

C O P Y

NOTICE OF STANDING AND STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

Dear Friends,

The National Coordinating Committee has scheduled its first Steering Committee meeting for January 8th and 9th in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Several other dates were considered, but after a poll taken of as many committees as possible, the 8th and 9th were considered best. This is close to finals for many students, but the feeling was that the end of December was too early and disruptive because of the holidays and that the end of January was too late. Milwaukee was chosen over Madison and Milwaukee because Madison felt they couldn't handle it at this time, and Chicago was not enthusiastic about taking on the chore either. Milwaukee felt they could do it, and so volunteered to be the host committee. People should report to the Student Union, corner of Kenwood and Maryland, at the University of Wisconsin Campus in Milwaukee.

The call for the meeting is for a steering committee meeting. However, we also asked people about this, and they preferred to have as many people as possible participate in the meeting, to thus allow as much representation as possible from the local committees. The feeling was that in fact this should be a standing committee meeting. Therefore, we suggest that as a first order of business the steering committee convene and then dissolve itself, and that as the second order of business the standing committee call itself to order.

Some of the discussions that we will be having are of the utmost importance. Therefore, realizing that for one reason or another some groups will likely not be represented because of exams, expense problems, etc. we urge the following: First, that if you know your committee will not send a representative, that you send a statement to this office before January 6th stating as clearly as you can what your committee's feelings are on the topics under discussion (see agenda below); second, that you try to arrange for your committee's voice to be heard by voting by proxy - send a letter with someone from your region who will be attending and who can express your feelings for you. Also, when you contact this office, be sure and indicate the number of members in your committee and your estimate of the number of votes this allows you on the standing committee. However, we URGE you to attend if at all possible. ALL COMMITTEES PLEASE FILL OUT THE FORM FOUND AT THE END OF THIS LETTER AND SEND IT TO THE NCC, 341 W. Mifflin St., Madison, Wisconsin 53703. This will save valuable time at the meeting, and prevent problems from arising over representation and voting. If you have any doubts about your committee's standing, check the attached copy of the NCC Constitution adopted at the NCC Convention. Delegates will receive their voting cards at the meeting in Milwaukee. And disagreements between delegates and the credentials committee will be referred to the general standing committee. This, we believe, is the only fair way to handle the problem of voting rights.

PROPOSED AGENDA

I. PROGRAM

1. Steering committee meets and dissolves itself

2. Standing committee call itself to order

WE suggest that at this point we move to a discussion of the substantive issues of the implementation of program. This discussion should precede the discussion on the mechanics and finances of the NCC office, as the decisions about implementation will determine exactly what will be needed and what changes must be made in the office. However ample time must be left for the discussion of the office. For once we determine implementation, we must act concretely and wisely as to the best way to assure that that implementation will be successful.

3. March 25-26 International Days of Protest

4. February 12th demonstrations through the South and in Harlem

5. What to do if Hanoi and Haiphong is bombed. Can we instigate national protest on 24 hours notice?

6. The national defence fund and its implementation

7. Implementation of workshop suggestions on community action

9. New proposals for action

II. ADMINISTRATION AND THE NCC OFFICE

1. Should there be a national administrative board approved by the standing committee and elected therein whose duties will be to keep close tabs on the office and call standing committee meetings.

2. Should we set up a regional structure or let it develop as it now is?

3. Should the NCC implement programs of its own, just those suggested by local committees, or both?

4. Should there be one chairman, a co-chairmanship or tri-chairmanship. Should decisions about the office be made by the chairman (men) with the aid of the staff and approval of the standing committee?

5. How many staff people are needed for the office? Should we also have regional organizers and fundraisers? How should this be set up if needed?

6. Financial support of the Office: How and who should do this? Should local groups pledge a monthly contribution?

7. Location of the office. Should the office remain in Madison or move.

8. The Research and Information Division: Should it remain as it is, a decentralized network with a center at the NCC office? How much publishing should the NCC do?

9. The Newsletter: How often should it go out? Can we afford to mail other than third or fourth class? How can the PFN be improved? An offset press?

10. What new equipment is needed at the office. Who will get it and how?

11. Salaries: What should salaries be? How can the staff be guaranteed a weekly wage?

REMEMBER: THESE ARE SUGGESTIONS FOR AN AGENDA. WE EXPECT TO HEAR FROM YOU IN ADVANCE IF YOU HAVE STRONG FEELINGS THAT WE HAVE LEFT SOMETHING OUT OR HAVE EMPHASIZED THE WRONG THINGS.

NOTE: 1. This agenda is subject to the approval of the standing Committee. 2. The staff will be able to clarify some of the questions under consideration in the agenda -- that is, explain how all of these things now stand. Feel free to call on them as a guide to discussion if you so wish.

HOUSING: Housing requests should be made to Tom Shields, 1971 N. Oakland, Milwaukee, 53202. State whether you will want hotel housing or free housing (which is limited). You should also let him know exactly which nights you need housing for. You should plan to be in Milwaukee in time for the opening of the meeting at 10:00 AM, Jan. 8th.

Box 471 Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003
December 31, 1965

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear *Judy,*

The combined Steering Committee-Standing Committee meeting called for Milwaukee is still on for January 8 and 9. A copy of the agenda is enclosed for your information.

The YSA will be organized into a fraction for the two days. The mid-west locals should mobilize as many of its anti-war activists as possible to attend and the east coast locals should each send a carload. It is not exactly clear what is going to happen at the meeting and what role we will be able to play. We will be supporting the political gist of Rubin's proposal and selling the third issue of the NEWSLETTER.

In preparation for the meeting:

- 1) The names of all YSAers attending from each local should be sent to the NO immediately.
- 2) The names of all YSAers planning to attend and desiring free housing should be sent to: Thomas Shields, 1971 N. Oakland, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202. Shields is not a YSAer so that all YSAers should be identified as members of C'sEWV, Standing Committee members or old Steering Committee members.
- 3) Unless notified otherwise all YSAers should meet at the Student Union of the University of Wisconsin campus in Milwaukee at 9:00 A.M. on Saturday, January 8th.
- 4) Every CEWV should be urged to select Standing Committee representatives before the Jan. 8 and 9 meeting. YSAers wherever possible, should get elected from their CEWV to the Standing Committee.

Since there will be a number of Caucus members at the Milwaukee meeting, the Caucus is planning a short gathering following the Standing Committee meeting. The Newsletter office will be sending out a letter on this.

So far only a very few areas have sent in reports to the Newsletter about their activities, local news clippings, leaflets, etc. Likewise we have received very few reports in the NO from locals about their anti-war work since the Thanksgiving convention.

Staughton Lynd is now in North Vietnam and will probably be returning in a week or two. He will unquestionably be

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asked to give talks around the country and perhaps will make a tour. He will definitely have drawing power. We should see to it that every CEWV gets a letter in the mail right away asking him to speak under their sponsorship.

Sincerely,

Doug J.
Doug J.

Box 471 Cooper Station
New York, N.Y. 10003
December 28, 1965

ATTENTION ALL YSA'ERS:
FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD:

	<u>Local</u>	<u>Quota</u>	<u>Paid</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1.	Madison	\$ 65.00	\$ 110.00	169
2.	San Francisco	150.00	220.00	147
3.	Los Angeles	300.00	400.27	133
4.	Ann Arbor	150.00	166.00	111
5.	Berkeley	650.00	725.00	110
6.	New York-Up	600.00	623.10	104
7.	Philadelphia	200.00	201.25	101
8.	Boston	850.00	850.00	100
9.	Chicago	1000.00	1000.00	100
10.	Cleveland	300.00	300.00	100
11.	Detroit	500.00	500.00	100
12.	New York-Down	600.00	600.00	100
13.	Seattle	25.00	25.00	100
14.	Twin Cities	500.00	500.00	100
15.	Washington, D.C.	150.00	150.00	100
16.	Bloomington		25.00	
17.	Kansas		50.00	
18.	At Large		44.00	
19.	Denver	25.00		
20.	San Jose	150.00		
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TOTALS		\$6215.00	\$6489.42	104
Should Be To Date		\$6215.00	\$6215.00	100

Dear Comrades,

Thanks to the efforts of all, we made the fund drive on time, and even went over the top by almost \$275.00. The final scoreboard will be printed in the next issue of the Young Socialist.

Comradely,

Mary-Alice Styron
Mary-Alice Styron
YSA National Office

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

December 27, 1965

ATTENTION ORGANIZERS

Dear Comrades,

A national tour is planned for January and February for Lew Jones. This will be primarily an organizational tour. Each local should plan to have a membership meeting and a meeting of the local NC members and organizer when Lew is in town. Each local should plan no more than one public meeting for Lew.

The title of Lew's talk is the following:

"IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VS. NEGOCIATIONS
-A SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE DEBATE IN THE ANTI-WAR
MOVEMENT"

Lew has prepared only one talk for the tour. Please do not ask him to give talks on other subjects.

Lew can be advertised as a member of the National Committee of the YSA.

Please write us if you cannot accept the proposed tour quotas. The money should be given to Lew when he comes to the local or sent in ahead of time.

Comradely,

Betsy Barnes
Betsy Barnes
National Secretary

YSA NATIONAL TOUR DATES AND QUOTAS

<u>AREA</u>	<u>DATES</u>	<u>AREA</u>	<u>QUOTA</u>
Washington D.C.	Jan. 6-7	Washington D.C.	15.00
Travel	Jan. 8-9	Kansas City	5.00
Kansas City	Jan. 10	Denver	5.00
Denver	Jan. 11	Los Angeles	40.00
Travel	Jan. 12	San Diego	10.00
Los Angeles	Jan. 13-16	San Francisco	40.00
-San Diego		Berkeley	45.00
Travel	Jan. 17	San Jose	25.00
Bay Area	Jan. 18-24	Seattle	10.00
-San Francisco		Twin Cities	35.00
-Berkeley		Madison	25.00
-San Jose		Chicago	70.00
Travel	Jan. 25	Urbana	5.00
Seattle	Jan. 26	Bloomington	5.00
Travel	Jan. 27	Detroit	35.00
Twin Cities	Jan. 28-30	Cleveland	30.00
Travel	Jan. 31	Boston	65.00
Madison	Feb. 1	Philadelphia	25.00
Travel	Feb. 2	New York-up	40.00
Chicago	Feb. 3-5	New York-down	55.00
Urbana	Feb. 6		
Bloomington	Feb. 7		
Travel	Feb. 8		
Detroit	Feb. 9-13		
-Ann Arbor			
Travel	Feb. 14		
Cleveland	Feb. 15-17		
Travel	Feb. 18		
Boston	Feb. 19-21		
Philadelphia	Feb. 22-24		
New York	Feb. 25-28		
-N.Y.-uptown			
-N.Y.-downtown			

December 26, 1965

Box 471 Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003
December 20, 1965

Dear *Gus & Judy*

The resolution on the structure of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam adopted at the Thanksgiving convention stated that the implementation of the new structure would be "left to the present steering committee". In light of this, the Madison office of the NCC has called a combined meeting of the present Steering Committee and the new Standing Committee. To the best of our knowledge this meeting is to be held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on January 8 and 9.

This meeting will be very important because it will decide more definitively who, where, and how the NCC will be run. Since the Thanksgiving convention there has been a great deal of discussion, behind-the-door wheeling and dealing, and conflict about the future of the NCC. Although the situation is very fluid and changes from day to day, several distinct approaches emerge:

First, the Communist Party and the DuBois Club want to use their influence in the present apparatus of the NCC to convert it into their own front group. How they will do this remains to be seen. They may send somebody like Mike Myerson into the National Staff to run it; or they may run it through Emspak. We know that since the convention Emspak has laid the groundwork for his continued leadership by ordering more office equipment, increasing the staff, and talking about initiating a literature service for all of the Committees to End the War in Vietnam. The CP, however, is flexible and an Emspak leadership in Madison is secondary to their central desire of controlling the NCC.

Second, many of the centrists like Jerry Rubin, Dave Dellinger, etc. do not want to become trapped in a CP front group. Therefore, they have been maneuvering and twisting every which way in order to take the control out of Emspak's hands and away from the CP.

Rubin has made a proposal in collaboration with Dellinger, and others to move the NCC office to Chicago, with a large staff (15-30) composed predominately of independents like himself, and operating with a budget running between \$50,000 and \$100,000. This proposal which has been circulated around the country to many individuals calls for a major organizing drive to build new C'sEWV and inject the "Berkeley spirit" into every campus in the country.

The significance of Rubin's proposal is that it is consciously designed to prevent the NCC from becoming a CP front organization. The CP will most likely state that they agree with Rubin's proposal for moving the office to Chicago, having an organizing drive, etc. This does not change, however, the central point

of Rubin's proposal which is: Who will control the staff -- the CP or Rubin?

Third, the YSA's approach is to put as our first priority the continued building of the local C'sEWV and VDCs and the Caucus. Given the algebraic character of Rubin's proposal, the vacillations of the centrists that support it, and its lack of concrete meaning at this time to the people in the local committees, our work on the local level is primary.

However, we do not want the CP to control the NCC and will support Rubin's fight to stop the CP from controlling it. Rubin's proposal is actually the same proposals we were making before the convention when we thought it would be possible for the NCC to become a national organization based on and responsible to the independent committees. The major difficulty with Rubin's proposal is that more likely than not the centrists who support it will not wage a determined fight for it. It is impossible for us to fight for this proposal which would place Rubin in the staff unless Rubin himself is willing to fight for it. We are not sure at this point how hard Rubin and Co. will fight.

As it stands now our major tasks are:

- 1) Continue to build C'sEWV and recruit people to the Caucus. Sell the NEWSLETTER and raise money to help finance it.
- 2) Circulate Rubin's proposal in the C'sEWV between now and the Steering Committee-Standing Committee meeting. Discuss it, argue for it, and get committees committed to it. Rubin has asked the YSA to help circulate it.
- 3) Explain to Caucus members how and why the character of the NCC as a broad umbrella-type organization is not definitively established yet.
- 4) To send as many YSAers as possible to the Steering Committee-Standing Committee meeting in January to participate in a fraction. The West Coast will not be able to send anyone, but the East Coast should send at least two or three carloads and the Mid-West locals should mobilize.

Comradely,
Doug J.
Doug J.
National Office
YSA

To All Comrades:

December 1, 1965

Preliminary Report on the Anti-War Convention

Neither organization participating in our joint fraction at the Thanksgiving Convention in Washington D.C. has yet had a full discussion and report. Such reports will be forthcoming.

The pressure, however, of early post convention Committee to End the War in Vietnam meetings makes it necessary to send out a brief report immediately to comrades active in the anti-war movement. We cover here only what the CAUCUS TO CONSTITUTE A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL INDEPENDENT ANTI-WAR COMMITTEES FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS is and what tasks it poses for us.

The caucus was born out of several gatherings of delegates, alternates, and members from C'sEWV who were interested in eventually forming a national organization based on and responsible solely to the C'sEWV which are for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

Although it was not possible to form a national organization for withdrawal, there was enough support to form a caucus with the perspective of forming such an organization.

The caucus is not a national organization with chapters or affiliates. It is an association of individuals most of whom belong to C'sEWV and will continue to do so. Caucus members in local areas will not be splitting from the existing C'sEWV in order to establish new organizations but will be the best builders and most active members of the C'sEWV. As active members of the C'sEWV they will recruit individuals to support the idea of immediate withdrawal and thus to the caucus.

The major tasks ahead of the caucus are:

- 1) putting out a regular newsletter. The caucus selected a three-man steering committee (Danny Rosenshine, delegate from Cleveland CEWV ; Kipp Dawson, Chairman and delegate from San Francisco State College VDC ; Jens Jensen, Chairman and delegate from Cambridge CEWV) to arrange for putting this out. The first issue will be out by the weekend and will contain the major documents of the convention and an analysis.
- 2) recruiting individuals to the caucus and to the line of immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. Names of new members of the caucus should be mailed to the newsletter immediately.

- 3) raising money to finance the newsletter as well as possible organizing tours.
- 4) the caucus agreed in Washington that local groups of caucus members should select representatives to correspond with the newsletter and establish a national steering committee of the caucus.
- 5) being in the forefront building the existing C'sEWV and organizing new ones. Urge that the C'sEWV they are members of participate in the NCC.

Relationship to National Coordinating Committee

At the convention the caucus was accused of splitting from the NCC in order to establish a competing, parallel organization.

These charges are untrue. The caucus recognizes the NCC is a coordinating center for all groups opposed to the war in Vietnam. The NCC welcomes participating groups opposed to the war in Vietnam. Although national organizations (e.g. WSP, CNVA, YSA, DuBds Club, etc.) do not have a vote, they are members on the steering committee of the NCC. Furthermore, some local chapters of radical political organizations like SDS or DuBois Clubs will not only have voice, but voting representatives on the NCC. The NCC, a coordinating service, umbrella type organization with no political line, is not a parallel organization to the kind of organization that the caucus wants to see and is working for, that is a national organization based exclusively on and responsible to the C'sEWV and standing on the line of withdrawal. The caucus also feels that the C'sEWV should take advantage of the coordination from the NCC and that a representative from each CEWV should be elected to the Steering Committee of the NCC.

Our Relationship to the Caucus

We are proud of the role we played in helping to give birth to the caucus. The formation of the caucus is an important political advance in the evolution of the anti-war movement. The fight for and the creation of the caucus draws a sharp political line between those who would suck the anti-war movement into the camp of "negotiations", liberalism and popular frontism and those who want to build a movement for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. It is our expectation that the caucus will become the rallying point for those who are for self-determination and immediate withdrawal and holds the promise of being the embryo of a national organization for immediate withdrawal.

At the same time, it will furnish the spearhead of the organizers who will build, not split, the existing CEWV, regardless of whether they take a formal position of withdrawal now. They will organize new committees where others don't already exist. They will in no way oppose taking advantage of whatever coordinating service the NCC offers.

Our Tasks

1. It should be the norm for every comrade active in a CEWV to also belong to the caucus.
2. We must learn how to explain the origins of the caucus, its relationship to the NCC, and its line of withdrawal.
3. The caucus is not a front group in any way, shape or form, and we should bend over backward to be sure that we do not give that impression. The caucus and the newsletter are not covers for presenting our political analyses or platforms from which to wage attacks on political opponents. We will collaborate with all persons in the caucus at all levels in an open and frank manner.
4. This in no way contradicts being the best builders of the caucus and propagandists for the line of withdrawal now any more than it contradicts being the best builders of the CEWV.
5. We must be extremely careful to give absolutely no credence to the false charges that we are "splitters".

Comradely,

Doug Jenness
Ed Shaw
(Fraction Steering Committee)

Note: The working papers for a national organization of independent committees for withdrawal are enclosed. These were never submitted to the convention as a whole for a vote but were distributed only for the purposes of information.

