City and on every campus with dormitories within a fifty mile radius. This work laid the basis for building future sub drives, the YSA convention, regional conferences and extensive city and state-wide traveling.

Sub sales helped in building other major areas of work as well. The formation of the Women's Strike Coalition following the August 26 demonstration was aided by a number of feminists who were consistently reading both *The Militant* and *ISR* coverage of the major issues in the women's liberation movement. This is seen most clearly in the entrance of the Phoenix Organization of Women into the Coalition. Along with the distribution of a large number of leaflets for the December 12 action, six campus women's liberation groups were "discovered" by blitz teams and involved in the building of the coalition.

During the October 31 demonstration we were able both to build and coordinate the action and at the same time to sell approximately one hundred subs. The interrelationship between building such actions and the building of the revolutionary socialist movement was brought home to all the comrades involved.

Recruitment was also an area where direct gains were made. A large percentage of students who asked to join the YSA at the convention were from campuses we had reached during the sub drive. We also could have made even greater gains if the sub campaign had been better organized from the beginning, and we were able to revisit the campuses where we sold subscriptions.

An important aspect of the drive which deserves attention was the *ISR* quota. We discovered that with no additional effort the six-to-one ratio between *Militant* and *ISR* subs could be maintained. All that was required was that comrades go on sales with *ISRs* as well as *Militants* and simply show the people the magazine.

The participation of nearly every member of the local was one of the most significant factors in our meeting the quota. This broad participation enabled us to not only reach our quota of 2,000 on time but to surpass it by nearly one hundred subs.

Taking these lessons learned from our most extensive sub drive, we can look forward to the next step in building *The Militant* into the mass socialist weekly—the spring sub drive of 7500 which is officially beginning February 1.

SARA JOHNSTON
New York YSA

High School Rights in Detroit

Today's high school students have been raised in the midst of a deepening and wide-spread radicalization. They have witnessed their sisters and brothers participating in all of the mass movements, and high school students have become part of all these struggles. Young adults are now scrutinizing every social issue and norm of this decadent society and are acting in opposition to everything they despise.

An important factor that has led to the radicalization of many high school students has been the extremely repressive environment that exists in the schools. Bourgeois education has been designed to dehumanize as well as depoliticize students. Rules and regulations have been devised to restrict or prohibit any form of political activity students might want to carry out.

Because of these regulations and the extreme alienation of many high school students, it appears superficially that there is less involvement among high school students in the fight against the war than on the campuses. Yet in reality there is constant ferment in the high schools, and struggles can be as explosive and frequent as on the campuses.

Due to the rules which prohibit any political activity, antiwar activists in the high schools must combine the fight against the war with the fight for high school rights, just as GIs have to fight for democratic rights in order to openly organize and express their opposition to the war.

OCTOBER 31

In the process of building for the October 31 demonstration, high school activists were the most enthusiastic and energetic builders. Students from all around the Detroit metropolitan area were constantly coming down to the SMC office, picking up literature for distribution at their schools and asking for assistance in establishing SMC chapters at their schools. Several speaking engagements were arranged for SMC staff members to go out to the high schools and talk to students interested in the antiwar movement.

In the two weeks prior to October 31, teams of leafleters were dispatched every day to go out to the high schools and distribute October 31 literature. The results were well worth our efforts. High school students were just waiting for the organized antiwar movement to come out to their schools.

The fight for high school rights expanded greatly during this period. Students were demanding the right to distribute literature within the school, to discuss the war in their classrooms, to use the school facilities to build October 31, and to have recognized SMCs at their schools. The success of these activities was manifested on October 31 when well over 50% of the demonstrators were high school students. These demonstrators were spirited and militant.

NOVEMBER 20 AND HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS

Immediately after the October 31 demonstration we began work on the November 20 "High School Rights Day." We were able to draw in the students who had helped build October 31 and other students who were first introduced to the SMC on October 31. November 20 was used as a focal point, which students from all around the area could build in a coordinated fashion.

Activities took place in close to ten schools on November 20 in Detroit. Although most of the actions were modest, they were significant. In the process of building for November 20, many more students were involved in SMC activity. Several concessions were won from school administrators. At one school, students won the right to hold three assemblies: one on the war, one on high school rights, and one on a topic yet to be decided.

Although the struggles developed differently at many of the high schools, their character was in the direction of mobilizing masses of students to fight for an antiwar high school. By demanding democratic rights such as the right to have an assembly or the right to distribute political literature in school, students were able to enlist the support of the majority of the student body as well as several teachers. These are demands that can be won and built upon.

THIRD WORLD HIGH SCHOOLS

The rules and regulations in the Black high schools are even more restrictive and prohibitive than in other schools. In a couple of struggles in the past year, Black students have used the SMC High School Bill of Rights as a document around which to struggle. The Bill of Rights can be instrumental in linking the struggle for Black liberation with the fight against the war and for high school rights. The SMC through the high school rights campaign can play a major role in increasing the participation of Third World students in the antiwar movement. We have had leaflets devoted solely to the Black high schools and have carried out consistent leafleting of the students.

CURRENT HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS STRUGGLES

At Ferndale High School students have been waging a campaign to gain recognition for the SMC. The students initially followed all the procedures necessary for the recognition of a school organization, but were promptly refused recognition by the school administration on the ground that the SMC is political. At one meeting the students had with the principal, he resorted to quoting from J. Edgar Hoover's letter to college students suggesting that the SMC was a front for the YSA and asking how many students belonged to the YSA. None of them did.

In response to this blatant refusal and open attack on the SMC, a broad defense was launched by the Ferndale students in conjunction with the Detroit SMC to mobilize maximum support for the right of the SMC to exist in the high schools. They utilized a petition campaign as well as the school newspaper which is sympathetic. They have enlisted the support of prominent individuals and organizations through the formation of the Committee to Defend the Right of the SMC to Exist in the High Schools. We have asked for support for this committee on a civil liberties basis, not asking for support of the SMC's program.

Another aspect of their organizing has been to file a suit against the Ferndale Board of Education. A favorable ruling will set a precedent for other SMCs involved in the same battle as well as give impetus to other organizations attempting to gain recognition, such as the Ferndale High Association of Black Students.

In several Detroit schools, students and other SMCers have been ticketed by city police for distributing political literature within 300 feet of a school. This ticketing was in violation of a previous court ruling in Detroit stating that the law applied only to commercial literature. The SMC contacted the Corporation Counsel of Detroit and a reply was sent confirming the court's decision.

The SMC also went before the Detroit Board of Education demanding that they acknowledge the right of the SMC to exist in the high schools and that they inform all the Detroit high school administrators of this fact. They decided to establish a clear set of guidelines to be announced in January and several Board members have indicated their support to the SMC.

ORGANIZING HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS STRUGGLES

First of all, students must be made aware of a particular activity that the SMC is carrying out, such as the building of the April 24 antiwar demonstration. High schools should be leafleted consistently so students see the SMC as a serious organization. Many students will stop and talk to the leafleters. They should be invited to the next citywide meeting of the SMC. Their name and phone number should be taken down so the SMC can contact them and have them help leaflet their high school the next day if possible.

The rights of high school students as citizens should be explained to them as well as the fact that the SMC is currently waging a political and legal battle to ensure these rights. The students should be given copies or stacks of the SMC High School Bill of Rights and copies of the U. S. Bill of Rights. SMCers should also be aware of the ACLU handbook on high school rights.

The SMC should check into all the existing laws and ordinances regarding political activity and the rights of high school students. If there are any statements on the political rights of high school students or court cases upholding these rights, they should be mimeographed for the benefit of the students as well as the school administrators or city police. If there are any restrictions on the rights of high school students on the books, they should be checked out with the SMC's lawyer. All the legalities involved should be carefully discussed with the lawyer before a suit is filed or a test case begun.

A defense committee can also be set up in order to broaden the campaign. As with all defense committees, sponsors and funds should be sought. In addition, the Detroit SMC began a lawyers' committee which would be willing to sponsor the defense committee and take legal cases.

The SMC should attempt to get as much publicity as possible about the defense cases and committee. It should be pointed out that high schools will become centers of antiwar activity once the basic rights of freedom of speech, press, and assembly have been won.

The SMC should play the leading role in the high schools. In Detroit it quickly became known as *the* radical organization that was willing to wage a serious struggle around the war and for high school rights.

The potential is tremendous. As part of the spring offensive against the war, the high school rights campaign will be of central importance.

DAVE BLAKE
Detroit YSA



Organizational Report

Editor's Note: We are reprinting in this issue edited copies of the Organizational Report and the Financial Report which were approved at the recent national convention of the YSA, held in New York City, December 27-31, 1970. Outlined in these reports are the major organizational and financial campaigns that the YSA is undertaking this spring.

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This convention marks an important stage in the development and consolidation of the YSA. During the past year the YSA has continued to rapidly grow and expand. At the same time we have deepened our role of leadership in the mass movements that pose a political challenge to the rule of U. S. imperialism. The YSA clearly stands as the leading revolutionary socialist youth organization and we understand that our central task is to win our generation to the political perspectives of revolutionary socialism.

The convention is the highest decision-making body of the YSA. Its function is to chart a course of action for the organization in the coming period. During the past three days we have heard reports from comrades from all around the country. We have exchanged experiences and evaluated our functioning in the past period.

We have fully discussed and adopted five major reports and four resolutions: the political, antiwar, Black liberation, Chicano liberation, and women's liberation. We have drawn together an overall analysis of the political situation facing us today and have projected for ourselves a series of political tasks for the coming period. The purpose of this report is to lay out an organizational framework for implementing the decisions we have made at this convention.

Our forms of organization flow from our revolutionary perspective. They are not an end to themselves but derive from the revolutionary socialist program of our organization. We know that we face the strongest ruling class in history and that a revolutionary leadership must be constructed that has been steeled in struggles. The principles of democratic centralism allow us to function most effectively, to provide full unity in action and preserve complete internal democracy within the organization. We also understand that as a youth organization we are not capable of organizing the vanguard of the American working class and oppressed national minorities by ourselves and to that end we collaborate closely with the Socialist Workers Party, the revolutionary Marxist party in this country.

