

young socialist
the organizer
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HOW TO SELL MILITANT SUBS

CAMPUS BLITZ DEFENSE REPORT

YOUNG SOCIALISTS
FOR JENNESS AND PULLEY

20 Cents

Biggest Sub Drive Ever!

This fall we are launching the most ambitious and intensive campaign to build the YSA in our history. We want J. Edgar Hoover's apt description of the YSA as "the largest and best organized youth group in leftwing radicalism" to pale beside the gains we will make through our fall offensive.

We want every college and high school student who is beginning to radicalize to know of the YSA and what it's about. We want our analysis of and strategy for the existing mass movements to be understood by the thousands upon thousands of youth who will be involved in these movements this fall.

One of the keys to accomplishing all our fall campaigns will be the fall subscription drive for 30,000 new *Militant* readers and 5,000 new *International Socialist Review* readers. This sub drive will be the largest in the history of the American Trotskyist movement. (The previous record was established in 1945, in the midst of the postwar labor upsurge, when 22,437 *Militant* subscriptions were sold.)

Our active participation this fall in the abortion repeal campaign, the antiwar movement, Black and Chicano struggles, high school and campus struggles, etc., will provide us with tremendous opportunities for getting new subscribers to *The Militant* and the *ISR*, and as a result for spreading our ideas to over 30,000 new people. The sub drive will not only play a role in building the existing YSA locals, but will also be the vehicle for establishing us on new campuses and in whole new regions of the country.

The Militant is our most valuable recruitment tool. In addition to carrying complete coverage of all the mass movements, which makes it a salable item to every potential YSAer, it gives our analysis of national and international events, lays out our tasks, and polemicizes with the opponents of revolutionary socialism. It is the best way to consistently, week after week, present our ideas to thousands of radicalizing youth interested in alternatives to the status quo.

One of our major tasks through the 1972 elections will be winning campus activists to support of the SWP campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. *The Militant* will be the campaign newspaper, and we want every supporter of the SWP campaign to have a subscription to it. Conversely, new subscribers to *The Militant* will be the most promising arena for winning campaign supporters. Through selling subscriptions we will help build the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, while through the YSJP we will be able to involve more people in selling subs.

Over the past period *The Militant* has been expanded and improved in order to better fulfill the crucial role it plays for our movement. It

is now larger, more modern, more attractive than ever before, and tens of thousands of dollars have been invested in new equipment to make this expansion possible. Our goal is to make it a mass circulation socialist weekly, and the sub drive is laying the basis for the achievement of that goal.

The quota of 5,000 subscriptions for the *International Socialist Review*, or one *ISR* sub for every six *Militant* subs, is proportionally the same as in the previous two drives. Experience has shown that when selling *ISR* subscriptions is consistently integrated into *Militant* sub sales, this ratio is easily achieved. Every person who subscribes to *The Militant* is a potential *ISR* subscriber.

The sub drive will run for 11 weeks (September 15-December 1), compared to only eight weeks for last fall's drive for 15,000 subs. The great push forward should be in the first few weeks of the drive when schools are just opening and there are thousands of students looking for political organizations and radical ideas.

We have learned from past sub drives that *now*, at the beginning of the subscription campaign, is the crucial time and will determine our success nationally and in each local area. Leading YSAers should immediately be assigned to head up and organize the sub drive. Before beginning the drive, locals may find it useful to have extensive reports politically motivating the importance of this sub drive and laying out our strategy for it. In addition, educational could be conducted on "How To Sell *Militant* Subs," with top local salespeople demonstrating their techniques. (The material in the interviews with Dean Reed in this issue and with other top sub sellers in the September 30, 1970, issue of *The YS Organizer* could provide the basis for such educational.)

The executive committee of each local should take leadership responsibility for the sub drive both through personal example and through regular evaluations of the progress of the drive. Once the drive begins, there should be weekly reports and discussions in executive committee and local business meetings.

All the skills we have acquired in past drives—dorm blitzes, campus registration line sales, local mobilizations, regional teams, charts, etc.—should be put to use. New ideas and particularly successful use of old ones should be shared with comrades around the country through articles sent in to *The YS Organizer*.

We must be especially conscious of making our intensive activity in building the mass movements complement the sub drive, not detract from it. Selling subs should be integrated into all areas of our external work, and every comrade should be

able to sell subs regardless of assignment or job situation. We should plan to have sub salespeople at every political meeting, on every campus and high school, in the communities, on every demonstration, at plant gates, etc.

Regional committees and regional organizers will have a special responsibility for overseeing the sub drive regionally. The more established locals should share their experiences with the newer ones, especially those new locals that will be formed during the fall. If one local in the region begins to fall behind, the regional center should consider sending a couple of top salespeople to work with them.

Every at-large YSA member should take a quota in the sub drive. The National Office suggests a minimum quota of 30 *Militant* and five *ISR* subscriptions. Sub selling should be a top political priority for at-large members: not only is it a boost to the sub drive nationally, but it can also lay the important groundwork for the recruitment of an entire YSA local. Subs sent in by at-large members will be credited to the general category unless a request is made for them to be included as a separate category on the weekly sub drive scoreboards in *The Militant*.

This fall *The Militant* is initiating two new projects to attract new subscribers. First, four national sub teams will travel throughout specific regions, selling thousands of subs and introducing our ideas to areas where we are not yet established. Two of these teams will go through the West and Southwest, one through the South, and one through the Mid-Atlantic region. We expect these teams to bring in about 6,000 new subscriptions, leaving 24,000 to be obtained by SWP branches and YSA locals and at-large members.

The second innovation is the printing of publicity materials—*Militant* buttons and poster strips. These can be ordered from *The Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. Plastering the campuses with *Militant* poster strips will increase the general awareness of the paper and undoubtedly help sales.

The opportunity exists on an unprecedented scale for us to increase our influence in the women's liberation, antiwar, high school and campus movements; to make new contacts in the Black and Chicano communities and among militant trade unionists; and to spread the ideas of the SWP Presidential campaign through successfully organizing and completing this historic sub drive. The key is to begin now.

On to 30,000 new subscribers!

FRANK BOEHM
YSA National Chairman

How to Sell Militant Subs

Editor's Note: Dean Reed, currently a member of the San Francisco YSA, has participated in two Militant sub drives. Last fall, at the University of California at Santa Cruz, he sold 120 subscriptions during the eight week drive and was the top sub salesperson in the country for that drive. In last spring's six week drive he sold 90 subs.

The following interview with Dean Reed was obtained at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held at Oberlin, August 8-15.

You were recruited to the YSA through reading *The Militant*, is that right?

Yes. I read *The Militant* for a period of six months, and that convinced me to join the YSA.

How did you sell so many subscriptions?

Well, first of all I was politically motivated to sell; I understood the importance of *The Militant* for recruiting people to the YSA. The first, and I think the most important, point that people have to understand is the political importance of *The Militant*. Then it's just a question of where do you go to sell *The Militant*. You go to the places where people are radicalizing, where there are large concentrations of them; and the best place then is naturally to go to the campuses.

It just happened that in the small town where I was living there was a campus with a large number of dormitories. I had read in *The Organizer* that this was a good place to sell, so I went to the dormitories, usually after dinner on weekdays, when most people were in their rooms.

I don't think there is any one set line that people can all use; everyone has to develop their own way of approach. But I think that the first

thing is that it is very important for the salespeople to have read *The Militant*, to know what's inside, so they can explain just what's in this week's issue that people should want to read.

The point has been made before that the key is persistence: the more people a salesperson approaches, the more subscriptions are going to be sold. That is what we have to understand. At a certain point you get tired—it's very hard work—but you have to keep going and going and the more people you talk to the more subs you are going to sell.