A proposed structure for the NCC, which is not enclosed, was submitted by the Caucus to the convention for a vote. This proposal, however, was defeated in favor of a similar but less democratic proposal.

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003
December 16, 1965

TO ALL NCers AND ORGANIZERS:

The enclosed report on the Thanksgiving Convention was presented by Kipp D. at a recent YSA conference of the three Bay Area locals. The N.O. is sending it out to the National Committee and to local organizers for their information.

Comradely,

Doug J.

Doug J.
YSA National Office

Report to Bay Area YSA Conference, December 12, 1965

by Kipp Dawson

I understand that there have been reports and discussion on the Washington convention in the San Jose, Berkeley, and San Francisco locals. This report is made on that assumption.

In discussing the anti-war movement, I think it is important to keep in mind the objective situation in which the movement exists and develops. Since the important external factors have not changed basically since Doug's report to the National Committee plenum (which you have all read), I will just point out here a couple of the most important of these factors.

First, of course, is the war itself. The nature of the war is the same: it is still a civil war, with the U.S. and its puppet government on one side, and the National Liberation Front, supported by the vast majority of the Vietnamese people, on the other side. The issues of the war are still the same: the people of Vietnam, led by the NLF, are fighting against intolerable economic, social and political conditions, and for the right to a decent life; the United States government is fighting against the colonial revolution and in support of a tiny, corrupt capitalist class in Vietnam. The only change is an increase in the intensity of the war, and a promise that this increase will continue.

The second major factor to remember when evaluating the anti-war movement is the objective situation within the United States today. We must keep in mind the fact that the anti-war movement was born and is growing in a period of general economic prosperity and the corresponding high rate of living for the working class, which has bred temporary extreme conservatism in the trade union movement. This means that the movement has developed largely without the support or influence of the working class, and almost solely among one layer of the population: the students.

The continuation and intensification of the war in Vietnam has brought a corresponding growth and deepening of the anti-war movement. The most dynamic element of the anti-war movement--the Vietnam Day Committees and the Committees to End the War in Vietnam--continue to grow rapidly and to solidify their bases on the campuses on which they exist, and new committees are constantly being formed. These committees have several important things in common: they are independent of the old peace movement and of domination by any one of the radical tendencies; they are non-exclusive in their membership requirements; they are organized around the single issue of ending the war in Vietnam. These aspects of the committees must be encouraged and developed further.

The national convention this last month played an important role in the development of the anti-war movement. All of the various elements of the new anti-war movement were brought together, and the political differences within the anti-war movement came to the fore. The political ideas were not always clearly expressed as such, but they were behind all of the organizational fights at the convention, and it is now clear to everyone that they do exist and that they are important, and there is now a new and strong interest in discussing them.

Let's look briefly at the political tendencies who played a major role in the convention, and compare their ideas on the anti-war movement.

The most well-represented tendency at the convention was the Stalinist tendency represented by the Communist Party and the DuBois Clubs. Their attitudes on the anti-war movement stem from their general line of coalition politics. They want to see the movement remain "broad," that is, with liberal politics and under their domination. They are opposed to the growth of an independent, militant movement which they cannot lead into support of and work with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. They applaud and build up such activities as the SANE March, November 27, a march which, according to its sponsors, had as its sole purpose the job of showing Johnson that the American people support him in his desire to bring peace to Vietnam and urge him to proceed with attempts to negotiate.

The CP cries for "unity" in the "peace movement," counterposing this to what it calls splitting and weakening the "movement," i.e., efforts to organize and strengthen the more advanced section of the anti-war movement. The People's World of December 4, 1965, says of the SANE march: "The united character of this peace march was a victory against all the forces, particularly the Johnson Administration, who have tried to divide the peace movement and especially to split off the more advanced sectors from the broader groups not yet ready to move as fast or as far." They call for a large, liberal "peace movement" which unites everyone opposed to the war around a minimal, liberal program, where the "more advanced sectors" keep quiet and completely subordinate their politics to the liberal program dictated by them and the right wing of the movement. They abandon the historical task of politicizing the movement for the sake of unity--unity with the liberal wing of the capitalist class around a program negotiated with them. They deny a most important aspect of the united front, that is maintaining strict political clarity and struggling to win over the people involved to a socialist program. (For those who haven't read it, I strongly recommend Trotsky's discussion of this question in the second volume of The First 5 Years of the Communist International.)

If the Stalinists had their way, then, all elements of the anti-war and peace movements from the liberal Democrats to the left would be united in one organization under a liberal program and their leadership, and in an atmosphere where political discussion was minimal--where left-of-liberal political ideas were not brought up and were subordinated to the concept of "unity."

The second largest organized tendency at the convention was, of course, ourselves. We were in an opposite position from the CP and the DuBois Clubs at the convention. In the first place, the YSA has been in the forefront of organizing and building the independent anti-war committees throughout the country since their inception. We, unlike the DuBois Clubs, are not afraid of "competition" from these committees. We see these committees not as a threat to the "unity of the peace movement," but as a developing vanguard of the movement against U.S. imperialist war on the Vietnamese. We work against attempts to channel the new, young militants into the stagnant peace and liberal groups. We support and help lead their struggle for independent growth, and the accompanying growth in political understanding. We support the idea of coordinated activity among all elements of the movement against the war in Vietnam, but not at the expense of the political development of the anti-war movement, and of its most advanced sectors. In fact, the organization and clarity of the most advanced section helps build the movement as a whole, not vice-versa. It is on this basis that unity in action will be the broadest. Because of these positions, we stood diametrically opposed to the CP and the DuBois Clubs at the convention.

The conflict between the basic positions of the CP-DuBois group and ourselves dominated the convention. All others there played, at most, secondary roles in lining up with one or the other of the tendencies, or, as was more common, sat back and were confused by the whole thing.

PL and May 2nd were there, seemingly only to sell their literature and observe. On the question of the growth and strengthening of the independent committees they sided with the CP.

SDS, the organization of the so-called New Left, was also there. Perhaps the comrades who were at the convention did not notice it, but they were there. As a matter of fact, this was to be their convention: the first national gathering of the "New Left." What actually happened was that they, together with the rest of the "New Left," got caught in the middle of a fight over the crucial issues which the anti-war movement faces, found that they had nothing to offer, and sat back confused. Their only independent action at the convention was to put Paul Booth before a plenary session to speak against the proposed national protests, and to receive such strong opposition that he ended by voting against his own position.

And what of the crucial element at the convention, the independents? For the most part, they too were silent, the only exception being the meetings of the caucus where the most politically advanced of them participated in discussions about the things which interested them. We must not fool ourselves into thinking that all, or even a majority, of the independents joined the caucus. Only a small number did. Of the rest, a few do not agree with the politics of the caucus, and most were confused and demoralized by what they thought of as "in-fighting" on the Left. We must not make the opposite, and worse, mistake of writing them off.

Thus, the fight at the convention brought into question the weight of the "New Left" as a major political force, and has brought to the fore the political issues the anti-war movement must deal with, and the two tendencies which stand on opposite sides in regard to these issues: the CP-DuBois Clubs, and our movement. The major issue, once again, is whether the anti-war movement should move forward through the independent development and politicalization of its vanguard, or whether it should cease its political development and immerse itself in a melting pot, steered by the Stalinists under the compass of "liberal coalitionism," with the more backward elements of the "peace movement."

At this point we should discuss the two organizations which came out of the convention, and our role in relation to both.

The convention formed a "National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam." According to the resolution which was passed by the convention, "the NCC is a federation of groups opposed to the Vietnam War, constituted to help achieve the maximum effect of the Peace Movement, through coordinated activity. Its purpose is to coordinate national discussion, projects, and action. Under the principle of national coordination local groups maintain local autonomy for local action." As comrades are aware, during the course of the convention the proposed structure of the NCC was changed with the explicit purpose of countering moves to form a national organization based on the independent committees. The authors of the resolution finally adopted by the convention, explained that the NCC was being structured and presented in a way that would take much of the ground out from under attempts to build the national organization we were backing by making the NCC seem to be based solely on the independent committees. It was for this reason that votes on the NCC Standing Committee were taken away from national organizations (such as WSP, SNCC, CNVA, SDS, DuBois, YSA, etc.).

However, the NCC is not a parallel organization to the one proposed by the Caucus. There are several crucial differences. First, and most importantly, is the difference in political line. The NCC has no political line other

than opposition to the war in Vietnam. This is correct, and we support this, because the NCC is supposed to be a coordinating body for the anti-war movement. To repeat, the resolution reads: "its purpose is to coordinate national discussion, projects, and action."

The national organization being proposed by the Caucus, on the other hand, is based on a political line: i.e., the program of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Its purpose is not coordination, but unification and strengthening of the militant sectors of the anti-war movement. It will not replace the NCC, but will solidify one section of the anti-war movement which is now and will continue to be coordinated by the NCC. Secondly, the NCC hopes to (and should) work to coordinate with the other elements of the movement against the war in Vietnam. It defines its Standing Committee as follows: "The Standing Committee shall consist of one delegate from each group participating in the NCC. A participating group is defined as an independent local group opposed to the war in Vietnam, a local chapter of a national organization opposed to the war in Vietnam, or the national office of an organization opposed to the war in Vietnam." Thus, even though it does not give them a vote, the NCC hopes that groups like WSP, SNCC, CNVA and the organized left will coordinate through it. Again, this is what the NCC should be doing, and we support all efforts in this direction. I think it is clear, however, that this is not at all what the proposed national organization would be doing, although the national organization would certainly work to coordinate through the NCC.

To clarify, then, the role of the NCC: the NCC should be a body coordinating the activities of groups opposed to the Vietnam war regardless of their view as how best to end the war. It should serve one purpose only: to coordinate, on a national scale, literature and activities of the anti-war movement. It should seek the widest possible base, attempting to work with all elements of the movement against the war. It should operate on the strict principle of local autonomy. Even though the current NCC will be limited in its ability to carry out these functions because of the attempts to make it a parallel organization to the one we proposed, it is able to act as a coordinating center, and should be used as such.

We recognize the weakness of the NCC. We know that it cannot do both of the things it has set out to do: i.e., be an organization of the independent committees, on the one hand, and on the other hand, coordinate the activities of all of the anti-war and peace movements. However, we do not oppose it. We want to see a real National Coordinating Committee, and we work, in a friendly and supporting manner, to make the NCC be what it should be. We do this by urging our local committees to take advantage of the coordination it offers, and by building the NCC, through the local committees

into an effective coordinating body. The NCC does not have to be a threat to the proposed national organization of independent committees for withdrawal now. Our only problem in this regard is overcoming the illusion that the NCC as it now stands is an organization of the independent committees and thus makes superfluous building the caucus. This we will do in our educational work, while, at the same time, supporting the NCC and urging the committees to which we belong to coordinate through it.

The other organization which came out of the weekend is the Caucus to Constitute a National Organization of Local Independent Anti-war Committees for the Withdrawal of U.S. Troops. Comrades should be familiar with just what the Caucus is, and should be able to explain it to members of the committees. We can expect to become involved in debates, and fights, with the Stalinists and other opponents of the Caucus, and all comrades active in the anti-war movement should be able to explain and defend the Caucus. Comrades should keep up to date on developments within the Caucus. Read carefully the Newsletter and all Caucus correspondence.

There are several important things to keep in mind. First, the Caucus is not yet a national organization with member groups. The Caucus is a group of individuals from all over the country who are working together to build a national organization of independent committees with the program of immediate withdrawal. Almost all of the members of the Caucus belong to independent local committees and will continue to do so. The Caucus has decided to urge its members to work hard to build independent committees, as most of them have been doing for quite a while. The Caucus has outlined its chief work in the coming period to be as follows: "a) support and help build the March 25-26 Days of Protest; b) continue to build the anti-war committees and organize new committees where none now exist; c) convince as many people as possible that the way to end the war is to Bring the Troops Home Now; d) recruit supporters of immediate withdrawal to the caucus; e) build the NEWSLETTER by raising money to finance it and by selling it.

The Caucus is not working toward a split in the anti-war movement. As has already been pointed out, the Caucus is not trying to set up a parallel coordinating committee to the NCC. It is not trying to divide the anti-war movement, but only to strengthen, through organization, the most important sector of it: the new militants who have built the independent committees and who understand that U.S. intervention in Vietnam violates the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.

On the relationship of our movement to the caucus, I quote the letter of December 1, 1965, from the convention fraction steering committee to all comrades: "We are proud of the role we played in helping to give birth to the caucus. The formation of the caucus is an important political advance in the evolution of the anti-war movement. The fight for and the creation

of the caucus draws a sharp political line between those who would suck the anti-war movement into the camp of "negotiations," liberalism and popular frontism and those who want to build a movement for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. It is our expectation that the caucus will become the rallying point for those who are for self-determination and immediate withdrawal and holds the promise of being the embryo of a national organization for immediate withdrawal. At the same time, it will furnish the spearhead of the organizers who will build, not split, the existing C's EWV, regardless of whether they take a formal position of withdrawal now. They will organize new committees where others do not already exist. They will in no way oppose taking advantage of whatever coordinating service the NCC offers." YSAers active in the anti-war movement should all be members and builders of the Caucus. We bore the major responsibility for getting it started, and it is largely up to us, at this point, to build it and make it a viable, effective organization.

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

December 15, 1965

Attention Organizers:

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is the official Call for the Fifth National YSA Convention. As with other general reports coming from the National Office, organizers should make certain that the call is read aloud to the entire membership.

YSAers should start thinking now about arranging their work and school schedules, as well as their financial situation, so that they can attend the convention.

Organizers and NC members are responsible for organizing the oral pre-convention discussion in the locals. Qualified YSAers should be assigned to give reports on the points on the convention agenda.

The YSA will strictly enforce the stipulation in the Call which requires that a member must be no more than one month behind in dues and must have paid his convention assessment in order to vote. The money should be sent into the National Office as soon as possible.

Comradely,

Betsey Barnes

Betsey Barnes
National Secretary

CALL FOR THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The National Committee hereby calls the Fifth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance to convene in Chicago on Friday March 4 and to continue through three days (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, March 4, 5, and 6, 1966).

The following agenda is proposed for the convention:

Political Report
Tasks and Perspectives Report
Negro Report
Anti-war Report
Organizational Report
Election of the National Committee

Pre-Convention Discussion

Literary discussion will be opened with the publication of the first bulletin. The internal bulletin is open for all YSA members on the subjects listed in the agenda or others which they may wish to present for the consideration of the YSA.

Local membership meetings shall be arranged for oral discussion of the various points on the agenda.

Convention Assessments

A convention assessment of \$2.00 shall be levied to help cover the expenses of the convention, the payment of which is obligatory to every member.

Basis of Representation

1. Representation from the locals shall be as follows: one delegate for the first 5 members and one additional delegate for each 5 additional members or major faction thereof (3 or more constituting a major fraction).

2. Each local having 5 or more members is entitled to a voting delegate.

3. Delegates are to be elected by the locals in accordance with the actual number of members in good standing who have been admitted to the YSA prior to December 1, 1965, and who have paid their convention assessment. "Good standing" according to our constitution is defined as follows: Article III, Section 5, "Any member more than one month in arrears in dues ceases to be in good standing. Only members in good standing may vote or hold office in the YSA. Any member more than three months in arrears in dues shall be dropped from YSA membership after notification.

4. Locals organized after December 1, 1965 are entitled to send fraternal delegates to the convention.

5. Members admitted to the YSA after December 1, 1965 are entitled to voice in the local discussion, but no vote on resolutions or in the selection of delegates.

6. Members must be present and voting in person at the meeting where the election of delegates takes place. The only exception is for members whose absence is for a substantial reason such as being sick or working and who send in an unambiguous written statement of their positions or candidate choices.

7. Members transferring from one local to another since December 1, 1965 must vote in the local from which they transferred.

Proportional Representation

Where there is a division on national policy within a local unit, election of delegates in the local is to be on the basis of proportional representation. Delegates shall be elected on the basis of the vote on a resolution or a statement made in writing and submitted to the local unit for a vote. Abstentions in no case count as votes.

The following table shows the modified proportional system to be followed if division occurs:

<u>Number of qualified members in unit:</u>	<u>Total number of delegates the unit is entitled to:</u>	<u>Minimum number of those voting for a minority to get:</u>		
		<u>1 del.</u>	<u>2 del.</u>	<u>3 del.</u>
3-7	1	-*	-	-
8-12	2	1/3**	-	-
13-17	3	1/4	-*	-
18-22	4	1/5	2/5	-
23-27	5	1/6	1/3	-*
28-32	6	1/7	2/7	3/7
in general:				
5n+2	n	1/n+1	2/n+1	3/n+1

(*in the special case of a unit entitled to an odd number of delegates and where the division in unit voting is exactly equal, 2 delegates with 1/2 vote each will be elected.)

(** for example, in a unit of 8 qualified members, 8 times $1/3$ equals $2-2/3$ members; therefore a minimum 3 (not 2) would get a delegate. If the unit had 11 qualified members then 11 times $1/3$ equals $3-2/3$ members so 4 voting minority members would be the minimum to get a delegate. The same consideration holds true for figuring all other fractions in the above table.)

In the event a unit undergoes a more than two way division, that unit will elect delegates on a directly proportional basis (i.e., in a unit entitled to n delegates, at least $1/n$ fraction of qualified members must have voted for a position for that position to get a delegate).

After a division has been established, those voting each way will select in caucus their own delegations and report them to the unit as a whole for acknowledgement. Where no division has taken place the election of delegates will proceed normally by the unit as a whole.

National Committee
Young Socialist Alliance

December 15, 1965

NEC Minutes - December 10, 1965 No. 6

Present: NEC: Dan, Mary-Alice, Melissa, John, Doug, Jack
Betsey, Daniels, Ralph
NC: Lew
NC ALT: Caroline, Dick

Chairman: Doug

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. National Convention
3. Fund Drive
4. Subscription Drive
5. Anti-war Report

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. Plans are being made to get a YSA BUILDER out before the convention.

b. Motion: To have a national tour before the YSA convention.

Motion Passed

2. Convention Report - Doug

The last plenum voted to have a National YSA Convention in the late winter or early spring. Since there is no vacation weekend during this period we will have to hold it on a regular weekend.

Motion: To have a National YSA Convention on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of March in Chicago and that the agenda include a Political Report, a Tasks and Perspectives Report, a Negro Report, an Anti-war Report, an Organizational Report, and Election of the National Committee.

Motion Passed

3. Fund Drive - Mary-Alice

A lot of money has come in in the last week and it looks like almost all the locals will make their quotas and that we will make our national goal.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

4. Subscription Drive - Dan

Some of the locals which have very high quotas are having trouble making the drive. We are going to have to consult with these locals to decide what should be done. Under

these circumstances it is important that all locals organize to help bring in new subs and to raise the national total.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

5. Anti-War Report - Doug

Report on the situation in some of the local areas.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Dan, Doug, Mary-Alice, Doug, Dick, Jack, Doug
Dick, Jack, Dick, Jack.