The YSA does not function as a federation of discussion clubs. We do not discuss endlessly for intellectual stimulation, but to decide how to act and fight for our ideas. Fundamental to our understanding of democracy is the concept of majority rule. The position of the majority of the organization is the position that is implemented in action. A minority is free to maintain its disagreements, but a single face is presented to the public. At this convention a democratically elected leadership will be empowered and instructed to ensure the implementation of the decisions we have made.

GROWTH OF THE YSA

Frank mentioned in his political report to the convention that both the YSA and SDS emerged during the first stages of the radicalization in the early 1960s. The YSA, however, based itself on a clear-cut revolutionary socialist program that understood the reasons for the degeneration of the Bolshevik revolution, a program that was thoroughly internationalist and that enabled us to take the lead in the defense of the Cuban revolution and the building of the anti-Vietnam war movement. While SDS became tired of marching after 1965 our movement played a key role in building the mass antiwar movement and was able to play a central role in the upsurge that rocked the foundations of American society last May.

Our continued growth has above all been possible because of our program. We are recruiting leaders of the antiwar, women's liberation, and Third World liberation movements. The YSA is reaching out to the most serious activists drawn into motion by the hypocrisy,

oppression, and exploitation that dominate every aspect of this decaying capitalist system. We have continued to expand geographically into new areas and regions from our newest local in Norman, Oklahoma, to a local of eight high school students in Pittsfield, Mass. Last spring several large locals experienced extremely significant growth and this fall the Boston local was able to divide into the North Boston, South Boston, and Cambridge locals of the YSA.

Another aspect of the YSA's growth has been the conscious expansion of our movement into key areas of the country. Many comrades have been able to transfer into new areas of the country, where together with the Socialist Workers Party we are building YSA locals and Party branches. This conscious mobility of our membership has played an important role in the development of the YSA and SWP into truly national organizations with roots in every part of this country.

This fall the YSA also launched an intensified campaign to increase our campus base. We understand that the radicalization of American youth is deepest on the campuses and this is where the greatest numbers of youth can be won to revolutionary socialist ideas. The central importance of having a large campus cadre was again driven home last May when we saw the decisive role that the student movement can play not only in mobilizing millions of young people, but also in reaching out to working people, women, and the oppressed nationalities.

We want to continue to focus every aspect of the YSA's day-to-day work toward the campus. We want to become the central force in the student movement, where we can play a decisive role in the shaping and outcome of the mass mobilizations of the antiwar, women's liberation, and Third World liberation movements.

REGIONAL EXPANSION

The significance of our regional work has increased with our rapid growth. We have found that there are literally tens of thousands of students in cities and towns across the country who are not only open to our ideas but searching for answers which will enable them to effectively change this society. The hundreds of inquiries which we receive every month in the National Office are one expression of the continued deepening of the radicalization. Our regional work has proven to be the key to reaching these young people.

At one time regional work was really beyond the scope of our organization. In the early '60s, for example, an atmosphere of witchhunting and McCarthyism still hung over the campuses. Students were often afraid to even read socialist ideas and it was very difficult for the YSA to reach out beyond the major cities. Regional work at that time was called "trailblazing." Even going to a large city was often a rather ambitious project. As Nelson Blackstock reported at last year's convention: "You could send a comrade in there and maybe he would make it back or maybe he wouldn't. You couldn't tell. He was 'trailblazing'."

Our first real breakthrough in this area of work came during the 1968 Presidential campaign when the YSA helped initiate Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle groups across the country to support the SWP candidates. Because of our support to the SWP campaign, the YSA was able to send speakers to hundreds of campuses and by the close of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign, the YSA had doubled its size.

Since 1968 the YSA has continued regional work in many parts of the country and our organization has been transformed from a small movement centered in several key cities to one with a breadth and scope beyond any of the other radical tendencies. At our last convention we could clearly say that the concept of "trailblazing" was obsolete. We set one of our highest priorities in carrying out consistent, full-time regional traveling and organizing. Since then we have continued to make important gains in this area of work.

At the August plenum of the YSA's National Committee we initiated an ambitious new stage in our approach to regional work. We felt that because of the tremendous growth we had experienced it was necessary to consciously and regularly draw together the locals and at-largers

on a regional basis. We wanted to begin to develop a functioning collective leadership on a regional as well as local scale. We proposed that each region establish a committee of representatives from all the locals and at-large areas. These regional committees were to function as consultative bodies rather than being formal structures. Their main purpose would be to coordinate our activities on a region-wide scale and to discuss the progress of all our national campaigns from our fund drives and sub drives to our antiwar and women's liberation work.

We projected that every region would hold the first meeting of the regional committee as soon as possible at the beginning of the fall and assign at least one comrade as the full-time regional organizer. The major responsibility of the regional organizer would be to work with the locals and at-largers, to help educate the newer comrades on both our organizational norms and political ideas.

The regional center would also assign a comrade as regional secretary and set up a local committee to carry out the day-to-day work necessary as we intensified our regional work. The regional center's committee would then answer the correspondence, organize the regional tours, put out a regular regional newsletter, plan out regional finances, and coordinate the traveling of other comrades in new areas where we do not yet have members.

Our perspective was that all the YSA locals should begin doing regular regional work. Even the smallest locals, in addition to attending regional committee meetings, can do considerable regional work whether it is weekend trips to new campuses or setting up regular literature tables at nearby colleges.

Establishing strong regional finances was also an important consideration. We have to develop the consciousness that regional work is not the sole responsibility of the central locals, but an area of work that should be one of the highest political priorities of every local. We expect every local to carry our antiwar, women's liberation, and Third World liberation work. We also expect every local to carry out regional work.

Regional financing must be a collective decision with the participation of every local and at-large area. Locals should assign comrades to ensure that honoraria are obtained for the regional organizer and travelers. Professors should be contacted for donations and all the locals should plan regular expenses for regional work from their sustainer income.

This perspective was seen as the initial step that will eventually lead to the YSA establishing a formal regional structure with delegated decision-making responsibilities.

FALL REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

What have we been able to do in implementing this perspective? Regional committees met early in the fall in eleven out of the fifteen regions that were outlined at the plenum. In all but one region we were able to assign comrades to full-time regional organizing for at least part of the fall. Successful regional socialist educational conferences were held in nearly every region in the country during November and we have gained a tremendous amount of experience in regional work in just the past few months.

We found that the 1970 Socialist Workers Party election campaigns were able to play a vital role in our regional work. In many areas of the country SWP candidates were also YSA travelers or regional organizers. In other areas one of the key focuses of our regional work on new campuses was getting out the ideas of the campaign. In California alone, two new locals were established during the course of the campaign: one as a result of candidates speaking on a campus and the other as a result of the huge Thanksgiving conference held in the Bay Area.

We have also been able to organize many of our national campaigns on a regional basis for the first time this fall. This fall's fund drive, for example, was conceived as a regional campaign and in several areas the regional committee was able to motivate to the entire region

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the revolutionary attitude toward finances and the concrete steps that were necessary for every local to meet its quota. Our national emergency campaigns calling for teach-ins during the Jordanian civil war and demonstrations after civil liberties were suspended in Quebec were organized through the regional centers—it would have been impossible for the National Office to reach over 50 locals at a moment's notice in any other way. We want to continue to expand and deepen this concept of the YSA functioning on a regional scale.

The lessons we can draw from these first months of moving toward a regional structure will be one of the most valuable parts of the discussion today. We were not sure at first how often the regional committees would need to meet but I think it is clear that the regional committees have been able to develop best by meeting every two or three weeks if at all possible. Holding the meetings at different locals and at-large areas has also been effective in involving all of the comrades in at least one of the regional meetings. Regional newsletters and correspondence have also been important in supplementing the regular contact and collaboration of all the locals and at-largers in the region.

We want to project that all the regions will hold special regional meetings as soon as possible after this convention. As many comrades as possible from all the locals and at-large areas should also attend these initial meetings in January which would lay out our tasks for the spring both locally and regionally. We want to map out plans for meeting the spring fund drive and sub drive and begin coordinating our work in building the SMC national conference and the April 24 national antiwar demonstrations. We will want to hold spring regional educational conferences again this year and launch a major campaign to draw comrades from the smaller locals to the regional centers for the socialist summer schools which we will be organizing. We want to ask that all the regions send in minutes to the N. O. immediately after each regional committee meeting and regular reports by the regional organizers and travelers on the development of the regions.

The continuation and deepening of our regional work this spring is one of the most important tasks facing the entire YSA. Early this fall comrades from the National Office attended the first regional committee meetings that were held around the country to discuss these perspectives with the comrades involved in this work. We feel that this collaboration was very fruitful and we are planning to again send comrades from the National Office to each of the regional centers during January and early February. During the next month we will then be able to meet with all the comrades in the leadership of our regional work. Comrades involved in this work in the regional locals should also plan on attending these special meetings.

MILITANT SUB DRIVE

This fall the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party launched the most ambitious *Militant* subscription drive since the post-World War II strike wave. We exceeded our goal of 15,000 and introduced over 16,000 new readers to *The Militant* in a massive two-month blitz. During this campaign we also sold close to 2500 subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review* by simply asking new *Militant* subscribers whether they would also like a special introductory offer to the magazine. I want to assess this tremendously successful campaign in this part of the report and project this spring's sub drive.

Revolutionary socialists have always understood that our press is a vital weapon in reaching out with our ideas and building the revolutionary movement. We understand that hundreds of thousands of young people have been deeply affected by the radicalization in this country and that it is crucial for us to get to them with our ideas. *The Militant* presents activists not only with a week-by-week socialist analysis of what is occurring throughout this country and the world but also with a program of action for the key mass movements that have developed as a result of the radicalization.

The Militant is the key recruiter and educator of thousands of young people for the revolutionary socialist movement. It is also our own organizer, educating us as well as the broader radical movement, and tying all our work together. The blitz for 15,000 new subscribers was exceeded because we understand that the

job of increasing the circulation of *The Militant* is an integral part of all the work in building the revolutionary socialist movement. We understand that by getting *The Militant* in the hands of thousands of activists we are intervening in every area of mass struggle.