I found that the best approach was a low key approach, beginning with a line like, "Excuse me, have you seen *The Militant* before?" That way I would waste less time with people like right-wingers, or people who had no interest, or were studying for a test, or just didn't have the

time. That becomes a factor when you want to see as many people as you can.

I explained to people that *The Militant* has the best coverage of all the mass movements of the day. I knew what was in this *Militant* and I could explain just what this *Militant* had. I'd show them the cover, show them an article inside; they'd be interested, and I found that a very high percentage of the people who took the paper in their hands and looked at it ended up buying a subscription.

I think that is very important—to put *The Militant* in their hands or at least to open it up so people can see it. It's such a large paper now with 24 pages, and it has so many different features, that people are going to like one or several of the articles or features in *The Militant*.

I found it to be absolutely essential not to come up with any pat approach. You are going to come up to hundreds and even thousands of people when selling *The Militant* and you should not sound like you're giving some kind of pitch by rote. You should look people in the eye and sound like you're just saying these things for the first time.

A very important lesson, which I learned only after participating in the first sub drive, is the importance of keeping a record of the people I had seen and the people I had not seen. Rather than just going through a particular dormitory one time, you can go back and sell subs two, three, many times if you have a record of who was not in, who was interested but had no money, whose roommates were definitely interested, etc. When you go back you know where to go, you don't go back and talk to people you have already talked to before.

I found that of course a number of people are not going to buy it this time, maybe they don't have the money, they're in a bad mood, or something. But by being very low key, not giving them any political harangue or becoming hostile if they don't buy a sub, the next time someone approaches them many of these people may buy a subscription.

You may not have sold the sub, but next time somebody else will.

What's involved in the record you keep? What does it look like?

I had a very simple system. I had three columns: 1) rooms where subs were bought; 2) rooms that were not occupied; and 3) no money. It's self explanatory. The "no money" column was for rooms where people were interested but had no money. I found that when I went back and was able to contact these people that a very high percentage subscribed when they had the money.

So you pretty well hit every room in the dormitory by the time you got through?

Right. I went back two and three times.

I found that you couldn't sell much after 10 o'clock. Would you agree with that?

Yes. I learned that over time. I first sold up to 11 o'clock, but I ran into a lot of people who were going to sleep or perhaps were asleep.

How many nights a week did you go out?

Sometimes I went out four or five nights a week. There was only one campus in this area, and I was able to go back a number of times. But even with the records you keep, you would be lucky to talk to 50 percent of the people.

Did you ever try selling in the cafeterias and student lounges?

Yes, I did try to sell subscriptions in the cafeteria at a different college. I found it harder. I think the advantage of selling in the dorms is that people are in their own habitat, people feel more comfortable there and more on their own terms, and it's more personal. I think it's the best place to sell subs by far. Not to say that you can't sell other places.

What happens when people have objections? Do you stop?

A very short response like "I'm not interested in that" is something you develop a feel for. You learn to tell if that person really just doesn't want to be bothered. Sometimes people will say "Well, I've got things to do," but you can tell that they really don't want to study or do the things they're supposed to be doing. I think it's important not to be put off with the first word of objection.

But the most common objection is that "I'm no militant." Then you have to explain that they have one conception of "militant," but *The Militant*

talks about the independent mass movements and the struggles for basic rights—a woman's right to control her own body, the right to self-determination of Black people, the fight against the war. And then people decide, "Oh yeah, I'm interested in those, and I've gone to that kind of demonstration before."

People may have certain objections over the question of Zionism or something like this. The best thing to do is come up with a few words of explanation. There is a good chance that you will be able to say the thing to these people that will at least open their minds to seeing what *The Militant* has to say. However, you don't want to get bogged down in a long political argument at that time, because your purpose is to sell subs.

Here is a copy of the August 6 *Militant*. Could you run down how you would show it to somebody to get them to subscribe?

Excuse me, have you seen *The Militant* before? If you have a minute I would like to show you this week's issue. We're on a campaign to get our press known, to introduce people to *The Militant*, and I'd just like to show you what this week's *Militant* has.

You can see on the cover that it has articles on the national abortion campaign and the fall antiwar offensive. *The Militant* has the best coverage of all the movements—the women's movement, the antiwar movement, the Black liberation movement, the Chicano liberation struggle, the labor movement, the student movement—it's got the best coverage of all these movements from week to week.

This week's *Militant* has stories on the national abortion conference and the decisions that came out of it for marches on Washington and San Francisco on November 20 for the repeal of all abortion laws.

And on November 6 there will be mass actions all across the country, millions of people are going to be marching against the war. *The Militant* has the best coverage of the antiwar movement, as well as the best coverage of what's happening in Indochina, and it really exposes Nixon's lies.

In addition to these articles, *The Militant* has many special features and regular columns on the various movements.

One article that you would be especially interested in if you follow the Chicano movement here in California and the Southwest is this article on La Raza Unida Party, the independent Chicano party.

This week's *Militant* has a special feature—this is a 32 page issue, the regular *Militant* is 24 pages—this week there is a special feature on Chile. It gives a very good explanation of just what is happening in Chile, what policies Allende is following. It explains that though he is called a Marxist and a socialist, he is not a revolutionary socialist and it explains very clearly why.

Here are articles on the situation of the Mexican political prisoners, on the mounting economic problems in Cuba, a whole section on the labor movement and the beginning political radicalization of the labor movement, a section here on Kennedy's record—you know, people were misled to believe that if Kennedy had lived he would not have escalated the war. That's not true at all—*The Militant* explains why.

Another regular feature is the review section. Here's a review of "The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany." All of the radical movement is talking about fascism and this book, written by Leon Trotsky, is one of the major contributions to understanding fascism.

Here are articles on the repression in Quebec, on the resistance movement in Bangla Desh, week to week coverage of the Angela Davis trial, an article about antiwar GIs.

What we're trying to do is get our press out and we think that the best way to do that is to have you read *The Militant* over a period of 10 weeks. We have a special subscription offer of 10 weeks for a dollar, which is much less than the cost of producing it, and we want you to read *The Militant* and make up your mind about our ideas. You really should subscribe.

Do you really go through it that thoroughly every time, article by article, page by page, explaining it?

Yes—it's very interesting. I can see their eyes lighting up. It's very important to watch people's faces, you can't sell them *The Militant* by looking at their feet.

If I consider you have a special interest—for example, if you were a Chicano militant I would go to that article first, the article on MAPA in this issue, the articles on La Raza Unida Party.

If you don't look too radical I know at least you're against the war so I talk about that. If I, as a salesperson, haven't read *The Militant* yet and don't know what's inside, I'm not going to be able to point out why you should read this issue and the issues after it.

One thing that isn't in this *Militant* but will be in all the other *Militants* is the 1972 Socialist Workers Party campaign. This will be the campaign newspaper, and we should point that out to everyone that we speak with.

I noticed you make a point of mentioning in your pitch the mass actions scheduled for this fall.

Right. And often people ask who writes the thing, whose paper is it. I say that this paper is written by activists involved in the movements. That's an important point—actively involved in the movement against the war, in the fight to repeal all abortion laws. That it is written by activists in the SWP and YSA who are the best builders of these movements.

Saying that they're in the SWP and the YSA doesn't turn people off?

In fact people tended to be curious, and that gives us a chance to explain our ideas.

It seemed to me when going through the dorms that actually mentioning that this was a socialist newspaper 19 times out of 20 didn't turn people off but actually made them more interested.

Right. One thing I didn't remember to say was "Excuse me, would you like to have a look at *The Militant*, a revolutionary socialist news-weekly?" I say that usually.

One of the ways that you avoid sounding repetitive, I think, is to actually change your pitch that you give every time. It might be just a word or two here and there, but just enough to keep it new.