Motion Passed

NEC Minutes - December 1, 1965 No. 5

Present: NEC: Jack, Melissa, Ralph, Dan, John, Daniels, Mary-Alice, Betsey

NC: Lew, John B., Derrel, Danny R.

NC ALT: Dick, Roland, Caroline, Kipp

Chairman: Daniels

Agenda: 1. Literature Sales
2. Membership
3. Subscription Drive
4. YOUNG SOCIALIST
5. Fund Drive
6. Bloomington Defense
7. National Office Staff
8. Anti-war Convention

1. Literature Sales - Betsey

The sales at the convention and demonstration in Washington were very successful. The total figures are:

Vietnam Pamphlet:	1,040
YOUNG SOCIALIST:	1,127
MILITANT:	802
"Malcolm X Speaks to Young People":	13

The sales at the literature table set up during the convention came to \$161.00. 1,000 MILITANTS were handed out at the convention in addition to the 802 sold.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

2. Membership - Betsey

Two students from the University of Illinois at Urbana have asked to join. They came into contact with us through literature they found on the newsstands in Berkeley. The Midwest trailblazers contacted them in Urbana after one of them sent in a five year YOUNG SOCIALIST subscription.

Motion: That they be accepted as at-large members of the YSA.

Motion Passed

3. Subscription Drive - Dan

The subscription drive is in bad shape at this time. A number of locals will find it extremely difficult to make their quotas. Many of the locals will be showing the FALN film in the next week which will help, but without a full mobilization to get subs in other ways we will not make the quota.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Jack, John B., Betsey, Roland, Dan, Jack

Motion Passed

5. Fund Drive - Roland

We are 16 per cent behind due to the rush around the convention. By next week we should be back on schedule. If not, we will have to make an extra effort to make the quota on time.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Mary-Alice

Motion Passed

6. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

Report on current legal developments.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

7. National Office Staff - Jack

Lew and Peggy will be moving to the center so that Lew can work in the National Office.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

8. Anti-war Work - Jack

Brief summary of the convention and its meaning for the future. A full report and discussion will take place next week in combined meeting with the other half of the fraction steering committee.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Jack, Dick, Melissa, Derrel, Kipp, Betsey, Danny, Kipp, John, Roland, Danny, Jack, Danny

Motion Passed

YSA

July 10, 1964

Report on Youth for DeBerry and Shaw

Reports have started to come in from around the country which show that already we are getting a good response to the DeBerry-Shaw campaign. The Students for DeBerry and Shaw Committees have helped to raise the question of independent political action on the campus and among our contacts, they have brought us new contacts, and have helped us to recruit.

The National Office has gotten letters from all over asking about the campaign from people who have clipped coupons from leaflets and brochures. Some of these people have offered to help the Committee. Just as we were able to rally non-YSAers to CABS, it is clear that we can rally people around the campaign.

Most locals have found that the most important thing to do in organizing a committee is to initiate activities. It has been found that contacts tend to be bored if they are immediately drawn into long business meetings. They are more enthusiastic when they participate in actions such as street meetings, pasting up posters and stickers, arranging for literature tables, sponsoring speakers, taking part in mock elections, demonstrating, passing out leaflets, selling buttons etc.

New York has found that new people are especially willing to come to DeBerry-Shaw discussion groups where some of the major issues of the election are presented in talks by members of the Committee or outside speakers. The Freedom Now Party, Vietnam, the War on Poverty, and Goldwater are all topics which are of interest to contacts of the Committee. A short business meeting of the Committee where actions are projected and discussed can be combined with an educational talk.

One of the most popular activities for DeBerry-Shaw supporters seems to be pasting up stickers and posters. We have heard that some enthusiastic supporters of the campaign in Boston covered Harvard Square with posters and signs spray painted over a cardboard stencil in bright red paint.

Street meetings on campus where students tend to gather or where large numbers pass by are effective. At a street meeting at Columbia a large group listened to SBSC speakers and a number of contacts were made. Around 115 militants and programs were sold at a recent street meeting in Greenwich Village.

The first issue of a Students for DeBerry and Shaw "Campaigner" will be coming out soon. This will have further information on some of the successes of the campaign so far. The "Campaigner" will not be for YSAers only. It

will be written so that it will be appropriate to send to isolated individuals who want to help with the campaign. The locals will be able to share it with their contacts. Unfortunately this issue will not cover some of the more recent and important actions of the SDS. This is because many locals have not written reports which they promised. From now on the locals should make it a habit to automatically send in reports on their activities.

Since we have so little time before the elections once schools open in the fall, we hope to get a good start on the campaign during the summer. By the election we should aim to get the fact known among as many young people as possible that there is a Negro candidate running for President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. This will mean it will be possible to build larger meetings for DeBerry and Shaw when they go on tour in the fall. It will also mean that we can get more people to any election time conferences and rallies which we plan.

Betsey Barnes
For the N.O.
July 10, 1964

REPORT ON THE CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM (in Washington, D.C. from Nov. 25-28, 1965)

From the National Executive of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

Most of this report will necessarily focus on the struggle over structure which dominated the entire conference. This struggle reflected the attempt that was made by a minority faction around YSA to withdraw the more than one hundred independent Viet-Nam committees out of a broad National Coordinating Committee where each committee retains full autonomy and equal voting representation, and to reorganize the independent committees into a narrow, self-isolating organization. It is important that this discussion be prefaced and framed by a brief analysis of the forces represented at this meeting and the trend they represent in the American peace movement.

Besides the assorted leftist sects, anarchists, vegetarians, sexual freedom activists and random wierdy-beardys who slithered into this meeting, an important and sizable section of the peace movement was represented at the convention. Although a few of the independent committees were only front groups organized or taken over by the minority faction in an effort to use the pose of 'Independent' as a stratagem in the effort to capture and radically change the NCCTEWN, most of the independent groups were functioning local anti-Viet Nam war organizations. Also participating were representatives from a number of substantial national organizations including SNCC, SDS, DuBois Clubs, Women Strike for Peace and others; a number of large solid independent groups--Iowans for Peace, NY Social Workers CTEWVN, Trade Unionists for Peace, VDCs from Long Island, Madison, Berkeley and San Francisco; LEMPA; and also important unaffiliated persons such as Irving Beinen of the National Guardian, Dave Dellinger of Liberation magazine and Staughton Lynd.

These forces represented a new and growing radical section of the American peace movement, an expanding awareness among many peace advocates that the Viet Nam war came about from a basic wrong in American policy reflecting an economic system which consistently pushes this country into war and terrorism. Even through the fog of sect politics which enveloped this convention, one can see that across the country there is motion in many local areas toward the development of a conscious left peace movement which can become a major influence in this country's political life. What is needed, and what we must continue to fight for, both at the national and local levels, is a National Coordinating Committee which will be the kind of broad servicing agency which, through communication and programmatic suggestion, can encourage and stimulate this development in the different forms and at the different levels of understanding that are developing across America.

The DBC approach to the convention originally was to subordinate the question of structure to that of program. It was the feeling of our National Executive that if the convention was to be productive that it would have to develop a nationally coordinated program which could involve the broadest type of participation, and that to do this the structure should remain essentially unchanged, while the national center of the NCCTEWN should be strengthened to better service its constituents. Recognizing that a minority element was pushing for a basically different type of organization, with an ideological orientation which would limit participation, our attitude was to aid the independents who rejected this plan, while not becoming the sole bulwark against this minority. We did not want to be drawn into a factional dispute which pitted the DBC against YSA, though we would aid those who opposed the minority faction's design.

Coming into the convention several problems developed. First of all, though we knew what the minority faction had in mind, we had very few ideas of what form their effort would take. It became clear that the question of structure would be the area of dispute, but as to the exact character of their intentions we were unclear. This may

be attributed in part to poor communications between the local clubs and the national office of the DBC. The battle had begun on the local level in the independent committees, but the content and form of that battle was not communicated to the DBC national. Also though we saw the main task of the convention as developing program, the DBC, in part because its own was very limited, did not come to Washington with much in the way of programmatic proposals or perspectives. And in the process of emphasizing the one, we completely neglected the structure question, and thus had not prepared to come forward with any concrete suggestions in this area either. Most national DBC people came to the convention with only vague ideas of what was coming and basically were going to just wait and play it by ear.

The reasons given by the minority faction for the need for a different type of organization seemed valid to many delegates at first in that they reflected legitimate concerns of many independent groups. It was argued that the National Coordinating Committee was dominated by national organizations; that a single independent Viet Nam committee could have no real say in policy making. Therefore, it was proposed that a separate organization be established which could express the feelings of local committees, which would be completely dominated by them, and which could meet their needs. This would be a membership organization which would be organized at the convention.

At the same time, the minority faction said they wanted a National Coordinating Committee--an umbrella organization for the peace movement which would coordinate activity for the entire movement. This Committee would include every organization from SANE and Turn Toward Peace to the YSA, and would include the new organization of independents as a member.

In fact, the claim that the NCC was dominated by national organizations was untrue. 68 out of 73 steering committee seats were controlled by independent committees. There were 5 votes for national organizations, while the independents had 68. Therefore, national domination could not be the real issue.

Likewise, the charge that independent committees were denied a voice in policy making was not valid. As the NCC was structured originally, each local committee had an equal voice in policy making, one vote, the same as any other local or national organization. And yet, they were permitted the greatest degree of independence to protest the war in whatever way they thought best, considering local conditions, etc.

In actuality, the proposed new organization did away with the independence of the local committees--they would now be part of a national organization, bound by a common set of principles, with policy being determined not by local groups but by a national leadership. What was actually happening was that an attempt was being made to consolidate the new anti-war movements around a single, left political trend. What was actually being proposed was not an organization of the independents, but only of a small number of independent committees; not meeting the need of coordinating activity between a variety of different kinds of independent groupings, but splitting the more radical independents away from the others. What would have emerged would have been a left sectarian organization that would have isolated the new radical forces in the peace movement, rather than allowing them to work more closely with the whole peace movement in finding new ways to reach the American people.

The proposed new organization contained in its statement of purpose two political requirements: 1) U.S. aggression deprives the Vietnamese people of their right to self-determination. 2) A demand for immediate withdrawal now!

The majority of independents at the convention, even though they agreed with the statements, did not feel their committees could operate successfully around those principles.

What is really needed is an NCC which could service all Viet Nam committees, no matter what their level or approach to the war. As it was (and is) structured, it can provide forms for the broad, as well as the radical, sections of the peace movement and can find ways in which they can work together.

Though early in the convention it became clear to us that the minority faction was using the question of structure to promote divisive maneuvers, we did not want to be drawn into the position of opening a factional fight by publicly exposing them. Our intention was to speak with the independents about the problem, to participate in the workshops fully emphasizing programatic development, and attempt to aid others in defining and resolving the problem. Unfortunately we were hamstrung by a paucity of concrete proposals. To accomplish this we called a series of DBC caucuses for local and national members and other interested individuals. These caucuses were a great aid in providing clarity and direction for those who participated. Though these were of great benefit and did much to improve our relations with key people they were quickly thrown together, informally structured, and the leadership was little better prepared to help than the membership. The full effects of the caucuses were not felt because the DBC members did not take the caucus discussions out of the caucuses to the independents in the convention. While the leadership could have spoken out more in the sessions, the membership could have played a better role in bringing clarity and understanding to the independents who in the main were confused and demoralized by the tactics of the minority faction.

In the steering committee, the DBC played a decisive role. We were able to take many of the caucus conclusions into these discussions, to contribute ably to the deliberations, to build close working relations with key independents, and to gain the respect of most of the delegates present. We provided a strong backstop to the independents who finally exposed the maneuvers of the minority faction without becoming the sole source of that exposure. In the main we played an extremely responsible and unifying role. But the failure here was that the content and level of the steering committee discussions were not carried directly or indirectly to the plenum.

By the conclusion of the convention the minority faction was thoroughly exposed and discredited. The caucus they called after the convention was a dismal failure, and drew only a few independents to it. Most of the independents who were involved paid high tribute to the DBC for its responsible and unifying role, and the respect we have gained among some of the key figures in the peace movement far outweighs the mistakes and failures which we had. Though we did not play a dominant role in providing programatic suggestions, we contributed greatly in finally bringing the issues of program to the plenum, and far outshined all others in the overall contribution we made. Unlike other national organizations we did not view the convention as a recruiting ground, and yet surely because of the role we played in respecting the integrity of the independents our influence and membership will grow.

The significance of the convention is that the dominant forces in the radical section of the peace movement became more convinced of the need for unity and breadth in the peace movement with strong opposition to the trend toward isolation. This was a move in the opposite direction, toward finding the means to work with all those forces who oppose the war no matter what their level of understanding might be. The convention is now history, and we must face the problems created by it and around it by others at home. We must seek to build the strongest and broadest NCC feasible.

To All Comrades:

December 1, 1965

Preliminary Report on the Anti-War Convention

Neither organization participating in our joint fraction at the Thanksgiving Convention in Washington D.C. has yet had a full discussion and report. Such reports will be forthcoming.

The pressure, however, of early post convention Committee to End the War in Vietnam meetings makes it necessary to send out a brief report immediately to comrades active in the anti-war movement. We cover here only what the CAUCUS TO CONSTITUTE A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL INDEPENDENT ANTI-WAR COMMITTEES FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS is and what tasks it poses for us.

The caucus was born out of several gatherings of delegates, alternates, and members from C'sEWV who were interested in eventually forming a national organization based on and responsible solely to the C'sEWV which are for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

Although it was not possible to form a national organization for withdrawal, there was enough support to form a caucus with the perspective of forming such an organization.

The caucus is not a national organization with chapters or affiliates. It is an association of individuals most of whom belong to C'sEWV and will continue to do so. Caucus members in local areas will not be splitting from the existing C'sEWV in order to establish new organizations but will be the best builders and most active members of the C'sEWV. As active members of the C'sEWV they will recruit individuals to support the idea of immediate withdrawal and thus to the caucus.

The major tasks ahead of the caucus are:

- 1) putting out a regular newsletter. The caucus selected a three-man steering committee (Danny Rosenshine, delegate from Cleveland CEWV; Kipp Dawson, Chairman and delegate from San Francisco State College VDC; Jens Jensen, Chairman and delegate from Cambridge CEWV) to arrange for putting this out. The first issue will be out by the weekend and will contain the major documents of the convention and an analysis.
- 2) recruiting individuals to the caucus and to the line of immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. Names of new members of the caucus should be mailed to the newsletter immediately.

- 3) raising money to finance the newsletter as well as possible organizing tours.
- 4) the caucus agreed in Washington that local groups of caucus members should select representatives to correspond with the newsletter and establish a national steering committee of the caucus.
- 5) being in the forefront building the existing C'sEWV and organizing new ones. Urge that the C'sEWV they are members of participate in the NCC.

Relationship to National Coordinating Committee

At the convention the caucus was accused of splitting from the NCC in order to establish a competing, parallel organization.

These charges are untrue. The caucus recognizes the NCC is a coordinating center for all groups opposed to the war in Vietnam. The NCC welcomes participating groups opposed to the war in Vietnam. Although national organizations (e.g. WSP, CNVA, YSA, DuBois Club, etc.) do not have a vote, they are members on the steering committee of the NCC. Furthermore, some local chapters of radical political organizations like SDS or DuBois Clubs will not only have voice, but voting representatives on the NCC. The NCC, a coordinating service, umbrella type organization with no political line, is not a parallel organization to the kind of organization that the caucus wants to see and is working for, that is a national organization based exclusively on and responsible to the C'sEWV and standing on the line of withdrawal. The caucus also feels that the C'sEWV should take advantage of the coordination from the NCC and that a representative from each CEWV should be elected to the Steering Committee of the NCC.

Our Relationship to the Caucus

We are proud of the role we played in helping to give birth to the caucus. The formation of the caucus is an important political advance in the evolution of the anti-war movement. The fight for and the creation of the caucus draws a sharp political line between those who would suck the anti-war movement into the camp of "negotiations", liberalism and popular frontism and those who want to build a movement for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. It is our expectation that the caucus will become the rallying point for those who are for self-determination and immediate withdrawal and holds the promise of being the embryo of a national organization for immediate withdrawal.

At the same time, it will furnish the spearhead of the organizers who will build, not split, the existing CEWV, regardless of whether they take a formal position of withdrawal now. They will organize new committees where others don't already exist. They will in no way oppose taking advantage of whatever coordinating service the NCC offers.

Our Tasks

1. It should be the norm for every comrade active in a CEWV to also belong to the caucus.
2. We must learn how to explain the origins of the caucus, its relationship to the NCC, and its line of withdrawal.
3. The caucus is not a front group in any way, shape or form, and we should bend over backward to be sure that we do not give that impression. The caucus and the newsletter are not covers for presenting our political analyses or platforms from which to wage attacks on political opponents. We will collaborate with all persons in the caucus at all levels in an open and frank manner.
4. This in no way contradicts being the best builders of the caucus and propagandists for the line of withdrawal now any more than it contradicts being the best builders of the CEWV.
5. We must be extremely careful to give absolutely no credence to the false charges that we are "splitters".

Comradely,

Doug Jenness
Ed Shaw
(Fraction Steering Committee)

Note: The working papers for a national organization of independent committees for withdrawal are enclosed. These were never submitted to the convention as a whole for a vote but were distributed only for the purposes of information.

A proposed structure for the NCC, which is not enclosed, was submitted by the Caucus to the convention for a vote. This proposal, however, was defeated in favor of a similar but less democratic proposal.

WORKING PAPERS OF THE CAUCUS TO CONSTITUTE A
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL INDEPENDENT ANTI-WAR
COMITTEES FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS NOW

The independent committees to End the War in Vietnam which stand for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam are the most im dynamic section of the movement against the war. They should be organized nationally, to discuss their common problems and increase their effectiveness. To that end, delegates and members of local committees who are for a national organization of local committees for the withdrawal of troops have met in a caucus, and have adopted by consensus the following working papers.

We have been charged with perpetrating a "split" by so organizing ourselves into a caucus. Nothing could be further from the truth. We are absolutely opposed to a split of this convention of the National Coordinating Committee. We believe that the broad spectrum of peace forces represented here at the convention, having different positions on how to end the war, should agree to continue to coordinate themselves through a democratically structured National Coordinating Committee. To this end we are submitting to the plenary session on structure a proposal for such a coordinating committee.

At the same time, those members of independent committees who are for withdrawal of U.S. troops obviously have the right to caucus and organize themselves. This will strengthen the most dynamic section of the movement, and thereby the movement as a whole.

The caucus to constitute a national organization of local independent anti war committces for withdrawal of U.S. troops now, will meet approximately one hour after the plenary scssion closes. The caucus is open to members and delegates from local independent committees who wish to support the caucus. The place is to be announced.