The important lessons that we can draw from this campaign must be absorbed by our entire movement, for this campaign was just the first step in our goal of making *The Militant* the mass socialist newsweekly. We found that it was essential for locals to approach the sub drive in an organized and campaign basis—that it was necessary to mobilize every comrade in our movement for such a large objective. Despite its success, the final scoreboard indicated that we still have some ground to cover as 15 YSA locals did not meet the quotas they had accepted.

The questions of leadership and organization are absolutely crucial when we launch concentrated blitz campaigns for new subscribers. Locals which organized the first several weeks of the drive on a mobilization footing and assigned the necessary leadership to this work were not only able to gain a significant part of their quotas early in the drive, but also set a pace that was continued during the entire campaign.

THIS SPRING—7500 SUBS!

This spring we are planning together with the Socialist Workers Party a six-week *Militant* blitz for another 7500 new subscriptions. The campaign will run officially from February 1 to March 15 but we want to begin selling the subs as soon as possible. This campaign will be the major focus of our activity when school reopens, together with the building of the national SMC conference in mid-February. We are shooting for the same number of subs that we sold last spring but this year we'll be getting the 7500 subs in half the time, in a six-week blitz rather than a three-month long campaign.

It is somewhat easier to get subscriptions in the fall when there are hundreds of thousands of students on campus for the first time and this spring we will have to make special efforts to reach out to new campuses. It is crucial that every local approach the spring sub drive on a mobilization footing from the start because we are projecting such a concentrated campaign. We will also be preparing ourselves for a truly mammoth subscription campaign when campuses reopen next fall.

At-large comrades played an important role in the fall sub drive and it is important that every at-large area accept a quota for the spring campaign. Just one comrade in Santa Cruz, Calif., sold 122 subs this fall and by selling subscriptions in at-large areas again this spring we will be laying the foundations for a whole series of new YSA locals.

We want to literally blanket the campuses as the registration lines go up and make sure that any students who didn't subscribe last fall will have an opportunity to buy the expanded new *Militant*—the most dynamic socialist newspaper that has ever been produced in the United States.

The Militant will be the organizer of our entire spring offensive. It will be a tremendous help to us in reaching and drawing in thousands of students for all the activities we have discussed at this convention, but to do this we have to launch this campaign in the right way from the start in every local and at-large area of the country.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

At our convention last year one of the most important decisions we made was to discontinue the *Young Socialist* magazine and the old *ISR*, which was published by the SWP, and in their place develop two new publications. We projected publishing *The Young Socialist Organizer* and we will be having a separate report on *The YS Organizer* later today. We also projected to begin publishing jointly with the Socialist Workers Party a new, lively, expanded theoretical magazine that could take on every other radical publication in the field of our ideas.

The new *International Socialist Review* is of course the expanded magazine. The *ISR* today is far better known than ever before as the revolutionary socialist magazine that is analyzing the current radicalization. Because of the fall subscription drive the *ISR* now has about 3500 paid subscribers and our bundle circulation is around 8000.

We want to discuss here any suggestions comrades have for the *ISR* and in particular ways we can get the magazine out to a wider audience. During the spring sub drive we will again be setting a quota of selling introductory subscriptions to the *ISR* that equal 1/6 of the *Militant* subs we will be getting, and this aspect of the campaign will be crucial in continuing the expansion of the circulation of the *ISR*. We also want to emphasize again the importance of making special assignments to get the magazine placed on newsstands and in bookstores.

Joint *Militant-ISR* sales committees and assignments are very important. We want to make sure that whenever comrades go out to sell *The Militant*, the *ISR* is also being sold. There is tremendous interest on campus in understanding the revolutionary movement and we want to launch a concerted effort to step up the sales of the *ISR*.

As was mentioned during the International Report, *Intercontinental Press* is a publication of our movement that is absolutely unique. It is an international guide to revolutionary Marxism that carries weekly reports on world developments and the activities of the international Trotskyist movement. It is a magazine that all too few comrades read according to the organizer's reports which we have received.

I just want to stress here that the opposite should be the case. Every comrade in the YSA should read *IP* as well as *The Militant* and the *ISR* as the news in this publication is available from no other source. Every local should have a subscription to *IP* that comrades can read and I also hope that as many comrades as possible will subscribe to *IP* while here at the convention.

STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL OFFICE

The YSA, as part of an international movement, has always understood the importance of a strong national center. We know that the rulers of this country are not a small powerless minority, but that they have the armed strength of the state standing behind them to protect their property rights when necessary. We know that it is decisive in the struggle for socialism to have a national organization that can respond quickly and boldly to every major event. We realize that the strongest possible national leadership is necessary to meet the challenges and opportunities open to us today.

During the past year we have taken great strides in strengthening the YSA National Office. This convention has also heard an inspiring report by George Novack on the steps the Party has taken to expand its central apparatus—from the purchasing of the Webb press and the expansion of *The Militant* to their current plans for expanding Pathfinder Press and moving all the departments of the Party to larger headquarters. We understand the vital necessity for accelerating this process as the Trotskyist movement has never had a more promising future than today.

During the past year the YSA National Office has been able to bring in two comrades to the center to head up our national Third World work and our women's liberation work, and has assigned another comrade to national finances. During the fall we have had eight comrades functioning on the staff of the N. O. as compared to six a year earlier. Currently the comrades working in the National Office are Susan LaMont, Frank Boehm, Cindy Jaquith, Norman Oliver, Lee Smith, Andy Rose, Laura Miller, Linda Charet, and myself.

We have organized spring and fall national organizational tours this year which now take two and a half months with two comrades on the road just to visit all the YSA locals. We have also had three national field tours since our last convention including Hilda Rangel and Daren Boulton's Third World field tour this fall.

We have kept pace with our publications, putting out new editions of *Introduction to the YSA*, *Organizing the YSA*, the "Join the YSA" leaflet, the "YSA Program for the Student Revolt," and the *War and Revolution in Vietnam* pamphlet. We also published the *Proceedings of the Ninth National Convention of the YSA*, five *International Information Bulletins*, and the special "Open Letter to U. S. Students From the YSA" and "Nixon Versus the Student Movement."

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Our tours in solidarity with the international movement have also increased. During last spring we organized the Eric Corijn tour on the Belgian student movement and the miners' strike, over the summer the Jo O'Brien tour on the English women's liberation movement, and this fall the special Philip Courneyeur tour on the struggle of the Quebecois nation. Two comrades from the National Office attended the Red Europe Conference and again I'd like to urge comrades to attend the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes Convention of our Canadian co-thinkers in Montreal.

Our plans for the spring are both ambitious and necessary. Our first step is to move to larger offices. The N. O. is now so cramped with desks, files, and materials that we simply could not fit another desk in the office. We will expand the staff of *The YS Organizer* and increase the number of comrades working on the hundreds of inquiries and orders that we receive in the National Office. This spring we are again planning national organizational tours which will be the most extensive in the history of the YSA because of our growth this fall.

We are not, however, projecting national field work this spring of the same type we have carried out during the last two years. This fall we have seen a qualitative improvement in our regional work and organization and there is now hardly an area of the country where there is no regional work being done. We also realize from the experience of past national tours that one of their weaknesses was the national field secretaries inability—because of the nature of the tours—to stay in new areas for long periods of time and have the consistent contact with new locals and at-largers that is needed to build up strong regions. We feel that our resources would be best used for strengthening the regions in the period ahead by having more personnel in the center with greater flexibility for comrades from the N. O. to visit local areas for direct collaboration.

This continuing campaign to strengthen our national functioning will be one of the major projects of the YSA this spring. We feel that in order to raise the necessary funds for this expansion program it is absolutely necessary for the YSA to begin a special campaign on the question of finances. Our spring fund drive will be the largest in our history and will require a major national reorganization of our finances which will be outlined in the Financial Report.

EDUCATION

I want to discuss now our educational work. There are many ways that comrades are educated in our ideas. Working to build the YSA is of course one important way—learning what

the reality of a revolutionary movement is, learning from other comrades and the experience of building mass movements. Personal education is another extremely important means of education. We know now that the Pathfinder literature table sold \$4000 during the convention so I think it's clear that comrades do understand the importance of systematically studying and reading Marxist ideas. What I want to stress in addition, however, is the organized educational program of the YSA.

Marxism is the "science of socialism." It is a method of analyzing society and charting the tasks for the working class movement in the struggle for socialism. Marxism enables us to draw the lessons from over 100 years of working class struggle. It teaches comrades to think critically and independently, and Marxism is of course the basis for our program for every mass movement.

We have to understand that regular classes and educational programs are key elements of our work, just like building the SMC, the women's liberation movement, or Third world struggles. Education complements our work in the mass movements and can not be put off because of our intense activity.

As we continue to expand into new areas of the country, it becomes crucial to develop an ever expanding cadre of socialist activists who can both build the mass movements and understand our program and can help teach it to others. Every local of the YSA should have a regular well-rounded educational program. New members classes should be organized as we continue to grow in every local. Our educational work cannot be left to last: it is a year round process.

The Oberlin Socialist Activists and Educational Conference was a tremendous achievement of the YSA and Party in helping to meet the educational needs of our movement. Close to 800 comrades attended the week-long conference which covered every aspect of revolutionary socialism—from the history of dialectical materialism to the current stage of the antiwar movement. The talks given at Oberlin and the tapes now available should be one key part of all educational programs in the future.

This spring we want to be certain that both the socialist educational conferences and summer schools are planned well in advance. At-largers and comrades in the regional locals should begin planning now to move into the regional centers for the socialist summer schools and to become involved in the day-to-day work of a larger local for the summer. I'd also like to urge as many comrades as possible to attend the SWP convention which will be held over the summer and will be open to all YSA members.

DEFENSE

The defense of our movement is one of our most serious obligations. In approving the political report and resolution, we have voted to launch a major campaign against the political restrictions which the Nixon Administration is attempting to establish on campus.