About the first time I went out I was like a machine and I came to the conclusion very quickly that that was not the way to do it. It is very important to look the people in the eye, look at what they've got up on their walls, look at what they're reading.

Do you give away free back issues?

Well, when I was selling subscriptions I didn't have any back issues to give away, but I think that it is a good idea. I wish I could have had some.

Did you just have the current bundle?

When I began I just had the one *Militant*. That was a problem when I went out, say, four or five times, night after night, *The Militant* looked just like a rag. Sometimes I had to tape it together and it was a little embarrassing.

How many did you sell on an average night?

It's hard to draw an average. I found that some nights I just sold sub after sub, people were in their rooms, people were interested, and they all bought subscriptions. Other nights all of them had just spent their money on books. It's very important to get to people before they spend their money on books. Get to them during registration, when they're just coming to campus.

Sometimes I would sell five or six, and I would think, if it goes like this it's going to be tough, but I wouldn't let that discourage me. It's just a matter of being persistent and going after the subs.

One of the things I found in selling subs was that there may be 15 people gathered in a dormitory lounge, and there may be one or two people there who are not interested, but you should keep right on going and you may get several subscriptions out of it.

I found that that would happen, that of several people in a room, two or three would buy a sub, and it was worth it.

It's a good idea, don't you think, to keep on rapping while you or the other person is filling in the coupon and while you're giving them the receipt, to tell them what a great subscription they're getting.

You can keep on talking about some particular article or something that they're interested in, but also you've got more of a chance then to explain to them about the YSA, to say, "Well, you know, you should come down to our bookstore."

It's worthwhile if they say they don't have any cash on them to say that you will take a check, isn't it?

Right. A lot of people will write out a \$1 check.

How do you sell the ISRs?

Basically the same way I sell *The Militant*. You have to have an ISR to show people. It's very important again to open it up to a section they would be interested in, or to leaf through the whole ISR, and explain that there is a very good offer on the ISR—you can have three months of it sent to you for a dollar.

Of course you can also sell a lot of single issues of *The Militant* and *ISR* in trying to sell subscriptions because some people won't buy a subscription until they've read this issue.

It is very important to show the *ISR* to everybody you show *The Militant* to. And just because they've bought a sub to *The Militant* and said "Well, this is my last dollar," it doesn't mean that you shouldn't show them the *ISR*. Maybe it was really their next-to-last dollar.

What's the transition, after they have bought their *Militant* subscription, to introducing them to the *ISR*?

After they have bought their *Militant*, are filling in the form or starting to fumble around for their money, that's a natural break and you can begin "Have you seen the *International Socialist*

Review before? It's the companion to *The Militant*, it's a monthly theoretical magazine that deals with questions in more depth than *The Militant*. This *ISR* has got such and such articles in it."

It's also worthwhile selling those single copies if they're not going to buy a subscription.

Right. I think we will sell a lot of single copies on the sub drive.

You'll probably agree that getting the entire SWP branch and the entire YSA local out selling subs is the crucial thing. One or two top salespeople are not going to be enough, it's going to take the whole organization to get 30,000.

That's absolutely essential. It's just not the case that only a few people are going to be able to sell many *Militant* subs. I think in this coming

sub drive we are going to see many people in many branches and locals sell high numbers of subs. In every YSA local every person will have to go out, talk to people, and persist, and they'll sell subscriptions. I think that it is important that some people are selling very high numbers of subs—it psyches people up—but it is more important to have every comrade feel that they can sell.

How do you feel about the 30,000 goal?

I think that that is a conservative estimate. We are in the midst of the deepest radicalization in this century, and there are many more than 30,000 people out there who want to read *The Militant*. It's just a matter of going out there and finding them and talking to them. I have no doubt that we are going to surpass that figure.

Sept. 16 Raza Antiwar Actions

The antiwar and antidraft workshop at the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference held in Denver in June agreed that the theme of the Mexican Independence Day actions on September 16 would be opposition to the war in Indochina and the drafting of Chicano youth. In July the NPAC conference adopted a resolution passed by the Raza workshop which included a call for support to these actions.

Part of building the fall antiwar offensive will consist of helping to organize antiwar sentiment among La Raza through these actions. We should make every effort to see that, wherever possible, these decisions are carried out.

These combined demonstrations, with both a nationalist as well as an antiwar character, are important not only in themselves but also as vehicles for building Raza participation in the national antiwar actions of November 6.

So far, plans to mobilize Chicanos against the war on September 16 have been announced by the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado. Independence Day celebrations will be held throughout the country in areas where large Chicano populations exist.

In this period the initiative and resources for organizing these actions will, of course, have to come from Chicano organizations themselves. We cannot expect to substitute ourselves for the formations that can realistically call for and carry out these actions, nor can we take major responsibility for them. However, using the authority of the Denver Conference, there are several things that YSAers can do in areas where September 16 actions are being held:

1) Find out immediately if any local organizations are planning to build participation in the September 16 actions around an antiwar theme. If so, Raza YSA members should offer to help in that task.

2) If no actions have been called, we should consider contacting groups and individuals with whom we collaborated in building Raza participation at the April 24 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco, and those who participated in the Raza workshop at the July NPAC conference.

A special effort should be made to involve the local student organizations such as MAYO, MECHA, and UMAS. We can propose to them that they initiate or help build the antiwar aspect of these actions by putting out materials and allocating their resources to that end.

3) In areas where such actions do take place, we should urge the local antiwar coalitions to do whatever they can to help publicize the action. In every case, the coalitions should first consult with the Chicano organizations concerned and make sure that there is agreement from them.

Full reports on all our work in helping to build September 16 actions should be sent in to the YSA National Office.

We should view these efforts as laying the groundwork for the work facing the Raza Task Force projected at the NPAC conference of involving massive numbers of Chicanos in the Raza contingents on November 6.

MIRTA VIDAL
YSA Chicano Liberation Director



Campus Blitz in Cleveland

Throughout the discussions at the recent Oberlin conference, the central theme of *immediate* activity in carrying out our fall programs came through consistently. In Cleveland the Case Western Reserve University (CWRU) fraction began discussing the implementation of our fall programs following the YSA plenum in July. We decided to hit the campus with a blitz of information and activity during the first-year student orientation (September 2-7) to set the tone and pace of our work for the entire semester.

The first project of the fraction was to prepare leaflets to be placed in the packets distributed to all incoming first-year students during orientation. Each campus organization was allowed to put in a leaflet in the packets, which included an SMC leaflet, a "Join the YSA" leaflet, a CWRU Women's Liberation leaflet, and a leaflet on the SWP Mayoral and City Council campaign. Each leaflet had one side devoted to information on the general program and perspectives of the organization. The other side publicized the first activity called.

The activities for the first week are organized as a legitimate part of the orientation as a whole—the political part. The SMC is sponsoring a meeting with a national spokesperson and an open house in the campus SMC office. The SWP campaign is sponsoring a forum to be followed by a "Join the YSA" meeting; this will also mark the beginning of the YSJP at CWRU.

CWRU Women's Liberation has taken the most audacious approach and one that we hope will characterize the work of our fraction. The University is planning a Saturday afternoon session to consist of athletics for the male students and a shopping trip for the women. In counterposition to this CWRU Women's Liberation, in conjunction with the Mather (women's college) student government, is organizing women's liberation activities, to include speakers, films, workshops, etc. This will also be the starting point for organizing local participation in the November 20 abortion law repeal actions.

Another important aspect of our work is *The Militant* and *ISR* sub drive. We will have *Militant*

and *ISR* sub drive leaflets and tables at all the major events during orientation. Registration line blitzes and dorm drives will be carried on during the first weeks of classes as well.

Other activities include YSA literature tables and articles in the first issue of the student newspaper.