November 28, 1965

Working papers on perspectives by the caucus for constituting a national organization of local anti-Vietnam war committees for withdrawal of U.S. troops now.

Proposals on Statement of Purpose

This is an organization of independent committees and individuals working together on the basis of agreement on the following points:

- A. U.S. intervention in Vietnam violates the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.
- B. The U.S. government must withdraw our troops from Vietnam now.
- C. The committees welcome the membership of all regardless of other political views or affiliations.
- D. The member committees can not be affiliated to any other national or political organization except the National Coordinating Committee, although they are encouraged to take part in joint anti-war action with other organizations in their area.

Proposals on Structure

1. A National Council of elected representatives from each member committee. Each member of the council is responsible to his committee and subject to recall by his committee.
2. A small national staff, about 5, responsible to the National Council.
3. Local autonomy for local actions, local initiative, etc.
4. Staff and national Council work within tasks outlined by the founding body until a national convention is held.
5. Committees may affiliate, so may individuals. An individual in a non-member committee can join the national organization. An individual in a member committee may choose not to join. An individual with non-affiliated committee in his area may join at large on the basis of agreement with the program.
6. Procedure for affiliation of ^{new} committees: application to national staff, stating agreement of the majority of the membership with statement of purpose and structure.
7. Work toward national convention within the next six months.
8. Financial responsibility of affiliating committees and individuals.

PROPOSALS ON TASKS

1. National newsletter to dig up the facts, expose the lies, tell the truth about the war, and provide information on anti-war committees.
2. Organizing drive to organize new committees, and seek affiliation of individuals and of already existing committees.
3. Publish one or two pamphlets on the truth about the war. A brochure on the committees. Distribution center of literature.
4. Collect a list of sponsors (prominent people, professors, etc., to support the committees).
5. Work to publicize and build the next large national action, agreed to by the NCC convention.
6. Seek representation on the NCC.

November 28, 1965

NEC Minutes - November 17, 1965 -No. 4

Present: NEC: Ralph, Jack, John, Dan, Daniels, Betsey,
Melissa

NC ALT: Roland, Dick, Caroline

Excused: Mary-Alice

Late Excused: Doug

Chairman: John

- Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. San Diego
3. Personality Research Projects
4. Young Socialist
5. Subscription Drive
6. Anti-War Movement
7. Fox Document

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. We have received a letter from Peng Shu-Tse and Chen Pi-Lan thanking us for the greetings and the gift sent on the occasion of Peng's 70th birthday. They wrote that the document we had typed for them will be very useful.

b. We have sent a letter to the Berkeley VDC supporting their march on the 20th.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

2. San Diego - Betsey

A number of people have applied for membership in San Diego. They are beginning to take part in YSA activities such as sales, anti-war work, etc.

Motion: That we accept the San Diego applicants into membership, but that the San Diego group not yet be considered a local.

Motion Passed

3. Personality Research Projects - Betsey

Jan has written indicating that two different re-search groups have asked YSAers to fill out personality research questionnaires in Detroit. He suggested that we discuss having a national policy on such projects.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Betsey, Roland, Jack, Betsey

Motion: That we write Jan suggesting that we ~~not~~

take part in such projects officially representing the YSA and that we make no other definite policies on this question unless it becomes a problem nationally.

Motion Passed

4. Young Socialist - Dan

There have been problems in getting the YS out this issue. We will be making a big push to get it out in time for the march in Washington.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Roland, Dick, Jack Betsey

Motion Passed

5. Subscription Drive - Dan

The sub drive is lagging. We will have to make a conscious effort to catch up after the Washington Convention.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Daniels, Dan

Motion Passed

6. Anti-War Movement - Jack

Motions: 1. To work with the SWP in a joint fraction at the convention. 2. To have a Steering Committee made up of representatives of the YSA and SWP. 3. To have a fraction made up of delegates and an NCer or organizer from each local.

Discussion: Doug, Ralph, Doug, Jack, Roland, John, Dick, Betsey, Melissa, Doug, Jack, Melissa, Jack, Betsey, Melissa, John, Daniels, Jack, Dan, Jack, John, Jack, Ralph, Jack, Daniels, Dan, Doug, Betsey, Dan

Motions Passed

7. Fox Document - Jack

Motion: That the Fox document be filed and not submitted by the national YSA, any local unit, or any individual to the Washington Anti-War Convention.

Motion Passed

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York

November 5, 1965

Dear July,

The enclosed statements were submitted for discussion in the New York committees to end the war in Vietnam.

The four page document was submitted for the purpose of clarifying the relationship between the independent committees and other components of the anti-war movement as well as set forth a perspective for the eventual national organization of the independent committees. This was submitted for the purposes of discussion only.

The one page document was proposed as a statement of purpose for a city wide alliance of the various campus and community independent committees.

We are sending a copy of each of these statements to every YSA local as a guide to position papers or statement of purposes that you may want to initiate in your committee.

We hoped to have position papers actually endorsed by major committees out to you by now. However, the committees that were to do this have been delayed a week or so. Therefore we are sending these statements out now, to assist you in your discussions and educational work in the committees.

Whether you want to introduce these in your committee, re-write them for your committees, or present the ideas orally is up to your own tactical needs. The important thing is that these ideas are discussed thoroughly and openly in the committees between now and the convention.

Comradely,

Doug Jenness

Doug Jenness

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

November 12, 1965

Dear Comrades,

The debates on perspectives within the anti-war movement, especially among radical tendencies, have increased sharply as the Washington Convention approaches. These have taken the form of open discussions in anti-war meetings and the radical press, and slander, especially against the YSA and SWP.

The Militants dated November 15, 22, and 29 will deal with some of the issues in debate in a series of articles by Fred Halstead and Barry Sheppard. Before the convention it is important that we clarify the issues involved, the character of the movement that has evolved since the April 17 March on Washington, and our perspectives for it.

The Movement and the Committees to End the War in Vietnam

The anti-war movement is composed of the old line pacifist organizations, (SANE, WSP, CNVA, etc.) the radical parties and especially the youth groups, (CP-DuBois, PLP-M2M, SWP-YSA, SDS) and the Committees to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV) that originally grew out of the ad hoc formations that organized for the April 17 SDS March on Washington. The Committees to End the War in Vietnam, while only one component of the entire anti-war movement, embraced the vast majority of students who opposed the war in Vietnam. They were the vehicle capable of organizing thousands in the fight to bring the troops home, regardless of their views on other subjects.

As these committees continued to grow following the March on Washington it was clear that none of the radical groups, including SDS, was capable of directly recruiting the thousands who opposed the war and becoming the anti-Vietnam war organization. This was the objective basis for the growth and national organization of the CEWV.

Non-Exclusion - Two Forms

The committees were open to anyone opposed to the war in Vietnam and in favor of American withdrawal regardless of political affiliations or views on other social questions - that is, they were non-exclusive.

Their activity against the war was carried out in cooperation with other organizations (radical, pacifist) whenever agreement could be reached on a particular activity. There tended to be no red-baiting. Every organization that agreed on an activity was cooperated with and involved in the decision making. This was a second form of non-exclusion.

It often involved the formation of quasi-united front, city-wide ad hoc coordinating committees to build marches, teach-ins, etc.

Both of these forms of non-exclusion were initiated by SDS in the April 17 March on Washington. (1.) Membership in the ad hoc committees (many of which later grew into the Committees to End the War in Vietnam) was open to anyone who wanted to build the March. (2.) At the same time the organizers of the March solicited the advice and endorsement of every organization who agreed with the basic ideas of the call.

Politics

The SDS call for the March on Washington stressed that the war was a civil war and that the American government was directly responsible for the denial of peace and self determination for the Vietnamese. This call captured the radical mood of the youth, and showed that not only organizational non-exclusion, but the political demand for self determination not 3rd campism, is the best mobilizer of thousands of students. This precipitated the fight with Thomas, Rustin, Harrington, the LID, and right wing pacifists. The articles attacking the Social Democrats in Studies on the Left and the Liberation debate were an outgrowth of this. The debate was not decisive in hammering out a clear alternative program to coalitionism and exclusion, but leadership of the anti-war movement passed to the hands of the more radical youth from the old line Social Democrats and right wing pacifists.

Single Issue and Multi-Issue

With summer there was a slow down of campus anti-war activity and a number of activists turned to "community organizing" during summer break. The lack of any national organization or perspective for the Committees to End the War in Vietnam and the withdrawal of SDS, DuBois, and M-2-M from concentration on anti-Vietnam war work helped raise the debate whether the anti-war movement or Committees to End the War in Vietnam - it was never clear which, - should be multi-issue (poverty, civil rights, political action, university reform) oriented, or single-issue (End the War in Vietnam NOW!) oriented. This was largely a sham battle that covered up rather than elucidated the issues at stake.

All the radical organizations are multi-issue and none believe that society can be changed (either to socialism or some form of participatory democracy) nor war in general abolished by a program or pattern of activity around a single issue. Thus any member of SDS, YSA, DuBois, M-2-M, has a multi-issue approach to the war.

However, the Committees to End the War in Vietnam, one of the components of the anti-war movement, were formed around the single issue End the War in Vietnam; U.S. get out. Any

attempt to add further planks to their program would destroy them. Those who make them up agree on this basic point and no other. To make other conditions for membership in these organizations would narrow not broaden them. This includes points like attitudes toward independent politics, class character of U.S. government, support for NLF, and what to do with your draft card. 1

Whether you are a Republican or Democrat or socialist, pro-NLF or anti-NLF, liberal, conscientious objector, or Marxist, you can join Committees to End the War in Vietnam if you agree on Vietnam for the Vietnamese NOW!

Among the members of the Committees to End the War in Vietnam and the milieu of youth attracted to the anti-war movement all the various multi-issue organizations compete for influence and recruits. (See the November 1 and November 15 Militant on this).

But SDS, DuBois, and M-2-M, unlike YSA, saw the Committees to End the War in Vietnam as competitors. They wanted to impose their multi-issue program on or bring into their orbit the Committees to End the War in Vietnam without openly stating this. The integration, participation, and in some places, leading role YSA members played further made SDS, DuBois, and M-2-M anxious to keep the Committees to End the War in Vietnam as dependent as possible on the initiative and multi-issue program of other layers of the anti-war movement.

The National Coordinating Committee

The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, formed August 9 at the Washington Assembly of Unrepresented People, was a reflection of the confusion resulting from an inability or refusal to differentiate the anti-war movement from the Committees to End the War in Vietnam. The National Coordinating Committee was composed of individual names in the anti-war movement (Lynd, Dellinger, etc.), representatives of the main radical and youth peace groups, and a number of representatives of local Committees to End the War in Vietnam. Whether it was a coordinating committee for the anti-war movement as a whole, or whether it was the embryonic National Committee to End the War in Vietnam, or neither was almost any one's guess. The September decision to have a convention delegated basically from the C'sEWV and the NCC's assumption of credit for "coordinating" the October 15 and 16 rallies and promises of more of the same continued this ambivalence.

October 15th and 16th and It's Aftermath

The rapid reorganization and growth of the campus C'sEWV in the fall proved that opposition to the Vietnam War remained the central issue around which liberal and radical students could be mobilized. This was more than confirmed when the International Days of Protest demonstrations turned out tens

of thousands more participants than any of the spokesmen of the anti-war movement had anticipated.

In practice, regardless of SDS and DuBois summer decisions not to put their primary emphasis on Vietnam work and the campus, the campus and Vietnam work became the central focus of all the radical youth organizations.

Pressure against the anti-war movement from the press and government increased. A number of counter rallies and demonstrations were organized for the first time. Counter demonstrations became the norm at rallies and a few "labor" peacelovers pulled demonstratively out of sponsorship of the SANE March after the AFL-CIO heads opened up on the anti-war movement.

The effects of this were felt by the young forces in the anti-war movement. It is instructive to compare the SDS call for the April 17 March on Washington to their call for the Thanksgiving March.

In this context the continual growth of the C's EWV, our integration and sometimes leadership role in them and the proximity of the convention saw the DuBois Club and, to a certain degree SDS, decide to participate in the convention and to counter pose the formation of a national organization of the C's EWV to a strengthened National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. It also saw attacks on the YSA's position and distortions of the YSA's ideas in several areas. (See N.Y. enclosures)

We are in favor of a national, and local, coordinating committee against the war in Vietnam with non-exclusive representation from all the components of the anti-war movement. It would exchange ideas and discuss national actions for the anti-war movement. But this does not contradict in any way the need for a National Organization of the Committees to End the War in Vietnam.

These committees represent the largest section of the movement numerically and one of the most militant. They should have a voice in all coordinating committees, local and national. No other groups (SANE, SDS, YSA, DuBois, etc.) speak for their members. If they did, the members would all join one of these organizations. But thousands have not.

Any attempt to impose the multi-issue program of SDS or anyone else on them would narrow their recruitment possibilities, and split them. Their members agree on the necessity to end the war and leave Vietnam to the Vietnamese.

This does not mean that various "multi-issue" organizations should not try to recruit the members of the C's EWV to their own particular brand of multi-issue activities (radical democracy, liberalism, Stalinism, New Left, revolutionary socialism, etc.) nor that members of the C's EWV do not have an

interest in issues "outside" the Vietnam war issue.

Membership should be open to all who are for getting out of Vietnam and the Committees to End The War in Vietnam should cooperate non-exclusively in demonstrations, rallies, panels, etc. with all groups who oppose the war.

To oppose the formation of a national organization and perspective for the Committees to End the War in Vietnam is to condemn thousands of students from Maine to El Paso to the dissipation of their energies in exchange for being able to draw some of the committees into affiliation with or under the domination of SDS, or the DuBois Club, or M-2-M. It is hard to imagine a more sectarian attitude.

The statements about the YSA and SWP released to the bourgeois press (see enclosed) is just another form of red-baiting and should be opposed as such. If someone in the anti-war movement is in disagreement with us over a tactic or perspectives or think we have made an error they should at least raise it with us first. This was not done before these articles appeared by either Booth or SDS in New York. This was not the way we operated with our suggestions and criticisms of SDS at the time of the April 17 March on Washington. The surest way to cut the anti-war movement apart is to make it a factional battleground in the daily press. These ideas should be raised with individual SDSers and members of the CEWV.

A separate letter on the organization of our fraction in Washington, D.C. will be sent in several days.

Jack

November 12, 1965

Dear Comrades,

This draft statement, although unsigned, was written by James Weinstein and Stanley Aronowitz of Studies on the Left. Several years ago, Aronowitz was campaign manager for Mark Lane, a reform Democrat. This document has been widely circulated in the New York anti-war movement.

Supporters of this new committee have announced plans to run a candidate next year in the 19th Congressional district in New York City. They have been actively counterposing this brand of "independent political action" as the only "effective" approach for the anti-war movement.

Fraternally,

Jon Britton

Draft Statement for the Committee for Independent

Political Action

Most Americans have been cut off and excluded from the process of making the basic decisions that affect their lives. Partisan politics in the United States operates to sustain and extend the immediate and long-range interests of a relative handful of giant corporations and their institutional supporters. But the material and strategic interests and commitments of these corporations and their leaders, and the social values that flow from these interests, differ essentially from those of the poor, the workers, and most middle class Americans. In the determination of both domestic and foreign policy concern with the protection and extension of private property and profits takes priority over the personal and social needs of ordinary people. Domination of American politics by giant corporations has brought the United States to international crisis and to the organization of our lives around the ideological, political and material necessities of the Cold War. The vast majority of the American people have no real interest in the continuation of the domestic and foreign policies and programs that have been imposed upon them by a political machinery they do not control.

American foreign policy is based on the assumption that changes in social systems that challenge the existing power relationships between classes (and between the socialist and capitalist blocs) are impermissible. This policy of denying to other peoples the right to choose their own economic and political paths has created an ever-present danger of war and has forced all of us to accept as "normal" a state of mobilization or semi-mobilization for war. This has meant not only an economy that relies on armament production, but also has limited the framework of "legitimate" political debate. The atmosphere of the Cold War and its periodic Vietnams, acts as a control mechanism over the entire range of domestic policies affecting social welfare, Negro rights, education and civil liberties. Even for liberals and reformers, the Cold War has defined the ideological space within which traditional American politics can operate. The presence of American troops in Vietnam, and the equally blatant intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic are the immediate manifestations of American commitment to oppose popular revolution anywhere in the world. Yet no major party politician or relevant political organization has opposed these policies or the assumptions underlying them.

Even in domestic affairs no liberal or reform politician has come forward with a consistent set of criticisms or an alternative program. Contrary to their professed intentions, existing poverty, housing and school programs have served to perpetuate the conditions of the poor and to lull people into inactivity by giving them a false sense of hope, while actually strengthening

the political machines and serving powerful local real estate interests and other entrenched financial, bureaucratic and social groups. Urban renewal has worsened the living conditions of those it supposedly helps, yet it has vastly increased the value of local property. It has dehumanized low income workers and families by forcing them out of their homes with little or no consideration for their individual or group needs. The process of dehumanization continues in the schools where basic educational needs are often ignored and the quality of education has lagged further and further behind what is needed and possible. Despite some integration in previously all-white schools, the overall pattern of segregation is increasing. Poverty programs are the most blatant form of manipulation. They do little more than serve as new sources of political patronage or social control over insurgency in the ghetto. These problems are linked to the Cold War not only because massive arms spending limits the public funds available for social programs, but also because the Cold War framework stifles serious opposition in what is called the "national interest". This atmosphere makes it impossible for liberal politicians, whose political lives depend ultimately on the sufferance of the Johnson Administration, to enter coalitions with radicals who publicly reject the assumptions of Cold War mythology, or to propose alternative programs of a "socialist" character.

In recent years some radicals have worked within the reform movement of the Democratic party, while others have rejected major party politics and attempted to build monolithic socialist parties. Those within the reform movement have operated on the theory that once people are involved in action they will be brought to a generalized understanding of the nature of the Cold War and its concomitant policies. In order to function within the reform movement they have submerged their private beliefs in the interests of united action. Accepting activity entirely within the framework of ideas and assumptions of Cold War liberalism, they have often served simply as activists for their ideological opponents. In no reform club has a constituency been built which consciously rejects the assumptions and values of the Cold War. On the other hand, radicals in the various socialist parties have been unable to break out of their narrow disputes, or to find a way to make their activity relevant to large numbers of people. They have provided a means of registering protest, but they have been unable to relate program to educating and organizing a constituency.