Another important defense campaign we are currently building is the Mandel defense. As comrades know, Ernest Mandel has been barred from the United States under the McCarthyite McCarran-Walter Act which prohibits members of certain proscribed foreign groups from entering the country. The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is sponsoring the defense campaign and every local should assign comrades to get sponsors and sizable donations for the Mandel defense.

Another important policy for the defense of the YSA is that all YSA members do not use any illegal drugs. This policy means that no member of the YSA smokes marijuana.

We do this not because of any puritanical convictions, but because we are a serious and disciplined organization and will not allow the ruling class to force us into wasting our energies fighting pot busts. This policy on drugs should be carefully explained to all new members and it is a policy that is enforced.

MEMBERSHIP POLICY

Last month the YSA National Executive Committee ended the policy of proscribing the membership of homosexuals in the YSA. The main purpose of this policy had been to protect the YSA from the effects of legal and extralegal victimization and blackmail of homosexual members. We feel that this policy did not accomplish this purpose and that it bred problems and misinterpretations both internally and publicly.

In thoroughly rediscussing the membership policy, the N. E. C. found that the policy was virtually impossible to enforce. To maintain our former policy would require checking into the sexual behavior of all members and prospective members, the negative results of which I don't have to detail. It was a policy that, if really enforced, could be easily misused. If it was not strictly enforced, it then threw doubt on all general policies.

As Lee Smith pointed out in his report to the last plenum of the YSA, the question of the security of the YSA is central to our future perspective and role in the American revolution. The problem with the membership policy was that it was not enforced consistently and that in reality homosexual members concealed their homosexuality because of this policy.

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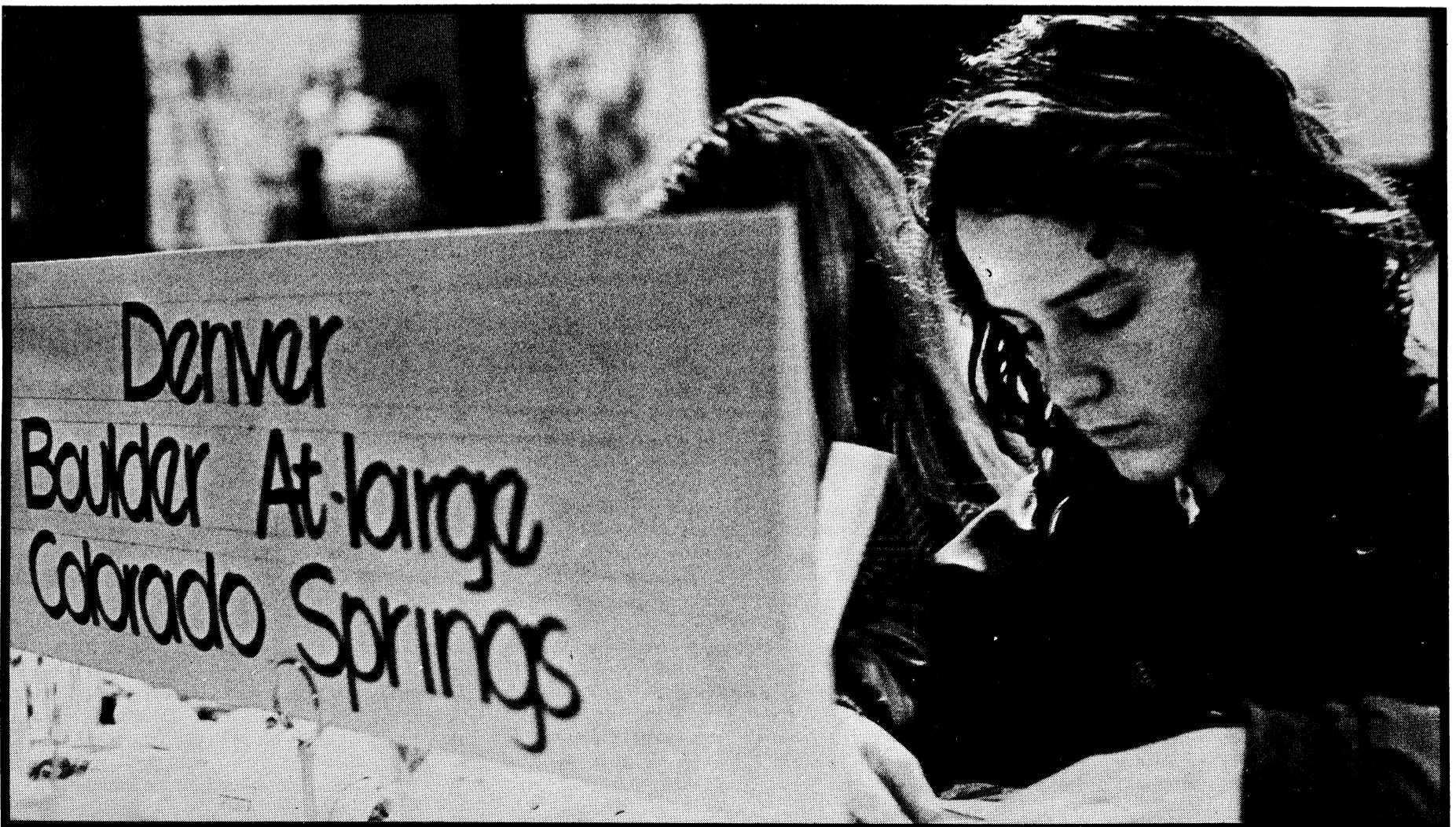


photo by Howard Petrick

We have seen, because of the depth of the radicalization, the widespread opposition among young people to all forms of legislation concerning sexual behavior. Homosexual organizations have been formed on nearly every major university campus in this country demanding an end to all discrimination against homosexuals. Significant legal victories have been scored in many states against reactionary and archaic legal codes concerning sexual behavior.

The YSA and Party have had, in the past, experiences with some homosexual members who were unable to function in the revolutionary socialist movement because of personal crises. We believe that problems of this nature must be handled on an individual basis for any comrade. We understand, however, that homosexuals still are subject both to social and legal harassment, but that a blanket proscription of homosexuals did not solve these problems for the YSA. It is only if a member's private life placed the security of the YSA in danger or its capacity for disciplined activity that an individual member could be asked to leave the organization. And this, of course, applies to all members, not just homosexual comrades.

The YSA is not a microcosm of the future socialist society, but a combat organization that has the task of defeating U. S. imperialism. We understand that the growth and development of the YSA must always come first.

The membership policy, however, created more problems than it solved and would not necessarily prevent the victimization of YSA members who concealed their homosexuality. The policy was misunderstood by some new members and difficult to explain to non-members. It raised, in particular, a whole series of concrete problems in our work in the women's liberation movement—problems of recruitment, of misinterpretation, of hidden red-baiting in the form of slander. Thus in reviewing and completely discussing all the aspects of our former membership policy, the N. E. C. unanimously decided to end it.

The YSA will now deal with questions of this type on an individual basis, as we did before the membership policy was introduced. That is, we will review the membership of any homosexual comrade or any other comrade who because of a personal crisis or personal demeanor, more and more finds her or his personal life in conflict with a youth organization that is recruiting out of the mass movements and that is going to become the mass revolu-

tionary socialist youth organization. And secondly, of course, we will continue to take into account the character and personal demeanor of anyone who applies for membership. We always have. But a general policy of proscription of homosexuals is incorrect.

SCOPE OF THE YSA

The following statistics are based on organizer's reports which were completed two weeks before the convention. Not including the more than one hundred people who have asked to join the YSA at this convention we now have 56 locals and 1331 members. Of our membership approximately 35% is female and we now have 197 at-large comrades. At our convention last year we had 53 locals, 1074 members, 36% female, and 97 at-largers.

Since our last convention we have recruited 670 new members. Since the August plenum we have recruited 410 members and even including those who want to join from the convention, we are still somewhat below the goal of 600 new members which we set at the August plenum.

Five hundred sixty-six comrades are students—at least 43% of the YSA and probably more because we do not have a breakdown on any of the following statistics for the at-large members. One hundred twenty-two comrades are high school students which is a significant increase from 74 high school comrades at our last convention.

We have approximately 90 Third World comrades. That breaks down to 50% Black, 22% Chicano, and 10% Puerto Rican. The organizers also reported that only 22 locals have either Third World or Third World work fractions, and I want to stress here the importance of every local having Third World work assignments and fractions.

There are 220 comrades active in the women's liberation movement and 41 locals now have women's liberation fractions which is a tremendous increase from last year when only 14 locals had women's liberation fractions.

We have 557 comrades in the locals who are active in the antiwar movement and 152 comrades who hold different positions in antiwar groups.

Since our last convention a great number of comrades have graduated from the YSA to do full-time work in the Socialist Workers Party, but we do not have an accurate figure on graduations. Since the last convention 321 comrades have been dropped from membership,

which is about the same proportion that we evaluated at our last convention. We know that not every person who joins the YSA can become a revolutionary socialist and we want to continue to aggressively recruit new members, understanding that there will always be a turnover in membership as the YSA grows.

Two hundred comrades have transferred to new locals since the last convention.

Our recruitment from different areas of work during the past year has included: 58 from SWP and YSA election campaigns, 41 from Third World work, 254 from antiwar work, 61 from women's liberation work, 131 from high school work, 117 from campus struggles, and 28 from other radical tendencies.

Twenty-five locals ran student government election campaigns and ten of them won offices. Thirty-nine locals now do regional work which is also a significant expansion of this work when compared to last year. Twenty-six locals have regional organizers and travelers and fourteen do full-time regional organizing. There are also twenty regional secretaries and seven of these comrades are full-time.

RECRUITMENT AND CONSOLIDATION

To conclude this report I want to say a couple of things about recruitment. We have every reason to expect that the YSA will continue to grow and develop; our main task is to reach out and lay the groundwork for the YSA's development into a mass revolutionary socialist youth organization.