Our schedule of activities for the orientation period has put all our campus work for this fall into focus. The tone and pace of the orientation period will be only the beginning of a sustained effort to establish the YSA as the central political organization on campus. From its present size of four YSAers, we expect the CWRU fraction to increase more rapidly than ever before.

DUNCAN WILLIAMS
Cleveland YSA

Tasks in Building YSJP

Editor's Note: The following article is based on a presentation to a '72 campaign workshop at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference, held in Oberlin, August 8-15.

This fall we want to bring the Socialist Workers Party '72 campaign onto the high school and college campuses as soon as they open. We want to be right there challenging the McGoverns and the Muskies and the McCloskeys with revolutionary socialist literature and ideas. Campaign activities will be one of the most important aspects of the YSA's fall campus offensive.

We should begin publicizing the campaign when school registration lines open, passing out the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley brochure and talking to students about the campaign. YSJP literature tables can be set up near the school registration tables. In certain areas we will also be able to set up voter registration tables. Thus students will have an alternative: instead of registering at a McGovern or a Muskie table, they can register to vote at a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley table. This is one way of making clear the seriousness of our campaign.

A number of other things should be done right at the opening of school to get the campaign off the ground. Paste-ups of campaign posters, wide distribution of campaign brochures in the dormitories and student lounges, and regular YSJP literature tables all over campus should be initiated right away. Even though the candidates will not get to every area in the first month of the campaign, we want to begin setting up meetings and discussions on the campaign and debates with the Young Republicans and the Young Democrats.

We should begin getting articles on the campaign into the campus press by turning in biographies of the candidates, campaign announcements, and other campaign literature. YSJP activists can even offer to write the articles themselves. Front-page news coverage of the campaign is not out of the question on most campuses.

By initiating campaign activity early, we can begin to draw around us a large circle of campaign activists on each campus. We want to involve every person possible—anybody who supports the campaign and wants to carry out some type of activity to build it is a Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley.

One important aspect of YSJP activity is going to be participation in all of the mass movements. YSJP activists will be the best builders of the Student Mobilization Committee, the November 6 antiwar actions, the November 20 abortion demonstrations, etc.

We also want campaign supporters to go out on *Militant* and *ISR* sub drives, do paste-ups, sit at literature tables, build meetings, participate in debates, and obtain petition signatures to get our candidates on the ballot.

A special focus of the campaign on the campuses will be a Choice '72 type of student referendum, if a major magazine or foundation is willing to sponsor one like they did in 1968. We welcome any opportunity to poll student opinion on vital issues of the day.

The YSJP will intervene in all the political debates and struggles taking place on the campuses. For example, the YSJP will help lead the fight against any attempt by campus administrations to limit student political activity. When such attempts are made, we will seek the support of other campus organizations, leaflet, organize mass meetings and demonstrations, etc.

The struggle for student political rights will be of special importance in the high schools, where we can expect to have to fight for the right to bring the socialist candidates into the schools.

Wherever the capitalist candidates appear on the campuses, the YSJP will be there to greet them with the SWP campaign. We want to confront them with our politics by hawking truth kits about the capitalist candidates (which will soon be published) and by challenging them to debate from the floor of their own meetings.

The YSJP will also run campus election cam-

paigns. These campaigns will be an important way of building support for the state and national SWP campaigns and also of directly involving campaign supporters in concrete activity.

Also, the YSJP will have the opportunity to raise large amounts of money to build the campaign through honoraria for campaign speakers, literature sales, donations from sympathizers, etc.

Possibilities for regional expansion of our movement are tremendous. During the 1968 presidential campaign many new YSA locals were established in areas of the country where the revolutionary movement had never existed before. These new locals came about mainly through the recruitment of active groups of Halstead-Boutelle campaign supporters. Obviously, the size and scope of the '72 campaign will help us to far surpass our 1968 regional gains.

We should remember that our primary goal in this campaign is to build the revolutionary socialist movement. With careful attention to the YSA recruitment drive, which runs parallel to the SWP presidential campaign, we will be able to recruit hundreds of high school and campus activists to the vanguard revolutionary socialist youth organization.

Since many high school students will be voters in 1972, and since our candidates, young people themselves, are the only ones who will be addressing themselves to the problems of youth, we will have special opportunities for recruitment in the high schools, and we will be building chapters of the YSJP in high schools throughout the country.

It is our job to convince the thousands of young activists who will be won to support of the SWP campaign that the best way to build and implement the ideas of the campaign is to join the YSA.

CINDY JAQUITH
YSJP National Coordinator

Committee for Democratic Election Laws

A major part of the 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign, and a focus of activity for Young Socialist supporters of the campaign, will be the effort directed toward getting on the ballot.

Whatever disillusionments they may have suffered lately, most Americans have faith in the efficacy of bourgeois democracy and believe that the results of elections count in their lives. They tend not to take seriously any political group, including a revolutionary one, that refuses on principle to get involved in the electoral process.

Revolutionary socialists take part in elections both because doing so helps to legitimize us in the eyes of the masses as a serious political force, and because our campaign provides a vehicle for getting out our ideas on a scope greater than is usually possible. Working to get on the ballot in as many states as possible is a basic part of waging a serious campaign.

In addition, a place on the ballot enables our candidates to reach far broader audiences through increased radio and TV time, and makes it more difficult for other candidates to evade confrontations with ours.

Election laws in many states make it difficult for minority parties to gain ballot status. High signature requirements for nominating petitions, loyalty oaths, and restrictions on who may sign petitions are some of the methods state governments use to restrict the ballot to the Democrats and Republicans. We are determined to overcome as many of these obstacles as we can by exceptional efforts in petition work coupled with an aggressive effort to get discriminatory election laws invalidated through the courts.

In 1968 supporters of the SWP presidential campaign of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle collected over 117,400 signatures on nominating petitions, and the candidates appeared on the ballot in 19 states. Current campaign plans call for filing for ballot status in more than half the states in the U. S., plus waging major legal fights against restrictive election laws in at least 15

states. Not since the time of Eugene Debs has such an ambitious socialist campaign been launched.

Fighting for democratic election laws is part of our overall struggle to extend democratic rights. The right to participate in electoral contests is supposedly guaranteed and granted to all citizens and parties. As Marxists we intend to use these hard-won democratic rights to the hilt to advance the cause of revolutionary socialism.

We seek to broaden electoral rights not only for ourselves but for all oppressed sectors of society, especially Blacks, Chicanos, and the working class as a whole. Our work in fighting to democratize election laws has already resulted in significant gains in this respect. For example, our successful challenge in 1969 to high filing fees in Atlanta opened the ballot to many independent Black candidates who previously had no chance of running for office.

Because of this aspect of our electoral activity is so important, SWP campaign supporters are backing the efforts of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) to bring the issues of unfair election laws to the public's attention. As part of our campaign activity we are helping to build support for CoDEL throughout the United States.

The Committee, which lists Leonard Boudin as its general counsel, is planning to back suits against election laws that discriminate against minority party candidates, as well as laws which unfairly restrict young people from becoming candidates or voting where they go to school. Already Jose Angel Gutierrez of the Crystal City, Texas, La Raza Unida Party; Jim Lafferty, Detroit attorney; Leonard Boudin, Cambridge attorney; and Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for President, have signed an initial letter asking for support for CoDEL.

As part of our campaign, YSAers and campaign supporters should help get endorsers for

the Committee. Major political figures, union leaders, lawyers, literary figures, and movement activists should all be asked to endorse CoDEL. A basic brochure outlining the nature of CoDEL (\$1 per 100), an endorser card, and the initial letter are available from Judy Baumann, National Secretary of CoDEL, at Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Since the early filing of suits is the key to whether or not our legal offensive will be successful, the major work of lining up support must be accomplished immediately.