We believe that if radicals are to be more than gadflies, if they are serious about challenging the political status quo and the policies and programs of the Administration, their main strategic concern must be to work toward the development of an independent, self-conscious popular movement in the community -- no matter how long or difficult this process may be. And they must develop specific, workable alternatives to the institutions and agencies that are responsible for domestic and foreign policy. We must begin building a mass movement based

on a radical perception of American society -- one that develops a vision of a future society whose priorities are determined by popular need, rather than by corporate interest. This makes popular education a primary task, along with the need to create alternative programs based on a new set of power relationships. We feel that this can be done only by combining consistent action on immediate issues with a radical critique of American society and an opportunity to consider alternative views of the way in which it might be organized. We do not reject the concept of coalition politics, but we feel this is secondary to the building of a radical constituency.

As a first step in attempting to do this, we have formed an independent radical political association on the West Side of Manhattan, within the Nineteenth Congressional District. We see this as part of a process of building a national radical political movement, but we do not believe a national organization will be meaningful until (or unless) a number of local movements have been successfully established.

The immediate objectives of our association are (1) to lay the basis for an electoral campaign within the Nineteenth Congressional District in 1966. We are prepared to run candidates in the Democratic primaries, or as independents. We consider the question of electoral forum to be tactical and secondary to the process of building a stable constituency. (2) To conduct community organizing work on the questions of American neo-colonialism (peace), housing, schools and other community issues, on a year-round basis. (3) To participate in and organize direct action -- demonstrations, rent strikes, others. (4) To engage in educational work in the community around forums, popular discussion and the development of our own literature. (5) To bring together professional people in discussion and research projects to develop alternative programs.

We see activity in opposition to the war in Vietnam as one of our major activities in the next several months.

The association will be open to all individuals who agree with its aims and the broad outline of its strategy. No exclusion will be made on the basis of prior political affiliation.

November 12, 1965

Dear Comrades,

The Draft Perspective for the Anti-war Movement is a position paper passed by the Washington Heights CEWV, an upper Manhattan community based committee in collaboration with individuals, mainly our comrades, in the other New York committees listed. It has been circulated in the New York anti-war movement to serve primarily an educational function in preparation for the Washington convention.

The call for a November 18 city-wide meeting of elected representatives was the result of the N.Y.C.E.W.V. voting to dissolve itself. The vote to dissolve occurred at a city-wide steering committee meeting November 1 stacked by the Aronowitz wing of SDS which has been in control of the central office since August. This rather surprising move apparently reflected fear on their part, not entirely unjustified, that our line (promoting independent Vietnam committees not officially tied to any radical organization including SDS) would carry at a scheduled city-wide General Assembly meeting November 4. The call was sent to 27 New York Area Vietnam committees.

The Draft Statement was included in the same mailing as the above call to be used as a basis of discussion on collaboration between the committees. Hopefully, the representatives at the November 18 meeting will approve this statement or a modified version of it and begin functioning as a provisional new city-wide committee.

The N.Y. Times and Guardian excerpts are included to indicate the kind of slanders being publicly circulated by SDS and other "progressives" to justify the dissolution of the N.Y. Committee.

Fraternally,

Jon Britton

Excerpt from National Guardian, November 13, p. 3 .

"In New York, the CEWV announced Nov. 2 that it was disbanding because its attempts to organize "grass-roots" community organizations last summer around the Vietnam issue had failed. It said the original purpose had been superceded by efforts to coordinate the various occupational and campus groups that sprang up this fall. The committee said it failed in this second objective because the many different groups 'do not and perhaps cannot operate within the broad strategy and policy as set forth by the NYCEWV.' This was understood to mean groups such as the Socialist Workers Party would not accept a non-sectarian policy because of political and tactical differences. An SDS campus and community organizing project will continue from CEWV offices."

A Draft Perspective for the Anti-War Movement

In the past few weeks a great deal of discussion has been taking place within the anti-war movement dealing with a strategy or perspective for the movement. Everyone agrees that we need a clear perspective to move ahead but there is not yet agreement on what that perspective should be. The aim of this contribution is to present and explain the perspective we and others feel should be adopted by the anti-war movement.

The history of the new anti-war movement -- as distinct from the old peace movement -- is a short one. This dynamic new movement was born out of the March on Washington last April. The significance of this demonstration against U.S. policy in Vietnam lies not only in the numbers it mobilized which exceeded everyone's expectations, but also, and more important, in the organized opposition that came out of it.

The anti-war movement, in the broadest sense, is now made up of all the various established organizations, SANE WSP, CNVA, DuBois Clubs, SDS, YSA, civil rights groups, etc., that are against the war in Vietnam plus the new independent committees and thousands of unorganized individuals who have participated in protest actions. The independent committees to end the war in Vietnam are in most areas, the largest and most dynamic component of the movement (the VDC in Berkeley or Independent Committee at Columbia, for example).

These independent committees grew out of the ad hoc committees that had been organized to publicize the March on Washington and bring people down to it. Also the fact that the March was organized on a non-exclusionist basis, was anti-Administration in tone, and characterized the war in Vietnam as a civil war placed a stamp on the movement that has been retained up to the present.

Since the March on Washington literally hundreds of independent committees to end the war in Vietnam have sprung up all over the country. While previously there have been movements against war in the abstract, this is the first time in American history a big movement against a war actually going on has developed. That this has occurred in the face of intense governmental pressure and the propaganda of the mass media illustrates the depth of anti-war sentiment in this country today.

The following political and organization characteristics of these new anti-Vietnam war committees should be noted: (1) they have developed on the basis of opposition to and independence from the Johnson Administration and its war policies: (2) they have explicitly or implicitly opposed U.S. intervention in Vietnam and demanded withdrawal of American troops: (3) they have maintained their independence from the various political groups but at the same time have allowed all to participate regardless of political views or affiliations.

The International Days of Protest, October 15-17, initiated by the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, demonstrated in dramatic fashion that the movement is still ascending with no limits to its continued growth yet in sight.

The question now facing the anti-war movement is: Where do we go from here?

We must approach this question with a serious attitude and a sense of urgency because the war continues taking its toll day by day and the draft calls continue to rise. Another reason is that a national anti-war convention will be held in Washington, D.C. Nov. 25-28, to decide and implement the next steps for the movement.

A clear perspective for the anti-war movement requires an evaluation of the course of its development since last April.

It is no accident that independent committees focusing on the war in Vietnam have developed within the anti-war movement. The thousands of young people who have joined and helped to build these committees by-passed the old established organizations for the simple reason that these groups proved inadequate for building the kind of mass opposition required to bring the troops back home and end the war.

Non-exclusionist committees based on the single demand of getting U.S. troops out of Vietnam, make possible the broadest unity. They unite people of the most diverse political and philosophical views. The independent committees can unite radicals of all varieties, Democrats, Republicans, pacifists, civil rights activists, trade unionists, even people who are apolitical, around this single demand. People of such diverse views clearly do not, and at this time, cannot agree on a common approach to any other issue. The broadness of the movement is thus made possible precisely by its single and specific objective.

Out of this flows a clear orientation and perspective for the anti-war movement: Maximum resources and energies must be devoted to organizing new committees (the potential here has just begun to be tapped). Existing committees must be strengthened. The movement must initiate and carry out actions, projects, and educational campaigns to convince millions of Americans to be against the war in Vietnam and organize them around the demand, "Bring the Troops Home".

The independent committees must stress again and again that they stand on the principle of every people's right to self-determination, a principle upon which this country was founded. This is important because a great majority of the American people still believe in this principle. This is the reason the Johnson Administration tries to justify its intervention in Vietnam by claiming that the U.S. is really there to support

self-determination against aggression from the North. We must therefore convince the American people that it is our government and not North Vietnam or China that is violating the Vietnamese people's right of self-determination. Consequently, we must sharply differentiate ourselves from Johnson and his demagogic appeals for "unconditional negotiations" and demand that our government end its intervention and bring our troops home. The Vietnamese must be permitted to decide their own future as they see fit: our government has no right to "negotiate" that future.

Because of the danger of escalation of the war to all of Asia and even world nuclear war, we must be dead serious about ending U.S. intervention in Vietnam. We can be optimistic too. The potential exists for organizing millions of Americans, including those in the army, around this program.

If this perspective is to be realized, a very important next step must be taken. The hundreds of isolated anti-war committees all over the country must come together and establish a national organizational identity and expression of their own.

The establishment of a national organization based on the committees to end the war in Vietnam, and calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops will not only consolidate the anti-war movement but will immeasurably strengthen its effectiveness and impact. Organizing and fund-raising campaigns, educational activities, and nationally co-ordinated mass actions can be carried out by a national organization on a qualitatively higher level than is presently possible.

Events since the October 15-17 weekend show that the pro-war forces in this country were scared stiff by the demonstrations of that weekend and are now organizing themselves much more seriously. The press has been slandering us. Politicians have called upon the government to smash our movement. The FBI is investigating. The right-wingers are mobilizing. The labor bureaucrats are passing resolutions in support of Johnson's policies.

We must respond in an adequate way. We must develop maximum unity and strength of the anti-war forces and continue our offensive by building a national organization, based on committees to end the war in Vietnam which can reach out to co-ordinate activities and join in united actions with other organizations that oppose the war.

A new national organization has to be based on a formal membership to be strong organizationally and to insure that it functions on a democratic basis. In short, only a national membership organization based on the single demand of withdrawing U.S. troops and working with all other organizations against the war can fully realize the potential we know exists.

We hope that out of the Washington Convention will come both a national co-ordinating structure for the entire anti-war movement and a national organization of the independent committees to end the war in Vietnam.

We are convinced that an organization can be built in this country on the basis of the program outlined above, that can be the decisive factor in bringing an end to the genocidal war in Vietnam. Let's pull together and get on with the job.

Position paper submitted by individual members of the Queens, N.Y.U., Tompkins Square, Chelsea, Village View, Columbia, and C.C.N.Y. anti-war committees: passed by the Washington Heights Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

November 4, 1965

Draft Statement

New York Area Committees to End the War in Vietnam is an association of independent committees working together through an elected executive committee on the basis of agreement on the following points:

1. Present U.S. policy violates the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.
2. Our government must bring our troops home from Vietnam.
3. The associated committees welcome the participation of all regardless of political views or affiliations.
4. Independent campus and community committees to end the war in Vietnam are an important and dynamic component of the anti-war movement. The growth and organizing of these committees must be promoted.

November 4, 1965

November 4, 1965

To all New York Area anti-Vietnam war committees:

On November 1 the steering committee of the New York Committee to End the War in Vietnam voted to dissolve itself. Some of those present, whether or not they voted for dissolution, felt that a city-wide committee deriving its authority from and responsible to the New York anti-Vietnam war committees should be reconstituted. However, no decision to do so was made at that time.

At the anti-war convention in Washington, D.C., November 25-28, the integration of the Vietnam committees on a national scale will be discussed and possibly implemented. Thus, a discussion of how the New York Vietnam committees can work together is directly relevant to the Washington convention.

Because of the immediacy of the Washington convention and the urgent necessity of reconstituting a city-wide committee on a sound basis, leaders of the committees affiliated with the old N. Y. Committee were invited to attend a meeting on November 4 called by New York Steering Committee members who voted against dissolution of the N. Y. Committee. Some were unable to attend, but those who did agreed that steps should be taken to reconstitute a city-wide committee that would serve as a nerve center for the co-ordination of the Vietnam committees, to organize new committees, initiate city-wide actions and projects, provide literature, etc.

The following steps toward the establishment of a new city-wide committee were agreed upon:

1. A discussion be immediately initiated within the N. Y. Vietnam committees focusing on the question of collaboration between the committees and what form it should take. A proposed draft statement to serve as a basis for the committees working together is enclosed.
2. Representatives be elected by each committee to attend another meeting on November 18, 8 PM at 25 W. 3th St., apt 4B. Committees may wish to send to this meeting the delegates they have elected for the Washington Convention. These representatives should be mandated to bring to this meeting the recommendations of each committee.
3. The provisional agenda for the November 18 meeting, subject to change by the elected representatives:
 - a. Reports on preparations for the Washington Convention.
 - b. The approval of a statement to provide the basis for New York Vietnam committees working together through an elected central body.
 - c. Planning of another meeting of committee representatives to follow the Washington convention to consider the calling of a general meeting of the memberships of all the New York Vietnam committees to discuss and formally ratify a city-wide structure and its relationship to the national structure coming out of the Washington convention.

We urge your committee to discuss these questions and send your selected representatives to the November 18 meeting. We are confident that we can all work together if we recognize that the struggle against the war in Vietnam must be our overriding concern.

Mitch Kaufman, chairman, Tompkins Square Neighbors for Peace Action
Dick Moore, steering committee, "
Robin David, " "
Leslie Silberman, Queens Committee
Jeffrey Mack, temporary chairman, Queens Committee
Seth Wigderton, former delegate to N. Y. Comm. from Queens Committee
Wayne Glover, secretary, Chelsea Committee
Will Reisner, former alt. delegate to N. Y. Comm. for Chelsea Committee
Nick Gruenberg, steering committee, Columbia Independent Committee
Caroline Jenness, " "
Arthur Maglin, steering committee, New School Committee
Joe Kaye, steering committee, Washington Heights Committee
George Shriver, chairman, "
Bill Massey, former delegate to N. Y. Comm. from Wash. Hts. Committee
Dan Styron, campus organizer, NYU Committee
Alfredo Pena, former delegate to N. Y. Comm. from Puerto Rican Comm.

This call has been sent to the following committees:

Ad Hoc Physicians Committee on Vietnam	Flatbush Committee to End the War in Vietnam
Artists Protest	L. I. Committee to End the War in Vietnam
Arts in Action	L. E. Side Mobilization for Peace Action
Brooklyn Residents for Peace Now	N. Y. Students for Peace in Vietnam
Businessmen Against the War	NYU Comm. to End the War in Vietnam
Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam	New School CEWV Puerto Rican CEWV Queens CEWV
Chelsea Committee to End the War in Vietnam	Rockefeller Institute CEWV
City College Independent Committee to End the War in Vietnam	Staten Island CEWV Teachers Comm. for Peace in Vietnam
Committee of the Professions to End the War in Vietnam	Tompkins Sq. Neighbors for Peace Washington Heights CEWV Welfare Workers CEWV
Concourse Committee on Vietnam	Writers and Artists Protest

EXCERPTS FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES:

November 7, 1965, page 3:

END-WAR GROUP IN N.Y. DISBANDS

Split Among Anti-Vietnam Action Units Indicated

Tension among some segments of groups that have sponsored anti-Vietnam demonstrations here became apparent last week when the New York Committee to End the War in Vietnam was disbanded.

Sources within the committee said that one of the major reasons for the dissolution was a strategic difference between representatives of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and members of the Students for a Democratic Society.

The protests of October 15-16, which included a march down Fifth Avenue and a draft card burning rally, were sponsored by a coalition of organizations of differing ideologies who were united in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

These ranged from traditional pacifist groups, through members of the new student protest groups, to older radical groups, which in the past have often been bitterly sectarian.

The committee was the New York affiliate of the Students for a Democratic Society, which, with 3,000 members is the largest of the groups of the "new left" student movement. Through the summer and early fall it had served to coordinate protests.

The Trotskyite group was said to have been interested in what it called "minimum slogans" -- raising the single issue of ending the war through demonstrations.

Members of the student group, who are privately critical of what they term the doctrinaire approach of older groups, had hoped to build a broad-based movement for social change through a variety of issues.

"There's a great deal of friction in trying to put these different points of view through a mutual organization," said Paul Booth, national secretary of the student group. "It's a real problem of strategy."

The student group has formed a campus and community organizing project to take over some of the functions of the committee.

* * *

November 7, 1965, Magazine Section, page 136:

This kind of mystique ("emotional" experiences mentioned earlier) is as important to the S.D.S. youngsters as is morality and the need for consensus. "The movement" of which S.D.S. is a part depends on consensus just as much as -- if not more than -- President Johnson. "The Trotskyites," I was told by Paul Booth, S.D.S. national secretary, in the course of a discussion about the umbrella-type End the War in Vietnam Committees, "are so new to the coali-

Excerpts from N.Y. Times, continued . . 2

tion that they don't know how to act. So, the first thing they do is to form a faction immediately. And, no one knows how to handle them."

It seems that as a result of this "Trotskyist" factionalism at least one new left united-front group actually has had to take votes on important decisions. "Within the new left," Booth said, "you know, we work for consensus, but how can you get consensus if there is an already committed bloc?" He shook his head regretfully, saying, "The self-destructive forces within the coalition really shouldn't be underestimated. Outside of meetings, though, things work O.K."

c o p y

c o p y

c o p y

MEMO FROM: W.E.B. DUBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA
954 MCALLISTER STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94115
PHONE (415) 346-9286

TO: MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR
IN VIETNAM

THE FOLLOWING IS THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF THE W.E.B. DUBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA AND SENT AS SUGGESTED POLICY TO ALL OF OUR CLUBS. IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR COMMENTS, PLEASE SEND THEM TO OUR NATIONAL OFFICE (SEE ADDRESS ABOVE).

"Regarding the NCC to End the War meeting in Washington, the National Exec has had discussions among itself, and with numerous other organizations and individuals. Most of the discussions in other organizations, it seems, are concerned with NCC structure. There is, for example some talk of making the NCC into an organization unto itself, taking up other issues, and such; other talk is of running candidates. We believe that all of this is premature at best. We recommend that the National Coordinating Committee remain a coordinating committee, that it limit its scope to the issue of Vietnam where the broadest support and greatest unity can be built, and that discussion and decisions regarding peace candidates can be done for now on a local basis.

Further we believe that as an organization we can make an important contribution to the NCC if we center discussion around future activity rather than structure. Toward this end, we propose a future national march for jobs, not bombs; that the local activity broaden out and that immediate future attention be given to forming trade union Vietnam committees, high school committees, church committees, businessmen committees, etc., that formation of an entertainers committee, e.g. People's Artists of the 1940's, where a pool of several hundred singers, comics, writers, etc., can be called upon at a given time in a given area; that a nationwide poster be made that can be put on 100,000 store fronts, trade union halls, campuses, churches, and fire hydrants; that a national petition be drawn up to be circulated throughout the United States calling for an end to war with the goal of presenting a million signatures to the President at the time of his State of the Union message to Congress next January. (At the height of McCarthyism, the Stockholm peace petition got 2 million signatures in the U.S. -- it was for this that Dr. DuBois was arrested); that possibly the petition can become worldwide with a quarter of a billion signatures as a goal; that in local areas peace centers be set up to serve as resource centers for all organizations and individuals in the area, etc., etc . . ."