Above all, this means recruitment. We want to reach out to the activists in the mass movements on the campuses who understand that changing this society means taking action. We want to educate and consolidate our new members, making sure that they are immediately given assignments and drawn into activity. We want to work with the newer locals and at-largers. We want to turn the YSA into the leadership of the entire student movement.

Last May was the first upsurge of this decade to shake the country to its foundations. We are confident that it will not be the last. We must prepare the student movement for the next May and at the same time win our generation to the banner of revolutionary socialism.

RICH FINKEL
YSA National Office

Financial Report

During the last three days of this convention we have discussed and decided on our political perspectives for the next year and set a number of key tasks for the YSA to carry out in the months ahead. The organizational report which was just presented outlined how we propose to organizationally implement these tasks. One of the most important aspects of this implementation of our political ideas will be raising the money necessary in order to carry out the tasks we set.

It is a basic axiom of the revolutionary movement that whenever we vote and decide to carry out certain political tasks, whether it is in a local, a region, or nationally, implicit in approving those projections is the commitment to come up with the money needed. What we want to do in this report is make that implicit commitment explicit, by discussing what a revolutionary attitude toward finances means, what our financial performance has been in the recent period, and what financial campaigns we need to project to carry out our work this spring.

REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDE TOWARD FINANCES

The way that we function financially—like every other facet of our organizational methods—flows from our political perspective. It is because we are serious about making a revolution that we are a democratic centralist combat organization. It is precisely because we are an action organization—not a socialist discussion

club or a collection of armchair revolutionaries—and because we are serious about putting our ideas into practice, serious about building and helping to lead mass movements, serious about getting out our ideas to masses of radicalizing young people, that we take finances so seriously.

We see finances as one part of our work—like selling our press, or building the antiwar movement, or holding educationals—which is necessary to successfully build the revolutionary movement. Finances are like these other areas of work in that they must be approached and understood politically, and organized in a professional, Bolshevik manner. But the organization of our finances also differs from these other areas in that it lays the basis for all the other activities we engage in—it is the necessary prerequisite for all our areas of work. It's a very simple fact that we have to have money in order to print the newspapers to sell, or the leaflets to distribute, or to maintain the full time staff we need, or to put regional travelers on the road, or for just about anything else. So this one facet of our organizational functioning underlies all the others, underlies our ability to carry out all our political work.

If finances are organized correctly, then we can move ahead just about as rapidly as the objective political situation allows, which is pretty fast. If this is not done, then our movement can be paralyzed by a simple lack of money.

There's another thing about finances which makes it different from other areas of work:

there is probably no other part of our organizational functioning which so directly and deeply involves each and every member of the YSA. No matter what other assignments a comrade may have or not have, the assignment to help finance the YSA's activity is one that is always there, for everyone. This is one of the basic responsibilities of membership.

The YSA is unique among all the radical youth groups that have existed in this country in that we are completely independent and self-financing. We are not subsidized or supported by anyone except our own membership. We don't rely on any other organization to finance us, and we also don't rely on a few wealthy friends to finance the day to day work of our movement. We do have a few members and sympathizers who are in a position to make large contributions, and these are used to help make some of our big expansion projects possible. However, for the regular functioning of the YSA, we never have and never will rely on a few "angels" or on any outside source, because if we did we would always be running the risk of being cut off at a critical point. What we depend on to finance the YSA are the voluntary, regular, sizable contributions from the membership.

We have no qualms whatsoever about asking every member of the YSA to give as much money as she or he possibly can (and then a

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little bit more), because of our political understanding of why we need the money and where it must come from. We are no more embarrassed or hesitant about asking our members to spend their money on the revolutionary movement than we are about asking them to spend their time and energy on it. Contributing financially to the YSA is a part of YSA-building that is the responsibility of every member, just as much as coming to meetings or selling *The Militant*.

The decision to give money to the YSA—and how much to give—is in reality a political decision, not a personal one. This is a concept which radicalizing young people do not understand automatically. It goes against all the training we receive that teaches us that money is something of even greater value than life itself, that we must hoard it and watch out very suspiciously for anyone trying to take it away.

But this shouldn't surprise us. People do not automatically understand our position in the antiwar movement, or women's liberation, or anything else. It requires education and training and assimilation into the revolutionary movement for someone to fully understand our perspectives for the antiwar movement, for women's liberation, or for finances. Again, the crucial point is that contributing money to the YSA is not a personal question but a political one.

When we vote to support and build an antiwar action, an individual member of the YSA doesn't decide, "Well, I'm tired of these mass demonstrations, I don't think I'll work on this one." In just the same way, the decision of a YSAer not to contribute financially, or to contribute very little, would not just be a personal decision that she or he would rather spend the money some other way, but would be a *political vote cast against* the YSA carrying out its activities.

The *required* financial commitment from YSA members is very low—only the \$1.50 per month national dues and the convention assessment are obligatory. That contributions above this required minimum are voluntary corresponds to the nature of the YSA as a voluntary organization. People join the YSA because they agree with our political perspectives and want to work to carry them out, and members of the YSA make financial contributions for exactly the same reason. It is the comrades' political understanding of the need to finance the YSA that we depend on.

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EVALUATION OF FALL FUND DRIVE

At the Plenum of the National Committee held in August we projected a national drive for \$36,000 to be raised by December 15 in order to carry out our fall offensive to build the YSA.

During the fall, we were successful in carrying out a very great expansion of our finances. We raised more money than ever before in a fund drive that had the participation of more locals and at-largers than ever before. Locals met and exceeded quotas which were in themselves larger than some entire fund drives the YSA conducted in its early years.

This increased financial capacity enabled us to go through with many of the projects outlined when the fall fund drive was proposed. We were able to carry out very significant expansion in the center, expanding our staff to include a National Third World Work Director and a National Women's Liberation Work Director, bringing in a comrade for several weeks to work on media relations for the convention, and having two rather than one field secretary on the road in the YSA bus. We sent two comrades on organizational tours which covered more territory than ever before. We were able to send a comrade from the N. O. to each of the initial regional committee meetings.

And alongside the over-all expansion in such areas as *The YS Organizer*, the *International Socialist Review*, the number and size of mailings from the National Office, and so on, I think one very impressive side of our financial expansion was our ability to meet the unexpected needs that arose, to do the emergency tasks which were politically important to do and not have to say, "Well, we can't because we just don't have the money."

For example, when the War Measures Act was imposed in Canada and the government attempted to smash the independentist movement, we saw the importance of publicizing and building support in the United States for the struggle of the Quebecois, and in addition to initiating demonstrations and rallies we conducted a speaking tour for Philip Courneyeur, a Quebecois comrade. After the brutal attack on the August 29 Chicano Moratorium, we were able to send a comrade from the N. O. to Los Angeles to help out for several weeks in coordinating our work there.

When the Nixon administration, in response to the May upsurge, launched its new offensive against the student movement, in particular singling out the YSA as a dangerous subversive organization, we were able to get out the Open Letter to Students and the Truth Kit on the attack as part of our defense campaign. We were not prevented from doing these things because of lack of money.

There were also some serious weaknesses in the fall fund drive which we should evaluate. One was that a significant number of locals lowered their quotas over the course of the fall until we finally ended up with a total national quota of \$32,330.01. Even if we had made 100 per cent of the quota—and we did come very close—this still would have left us almost \$4000 short of what we initially projected at the plenum. This \$4000 gap did hamper us and prevented us from carrying through on some of the projections of the plenum. We did not but a second YSA field bus to put a second team of field secretaries on the road. We did not publish any new Young Socialist pamphlets this fall—both because of insufficient staff in the N. O. to take care of the writing, editing, and other technical work involved, and because of the high production costs. Except for the convention poster, we did not bring out any new YSA buttons or posters.

The other shortcoming of the drive, which is really the underlying problem, is shown in our inability this fall to overcome a certain pattern that had been set in the previous several fund drives, a pattern of locals not organizing the fund drive well in advance or carrying it out as a real campaign during the first part of the drive, and then having to frantically try to come up with the money on an emergency basis right in the last few weeks of the drive. The pattern is quite evident from the graph showing the weekly income during the drive. The bad effects of this pattern become even worse as the fund drives get larger, because while it may have been possible in the past to raise a few hundred dollars when the last-minute pinch came, it is almost impossible to do when for many locals the amount to be raised is many hundreds or thousands of dollars.

That this pattern, which we had fallen into over the last couple of years, was not overcome very clearly shows that our difficulties with the fall fund drive were *basically organizational*. The problem was not that the money wasn't there, the problem was that we were not organized soon enough or well enough to gather it in. This fact is further underlined by the ease with which a number of locals which did organize for the fund drive well in advance and which did work consistently on fund-raising throughout the fall met their quotas.

Some of these organizational problems rested in the National Office. We did not assign a comrade to head up this work in the center until the fund drive had already begun. It wasn't until one-third of the way through the drive, when we saw that we were slipping behind, that we asked locals to send in detailed projections of their plans for making the drive. We should have asked to see those plans before the drive even started. And it wasn't until nearly midway in the drive that we saw the necessity for sending out regular weekly scoreboards, rather than relying on the scoreboards in *The YS Organizer*, which only came out every two weeks and were necessarily very out of date by the time they reached the comrades around the country. I'm mentioning these things mainly to bring out the point that we have learned some important lessons from the fall fund drive, which we can apply in the future to avoid many of these difficulties.

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SPRING FINANCIAL NEEDS

In the spring, our needs are going to increase. The organizational report has gone over our expansion projections in detail, so I just want to mention a few high spots from the standpoint of finances. When we move into our new and much larger national headquarters, our rent will increase substantially. We are projecting a steady increase in travel expenses beginning with the trips to all the regional centers, then the SMC convention, the period of intensively building for April 24, and so on. Our projections for stepping up our publications—more buttons and posters, pamphlets, expanding *The YS Organizer*—will require increased staff in the N. O. as well as actual capitalization. As Rich mentioned, even just keeping up with the routine N. O. functions points to increasing the national staff.