Every person contacted should be asked not only to endorse CoDEL but also to make a contribution. We should request at least \$10 from every person who endorses the Committee in order to help pay the legal fees.

YSA members and campaign supporters can also help to expand the CoDEL legal team. The names of any lawyers in local areas who might be willing to help CoDEL should be sent to the CoDEL office at the above address so they may be contacted. In many cases our state-by-state legal offensive must wait until we find aggressive, competent lawyers in those states to take on the suits and carry them through the courts. An investigation on your part as to what lawyers exist in your area may result in a successful suit in your state.

Every YSA local should immediately assign a person to work on building CoDEL, and that person's name should be sent to the National Campaign Office at 706 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

JUDY UHL
'72 Campaign
Ballot Coordinator

Defense Report

Editor's Note: We are reprinting in this issue the Defense Report which was unanimously approved by the recent National Committee plenum of the YSA, held in New York City, July 5-8.

IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Marxists have always been in the forefront of the struggle to defend and extend democratic rights, from the first days of the revolutionary socialist movement up until today. We see democratic rights as among the most important victories of the struggles of the oppressed and understand that they present the revolutionary movement with the greatest freedom under capitalism to win over the insurgent masses to its views in the struggle for socialism.

The democratic rights which the American people enjoy today were first won during revolutionary struggles led by the rising capitalist class in this country. After the consolidation of capitalist rule, additional rights have been won through the struggles of working people, Blacks, Chicanos, women, and student rebels.

The Bill of Rights was a key achievement of the first American revolution, which was directed against both British colonial rule and the feudal privileges of the Tories. Black people won their emancipation from chattel slavery only through the course of the second American revolution, which crushed the power of the Southern slaveholders. The right to form industrial unions is just one more example of democratic rights won through the course of often bloody struggles.

The democratic rights of the American people are in reality among the most important acquisitions of past struggles in this country, and Marxists must be in the leadership of the struggle to defend and extend these rights during our own era of the decay of capitalism. The right to strike, to hold mass demonstrations, and to organize political movements and parties are essential tools in the struggle for socialism and must be constantly protected. Other democratic rights, such as the right of political minorities to be on the ballot during elections, must still be fought for and won.

Our understanding of the importance of democratic rights, however, does not in any way limit our realization that bourgeois democracy is a form of class dictatorship. Abroad we see the U.S. government raining bombs and napalm in a genocidal war against the peoples of Indochina. At home we see it trampling upon the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, students, gays, women, and all working people.

The ruling class has decisive control over all the institutions of this so-called free society: from the banks and corporations to the means of mass communication; from the church and educational system to the government, military, and judiciary.

Democratic rights are today tolerated by the ruling class for two key reasons: first, because these rights present an illusion to masses of Americans that they actually can control the decisions that affect their lives; and second, because the American people, who understand that democratic rights are a central part of their heritage, will participate in massive struggles to defend these rights.

Because most Americans do not understand the real nature of bourgeois democracy, it is much easier for the ruling class to rule within this framework. Naked force is unneeded most of the time to ensure that factories will produce or soldiers will fight, when people believe that they are controlling their own lives and government. The U.S. government and ruling class are thus extremely sensitive about normally maintaining the illusions of formal democracy.

The rights of the American people are, however, a real threat to the power of the ruling class. In this sense we understand that during the period of the decline of capitalism, the ruling class will be compelled to attack and attempt to limit the use of these very rights.

One important example of this was the period of the Cold War and witchhunt when much of the existing antilabor and anticommunist legislation was first passed, in response to the labor upsurge following World War II, the continued existence of the Soviet Union, and the growth of the colonial revolution.

Today, in the face of growing independent

movements against capitalist rule, the ruling class and government have attempted to limit existing civil liberties through unconstitutional conspiracy trials, wiretapping, the murderous attacks on the Black Panther Party, smashing ghetto rebellions, FBI infiltration and provocation in radical groups, and most recently illegal mass arrests of antiwar demonstrators.

We also understand that when facing massive social movements that threaten the very existence of capitalism itself, the ruling class will go much further in its attempts to suppress democratic rights. The continuing growth and deepening of today's radicalization can eventually compel the ruling class as a whole to support a bonapartist regime, a military coup, or even a mass fascist movement aimed at totally destroying the rights and organizations of the mass independent movements.

Defense strategy is thus of the utmost importance to the revolutionary movement and must be based on a clear understanding of the nature and limits of bourgeois democracy. We must recognize that no sector of the ruling class—from its most unenlightened bigots to its liberal apologists—can be relied on to defend the democratic rights of the oppressed. It is the antiwar movement, the national liberation movements, the women's movement, the gay movement, and the labor movement that are the driving forces for the defense and extension of democratic rights today.

In our defense work we must place no reliance on the capitalist courts, politicians, or other bourgeois institutions to either enforce or adhere to their own legal system.

We have seen the ruling class react to the new waves of radicalization in the 1960s through a combination of repression and concession. The mass movements have already won important legal rights in the course of these struggles: from the Civil Rights legislation of the early 1960s to the most recent victory in New Haven when all charges were dropped against Bobby Seale and Erika Huggins.

The publication of the secret Pentagon documents on Vietnam in *The New York Times* and other newspapers was a dramatic example of the power of antiwar sentiment in forcing a section of the ruling class to publish part of the brutal history of the war. The government's attempt to suppress the study only weakened its credibility in the eyes of millions of Americans. This particular example of establishing the right of the press to publish secret government documents about Vietnam shows how civil liberties help build the mass movements, as well as the depth of the split within the ruling class over the government's war policies.

The YSA's defense policy is also firmly rooted in the principle of our unconditional defense of all victims of capitalist reaction and class injustice, no matter what their particular views are. We understand that the suppression of any democratic right which the American people have won would only strengthen the capitalist class and encourage the ruling class to attempt to deny other fighters that same right at a later time. Revolutionaries have always been the most consistent and uncompromising defenders of democratic rights, as exemplified in the solidarity slogan of the IWW: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

In defending democratic rights we seek to build the broadest possible defense of these rights utilizing the best legal advice and counsel. By waging a non-exclusive campaign around the defense of civil liberties, we can win massive support from nearly all sections of society, and it is through such popular mobilizations and mass pressure on the ruling class that these rights will be successfully defended. Our defense campaigns are aimed at showing the antidemocratic nature of class repression and pointing out that it is aimed at the rights of all Americans.

When any part of our organization is under attack, defense becomes our first and foremost priority. Above all, any challenge to the legality of the revolutionary movement must be fought and defeated at all costs. It is within this context that our campaign to help put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in every state of the country for the 1972 Presidential elections is of the utmost importance. By struggling for and winning the right to be on the ballot, we will

be further ensuring and protecting the legality of the SWP and YSA.

DEFENSE OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

A key aspect of the YSA's defense work since the 1970 convention has been the defense of student political rights. At this plenum it is important that we discuss this campaign fully and lay the basis for expanding this work in the fall.

The Nixon administration's campaign against the student movement was launched last summer in response to the May upsurge. It was aimed above all at isolating and discrediting the student movement.

New guidelines were issued by the Internal Revenue Service to give campus administrators a handle with which to crack down on student political activity. Hoover's vicious "letter to American students" was sent out by Nixon to over 900 colleges and universities. Throughout the fall 1970 election campaign students were attacked as "extremists," "thugs," and "bums." The FBI sent an additional 1000 agents onto the campuses, and in October the Kent 25 were indicted.

This campaign was implemented on campuses across the country as administrators issued new regulations to limit student rights to leaflet, hold rallies, sell literature, organize public conferences, or invite speakers of their choice. Censorship of school newspapers was begun or increased on many campuses. These restrictions varied from campus to campus, but were an integral part of the campaign launched by Nixon to attempt to choke off student dissent.