* * *

SUMMARY OF ANTI-WAR ACTIVITY AROUND THE COUNTRY

- A. Los Angeles -- The Los Angeles Committee to End the War in Vietnam has about 50 active members. Formerly a united front type Committee of various organized radical groups, it is now an individual membership Committee. Members of the DuBois Club and SDS as well as the YSA are active in the Committee. A resolution was adopted recently by the Committee in support of a national organization of the Committees against the war in Vietnam and there is great interest in the Convention. There are campus committees at the University of California in Los Angeles, California University and one in the process of formation at Los Angeles City College. The Los Angeles Committee has sent organizers out to numerous other colleges in the area.
- B. Bay Area -- The major committees in the Bay Area are the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, San Francisco State College Committee, Oakland City College Committee and the San Jose Committee. The overwhelming majority of the members in these committees are independents who do not belong to any of the organized radical groups. The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee has a large number of subcommittees to carry out its numerous activities. The San Francisco State Committee has a "real" membership of at least 100 members. All the Committees are planning to send delegations to the Thanksgiving Convention in Washington. A West Coast Conference of these Committees is scheduled for November 20.
- C. Seattle -- There is a lot of potential for organizing anti-war committees in the Seattle area, however, there has been a lot of conflict among the organized tendencies. A growing committee has been organized at the University of Washington which shows a lot of promise.
- D. Minneapolis -- The Minneapolis Committee to End the War in Vietnam is a membership organization open to anyone in the city. Its regular meetings are held at the University of Minnesota. The Committee is composed of members from SDS, the DuBois Club, and the YSA as well as independents. A full-time campus organizer has been appointed to organize committees on other campuses. Currently there is a functioning committee at Carleton College as well as a Northern Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam. These committees are planning to send delegations to the Convention.
- E. Madison -- The Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam is one of the largest and oldest campus committees in the country.

Unfortunately there has not been a great deal of interest in the Thanksgiving Convention generated although the committee does plan to send a delegation.

F. Chicago -- The Chicago Committee to End the War in Vietnam has unfortunately been heavily weighted with organized radicals from the beginning and has had difficulty attracting independent kids and organizing additional campus committees. The October 15 and 16 demonstrations in Chicago were initiated by the Committee. Several campus committees have been formed at Roosevelt University, University of Chicago, etc. A member of the Steering Committee of the Chicago Committee is planning to visit campuses in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio in order to organize new committees and build the Convention.

G. Detroit -- The Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam has been plagued by some of the same problems as the Chicago Committee. There have been disagreements within the Committee as to how much emphasis should be placed upon the Convention and whether everybody should be encouraged to come or just the leaders. Three hundred dollars has been raised, however, for a bus to the Convention. On the very positive side, apart from the Detroit Committee, committees have been formed or are in the process of being formed at Cass Technical High School, Mumford High School and the University of Oakland.

H. Cleveland and Kent -- Anti-war work had a longer gestation period in Cleveland than in most areas and it was not until recently that a Committee to End the War in Vietnam was born. It is a dynamic committee that is attracting a lot of independents. Members of the Cleveland Committee are planning to attend regional Conferences in Pittsburgh, Pa. and Buffalo, N.Y. and there are plans to send two or three buses to the Washington Convention. There is also an active growing committee at Kent University not far from Cleveland.

I. Boston -- The Cambridge Committee to End the War in Vietnam initiated by a group of independents that broke with SDS last summer, called and organized the very successful October 15 and 16 activities in Boston. As a result of this success, a Boston Coordinating Committee was set up to coordinate the activities between the numerous campus committees that have been organized in Boston. The fight with some SDS-May Second members over the propriety of independent committees was fought out much earlier than in most other areas but still presents a problem.

J. Philadelphia -- The Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam is a membership committee embracing members of SDS, DuBois Club, YSA etc. as well as numerous independents. Committees have also been organized at Temple University and the University of Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Committee centered their October 16 demonstration around a "secret" research project on chemical and biological warfare at the University of Pennsylvania. They will have a very large delegation at the Convention.

K. Washington, D.C. -- An active committee against the war exists in Washington that is slowly winning new members from the campuses in the area. The major activity of the Committee now is arranging housing for the Thanksgiving Convention. Leaders in the Washington Committee have been able to get interviews on TV and radio.

L. Ann Arbor -- The tremendous size and dominance of SDS in the anti-war work at the University of Michigan has eclipsed serious attempts at organizing an independent Committee. As a consequence it has been difficult to tap the real anti-war potential of the campus. Attempts are being made by dissident SDSers, independents, YSAers, to organize an independent committee.

M. Lawrence, Kansas -- A small committee has been organized at the University of Kansas that is carrying out numerous activities. It is almost exclusively composed of independents.

N. New York -- There are about ten independent Committees to End the War in Vietnam in the greater New York area, the largest and most important of which is the Columbia University committee with 200-300 members. The other campus groups now functioning are a CCNY committee and the newly organized New York University and New School for Social Research Committees. The rest are neighborhood committees with small memberships. Most of the organized radical groups (DuBois, M-2-M, SDS) work outside the independent committees and carry on their own anti-war activities. The SDS hoped to turn the anti-war committees into multi-issue community organizations but when this action was unsuccessful they dissolved a city-wide committee they set up for this purpose and announced the intent to form a new SDS community organization center which will "coordinate" anti-war activities. Meanwhile the independent committees are discussing how to organize a city-wide body of their own which will organize new committees, supply literature and speakers, get radio and TV time, etc. for them as independent committees. Large delegations from New York, both from the independent committees and the radical organizations will be going to the Washington Convention.

Pittsburgh Regional Conference (Nov. 6)

Between 75 and 90 attended a regional "End the War in Vietnam" Conference in Pittsburgh on Nov. 6. There were delegations from the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Kent committees to End the War in Vietnam as well as anti-war activists from West Virginia, Oberlin College (Ohio), Youngstown and other areas.

There was considerable interest in both the Thanksgiving Convention and the Nov. 27 demonstration in Washington. Nearly every area stated that they would be sending a few carloads and the Cleveland committee announced that it has reserved two buses.

Mid-West Regional Conference (Oct. 24-25)

Although the mid-west regional End the War in Vietnam Conference was very poorly organized, there was a large number of delegations present. People came from the Minneapolis, Detroit, Madison, Cleveland, Ann Arbor, Chicago, Roosevelt University and University of Illinois committees to end the war in Vietnam. The 50-60 present heard area reports on the Oct. 15-16 International Days of Protest. One of the high points was a report from a member of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee on the Oct. 16 protests in Berkeley and Oakland.

Frank Emspak, from the Madison office of the National Coordinating Committee, gave a report on the preparations for the convention.

* * *

Further regional conferences are planned at the State University of New York, in Buffalo (Nov. 13), and on the West Coast (Nov. 20).

Doug J.
November 10, 1965

NEC November 7, 1965 No. 3

Present: NEC: Jack, Doug, Melissa, John, Dan, Daniels

NC ALT: Caroline, Roland, Dick

Excused: Betsey, Mary-Alice

Chairman: Dick

Agenda:

1. National Office Report
2. Pamphlet Report
3. Sub Drive
4. Fund Drive
5. YS Report
6. Anti-war work Report

1. National Office Report - Jack

a. San Diego

Report on Peter's conversations with comrades and new developments.

b. Tours

Peter has completed his West Coast tour and is now in the Bay Area. Mary-Alice has completed the Mid-west swing, and is presently in Boston.

Reports indicate that the rise in the anti-war movement and the interest in the topic, "Bring the Troops Home", is making it possible for them to speak to larger audiences than previous YSA tour speakers, to obtain more radio and T.V. time, and more complete press coverage.

c. Trailblazing

Two comrades, one from New York and one from Boston, trailblazed in the Boston area. Two Chicago comrades are now trailblazing in the Mid-west.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Roland, John, Dan, Jack, Doug, Dan, Jack

Motion Passed

2. Pamphlet Report - Doug

The Vietnam pamphlet is out and 7,000 copies have been mailed to the locals. The Malcolm X pamphlet is being printed and will be ready shortly.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

3. Sub Drive - Dan

See enclosed.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

4. Fund Drive Report - Roland

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Daniels, Roland

Motion Passed

5. YS Report - Doug

The November-December issue will be ready by Thanksgiving but not before. It will be 32 pages long.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

6. Anti-war Work Report - Doug

See enclosed.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Dick, Roland, Melissa, John, Dick, Melissa, Roland, Jack, Dick, Roland, Jack, Doug

Motion Passed

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

October 15, 1965

TO NCERS AND ORGANIZERS:

Dear Comrades,

The importance of the Thanksgiving anti-war convention in Washington D.C. is being underlined every day with the formation and growth of dozens of new committees to end the war in Vietnam. This growth demonstrates the validity as well as the necessity of drawing these committees together, to coordinate and organize them into an effective national voice against the Vietnam war.

However, the time between now and the convention is very short and a great deal of organizing remains to be done. Our major practical tasks are:

1. Urge every campus and community committee to end the war in Vietnam to distribute thousands of copies of the call for the convention. The back of each call should be an organizing leaflet that (a) urges people to attend the convention and informs them where they can find information about it (local committee address and phone number and Washington Committee address - P.O. Box 19249, Washington, D.C. 20036- should be included), (b) informs people how they can join the local committee or how they can form a committee on their own campus.
2. YSAers should take the initiative in forming committees on campuses where there are no YSAers. In many areas excellent luck has been experienced by some one from off-campus distributing leaflets with a definite time, date and place for an organizing meeting. A short report from a member of another committee helps to get the ball rolling. This technique has been successful in the formation of at least two committees in New York City.
3. The addresses of all local committees -new and old- should be sent immediately to the Washington D.C. Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The Washington Committee is handling arrangements for the convention and will be sending mailings out to all local groups. The addresses of contacts and individuals who may be interested should also be sent.
4. All locals should send in regular reports to the N.O. about their anti-war work. As the convention draws nearer this becomes even more important.

5. All locals should send news items to the Militant about local protests and the growth of new committees in their area. Perhaps each local could assign someone to this task. It is extremely important that news items about the October 15-16 Days of Protest be sent in. The Militant deadline is Sunday night.

6. Now that the organizing for the October 15-16 is about over we should push for the committees to start chartering transportation to the convention. Literature tables should include sign-up lists for people who want to attend the convention. This is going to be a big task and must be done early.

Comradely,

Doug Jenness

Doug Jenness

NEC Minutes - October 9, 1965 - No. 2

Present: NEC: Dan, Mary-Alice, Melissa, Daniels, John, Pete,
Doug, Ralph, Betsey, Jack
NC FULL: Lew
NC ALT: Roland, Dick, Caroline

Chairman: Caroline

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Subscription Drive
3. Bloomington Defense
4. Young Socialist
5. Trailblazing
6. Anti-War Movement

1. National Office Report - Betsey

There is an application for membership from three people in Washington and a request from the Washington group that they become a local.

Motion: That the three new people be accepted as YSA members and that the Washington group be a local.

Motion Passed

2. Subscription Drive - Dan

As of today we have 150 subscriptions. Some locals have raised their quotas. The first scoreboard will appear at the end of the month.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Jack

Motion Passed

3. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

Report on recent filings.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Jack, Dan, Daniels

Motion Passed

4. Young Socialist - Doug

The Editorial Board met and decided to have articles in the coming YS on Greece, the "Bring the Troops Home" Movement, Malcolm X's autobiography and his book of speeches and an interview from Europe.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

5. Trailblazing - Mary-Alice

There will be a trailblaze of three people on the East Coast to last for one month. Russ, Mike and Don have agreed to go. The trailblaze will start this week. The Midwest will not have a regular trailblaze but the Chicago local will send out trailblaze teams on weekends.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Ralph

Motion Passed

6. Anti-War Movement - Jack

Report on current perspectives.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Dan, Betsey, Pete, Doug, Jack, John, Roland, Caroline, Dan, Pete, Doug, Melissa, Jack, John, Betsey, Roland, Ralph, Melissa, Ralph, Jack.

Motion Passed

TO ALL ORGANIZERS:

YSA NATIONAL TOURS

Two national tours have been planned for the last part of October and November. Mary-Alice Styron will be touring the East Coast and Midwest. Peter Camejo will be touring the West Coast. The tour talks will be aimed at those involved in the anti-war movement. The topic is as follows:

- A Hidden Chapter in the Fight Against War
 - The Post World War II Era
 - *American Troop Revolts
 - *The Colonial Revolution

Please write if you cannot accept the proposed quotas. The money should be given to Mary-Alice or Peter or should be sent in ahead of time.

EAST COAST AND MIDWEST

Minneapolis	Oct. 14-18
Travel	Oct. 19
Madison	Oct. 20-21
Chicago	Oct. 22-26
Travel	Oct. 27
Detroit & Ann Arbor	Oct. 28-Nov. 2
Travel	Nov. 3
Cleveland	Nov. 4-8
Travel	Nov. 9
Boston	Nov. 10-15
Travel	Nov. 16
Philadelphia	Nov. 17-20
Washington	Nov. 21-23
New York	Nov. 29-Dec. 5

TOUR QUOTAS

Ann Arbor	15
Berkeley	45
Boston	65
Chicago	70
Cleveland	25
Denver	10
Detroit	40
Kent	5
Los Angeles	40
Madison	15
New York-Down	65
New York-Up	40
Philadelphia	25
San Francisco	25
San Jose	25
Seattle	10
Twin Cities	30

WEST COAST

Kansas	Oct. 20
Travel	Oct. 21
Denver	Oct. 22-23
Travel	Oct. 24
Los Angeles	Oct. 25-30
Bay Area	Oct. 31-Nov. 5
Seattle	Dec. 9-10

Comradely,

Betsey Barnes
National Secretary

October 7, 1965

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

September 30, 1965

To All YSAers:

Dear Comrades:

The Alexander Defense Committee is sponsoring a tour for I.B. Tabata, South African revolutionary leader, for this fall and early winter. Plans for the tour are well under way and material has already been sent out to local areas. The YSA will do everything it can to support this tour and to help Alexander Committees in areas where they are formed.

Every effort should be made to build large meetings for Tabata. There should be no problem getting a broad sponsorship for his meetings. The cost of the tour will be very high and efforts should be made to help raise money for the tour.

All communications regarding the tour should be sent to the Alexander Defense Committee, P.O.Box 345, N.Y.,N.Y. 10013.

Comradely,

Betsy Barnes

Betsy Barnes
National Secretary

Report on Anti-war Work given to NEC by Doug J. on Sept. 25, 1965

The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam organized in Washington, D.C., at the August Assembly of Unrepresented People met in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on September 18 and 19. Two important decisions came out of this gathering. First the Thanksgiving Convention to End the War in Vietnam has been shifted from Madison, Wisconsin, to Washington, D.C. Second, this convention is to be a delegated convention based on delegations from campus and community committees against the war in Vietnam.

The following policy for selecting delegates was adopted:

1) Two delegates from each Committee that has up to 100 members and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members, or major fraction thereof. 2) Alternates equal to the number of delegates may be elected. 3) Each national organization opposing the war in Vietnam (Sane, SWP, YSA, CNVA, DuBois, Etc.) may send a delegate to the convention. 4) Membership Committees are to elect delegates on the basis of their membership lists. Committees that do not have a designated membership are to elect delegates on the basis of the number present at the meeting at which delegates are voted upon. Mailing lists are not to be a basis on which to elect delegates.

Although the agenda was left somewhat vague it was definitely agreed that the question of the nature of the National Coordinating Committee would be the first point on the agenda.

The following workshops were agreed upon: 1) War and its relationship to American foreign policy 2) Political perspectives of the anti-war movement 3) Local Action 4) Anti-draft Movement 5) Campus action 6) Future National Actions 7) Civil Rights movement and the anti-war movement.

The convention will begin on Thursday, November 25, and will end on Sunday November 28. During the day on Saturday, November 27, there will be no sessions of the convention in order to permit the fullest intervention possible in a national demonstration in Washington that has been called by Sane and "respectable" peace leaders.

Tasks of the YSA

The shift from Madison to Washington, D.C., does not change the orientation toward the convention outlined in the NC plenum report.

1. We must continue to organize as many new committees against the war in Vietnam as possible. This cannot be overemphasized. The real determinant of what will come out of this convention will be the degree of participation by the independent anti-Vietnam war committees and the delegations

from these committees. The only way to prevent "progressive" angle merchants from dominating the convention is to maximize the representation of the independent anti-war militants. We have less than two months to do this and maximum energy and forces must be put into this campaign in every local.

2. YSAers should not hesitate to become leaders of these new anti-war committees. It should not come as a surprise that YSAers as highly political people can best articulate the desires and needs of the independent youth who are primarily interested in getting American troops out of Vietnam.
3. YSAers as members of their local anti-war committees should urge their committees to put pressure on the Madison office (National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 341 West Mifflin St., Madison, Wisconsin) to send them as much information about the convention as possible and to indicate their support of it.
4. The committees should begin publicizing the convention in their local areas immediately. They should distribute leaflets at demonstrations and rallies, etc., announcing the convention and urging people to mobilize for it. The call that will come out of Madison can be reproduced with a local address and distributed everywhere.
5. The national anti-Vietnam War demonstration on November 27 can be an extra selling card to draw people to Washington. The character of this demonstration will be marked in great measure by the type of participants and not by those who organize and call it.
6. Since the convention is only two months away, it is important that arrangements for transportation begin immediately.
7. The YSA will mobilize for the convention. This means that even the West Coast locals (Los Angeles, San Jose, San Francisco, Berkeley, and Seattle) will try to send a minimum of one person to Washington and that the locals east of the Mississippi will mobilize their entire memberships.
8. We will have one major demand above all others that we will push for at the convention. This will be the demand for a national organization opposed to the war in Vietnam, made up of new Committees against the war.

It has become very clear in the past few weeks that the competition among the various organized youth groups on the left has sharpened considerably. The YSA, without exception, is the only group that does not see these new anti-war committees, and therefore a national organization to end the war in Vietnam, as competitors. The DuBois Club, SDS, and PL's front group, the May 2nd Movement, victims of their own front groups or

"broad front" creations, view themselves as broad, national anti-war groups that are trying to draw the newly radicalizing kids into their membership. The new anti-war committees made up of various organized radicals as well as independents are seen as competitors. For us, however, there is no contradiction but rather a basic complement, between building the YSA and building the committees against the war in Vietnam. This is the context in which we must face the anti-war convention at Thanksgiving and in which we must carry out our tasks.

Note to Organizers and NCers:

This report should be read to the membership but should not be passed around or leave your possession.

New York, New York
September 28, 1965

TO ALL BRANCHES:

ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed please find a report of the Sept. 18-19 Ann Arbor conference of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

In view of the potential shown by the anti-war movement, the importance of building the Thanksgiving Convention in Washington, D.C., cannot be overestimated. At this convention it is hoped that a national organization based on local committees specifically dedicated to ending the war in Vietnam will be formed. A national organization of this type will not be a vague pacifist or anti-war-in-general group. It will tend by the nature of its purpose to be politically independent of the capitalist parties and in radical opposition to Johnson administration policies. This will cut across "coalitionist" politics of the liberals and radicals who try to find some means of containing opposition within the framework of the Democratic Party.

There is evidence that some "left" groups will drag their feet in the formation of new anti-Vietnam war committees. It is up to us to do what we can in the next two months to make the Washington convention a success.