When James P. Cannon and the other founders of the American Trotskyist movement were expelled from the Communist Party and began independent functioning, they drew up their first budget and went looking for funds. Cannon wrote in *Letters from Prison*:

"I remember confidently outlining my plans to do the thing right: publish a bi-weekly paper, open a headquarters, publish the *Criticism* in pamphlet form, finance a national tour, etc. 'How much will all that cost?' he asked. 'Have you figured it out?' I had. I said I could guarantee to get the new movement started in good shape and see it through for six months ahead if I could get my hands on \$1000."

Our needs for the next six months will be somewhat greater. To meet the needs of the YSA as presented in the Organizational Report, we want to propose a fund drive for spring 1971 to begin on February 1 and run through May 15. The total amount we propose to raise in this drive is \$43,000.

The figure of \$43,000 is based on the most precise budget we are able to project for the first six months of 1971; that is, in order to carry out the work of the YSA this spring we must raise \$43,000 above the money we can expect to take in through dues, initiation fees, sales of buttons, pamphlets, etc. Raising this money will be one of the most important campaigns YSAers will be carrying out this spring.

At the same time, the work and financial needs of the locals all across the country are increasing. Regional organizations which have their own financial needs have been developed this year and will continue and grow. To meet the national needs of the YSA—concretely the goal of \$43,000—in the context of the expanded financial needs at all levels of the organization, will require an over-all campaign on YSA finances. This campaign will have three important aspects.

CAMPUS FUND-RAISING

The first aspect of the campaign involves our fund-raising from the campuses. We have to completely get away from the idea that a campus-based local, or any local with a large number of college and high school students, *must be* financially unstable. That simply is not the case. Some of the greatest opportunities that we have today for raising large sums of money for the revolutionary movement are on the campuses.

The YSA is not a junior version of the revolutionary party. We do not expect that the YSA's finances are going to have the same kind of extremely solid base that the party's finances have in most comrades' working full time at the best possible jobs and making very sizable regular contributions to the organization. We hope and expect that the YSA will be primarily composed of college and high school students, most of whom will not have jobs or will have only part-time jobs. We also expect that all comrades, including high school and college students, will contribute as much financially to the YSA as they are able. But we have the potential to get much more money from the campus than just what the individual campus comrades are able to contribute. We must be audacious and seek out every possible way to utilize the campus base we are building to strengthen our finances.

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One way in which we can do this is through applying to student governments for budgets. There have been dramatic successes here already, and we should push ahead for much more. The YSA campus chapters are student groups carrying out a wide range of activities on the campus of interest to practically every student. It is perfectly reasonable and legitimate for the YSA, like other campus organizations, to receive funding from the student government. The more that a YSA local is able to finance its regular local campus work through such grants, the greater proportion of its sustainer income can be sent in for the national fund drive.

Out of all the locals which turned in financial report forms, only seven indicated that they had requested budgets from student governments on campuses where the YSA is a recognized student organization. But of those seven, four received grants ranging from boxes of mimeograph paper and envelopes to \$500. Of the locals that received cash budgets, the average amount received was \$275. These figures are somewhat weighted on the conservative side, because I know of at least one other local which didn't send in a financial report but which did receive \$500 from its student government. Among the locals which did not apply for these grants are most of the large-city locals where the YSA is recognized on three, four or five campuses. I think it's clear that there is a huge potential here for fund raising that goes hand in hand with our work of integrating ourselves into the political life of the campuses.

HONORARIA

Another important area of fund raising on the campus is obtaining honoraria for speakers from our movement. The successes we have already achieved in this field are striking. Worcester, for example, got honoraria of \$200 for Joe Miles and \$500 for Evelyn Reed. DeKalb arranged a symposium for Herman Fagg, Joe Miles, and Arnold Terry, and got \$200 for each of them. El Paso got \$100 for Mariana Hernandez. Houston got \$200 for Peter Buch. The Paterson local got \$150 for Eva Chertov and \$300 for Clifton DeBerry. This work is particularly important because it combines big fund-raising possibilities with the important political gains we make by having these speakers on campus getting our ideas out and recruiting new members to the YSA.

We can only expect continued expansion of this area of fund-raising. Spokesmen and spokeswoman for our movement are dealing with the questions and issues students are most interested in and presenting the ideas students are most receptive to, and it is only reasonable that they should receive the speakers' fees and honoraria that universities expect to pay and are willing to pay. We must search out all the different groups and organizations on campus that are in a position to dispense honoraria. These range from the official university speakers' bureau to the student government to various departments — sociology, history, political science, etc. — to other student organizations such as current affairs or debating groups. These various groups on campus can grant honoraria from \$25 or \$50 up into the thousands of dollars.

In the past we have said that when a local obtained honoraria for national YSA speakers that the money above the local's tour quota should simply be sent to the national organization. In the future we propose that all such honoraria above tour quotas — which are simply computed to cover travel costs — be applied to the national fund drive.

I'd like to emphasize that you don't have to have George Novack or Evelyn Reed come to your campus in order to get a substantial honorarium. In every region there are many YSA comrades with impressive credentials as leaders of mass struggles, authors of various pamphlets, and experts on today's vital political issues. Locals should look toward utilizing these comrades for speaking engagements in the region.

Another less important side of using the campus base for fund-raising is the way in which it facilitates projects such as film showings and sales of one kind or another. The success achieved here has been very uneven. Some locals have raised large sums of money through these projects while others have found them unproductive. Throughout the spring financial campaign, beginning in the workshop tomorrow, we must draw together these experiences nationally

and get out, through articles in *The YS Organizer* and through mailings, the lessons that have been learned — why New York was able to raise \$1000 from film showings, or how Los Angeles raised \$325 through socials.

In the first part of the report we stressed the centrality of the regular contributions from the members as the basic foundation of our finances. That continues to hold true today, but at the same time we must be aware of the great possibilities that we have for other fund-raising, particularly on the campus, and prepare ourselves to take maximum advantage of them.

LOCAL FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION

The second aspect of the campaign is for improved local organization of finances. Our objective must be to have the finances of every local organized in a way that corresponds to the nature of the YSA as a serious, action-oriented, rapidly growing movement. This will mean *regularizing* and *professionalizing* YSA finances. This general campaign for better local organization of the financial books, budgets, reports, and so on, will be crucial to making the spring fund drive and to the rest of our projections, locally and nationally.

In the workshop we will be going over such questions as budgets and allocation of funds on the basis of political priorities, regular weekly sustainers, regular and in many cases *weekly* financial reports to executive committees and locals, the nature of these reports, how new members can be trained in our financial norms, the responsibilities of leadership, and the importance of regular correspondence and consultation with the N. O.

We hope to draw together the main points of these discussions in the workshop along with some useful visual aid-type material into a handbook on YSA finances to be brought out, probably in mimeographed form, shortly after the convention. By getting into the hands of the local financial directors all over the country very precise examples of how to set up local books, how to give reports, how our billing system works, and so on, we should be able to get this side of the campaign off to a good start.

BUDGETED PAYMENTS TO N. O.

The third aspect of the campaign is to have the maximum possible number of locals begin paying regular budgeted contributions to the N. O., whether it is on a monthly, bi-weekly, or weekly basis. These contributions would be budgeted out of the local's regular income, but they would be credited to the fund drive. We are not suggesting going over to a complete sustainer system such as that adopted by the Socialist Workers Party, in which fund drives are completely abolished. The character of the YSA and our rapid growth make that impossible. However, we do think there should be more emphasis on locals sending in regular contributions within the context of fund drives.

We think this is necessary because, for one thing, it is becoming impossible to meet our national needs by the extremely fluctuating income which the fund drives provide. In effect, in recent years, the income on which the national YSA had to operate for an entire year was sent in during the three or four weeks around the end of each fund drive.

It is also true that locals which have already set up their finances so as to send in these regular payments report that it is a big help in organizing their finances. It makes the local's commitment to the national organization a regular, visible part of its normal budget. It enables the local to spread out payments on its fund drive quota over six months rather than three. Some locals which have already begun paying in these regular contributions to the N. O. have completely stopped asking for special fund drive pledges from the members and have used that as a lever for *raising* the regular weekly sustainer base of the local. After all, when comrades can put all or most of their financial contribution into one weekly pledge to the local, instead of also being asked for a special fund drive pledge at certain times during the year, then naturally, the weekly sustainer can be raised. And, to make the point once again, we think it is *vital* to the National Office to have the more regular income which such regular budgeted contributions from the locals would provide.

In this part of the campaign, we want to project the figure of \$5 per member per month as a realistic figure for any local to begin sending in. This would mean, for a local of five members, sending in \$25 per month; for a local of twenty members, \$100 per month, and so on. We think this is realistic for most locals to go ahead and work into their budgets right away and begin sending in to the N. O. in January. Many locals will be able to send in more than \$5 per member per month regularly — perhaps \$6 or \$7 or even more. But \$5 is in our opinion a realistic minimum.

We are *not* proposing this as any sort of requirement, but rather as our estimation of what just about any local should be able to do at this time. For most locals, sending in this amount will not completely pay up the fund drive quota. It will still be necessary to plan some special projects around the fund drive. But starting right away, in January, to send in a regular budgeted payment to the N. O. will both take a big chunk out of the local's quota and help us overcome this problem of the fluctuating income of the N. O.

These, then, are the three aspects of the spring campaign on YSA finances, a campaign which is necessary because of our increased growth and activity so that we can meet the \$43,000 national goal and the needs of the local and regional organizations: 1) utilize the base we are building on the campuses to increase our financial resources; 2) regularize and professionalize local financial organization; 3) have the greatest number of locals send in regular budgeted payments to the N. O. throughout the entire year.

* * *

In the National Office we will be taking several steps to help the implementation of the campaign. I've already mentioned the mimeographed handbook on YSA finances that we want to bring out. Of course, there will be regular mailings and articles in *The YS Organizer* about our progress — reporting not just on the fund drive, but on all aspects of the campaign.