Our response to these attacks was to launch a counteroffensive at the YSA convention aimed at building the mass campus movements and challenging any attempts whatsoever to restrict student rights. We pointed to the importance of the YSA spearheading campaigns which would defend the gains students had won during the May strike and prevent new attacks by administrators from being successfully carried out.

This campaign was aimed at educating students about the importance of such attacks by writing articles in the campus press, distributing the YSA Open Letter and Truth Kit, and building Young Socialist election campaigns. Where possible, we projected initiating broadly supported defense efforts, such as joint protest statements signed by the various campus groups, press conferences, and mass meetings and demonstrations.

Since the YSA convention this campaign has been carried out on campuses all across the country. In Florida we helped launch the Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC) to support the right of the YSA to be a recognized student group on the Florida state university campuses and to raise funds for the legal proceedings we initiated.

In January and February a special tour by FAPEC's acting secretary was organized throughout Florida to set up local committees, gain sponsors for the case, and publicize the campaign. Articles have appeared on the case in nearly every Florida campus newspaper; groups such as the ACLU, student governments, faculty organizations, and other student groups have all endorsed the campaign. We expect a ruling on the legal case sometime this fall.

At Columbia University the YSA launched a propaganda campaign against the IRS guidelines, talking to different campus groups and gaining publicity through the campus newspapers. We had intended to initiate a legal suit against the University for enforcing these guidelines, but, partially because of our educational efforts on campus, the administration retreated and did not apply the guidelines against any campus organization during the spring. If, however, Columbia does attempt to enforce these guidelines next fall, we will be well prepared to launch a legal and political defense campaign aimed at knocking these regulations off the books.

As I pointed out earlier, the YSA must take the lead in challenging what may appear as insignificant restrictions on student rights. An example of this work occurred in Detroit at Highland Park Community College where the YSA successfully sought the support of other campus groups in guaranteeing students the right to set up literature tables when and wherever they desired on campus.

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At the University of Illinois-Circle Campus in Chicago we also successfully fought attempts by the administration to limit student rights to post leaflets and hold public conferences. Most recently, in Berkeley we helped spearhead a campaign by the University of California Female Liberation when the university attempted to victimize this group on phony obscenity charges.

GOVERNMENT ATTACKS

A second area of our defense work is our response to attacks by the government. By using the courts, the ruling class can attempt to destroy the leadership of the independent social movements, isolate them from mass support, and distort their ideas.

Government prosecution has demoralized and destroyed many radical organizations; such attacks are aimed not only at their particular victims but at intimidating all forms of mass dissent.

Many legal attacks have been leveled against the YSA during our history and it is crucial that we fully understand how to defend ourselves against this form of assault. The most serious attack came early in our history and placed the entire future of the YSA in jeopardy. That was the case of the Bloomington Three, which began in May, 1963, when the first indictments were brought against three YSAers at Indiana University in Bloomington. The ensuing defense campaign lasted for almost four years until December, 1966, when the indictments were finally dropped.

The case itself was based on the 1951 Indiana Anti-Communism Act, whose purpose was to "exterminate communists and communism and all and any teachings of the same." It was the brainchild of a local prosecutor named Hoadley who hoped to make a political career out of successfully railroading three YSAers to prison.

The YSA nationally threw full efforts into the defense of the three Bloomington comrades. Its campaign was not only a crucial victory for the YSA, but a lesson to other witchhunters who hoped to crush the new radicalization at its earliest stages in the 1960s. The defense strategy used in this case was a prime example of the Marxist approach to the defense of civil liberties.

The basic concepts of the defense campaign were reaching out to the broadest numbers of people, educating them to the issues involved in Hoadley's witchhunt, and winning their support for the defense efforts. A national legal defense committee, called the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students (CABS), was formed to coordinate this work, with local chapters in every area of the country.

CABS was set up strictly on a civil liberties basis to publicize the facts of the case and raise funds for legal expenses. Its co-chairpeople were professors from Indiana University and Harvard. Bertrand Russell served as honorary chairperson. National leaders of the YSA helped to organize the day-to-day work of the national defense.

By the close of the case over 1,300 sponsors had been gained for the defense committee, including hundreds of prominent academic figures, unionists, Black leaders, etc., from all across the country. Scores of national organizations had expressed their outrage at Hoadley's witchhunting efforts, and thousands of dollars had been raised to help pay for the huge legal expenses during the various stages of the case.

As in any defense committee which the YSA helps build, the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students acted strictly within the framework of its statement of purposes, kept signed sponsor cards, and published precise financial records.

The defendants' legal strategy was geared to show that the specific charges against the Bloomington Three were false and to focus on the broader constitutional issues at stake. Leonard Boudin served as the chief defense attorney and helped coordinate the many legal aspects of the case in the context of the national defense campaign.

CABS organized national tours for the defendants that covered nearly all of the U.S. and Canada. The Bloomington Three were able to explain to thousands of students the importance of defending the right of students to hold dissenting ideas and why they were being victimized as YSAers.

Our victory in the Bloomington case was a landmark in the development of the YSA. Hoadley himself was forced to state, when he finally dropped the charges, that he had lost the battle for public opinion. Through this case the YSA educated the entire radical movement on how

civil liberties could be successfully defended, and we helped deal a powerful blow to the witchhunt atmosphere that still prevailed on many campuses.

Not all governmental attacks on the radical movement, however, are directed through the actual court system, and the anticommunist apparatus set up in the early 1950s offers the ruling class an additional means for attempting to intimidate dissent. This method is most clearly illustrated by the current investigation of NPAC and the People's Coalition by the House Internal Security Committee.

Through red-baiting the government hopes to obscure the demands of the antiwar movement, prevent new sections of society from joining in the struggle, and if possible split the movement. NPAC's response to this attack was a model of how such attacks should be answered.

NPAC immediately called a broadly representative press conference in Washington to denounce the Committee's hearings as a McCarthyite three-ring circus, explaining the reasons for the government's attack and the fact that the antiwar movement was not about to exclude anyone.

Banner headlines such as those in the May 21 issue of *The San Diego Union* stating "RED GROUPS LINKED TO D.C. WAR PROTESTS" are vicious threats to our right to participate in the antiwar movement, and they must be answered immediately both by the organizations concerned and the YSA.

The YSA calls for the abolition of the House Internal Security Committee, the Subversive Activities Control Board, and all witchhunting apparatuses, and we must continue to educate masses of Americans about the vicious nature of such committees.

Similarly, our movement must be prepared to immediately answer red-baiting attacks from elements within the radical movement itself. Charges of communist domination, democratic centralist tyranny, and so on, must be exposed as witchhunting tactics that have no place in the radical movement and as attempts to avoid political discussion on questions where real disagreement lies.

EXTRALEGAL ATTACKS

Because of the deepening radicalization and the growing strength of the mass movements, we can expect certain right-wing organizations to attempt to counteract this process by physically attacking radical organizations. In order to prevent such assaults and defend ourselves most effectively if they do occur, it is necessary to evaluate what such right-wing attacks represent at this time.

Groups such as the Legion of Justice, the Los Angeles gusanos, and the Klan, which are striking out in desperation against the new radicalization, in no way represent an ascending fascist movement at this time. Their attacks represent a sign of their weakness, and they have been less and less able to win mass support throughout the 1960s.

While the ruling class as a whole spurs on such terrorist attacks through its war in Southeast Asia and oppression at home, at this time the authorities feel obligated to officially condemn such attacks. In fact, on occasion the state can even be forced to arrest and convict such terrorists.