The convention had been scheduled for Madison, Wis., but was changed to Washington to avoid unnecessary conflict with a peace march in Washington on the same date, organized by the Committee For a SANE Nuclear Policy. SANE had been aware of the Madison convention plans but called for a march on Washington in spite of the fact it would tend to distract from the Madison convention.

As matters now stand, the SANE demonstration may even help build the convention. The more radical participants in the convention will surely make the SANE demonstration a more militant and effective show of opposition than it otherwise would have been.

The recent party convention's emphasis on work in the anti-war movement is proving more and more to have been correct. The movement is growing rapidly at present and the entire party should be prepared to intervene to the fullest extent possible. Early and scanty reports from throughout the country indicate the potential for organizing new committees. Below are a few examples:

San Francisco: On the first day of school at S.F. State College, about 75 students signed up to form a campus Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Duluth, Minnesota: A Northern Minnesota Committee has been formed with a base on a Duluth campus.

San Jose, California: A new committee has been formed.

Anti-War Movement -- 2.

Ann Arbor: During the first few days of registration; 4,000 attended a teach-in Sept. 17, A YSA table was set up and over 100 students signed a list indicating interest in the YSA, and 41 combined Militant-Young Socialist subscriptions were sold.

Lawrence, Kansas: A committee to end the war has been formed at the University of Kansas and has aroused a great deal of interest.

New York: At Columbia University a representative of the anti-Vietnam War Committee was refused permission to speak at a general assembly for the new freshman class which was to inform them of the various activities, clubs, etc., on campus. The Committee to End the War in Vietnam distributed leaflets and called their own meeting which drew over 150 new people interested in joining. . . . At City College a new committee has already been formed.

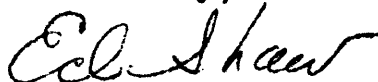
The list could be extended, but there is no need to belabor the point. There is great potential for organizing new anti-Vietnam War committees on campuses throughout the country and the party must give all the aid and support to the youth who can get these committees started in the next two months.

Also, the possibility of forming community or neighborhood committees should not be overlooked. Each independent committee can send delegates to the Washington convention.

As stated in the enclosed report, the convention will be a delegated one. However it will be open to visitors. We should help build the size of the convention by encouraging visitors to attend. Not stated in the report from Ann Arbor is the fact that visitors will have voice (but not vote).

Party branches should keep in touch regularly with the N.O. and send information as it comes to hand of local developments in the anti-war movement.

Comradely,



Ed Shaw
National Organization
Secretary

NEC Minutes - September 25, 1965 - No. 1

Present: NEC: Daniels, Ralph, John, Doug, Mary-Alice, Dan
Pete, Melissa, Jack, Betsey

NC ALT: Dick, Caroline, Roland

Chairman: Melissa

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Bloomington Defense
3. Subscription Drive
4. Anti-war Work

1. National Office Report - Betsey

Motion: That Dan be Business Manager of the YS.

Motion Passed

Motion: That Roland be fund drive director for the
coming fund drive.

Motion Passed

Motion: That the national tour be divided into three parts
and be directed to anti-Vietnam war work. That Mary-Alice
tour the East Coast, that Pete tour the Midwest, and that
Jack or Betsey tour the West Coast. The tours will be
planned so as to hit every local before the November 25
national convention of the anti-Vietnam war committees in
Washington, D.C.

Motion Passed

Motion: That Dan be director of the YS-Militant
sub drive.

Motion Passed

2. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

Discussion: Jack, Daniels, Melissa, Daniels, Jack,
Betsey, Daniels

3. Subscription Drive - Dan

A letter and a list of suggested quotas have gone out
to the locals. It is very likely that the quotas can be
raised as they were set quite low for the most part.

NEC Minutes, September 25, 1965

Sub Drive, con't

In order to get the subs we will have to be thinking of all kinds of ways to get them. We want to avoid having to depend entirely on mobilizations in the dorms. One suggestion is that we use showings of a film on the Venezuelan guerrillas, which has just come out, to get subs. We can allow the kids to buy subscriptions with all or part of their admission fees.

The main target of the drive is to reach the participants in the anti-war movement, and ways must be devised to get subs from them.

Discussion: Melissa, Pete, Dan, Dick, Pete, Roland, Caroline, Melissa, Jack

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

4. Anti-war Work - Doug

See enclosed report.

Discussion: John, Roland, Dick, Jack, Pete, Ralph, Betsey, Daniels, Roland, Dick, Betsey, Doug

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

Note: Starting with this meeting of the NEC, the minutes will be numbered in order to facilitate record keeping.

Report on Anti-war Work given to NEC by Doug J. on Sept. 25, 1965

The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam organized in Washington, D.C., at the August Assembly of Unrepresented People met in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on September 18 and 19. Two important decisions came out of this gathering. First the Thanksgiving Convention to End the War in Vietnam has been shifted from Madison, Wisconsin, to Washington, D.C. Second, this convention is to be a delegated convention based on delegations from campus and community committees against the war in Vietnam.

The following policy for selecting delegates was adopted:

- 1) Two delegates from each Committee that has up to 100 members and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members, or major fraction thereof.
- 2) Alternates equal to the number of delegates may be elected.
- 3) Each national organization opposing the war in Vietnam (Sane, SWP, YSA, CNVA, DuBois, Etc.) may send a delegate to the convention.
- 4) Membership Committees are to elect delegates on the basis of their membership lists. Committees that do not have a designated membership are to elect delegates on the basis of the number present at the meeting at which delegates are voted upon. Mailing lists are not to be a basis on which to elect delegates.

Although the agenda was left somewhat vague it was definitely agreed that the question of the nature of the National Coordinating Committee would be the first point on the agenda.

The following workshops were agreed upon:

- 1) War and its relationship to American foreign policy
- 2) Political perspectives of the anti-war movement
- 3) Local Action
- 4) Anti-draft Movement
- 5) Campus action
- 6) Future National Actions
- 7) Civil Rights movement and the anti-war movement.

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Tasks of the YSA

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attend the national anti- war convention in Washington, D.C.

NOV. 25-28

THE INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF PROTEST PROVES THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CO-ORDINATED MASS ACTIONS ON A NATIONAL SCALE. THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION HAS BEEN CALLED TO FOUND A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM CAPABLE OF INITIATING AND CO-ORDINATING EVEN BIGGER NATIONAL ACTIONS AND CAMPAIGNS.

Every campus and community committee against the war can elect at least two delegates to represent them at the convention. Everyone against the war, whether belonging to any committee or not, is invited to attend the convention and participate in the discussion.

IF YOU WISH TO ORGANIZE A COMMITTEE ON YOUR CAMPUS OR IN YOUR COMMUNITY, OR IF YOU WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION ON THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION, write or call:

N. Y. COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
1165 Broadway, Room 410
New York, N. Y. (Phone: 889-5798)

FOR HOUSING AT THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION, write:

WASHINGTON COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR
IN VIETNAM
P.O. Box 19249
Washington, D.C. 20036

(Called by the National Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam)

New York, New York
September 26, 1965

TO ALL BRANCHES:

MILITANT-YOUNG SOCIALIST SUB CAMPAIGN

Dear Comrades,

The combined Militant-Young Socialist subscription drive approved by the recent party convention will begin officially October 5 and end December 20. The main area of sales will undoubtedly be among student youth, but the ever-increasing size and scope of the anti-war movement indicate that the combination offer will be well received off campus, too. Older comrades will find they can participate in the sub drive even if they are not in a position to do campus work.

The campaign will be conducted through one central office to eliminate confusion and duplication of work. The Young Socialist office will handle all subs, money, etc. We suggest a similar arrangement for party branches and YSA locals. Joint agreement should be reached to place one person in charge of all sub work for the area.

We have asked the Young Socialist to set the first tentative quotas for different areas of the country. The quotas (only tentative and likely to be raised) are enclosed with the letter from the national joint sub campaign director, Dan Styron. Most party branches have members, in addition to those directly engaged in youth work, available for work on the sub campaign. The National Office proposes that branches estimate, in collaboration with the youth, how much the quota for their area can be raised. The total arrived at will be the area quota to be sent in to the national campaign director.

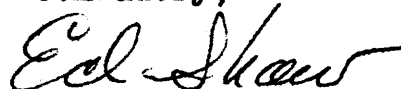
If there is no YSA local in the area, branch members should decide what tentative quota they alone will be able to meet and inform Dan Styron in New York.

The Militant business office will work closely with the Young Socialist in processing subs and The Militant will carry a scoreboard for the campaign with each area's quota and performance. Sub blanks have already been sent out to YSA organizers and are available locally.

In areas where there is no YSA local, SWP organizers will receive sub blanks in a day or so.

Remember, all correspondence on the Militant-Young Socialist sub drive goes to: Young Socialist, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York, 10003.

Comradely,



Ed Shaw
National Organization
Secretary

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, N.Y. 10003

September 22, 1965

To All YSAers

Dear Comrades,

At the present time when our activity centers around the anti-war work, the importance of getting our ideas in front of as many new kids as possible can not be over-estimated. From the present sub drive we hope to get our magazine and the weekly MILITANT into the hands of many new kids who are just becoming radicalized. From the drive each local will also be creating a good mailing list of persons who we know get our analysis of the news at least once a week. Used correctly, such a list can be of great help.

Subs can be obtained through mobilizations in the evenings to canvas dorms and other student areas. When a kid buys a YS off a literature table it should be easy to sell him a sub for only an additional \$.75. Also, subs can be given to people who come to forums for a fee just slightly higher than the admission price. I have no doubt that locals will come up with ingenious ways of getting subs into the hands of the newly radicalized students, and when something works well in one area, this should be communicated to the NO so that the other locals can profit from it.

The sub drive is to begin on October 5 and end by December 20. For one dollar, the subscriber will receive three issues of the Young Socialist and 18 copies (4 months) of the MILITANT. At the time of the sale, the new subscriber should be given a copy of the latest YS. For each sub sold the NO will deduct the price of the YS from the local's bundle bill.

The entire sub campaign will be run through this office. All new subs and MONEY should be sent here. NOTHING SHOULD BE SENT TO THE MILITANT OFFICE.

The sub blanks are now at the printers and will be sent out within the next few days. Locals should discuss the suggested quotas which were given out at the plenum and let us know how many subs they can accept. Please send us the name and address of your sub drive director and accepted quota by October 5.

We have plenty of the September-October YS on hand. If locals wish to reorder they should do so right away since they will be sent out on a first come first served basis.

Comradely,

Dan Styron

Proposed Quotas - Fall Subscription Drive

Ann Arbor	75
Berkeley	175
Boston	250
Chicago	225
Cleveland	75
Denver	25
Detroit	150
Los Angeles	100
Philadelphia	75
Madison	25
New York (downtown)	150
New York (uptown)	125
San Francisco	75
San Jose	25
Seattle	25
Twin Cities	125
Washington D.C.	15
Yellow Springs	15

Please fill this in and send it back to the National Office before October 5:

Local _____

Accepted Quota _____

Sub Drive Director _____

Address _____

Remarks:

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

September 22, 1965

To All YSAers

Dear Comrades,

The recent National Committee Plenum has voted to hold our fall fund drive from October 5 to December 20. In order to continue the many expanded activities of the National Office and in order to cover the costs of a now bi-monthly Young Socialist as well as new pamphlets, we need to raise even more money in this drive than we did in the record breaking spring drive which went over the \$5000 mark.

Attached are proposed quotas, arrived at on the basis of the numerical and financial strength of each local, past performance, and the over-all amount that we need to raise. Please fill out the attached form indicating your accepted quota and send it back before October 1. At-large YSAers should send back the blanks indicating whatever they think they can give.

As in the past, sustainers sent in since the last fund drive and through the period of this drive may be included in the quotas. That means that sustainers paid for the months from June to December will be included as part of this drive.

Comradely,

Betsy Barnes
Betsy Barnes
National Secretary

Proposed Quotas - Fall 1965 YSA National Fund Drive

Ann Arbor	100
Berkeley	500
Boston	850
Chicago	900
Cleveland	150
Denver	25
Detroit	500
Kent	25
Los Angeles	250
Madison	50
New York (downtown)	500
New York (uptown)	500
Philadelphia	200
San Francisco	150
San Jose	50
Seattle	25
Twin Cities	400
Washington D.C.	50

Please fill this in and send it back to the National
Office before October 1:

Local _____

Accepted Quota _____

Fund Drive Director _____

Address _____

Remarks:

PLENUM SEPTEMBER 7, 1965

AGENDA

1. Anti-war Movement
2. Organizational Report
3. Convention Call
4. International Report
5. Election of National Officers

SCHEDULE

- 10:00 Organization of Plenum
10:15 Anti-war Movement Report
11:15 Discussion
1:15 Lunch
2:15 Summary
2:30 Organizational Report
3:15 Bloomington Defense
3:30 Discussion
4:30 Summary
4:45 Canadian Report
5:05 Convention Call
5:15 Dinner
6:30 International Report
7:30 Discussion
8:00 Summary
8:15 Election of National Officers
8:30 Adjourn

Financial Report

Enclosed is a financial report for the period from the last convention to the end of July. During this period the National Office has been able to expand its activities considerably. The funds for this have been raised through a high spring fund drive, sustainers, and regular payments of bills. As the report shows, during this January-June period we have run a small deficit. Until the fall fund drive gets under way the deficit will grow. This is due largely to the fact that there are two winter months between the spring and fall fund drives and four months between the fund drives over the summer period.

Most of the categories in the attached report are self-explanatory. The term "office supplies" covers paper, envelopes, and stencils. "Miscellaneous" covers stamps, office supplies, P.O. box, convention kits, etc. A special listing of Youth Festival Expenses has been made because it is difficult to tell by looking at the income and expenses columns just what was spent on the festival trip by the YSA. This is because the refund still has not been paid by the Festival Committee and because some of the payments made by an outside donator have not yet been put in the account.

This spring fund drive was extremely successful, bringing in a total of \$5641.06. This very large fund drive increase is a tribute to the growth in numbers of serious committed YSAers. The highest fund drive before this last one was \$3886.25. In the fall fund drive we are going to have to shoot for another high quota. The proposed budget shows that we need to do this in order to pay for our continued day to day operation at the present level as well as for proposed pamphlets and hopefully an expanded YS.

Financial Report - January to July 1965

January

Income

Dues	74.00
YS Bundles	186.25
YS Subs	30.40
Fund Drive	97.00
Intro. YSA	54.00
Sustainers	37.00
Internal Bulletins	68.15
Convention Ass.	162.00
Late Convention Bus Money	39.00
Miscellaneous	3.50
<u>Total</u>	<u>751.30</u>

Expenses

YS Printing	500.00
Edit	210.00
Phone	45.53
Office Supplies	53.00
Tapes	5.00
Convention Bus	20.00
Trailblazing (books stolen)	41.84
Miscellaneous	63.92
<u>Total</u>	<u>939.29</u>

February

Income

Dues	100.30
YS Bundles	161.65
YS Subs	20.00
Sustainers	79.50
Intro. YSA	10.00
Internal Bulletins	7.00
Vietnam Pam.	100.50
Initiation Fees	15.00
Convention Ass.	35.60
Miscellaneous	22.00
<u>Total</u>	<u>551.55</u>

Expenses

YS Supplies	17.77
YS Photos	26.00
YS Mailing	113.85
YS Sub Envelopes	35.85
YS Stationery	15.60
Tapes	18.00
Rent	55.00
Office Supplies	22.70
Phone	75.23
Miscellaneous	22.17
Stamps	28.85
Edit	360.00
Reprint Intro. YSA	51.37
Southern Tour	125.00
Viet. Pam. Printing	493.56
Travel Expenses YSA Speaker - Jornell	15.31
Vietnam Tours	40.00
<u>Total</u>	<u>1516.26</u>

March

Income

Dues	124.50
YS Bundles	581.02
YS Subs	27.90
Fund Drive	782.50
Sustainer	146.00
Initiation	16.00
Vietnam Pam.	268.70
Vietnam Tours	48.00
Internal Bulletins	13.75
Congo Pamphlet	58.25
Miscellaneous	26.22

Total 2092.84

Expenses

YS Printing	786.75
YS Wrapping	32.54
YS Rerun	207.00
Edit	360.00
Rent	55.00
Phone	79.11
Southern Tour	17.35
Miscellaneous	82.85

Total 1620.60

April

Income

Dues	131.00
YS Bundles	750.96
YS Subs	47.00
Fund Drive	2067.66
How a Minority Pam.	15.00
Vietnam Pam.	77.40
Congo Pam.	5.00
Sustainer	110.00
Initiation	7.00
Miscellaneous	4.35

Total 3215.37

Expenses

YS Printing	1041.66
YS Mailing	157.58
YS Pictures	31.20
Edit	390.00
Rent	56.75
Phone	65.94
MPI Conference	70.00
March on Washington (transportation for YS)	20.35
Miscellaneous	79.06

Total 1912.54

May

Income

Dues	91.50
YS Bundles	328.25
Fund Drive	1631.65
Sustainers	43.50
How a Minority Pam.	24.00
Intro. YSA	14.00
Vietnam Pam.	91.60
Initiation	2.00
YS Subs	21.90
<hr/>	
Total	2248.40

Expenses

YS Mailing	70.00
Congo Pam.	422.44
Edit	420.00
Rent	55.00
Phone	33.47
Youth Festival	232.00
Builder	33.74
Miscellaneous	87.24
<hr/>	
Total	1353.89

June

Income

Dues	61.50
YS Bundles	202.50
YS Subs	24.30
Fund Drive	489.75
Vietnam Pam.	89.80
Congo Pam.	2.75
Sustainers	55.00
Initiation	3.00
Builder	9.60
Miscellaneous	22.35
<hr/>	
Total	960.55

Expenses

YS Mailing	125.00
YS Pictures	31.20
Edit	390.00
Rent	55.00
Phone	91.01
Office Supplies	42.10
Berkeley Teach-in	20.00
Trip	
Youth Festival	403.50
Miscellaneous	41.96
<hr/>	
Total	1199.77

July

Income

Dues	85.75
YS Bundle	316.55
YS Subs	12.00
Fund Drive	31.00
Sustainers	91.50
Introducing YSA	10.50
Builder	13.25
Vietnam Pam.	30.80
Congo Pam.	69.55
Initiation	5.00

Total 665.90

Expenses

YS Printing	808.00
YS Mailing	40.00
Edit	300.00
Rent	55.00
Phone	72.59
Canadian Conven.	138.10
Youth Festival	819.24
Miscellaneous	66.30

Total 2299.23

Total Income January-July 10,485.91

Total Expenses January-July 10,841.58

YOUTH FESTIVAL TRIP EXPENSES

Total Trip Expenses Paid by YSA	655.91
Total Trip Expenses Paid by Donation	655.91

Total 1311.82

Breakdown of Expenses:

Transportation: Round Trip U.S.-Luxembourg	779.00
Bus: Luxembourg-Paris	21.00
Transportation within Europe	255.43
(Urban and Suburban 25.06)	
(Between Countries 230.37)	
Meals	93.53
Hotels	33.05
Shots	30.00
Passports	20.00
Miscellaneous	79.81

Total 1311.82

STATEMENTS AND REPORTS ON THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

A great deal of material on the anti-war movement has gone out in the form of reports to the locals from the National Office since the first press release on the March on Washington. Some of these are enclosed for comrades to refer to in connection with the plenum discussion on the anti-war movement.