In addition, we want to project a tour of the national financial director to all the regional centers within the first two months of the year. Local organizers and financial directors from the region would be requested to come in to the center for this tour. In each regional center, the tour would have three main objectives: 1) reporting on the campaign, going over in detail the projections of the convention and reporting on our progress so far; 2) going over all the locals' books and budgets in detail and making suggestions on any special problems that have come up; 3) discussing with the comrades from the various locals their plans for the campaign, their fund drive quotas, their plans for sending in regular budgeted payments to the N. O., for fund-raising on campus, and so on. In other words, collaborating with the locals to help them begin rapidly implementing all the aspects of the campaign.

At the very least, this tour should largely eliminate the problem we saw in the last fund drive of locals not gearing into the fund drive until very late. It should be able to do much more than just that — by ensuring that all the locals are carrying out the reorganization we project at the convention, and giving a major boost to the campaign all across the country.

Finally, I would like to emphasize once again that this will be a vitally important campaign for the YSA, equal in importance to any other campaign we are engaged in, because our ability to carry out all our other local and national work is dependent on our success in this campaign.

We don't expect an abrupt, miraculous transformation. It's going to be a prolonged struggle. The progress will be uneven, as it is in any campaign. But if we can begin to implement the measures outlined in this report, we will have taken a significant step forward in ensuring that the YSA will have the financial ability to meet the challenges of the current radicalization.

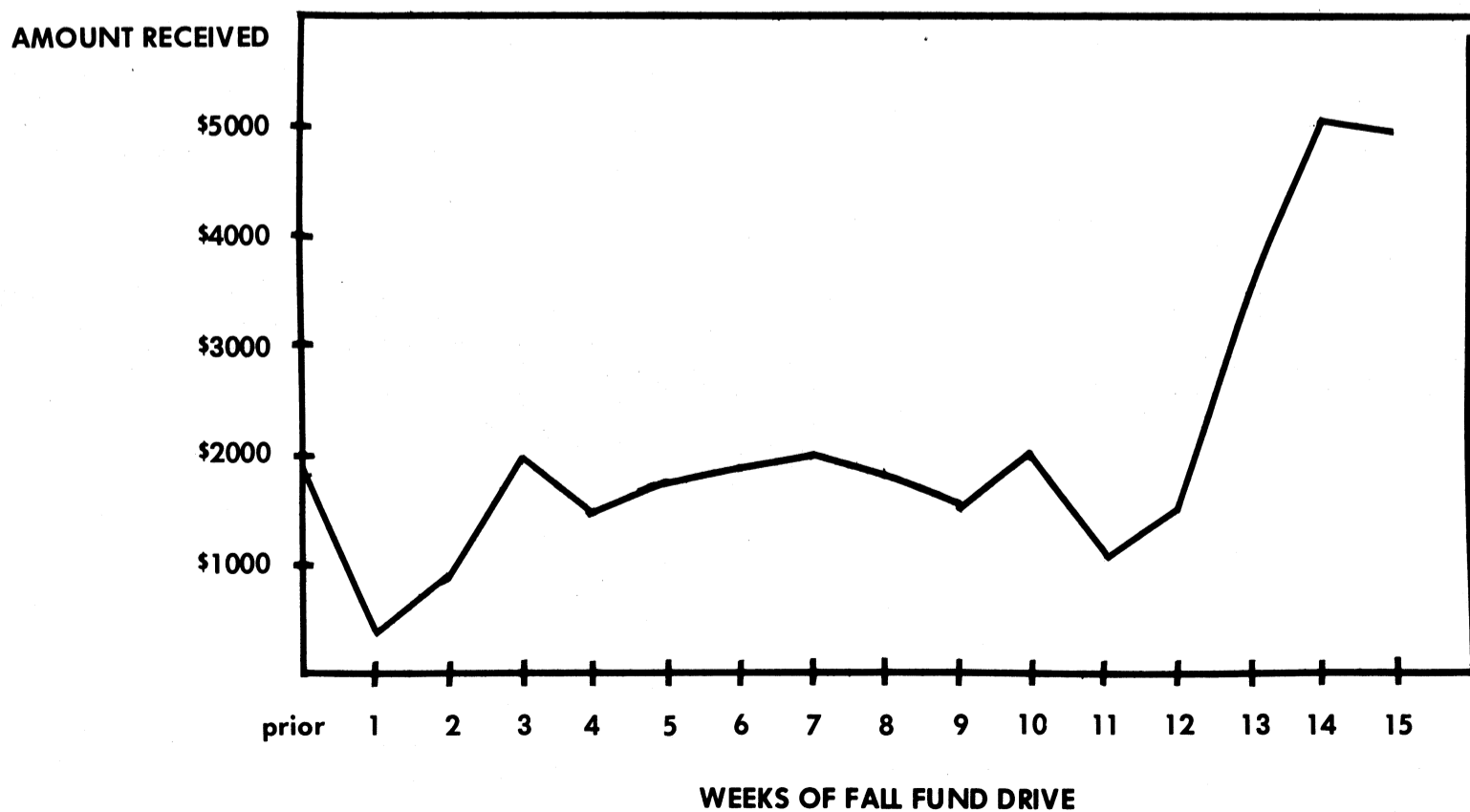
ANDY ROSE
YSA National Office

Fall Scoreboard and Proposed Spring Quotas

REGION AND LOCAL	FALL QUOTA	PAID	%	SPRING QUOTA					
UPPER MIDWEST	\$1000	\$1100	110	\$1500	NORTHERN CALIFORNIA	\$3525	\$3344	95	\$4250
TWIN CITIES	1000	1100	110	1500	BERKELEY	2000	2000	100	2400
MICHIGAN	2650	2865	108	3000	SAN FRANCISCO	1300	1300	100	1400
DETROIT	2200	2425	110	2400	HAYWARD	100	44	44	150
ANN ARBOR	250	250	100	300	SAN JOAQUIN	125	0	0	150
EAST LANSING	75	75	100	150	SACRAMENTO	**			150
YPSILANTI	125	115	92	150	OHIO-KENTUCKY	2550	2400	94	3250
WISCONSIN	775	810.40	105	1850	CLEVELAND	1900	1900	100	2200
MADISON	350	385.40	110	1200	YELLOW SPRINGS	250	250	100	500
MILWAUKEE	300	300	100	400	CINCINNATI	125	125	100	250
LACROSSE	125	125	100	250	OXFORD	125	125	100	150
					COLUMBUS	150	0	0	150
NEW ENGLAND	3195.01	3232.01	101	4700	SOUTHEAST	1300	1220	94	1850
WORCESTER	225	265	118	500	ATLANTA	1100	1100	100	1400
PROVIDENCE	250	265	106	500	TAMPA	200	120	60	300
NORTH BOSTON	866.67	866.67	100	1100	MURFREESBORO	**			150
SOUTH BOSTON	866.67	866.67	100	1100	SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	2900	2716.57	93	3650
CAMBRIDGE	866.67	866.67	100	1100	SAN DIEGO	100	102.57	103	500
AMHERST	100	100	100	250	LOS ANGELES	2400	2400	100	2500
PITTSFIELD	20	2	10	150	PHOENIX	200	200	100	300
PENNSYLVANIA	1875	1890	101	2200	RIVERSIDE	200	14	7	350
PHILADELPHIA	1800	1875	104	2200	TEXAS-LOUISIANA	1165	1016	87	2300
MANSFIELD	75	15	20	-*	HOUSTON	350	366	105	850
MIDWEST	3550	3559.60	100	4600	AUSTIN	600	600	100	1000
BLOOMINGTON	150	159.50	107	250	EL PASO	125	35	28	150
CHICAGO	3000	3000.10	100	3600	FT WORTH-DALLAS	90	15	17	150
DEKALB	200	200	100	350	NORMAN	**			150
KANSAS CITY	200	200	100	400	ROCKY MOUNTAIN	300	261	87	750
MARYLAND-VIRGINIA	900	900	100	1400	BOULDER	125	125	100	350
WASHINGTON DC	900	900	100	1400	DENVER	150	120	80	250
PACIFIC NORTHWEST	900	900	100	1700	COLORADO SPRINGS	25	16	64	150
SEATTLE	700	700	100	1200					
PORTLAND	200	200	100	500					
NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY	4745	4646.10	98	5950	TOTAL AT-LARGE	1000	607.39	61	1000
ALBANY	125	152	122	250	TOTAL	\$32,330.01	\$31,468.07	98	\$43,950
LONG ISLAND	50	51	102	250					
NEW YORK	4000	4000	100	4400					
PATERSON	150	150	100	300					
RED HOOK	120	120	100	-*					
BINGHAMTON	100	73.10	73	350					
NEWARK	200	100	50	400					

* DENOTES LOCAL DISSOLVED SINCE FALL FUND DRIVE
 ** DENOTES LOCAL FORMED SINCE FALL FUND DRIVE

**TOTAL WEEKLY PAYMENTS FROM LOCALS AND AT-LARGERS
 DURING FALL 1970 FUND DRIVE**



Convention Publicity

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1970

1,200 Delegates Start 5-Day Meeting of Left-Wing Youth Here

By PETER KIHSS

Twelve hundred young people showed up at the Manhattan Center yesterday for the start of the five-day 10th annual convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. Many expressed pride that J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation director, had pictured their movement as "the largest and best organized youth group in left-wing radicalism."

Susan LaMont, "chairwoman" of the Trotskyist Communist group, said that nationwide membership in the alliance had quadrupled since 1967 to at least 5,000 in 300 chapters. Miss LaMont, 23 years old, asserted that a truer measure was the growth of antiwar, women's liberation, black and student movements in which the group asserted it had played a role.

At a news conference, one member, Ed Jurenas, 23, of Chicago, an Army private in civilian clothes on leave from Fort Polk in Louisiana, said he had accepted induction five months ago to try to organize antiwar sentiment among soldiers. He said that "G. I.'s see Nixon as one of the 20th century's greatest mass murderers," and were "overwhelmingly against the war."

Miss LaMont was given a standing ovation when she announced that the Peruvian



United Press International
Pvt. Ed Jurenas of Army at convention yesterday.