One key example is Houston, where the developing mass movements have been held back because of the strength of the organized right wing. The police and city administration have acted in open complicity with right-wing groups such as the Klan, and during the past year over 20 different attacks occurred on antiwar, Black, Chicano, and liberal organizations and individuals without a single arrest being made.

The March 12 bombing of the SWP Campaign Headquarters and bookstore, however, marked the beginning of the first public defense campaign aimed at turning back and decisively defeating the terrorists. Following the attack, our movement immediately went on the offensive, organizing press conferences and seeking statements of support from nearly every radical and liberal organization in Houston. Political demands were raised by the SWP candidates for public office, including the removal of Police Chief Short, who had not solved any of the previous cases. We also demanded that the records of the Houston police and arson division be made public and that open hearings be held on the wave of terrorism. A special campaign fund appeal was also issued to ensure that a legitimate political party would not be silenced during an election campaign by right-wing terror.

The Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston was launched at a large public meeting held at the University of Houston to condemn the bombings. The Committee was established to wage a public campaign to pressure the Houston city administration to secure the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the March 12 bombing of the SWP Campaign Headquarters.

I am sure that comrades have been carefully following the developments of our defense campaign in Houston through *The Militant*, but I would like to point out that in the wake of the first attack, enormous pressure was exerted against our movement to force us to retreat. The police investigators and individual city councilmen publicly accused us of having bombed our own headquarters for publicity. Attempts were made to evict us from our headquarters, and a second armed attack was carried out against our headquarters right before April 24.

The fact that the campaign organized by the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston has already resulted in grand jury indictments of seven Klansmen for the attack on our headquarters and earlier attacks against other groups is testimony to this work. It is clear that we have already dealt an important first blow to the Klan and other terrorist organizations in Houston.

An armed attack on our movement is among the most serious threats to our continued existence, and it is important that we draw some of the lessons from the campaigns we have waged in this connection not only in Houston, but also in Los Angeles, Chicago, and other areas.

The most basic lesson is that we must launch the broadest possible defense campaign aimed at isolating the right-wing terrorists, winning mass support for our right to function openly and freely, and bringing massive public pressure to bear against the city administration and police to demand that they secure the arrest and then conviction of the responsible terrorists. By carrying out such a campaign, we will both reduce the likelihood of future attacks and expose the reluctance of the state to defend the most basic democratic rights of U.S. citizens.

We absolutely reject any tendency at this time toward arming our headquarters or turning them into impenetrable fortresses, as we have no romantic illusions whatsoever about either armed defense or underground revolutionary activity. The arming of a small socialist headquarters would not only be totally misunderstood by masses of people today but could even open us up to deadly assaults by the police on any one of a series of pretexts, as the police raid on the Chicago headquarters and the Black Panther Party experience showed.

Our primary tasks today are winning to our ranks the best activists of the mass movements and developing the cadre necessary to build a mass revolutionary socialist youth organization. We cannot allow isolated right-wing terrorists to force us into a semi-underground position where we board up our headquarters and are unable to present an open public face to newly radicalizing youth.

Any technical aspects of such a defense campaign, such as making sure that there are adequate locks or exits in our headquarters or organizing limited unarmed defense guards during local meetings following an attack, must be seen in the context of our primary means of defense: organizing an all-out political campaign to defend our democratic rights.

In addition, it is just as important to respond immediately to any *threat* made against any section of the radical movement by right-wing organizations. If the YSA or any of the mass movements receives what we believe to be a serious threat in the mail, or is harassed in some other way, we want to immediately expose the threats as attacks on the democratic rights of everyone.

In such situations we should issue a press statement, notify the police, and publicize the meaning of the threats in the campus press. It is simply suicidal to attempt to ignore such threats; an immediate political response is the best way of ensuring that such harassment is ended and not escalated into an actual physical attack.

The YSAers in Ohio helped spearhead such a campaign when threats were first aimed at student activists and the antiwar movement in Columbus by Minutemen. A great deal of publicity was gained by their work in immediately calling press conferences and holding large campus meetings to expose such threats, and the right of the

antiwar movement to organize without harassment became a key theme in the building of April 24 in Columbus.

ATTACKS WITHIN THE RADICAL MOVEMENT

Full democracy within the working class movement has always been a basic tenet of revolutionary Marxism. This tradition first began to break down in the mass social democratic parties due to the unwillingness of the trade union bureaucrats to tolerate challenges to their privileged positions within the workers' movement. With the rise of Stalinism this tradition of workers' democracy was also totally destroyed within the Soviet Union and the Stalinized Communist Parties around the world.

The YSA unconditionally supports the fullest freedom for all points of view to be discussed and acted upon within the radical movement. We vigorously condemn any form of antidemocratic intimidation, from deliberately shouting down speakers to attempts at physical violence as a substitute for democratic debate within the movement.

Violence within the movement can only give a handle to enemies of the radical movement to attack the movement, slander it, and take advantage of the physical assaults to set their own stool pigeons and agents provocateurs to work.

Our response to PL and SDS's attempts at physically disrupting the NPAC conference will be crucial in educating the entire radical movement about democratic functioning and the right of all radical organizations to conduct their meetings and conferences without physical disruptions.

Our primary task is to get out the facts on what happened at the NPAC conference and thereby scandalize PL and SDS before every part of the radical movement and the student movement as a whole. We want to make it clear that the antiwar movement is open to every person opposing the war in Indochina, including SDSers and PLers, but that the antiwar movement cannot tolerate hooliganism aimed at shutting off political debate.

This campaign should be aimed at totally isolating PL and SDS within the student movement, demanding that their memberships repudiate such vicious attacks on the antiwar movement, and reaffirming the right of all radical organizations to hold conferences that are not broken up by physical assaults on the part of those who refuse to democratically discuss their political disagreements.

INCORRECT DEFENSE STRATEGIES

The YSA and SWP's defense policy is unique in the radical movement and has been developed through decades of experience in this area of the class struggle. I would like to recommend several books and pamphlets that further explain and concretize the concepts I have outlined in this report: first, James P. Cannon's writings in *Notebook of an Agitator*, *Letters from Prison*, and *What Policy for Revolutionists—Marxism or Ultra-Leftism?*, which discuss the International Labor Defense of the 1920s and the Minneapolis Civil Liberties Defense Committee during World War II; and second, the extremely valuable *Education for Socialists Bulletin*, *Defense Policies and Principles of the Socialist Workers Party*.

Our opponents all make fundamental errors in defense work, which are in essence derived from a lack of fully understanding three key principles: 1) that democratic rights are key victories of past struggles; 2) that these rights can only be ensured by the strength of mass movements against the ruling class; and 3) that building non-exclusive campaigns to defend these rights is a central aspect of the struggle for the basic transformation of this society.

Both ultraleftists and opportunists in essence take an abstentionist position in the face of attacks on civil liberties. Neither understands that democratic rights have been won in struggle and both view civil liberties as either tricks or gifts of the ruling class that can simply be withdrawn at any moment.

The old SDS provided one classic example of the ultraleft approach to defense. Just before the June, 1969, convention at which SDS shattered to pieces, *New Left Notes* printed an article on a struggle led by SDS at Kent State. They report:

"The repression at Kent State has clearly hurt us. Over 60 of our people have been banned from campus, at least 11 face heavy charges with total bail exceeding \$12,000, and the administration has succeeded at least to some extent in scaring a lot of people and obfuscating our

original demands, and allowing the civil liberties whiz kids to spring up.

"On the other hand, SDS has made several key advances. We have fought and fought hard, making it clear that we are serious and tough. We have constantly stressed the primacy of our four demands, maintaining that political repression is only an extension of the people's oppression, never getting hung up in the civil liberties or pro-student-privilege defense of our movement."

The logic of such a position is suicidal. To announce publicly that you are not willing to defend yourself when under attack is only asking for further and more harsh repression. Other campus ultraleftists, however, make very similar mistakes when they merely tack one or two defense slogans on to their full program or even tell students that the best way to defend democratic rights is strictly to support the demands the ultraleftists have raised on campus. By putting forth such a strategy, ultralefts pave the way for serious defeats and make it difficult to win mass student support for even their most basic democratic rights.

Opportunists likewise reject building a non-exclusive political defense of civil liberties and place their faith in appealing to the better judgement of the ruling class. Such a strategy is as disastrous as its ultraleft counterpart.

An opportunist approach inevitably tries to avoid the real political reasons for the government's attack. By being "reasonable" and not publicizing the facts of the case, the defendants play into the hands of the government, which always tries to hide the real political aims of its attack. Instead of forcing the government to realize that its attack will be exposed to millions of Americans as an attempt to crush political opposition, the defendants hope to win by convincing 12 jurors or some "good" judge of their innocence on the basis of strictly legal arguments. Unfortunately, without a massive campaign aimed at exposing the government, any courtroom strategy has severe limitations.

The YSA thus has a tremendous responsibility to explain our concepts of political defense to other activists in the radical movement, particularly when they come under attack. We should understand, however, that we do not currently have the forces to undertake major organizational responsibilities for defense cases that do not involve our members.

We want to aid all victims of political repression by writing articles in the campus press, sponsoring forums, and participating in demonstrations that we can support. We should be clear, however, that it is often very difficult to actively support certain cases when the defendants choose an ultraleft or opportunist strategy. In particular we must be careful not to become involved in local defense committees that violate our fundamental concepts of defense.

Our work in support of the defense of Angela Davis is an example of our principled civil liberties approach to all victims of political repression. Across the country we have organized forums on this case, publicized the importance of her defense in our campus election campaigns, and participated in united front rallies and demonstrations in her defense. In particular our movement has made important contributions to Davis's defense by proposing that special speakers be included at the April 24 rallies to publicize her defense.

At the same time the YSA does not politically support the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis or its local chapters and we can take no responsibility whatsoever for the way the defense is being organized. Our movement draws a careful distinction between defense cases we support and the committees which are organizing the actual defense. If we did support a particular defense committee, leading members of the YSA would become sponsors of that committee, and such a decision would be made nationally. If questions arise about our attitude toward a particular defense case or committee, the best procedure is of course to consult with the National Office.

AVOIDING VICTIMIZATION

We have often pointed out that ultraleftists are wrong when they make a virtue out of defeats and repression. When attacks are successfully carried out against the radical movement it is a sign of weakness and not strength.

The YSA's strategy for the student movement and for all our work in the mass movements is one of mobilizing massive numbers of people, with the aim of preventing victimization and winning concrete victories. We totally reject the con-

cept that legal victimization is a desirable outcome of any struggle.

We must continually educate on campus about the necessity of putting forward defensively-formulated demands that counterpose the just demands of students, women, or Blacks to the unwillingness of the university to meet the needs of the overwhelming majority of students. We must always show that it is the U.S. government above all that is the real source of violence here at home and throughout the world.

When we are attacked, however, the first thing that the local area should do is compile all the facts and then *immediately* call the National Office. There is no other area of our work that requires closer consultation and collaboration with the national center than defense work. The national center is in the best position to evaluate the significance of a particular attack, to see how it relates to other defense campaigns we are waging, and to transmit to the local area concrete lessons learned in other cases.

All major decisions in our defense work, such as a decision to launch a legal civil liberties defense committee or initiate court action, must be made in close consultation with the National Office.

It is also important that all local areas have close relations with competent civil liberties lawyers and that all YSAers know how to reach a lawyer immediately if it becomes necessary. It is important for us to develop such working relations with lawyers *before* a major attack occurs.

As I pointed out earlier, we do everything in our power to make the legal or extralegal victimization of our organization as difficult as possible, and it is precisely for this reason that we do not contemplate any changes whatsoever in our current security policy that forbids the use of any illegal drugs by YSA members.

When our movement is attacked, the YSA must be in the best possible position to defend itself politically. We cannot give the ruling class any means whatsoever to victimize our organization or members on a seemingly non-political level where it would be impossible for us to launch a successful defense campaign.

The YSA's policy that no member of our organization can use illegal drugs or live with people who do use drugs is a basic stipulation for membership in our organization. This policy must be carefully explained to every person who wishes to join the YSA. If a YSAer is unwilling to carry out this security policy, then he or she is jeopardizing the entire organization and has no place in the YSA.

It is precisely in those areas of the country where there is widespread use of drugs that the police would first move against YSAers for using illegal drugs if they were ever given such an opportunity.

To emphasize the eagerness of the police to use such cases to victimize the radical movement, and therefore the seriousness with which we view this policy. I want to cite the example of Lee Otis, who was one of the leaders of the Black student movement at TSU in Houston. In order to crush the Black student movement, Lee Otis was framed up on drug charges, convicted, and then sentenced to 30 years in prison.

The national leadership and the entire YSA must be absolutely clear that there can be no exceptions made in carrying out this policy and in strictly enforcing it.

TASKS OF THE YSA

This fall our national campaign to defend student political rights must continue to be central to all our campus propaganda work. We want to challenge vigorously any restrictions of student rights by winning broad support for protest statements, meetings, and demonstrations.

In particular, because of the central importance of the 1972 SWP campaign to all areas of our work, we want to meet head on any attempts made by high school or college administrations to restrict students from supporting political candidates in the upcoming elections. Wherever necessary, the YSA must take the lead in struggling for the rights of students to form Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and to make full use of campus facilities and an uncensored student press.

Nationally, we will be supporting in the fall the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, and we will want to immediately begin winning campus support for the campaign to democratize all election laws. In addition, we will be carrying out a major campaign aimed at challenging the con-

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tinuing attempts to disfranchise students who attend school in cities where their parents do not live. We are already involved in such a case in our campaign for municipal offices in Worcester.

In carrying out the fall sub drive, our financial campaign, and in organizing regional conferences, it will be essential for the YSA to challenge restrictions on our right to sell *The Militant*, obtain honoraria, or hold public conferences.

A significant development has already occurred in the Ed Jurenas case in that the Army has transferred Jurenas to the Presidio military base in California. We cannot let up, however, on our campaign to protest the Army's threatened court-martial proceedings against Jurenas for exercising his constitutional rights in helping to prepare a GI antiwar newspaper.

If local areas have not already assigned a comrade to coordinate the Jurenas defense work, such an assignment should be made immediately. In particular we want to urge local NPAC and SMC chapters to launch a major campaign to have protest telegrams and letters sent to the Secretary of the Army in Washington, D. C., with copies to the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, demanding that the Army halt proceedings against Jurenas.

Our primary task in the Mandel case remains raising funds vitally needed to cover the considerable legal expenses of the case. The U. S. government is now appealing to the Supreme Court the favorable three-judge court decision to allow Mandel to visit this country. This case, which knocks out the exclusion provisions of the

McCarran-Walter Act, is of the utmost importance in guaranteeing Americans the right to hear the views of all international thinkers.

It is necessary to reiterate that every local should assign someone to head up our local fund raising efforts for the Mandel case in the fall or wherever campuses are open during the summer. This money is essential if the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is to be able to carry through this case and future cases that are of the utmost importance to our movement.

The defense reports sent in to the National Office prior to the plenum made it clear that many locals had done little or nothing on this case. All the material on the case is available from the National Office, and funds raised should be sent to the Mandel Case Legal Defense Fund at the office of the NECLC.

Finally, we want to use the 1972 SWP campaign as a key means of expressing our support to Angela Davis, the Harrisburg Eight, the Kent 25, and other outstanding national defense cases.

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