Government had freed Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyite leader. Mr. Blanco had been seized in May, 1963, as a guerrilla leader and sentenced to 25 years for organizing peasants and killing two National Guardsmen in what he called self-defense.

The Y. S. A. age limit is 29, at which time members might be expected to join the parallel Socialist Workers party. Yesterday's group appeared to be in the low 20's, generally clean-cut and neat.

Mr. Hoover, the F. B. I. director, wrote in the Veterans of Foreign Wars magazine's issue last September that the Socialist Workers party, founded in 1938, and the youth group "have shown a vast membership growth and resurgence in the last 24 months."

He ascribed this to "the recent student unrest on our college campuses" and "agitation against the war," and held that the Student Mobilization Committee, for one, was "controlled by the Trotskyists."

Both in yesterday's meetings—open for the first time to outside press coverage—and discussion papers circulated in advance, the Young Socialist Alliance pictured the Trotskyites—named after Leon Trotsky, the late exiled Russian revolutionist—as working for "mass action" for "world revolution" to bring about socialism in place of "exploitation and oppression under capitalism."

This line was contrasted with "ultraleftism," as a political tendency ascribed to the Black Panthers and the Progressive Labor party, and "reformism," attributed to the old-time pro-Soviet United States Communist party and liberals ready to work with "capitalist politicians."

A lengthy draft resolution on "black youth and the struggle for self-determination" decried "the ultraleftist fixation on 'picking up the gun'" and attempting to find short cuts to revolutionary consciousness, as tactics capable of "revolutionary suicide."

Frank Boehm of New York, a national committee member, told delegates the Young Socialist Alliance had grown from fewer than 100 persons at its founding in April, 1960. He said "the Stalinists set up four youth groups in 10 years," including the W. E. B. DuBois

Clubs and a current Young Workers Liberation League.

Mr. Boehm urged efforts to build up the Student Mobilization Committee and alliances with homosexual, women's liberation, high school and "Red University" campus movements, along with support of Socialist Workers candidates while "the mass of the people maintain electoral illusions."

In last month's New York state election, 14,306 votes were drawn by Miguel Padilla Jr., Socialist Worker candidate for Attorney General, and 14,071 by Ruthann Miller, candi-

date for Controller. Clifton DeBerry drew only 5,766 votes for Governor and Kipp Dawson 3,549 for United States Senator on the Socialist Worker line.

In its current number, the Trotskyites' national weekly, The Militant, reports it had only four pages and 4,000 circulation eight years ago; 12 pages and 10,000 circulation two years ago, and with this issue 24 pages and 25,000 circulation after a two-month subscription drive increased readers by 16,044.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1971

SOCIALISTS PLAN A COLLEGE DRIVE

Alliance Decides to Build Its Strength at Universities

By WILL LISSNER

Twelve hundred delegates and observers at the Young Socialist Alliance convention voted yesterday to give even greater emphasis to making "every university a Red university."

According to the incoming national officers, this means that the alliance's 5,000 members in 300 chapters will con-

Young Socialists Hit War

By WILLIAM WOODWARD and BARBARA TRECKER

More than 150 delegates to the Young Socialist Alliance Convention here voted today to accept a resolution calling for continued but non-violent anti-war activity. The group said it hoped to unite with confrontation-minded organizations for a massive peace demonstration this spring.

And, at a time of declining anti-war activity throughout the country, the group's national anti-war coordinator remarked that at the current moment, "there is tremendous opportunity for expansion in all segments of society."

The Young Socialist Alliance, which claims to have 5,000 members nationwide, is in its second day of a five-day convention at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Av. Today's discussion was devoted to the future of the anti-war movement.

Carl Frank, the 23-year-old anti-war coordinator, a New York resident, said his group was concentrating on organizing massive demonstrations this spring. He said it was necessary to unite the two wings of today's anti-war movement—the peaceful group, which focuses on mass rallies, and the confrontation-oriented group—in time for some kind of action in April, 1971.

21 NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1970

"This spring we must build toward massive demonstrations," Frank, who was one of several speakers today, said.

"We must create a mass movement out of multi-issue political coalitions to demonstrate against the war." He also said that the Young Socialist Alliance would work with another anti-war group, the Student Mobilization Committee, to "make SMC a leader for other forces against the war."

Frank said, "We want to make students the lever for mobilizing other social forces." The YSA, he said, would continue to provide leadership for as many of the small and splintered radical groups as possible.

Relevant? The Old Left Cites Chairman Hoover

By WILLIAM WOODWARD

In the radical political spectrum, The Young Socialist Alliance, which ends its 10th National Convention here today, defines itself as "Old Left"—in an era when most young radicals have called themselves the "New Left."

The organization claims a nationwide membership of upwards of 5,000—all under 30—and is proud of the fact the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover called the YSA "the largest and best organized youth group in left-wing radicalism."

"We certainly are not New Left," said Joanne Misnik, 27, a New York YSA member. "What differentiates us class is revolutionary, and is we believe the working the New Left does not."

Followers of Trotsky

Ideologically, the YSA is open about where it stands. "We are communist, with a small 'c,'—to distinguish us from the Communist Party," Miss Misnik explained.

The group doesn't support the Soviet Union, claiming that current Russian Communism is decadent and over-bureaucratic. Instead their principal ideologue is Leon Trotsky, a contemporary of Lenin's, who was assassinated in 1940.

"We claim that we are continuing the Russian Revolution and the whole set of theories that started out with Lenin and which we think are particularly valid today," Miss Misnik said.

The group contends that American workers are "exploited" and are potentially a revolutionary force. This concept has been disputed by other radical groups.

In spite of J. Edgar Hoover's accolade, the YSA is far less well known in the public mind than other revolutionary groups such as the Black Panthers and Students for a Democratic Society.

"We try not to lead struggles solely in our own name," Miss Misnik said, "We are building Socialism, and to do this we work with other groups which are going to become Socialist and anti-capitalist."

Miss Misnik, who is an active member of YSA, also spent two years as the New York coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee, an anti-war student group.

"We are the primary leaders in bigger organizations outside the YSA," she said, "and we are some of the best leaders of them."

Convention Tranquil

At its convention, the YSA adopted resolutions calling for continued action by its members in "struggles" being conducted by a number of groups such as women, blacks, chicanos, high school and college students and various anti-war groups.

The YSA convention was serene, almost dull, compared to the often embattled gatherings of more schism-prone groups. Resolutions

were adopted by unanimous votes of the more than 150 national delegates attending, and the resolutions were printed in pamphlet form and widely distributed among all the members well before the votes.

The YSA also plays a part in what might be called Establishment politics, as an adjunct of the Socialist Workers Party, a national political party which unsuccessfully ran 75 candidates in 25 states during the elections this year.

Don't Spurn Elections

Unlike other revolutionary organizations, the YSA has no compunction about advancing its ideas through both establishment and anti-establishment means.

"Why should we abandon all that TV time and publicity to two capitalists (Republican and Democratic candidates), said one YSAer, "We want revolution by any means possible—that are intelligent, that is."

Specifically branded as unintelligent methods of making revolution are bombings, such as those allegedly conducted by the Weathermen faction of SDS, or by seeking physical confrontations with police, a tactic often advocated by other anti-war strategists.

The YSA is out to build support through mass actions—bringing together as many different groups as possible—in peaceful protests.

Since it was organized in 1960 with less than 300 active members, the organization membership has grown to more than 5,000.

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6. Nota Bene. . . Subs, Sales, Women's Liberation 10/28/70
7. Women's Liberation: Mass Action Debate 11/11/70
8. Reply to Shelley: "Male Domination Red Herring" 12/23/70

* Special supplement to the August 19 issue for the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference.

young socialist the organizer

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

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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. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, second class postage is no longer paid. The publication is mailed at a higher rate to insure delivery within the time supposedly allowed for second class material. Subscription rates to all non-YSA members \$2.50 per year.

Vd. 14, No. 1

JANUARY 22, 1971

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Mandel Defense Workshop

One of the special features of the YSA convention was the series of panels and workshops scheduled for comrades involved in specific fields of activity. Comrades involved in building support and raising money for the Mandel case took part in such a workshop, and participated in a thorough discussion of our aims in the case, as well as exchanging ways in which to organize this work most effectively.

The workshop began with a presentation by George Novack on the importance of the case and our participation in it. He explained that the fact that the case already had such an impressive list of co-plaintiffs and supporters, including Noam Chomsky and Professor Wasily Leontief, a Nobel prize winner, relieved us of the responsibility of gathering a large number of sponsors, as we have usually done in past defense cases. The primary task of all YSAers working on the case now, he emphasized is to raise funds for the enormous expenses incurred in moving the case through the legal maze of the capitalist courts system (estimated cost of the entire fight: \$8,000-10,000).

By approaching sympathetic individuals with the idea that the barring of Ernest Mandel is a blow to their own right to hear and discuss any point of view that they choose, Novack pointed out, the money will be relatively easy to raise.

Next, Laura Miller, from the YSA National Office, detailed the campaign mapped out to raise the required funds for the case. This campaign includes the assignment of a person from

the YSA N.O. staff to give national direction to the work of all comrades working on the case and increased attention to the case in all of our press, with an emphasis on articles in *The YS Organizer*.

Discussion from the floor netted some excellent results. Scott Alexander, Chicago, explained that the Chicago local had assigned a committee to handle the work. The committee has distributed several hundred Mandel case brochures to professors at Northwestern U., the University of Illinois and the University of Chicago, and is in the process of following this up with personal visits to many of the professors.

Michael Hebert, South Boston, suggested that local areas print their own cover letters, which might be aimed at linking the Mandel case to specific campus issues in their areas. The general consensus in the workshop was that our main fund-raising efforts should be concentrated on the campuses, where our strongest base is, among professors who can afford to make sizable donations to "preserve their own right to hear viewpoints from diverse sources."

Every local should assign at least one comrade to solicit funds for the Mandel case. A printed brochure on the case and a fund-raising cover letter signed by an impressive array of sponsors, is available from the YSA N.O.

LAURA MILLER
YSA National Office