PRESS RELEASE January 20, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) unanimously endorses the call issued by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) for a March on Washington to demand "the end of American intervention in the Vietnamese civil war." The SDS release calling for the April 17 march states:

"...the preparations for the march will emphasize the facts that the war is producing untold injury to the Vietnamese people, that our participation in that war injures Americans at home by creating an atmosphere in which the government continually deceives the public and decision making becomes further removed from public control, and that men of good will must stand up against these injuries to both ourselves and to Vietnam.

"SDS is actively soliciting endorsements of the march from all interested organizations and individuals and welcomes the cooperation of all who subscribe to the purposes of the march."

The Young Socialist Alliance urges all young people to participate in building the march into the biggest possible protest against U.S. involvement in the Vietnamese civil war. The nakedly anti-democratic character of the South Vietnamese dictatorship and its list of daily atrocities against the Vietnamese people have raised a growing cry of international protest. This protest has been heightened by the threat of an Asian or even world nuclear war that deepening American involvement threatens to trigger.

American young people especially have the responsibility to demand that the U.S. government, which speaks in their name and drafts them for its fighting, immediately withdraw from Vietnam. They have the greatest stake of all in this issue. Some have already been killed and more will die in the coming months.

The YSA calls on all peace, student, and youth organizations who believe the Vietnamese people have the right to self determination and who desire the end of the American intervention to contact SDS and endorse and build the April 17 March on Washington.

Report on the SDS March on Washington by Jack to January 17
NEC

The last session of the National Council of SDS, which met at the same time as our convention, passed a motion to sponsor an April 17 March on Washington against the Vietnam war. The next day it issued a press release and a letter asking other groups to endorse the march. The release calls the war in Vietnam a civil war and calls for an end to American intervention. The SDS leadership has stated that they welcome help in building the march. The march itself will be organized on a non-exclusive basis, that is any group may endorse it, help organize it, and bring their own signs and literature to the march.

SDS plans to print large quantities of an official call by February 1 which can be distributed between then and April 17, and which will be the basic organizing leaflet of the march. They will simultaneously put out buttons. SDS also plans a series of general educational and promotional activities in February and March on the Vietnam war culminating in the march.

The concrete anti-war character of the call and the non-exclusive character of the proposed organization of the march makes it potentially the biggest national youth action since SPU's anti-nuclear test march. It has the potential to be much larger than, and more militant than, SPU's 1962 March on Washington. Its organization will attract around it thousands of students opposed to America's dirty war. The various radical youth groups will be on trial in the eyes of many newly radicalized youth. Their ability to pitch in and build the action in a non sectarian manner will be tested.

Along with work which we can do in organizing the march the YSA can carry on an active campaign against the Vietnam war using tours, conferences, the YS, and the YSA pamphlet on Vietnam. This march offers a sharp focal point for the general propoganda campaign outlined in the political report passed at the convention.

Concrete proposals for a propoganda campaign on the Vietnam war and for building the march are the following:

1. Release an NEC statement officially endorsing the march.
(See attached)
2. To run three national YSA propoganda tours on Vietnam in three regions in February and March. Doug to tour the East Coast, Joel to tour the Midwest, and an NJer from the West Coast to tour the West Coast. Regional tours will allow us to speak at the largest possible number of campuses where we have contacts, many of which we cannot ordinarily hit with the tight schedules of a single person national

- tour. Tours can be used to build and publicize the march.
3. Our regional and city wide educational conferences will emphasize the Vietnam question and the colonial revolution.
 4. An inexpensive pamphlet on Vietnam has been drafted by Robin which should be out in the middle of February. Distributing this pamphlet will be one of the most important aspects of our general campaign against the war in Vietnam.
 5. The February YS will carry our press release endorsing the march in the next issue and a full back page for the April 17 March on Washington.
 6. The NEJ assign Doug activity in the Vietnam propaganda campaign and in building the march.

Report to the March 11, 1965 NEJ on the Vietnam March

Jack: The March on Washington preparations have passed the first critical stage and it looks like the first explicitly anti-war national student demonstration will definitely take place. This is a big step forward from the "peace" demonstrations of previous years. More important, the YSA will play a leadership role in many areas in mobilizing people to go on the march. The call is one we have endorsed and can politically support. We are getting the chance to show that we are not a "sectarian" group as we have been slandered in the past.

Our tour speakers are distributing buttons and calls and are helping to persuade people to go on the march. The SDS has maintained its policy of allowing all groups to sell and pass out literature on the march. This is the first time such a large march has had this explicit policy.

The policy for signs according to SDS is that SDS will silk screen signs for the march and will ask everyone to carry these signs. The slogans are not yet determined, but there will be a spectrum of different slogans such as "Withdraw Troops" and "Negotiate" etc. These signs will not even say SDS. SDS is encouraging people to bring signs indicating their schools and cities so that the march will reflect clearly a broad geographical representation. We had encouraged SDS to allow organizations to bring signs with their organizations on them, but we do not consider this key. If the SDS slogans are not pro Johnson and if SDS continues to stick to its present policy concerning literature sales, the march will certainly have an anti-Johnson and militant tone and will be more free than former marches. We will co-operate with the sign policy of SDS so long as the slogans chosen are in

agreement with the line of the call. In areas where sympathy demonstrations are being held we will push for an "everybody bring your own signs" policy with any signs being drawn up by sponsoring organizations to reflect the line of the call.

As soon as definite information on what the slogans will be comes out, we will notify the locals.

Betsy: Reports on the progress of local March on Washington Committees have come in from around the country. In some areas committees have been formed which welcome all tendencies and which are signing up people for the March on the basis of the call. Such is the case in Philadelphia, Detroit, and Minneapolis. Ann Arbor has reported that SDSers are willing to sell our pamphlet at their literature tables. In Boston arrangements have been made for us to send Doug to a large number of schools in different parts of New England. In some areas there has been some trouble with Stalinists, Social Democrats or PLers trying to exclude us. Berkeley reports that the DuBois Club is doing what it can to make this march reflect their own pro-Johnson views. A general rule seems to be that we have a better opportunity to help build united committees if we get bargaining power by actively building the march and organizing schools in the area so that our opponents find it difficult to rationalize excluding us.

Reports on the March on Washington, SDS, and Post March Plans Given to the NEJ April 21, 1965.

The April 17 March on Washington was successful in rallying over 20,000 people, mostly students, from all over the country. It was the first time in American history that so large a protest has been organized against a war while the war was going on.

In sponsoring the march, the SDS did not make the mistakes that have been made by many peace groups. They issued a call which correctly described the Vietnamese war as a civil war, they did not exclude any organizations from endorsing the march, and they did not relinquish the sponsorship of the march to a committee of more conservative adult peace groups as SPU did in 1962 when they turned the sponsorship of the march over to "Turn Toward Peace." They encouraged the distribution of literature by all endorsers covering different views of how to end the Vietnam war.

The YSA was able to correctly assess the potentialities of the march and from the beginning took steps to help build it. For six weeks after they put out the original call the SDS did almost nothing to build the march. It was during these weeks that the YSA played an especially important role. In some areas during this time the YSA contacted

local SDS chapters and urged them to start organizing for the march. We pushed the march at public meetings, talked with contacts about it, etc. We continually urged the SDS NO to print up and get out large numbers of calls thus publicly committing themselves.

There are a number of important lessons from the march which YSAers should be conscious of:

1. The theory, popular with DuBoisiers and YPSLs, that watering down demands automatically leads to bigger protests, was undermined. The uncompromising stand which SDS took in opposing the rôle of the U.S. and in characterizing the war as a civil war helped to build the march. The march showed that to the extent that the true facts about Vietnam are made known through teach-ins, speeches, leaflets, pamphlets, articles, radio and TV presentations, and in general conversations--to this extent the protest against the war will mount. The strong stand of the march dove-tailed with what was being said in the teach-ins. Through our pamphlet, our forums, campus meetings, and tours and through the YS we participated in the general campaign to get the facts out and build the spirit of opposition to the war which swelled the march.

2. The march can serve as an example of the success of a non-exclusion policy which includes all organizations who can agree on a common action on a concrete issue. Because of the active role we played in building the march across the country we helped to reinforce the SDS non-exclusion policy by proving that it is possible for revolutionary socialists to join in a common project with other groups in a cooperative way. We urged the SDS to allow different organizations to bring their own signs in their own names. When they would not go along with this we dropped the question since it was not of key importance. The YSA thus proved itself a militant, non-sectarian builder of the march.

Our intervention at the march with our ideas was very successful. 129 YSAers and approximately 25 friends of the YSA from around the country sold over 2100 copies of the new-YS. Several high school students sold over 80 Malcolm X pamphlets. Militant supporters sold 1600 copies of the Militant and twelve subs came in to the Militant office the first three days after the march. It is significant that the climate of the march was such that non-YSAers wanted to sell the YS. Also significant was the change in the relation of forces on the left which the sales indicated. We were the only socialist tendency with the exception of a few American Socialist salesmen representing ourselves as socialists. We were thus able to show that honest non-sectarian builders of the march could at the same time be the best propagandists for socialism. There was no contradiction.

In the Bay Area unfortunately the march committee was split in the final days of preparation and two demonstrations were held. 50 YS's were sold plus pamphlets and Militants. The biggest political gain derived from the march derived from the exposure of the "Red" Democrat Willie Brown who at first agreed to speak at the rally, then announced he had never agreed to speak and said he endorsed Johnson's policies. In Los Angeles a successful demonstration of 1,000 was held and 159 YS's were sold. The YSA played an important role in building the demonstration and won the respect of other groups and individuals involved.

SDS National Council Meeting

The following is a short summary of some of Doug's observations of the SDS National Council meeting he attended after the march:

Though SDSers consider themselves militant and radical, most do not consider themselves socialist. Most consider SDS a social movement and not a political organization. Many are concerned with fighting unemployment, poverty, the Vietnam war, civil rights etc. on a grass roots level. They might be called radical democrats (not Democrats). There are individuals who are receptive to our ideas and who are politicalizing, but there is no tendency within SDS which we know about that is socialist.

SDS is clearly not an opponent organization in that they represent none of the major international currents of socialism: Stalinism or Social Democracy. Rather they are a product of the new awakening of students in an environment in which there is no radicalization in the working class. They are not a competitor with us for socialist youth. Their non-sectarian openness and loose organizational concepts makes it easier to work with them on united actions than our opponents and we should continue to deepen our friendly and politically collaborative relations with them, continuing to recruit whom we can from their milieu and membership.

SDS is planning the following activities to follow up the March on Washington:

1. Vietnam emphasis week May 3-8 culminating with demonstrations on May 8. The character of this activity was left to the option of the chapters. We should push for May 8 local rallies where feasible.

2. A national debate between 3 professors and Bundy, Rusk, and Rostow on May 15 in Washington D.C. A group of professors active in the recent teach-ins are attempting to organize this. SDS wants to have it piped into halls and campuses around the country.

Post March on Washington Situation

The present division in the ruling class over the Vietnam war continues to make discussion of the war "legitimate" and we should continue to exploit this to the hilt. The continued escalation of the war and the international protest as well as the opposition in this country provides an objective situation which gives us opportunities to intervene with our ideas. For these reasons we should continue our national propaganda campaign on the Vietnam war.

1. We should encourage a broadening of the protest against the war in Vietnam to include people who have not been interested before. We should work through existing march committees where possible to continue the propaganda campaign through teach-ins, pamphlets, articles, etc. There is a tendency among some SDSers and other groups to want to turn to actions such as civil disobedience by small groups in order to "radicalize" the protest. We should counterpose as extension of the propaganda campaigns so that new individuals and groups can be included in any future demonstrations and rallies.

2. We should continue to push our own analysis of the Vietnam war trying this in with our general ideas on socialism and the ultimate solution to war. The article in the latest YS and our pamphlet will help in doing this. Locals should consider the possibility of contact classes on the permanent revolution and imperialism centering on the Vietnam war. Either Pioneer or the YSA will publish Castro's speech with an introduction. This will be an important weapon in our propaganda work on Vietnam.

Report by Jack on the Berkeley Teach-in and the Anti-War Movement given the the NEC, June 13, 1965

After speaking at the Berkeley teach-in, I returned to New York via some of the larger locals. The picture I was able to get of the anti-war movement from the teach-in and the local visits made the trip very worthwhile.

The Berkeley teach-in was more radical than the national teach-in. The students responded enthusiastically to the radical tone or suggestions of speakers especially Lynd, Moses, Potter, and Deutscher. Lynd's speech received the most enthusiastic ovation. He made some off the cuff comments about the Democrats and Republicans which were not recorded in text in the Militant. His speech both fairly well expressed the current level of understanding of the anti-war movement, and tended to take it a step forward as it combined a stand against the two parties along with the major emphasis on non-violence, mass civil disobedience, and moral protest.

The response to Deutscher's talk was also very impressive. His speech in Berkeley was better than the one to the National Teach-in. He presented himself as an "unrepentant Marxist", and left off the loyalty oath. Although it was late and cold, the audience of over 10,000 was extremely attentive and gave Deutscher a standing ovation.

Our role in the teach-in was similar to our role in the March on Washington. We worked to keep the teach-in anti-Johnson, "unbalanced" and non-exclusive. We got good experience in working with other groups and the youth around the anti-war movement were very impressed with the YSA's role. The Los Angeles comrades led a car caravan up to the teach-in from L.A. We sold a great deal of literature as reported in the Builder, \$94 worth of pamphlets and books in addition to almost 500 each of the Militant, YS, and Vietnam pamphlet. The one major error the comrades felt they made was in not pushing for a SWP spokesman which they could probably have gotten.

It is clear that there is some division in the ruling class itself as to what should be done in Vietnam. On my stops across the country I noticed that many of the big city papers' cartoons, letters to the editor, and opinion columns were attacking Johnson's policy. This has helped breed the permissive atmosphere within which the protest movement has flourished.

It is hard to tell exactly what the attitude of the working class is toward the war. There have been "negative" examples of their lack of antagonism to the student protest--there have been no large counter pickets organized to break up anti-war meetings or demonstrations, nor have there been any big pro-Johnson counter rallies held.

There has been a proliferation of Committees to End the War in Vietnam. Most of them grew out of the Committees that were set up to build the March on Washington. Almost all our locals are involved in these committees. Nowhere have we been excluded, although in some areas we have had to fight for our right to take part. In many areas we have helped to strengthen the non-exclusionist tendencies in the anti-war movement by proving ourselves the best builders of anti-Vietnam war activity. It is very likely that activities against the war in Vietnam in the summer and especially next fall will continue to be, in the main, organized by these committees. Participation in them is central to participation in the anti-war movement.

The Monthly Review recently had an article that commented that the anti-war upsurge demonstrated that the "peace movement" was viable. They are wrong. It is not the old "peace movement" which is in the vanguard of this

movement. It comes out of and is the largest manifestation thus far of the student movement. What the anti-war movement has done has been to draw a line through the ranks of the "peace movement", so that they have been forced to take stands against or for the radical demands and anti-administration actions of the anti-war movement. The statements by Rustin and Thomas on the March on Washington were very important in this respect. The anti-war movement has to a large degree bypassed the leadership of the CP and SP, although many of the committees include members of the DuBois Clubs and Social Democratic groups. Exclusive organizational methods and Democratic Party coalition mania are very antagonistic to the spirit of the young radicals.

There are certain ideas and attitudes which are prevalent among those in the anti-war movement. The high handed actions of the President in carrying on the war and especially the lies of the government have been important in opening people's eyes to the undemocratic character of American democracy. The concern with democracy has helped perpetuate the healthy non-exclusive internal atmosphere of the movement and the openness of students to new ideas.

Many of the students approach the war in Vietnam as a moral question, not as a political question. Many are enthusiastic about civil disobedience and there is a dominant strain of support for "non-violence." When someone suggests an action they will often speak of it as a "non-violent action."

The new anti-war movement shows more militancy and has more of a sense of humor than the old "peace movement." There is not the intensity and self-righteousness that used to be so common among SPUers. Nor are professional pacifism or third campism raised to quasi-principles.

A large number of those in the anti-war movement will agree with us when we point out that the Democratic and Republican parties should be rejected. But they confuse Democratic and Republican party politics with politics in general and even those who reject the two major parties tend to reject politics period.

I spoke at the forum in Los Angeles along with a leading SDSer who spoke about the chasm between the "old" left and the "new" left. Her argument, which is common among "new radicals" is that the issues argued by the "old" left (SWP, CP, SP) are and always have been irrelevant. (More of these students than I suspected do know some radical history and are aware of the role of the Communist Party.) They have somewhat the same attitude the nationalists had toward the "white radicals" at first. They tend to view the

"old left" as an undifferentiated whole. Before Malcolm accepted us as revolutionists we had to differentiate ourselves from the other "white radical old left" groups and we had to show that we had something to offer. It is only in common action as well as with our propoganda that we will be able to show that the difference between the old radical movements are important and relevant, that we are the revolutionists, and that the young radicals have good reason to suspect the rest of the "old left."

It is clear that if we are to influence the anti-war movement and to win recruits from it to our ideas, we cannot do this by standing on the sidelines. We must become more familiar with the attitudes and ideas of those who are participating as well as their various organizations, committees, and projects.

We are now active participants in the anti-war movement and can make suggestions which will affect the movement. We need to decide what actions we want to support and push and we need to figure out how to make our calls for such things as independent political action more concrete. Some thought and further discussion must be given to the propogandistic and agitational tasks before us, especially in relation to the idea of a Continental Congress, which is the best idea to come from within the movement for the next focus of a national mobilization of the anti-war movement.

We will want to continue the push to widen the anti-war movement to more students and more campuses. The democratic attitude of the students has made them anxious to spread the movement to people off the campus. We should encourage people to give talks against the war to civil rights groups, community groups, unions, high school groups, etc., as long as it is not a substitute for deepening the protest as much as possible on the campus itself.

This outline report should be viewed as the beginning of a discussion on this question. At the next NEC we can have the benefit of ideas from comrades in the field and can think out and nail down these questions further.

Report by Doug on the Assembly of Unrepresented People given to the NEC on August 15, 1965.

The most significant result of the Assembly of Unrepresented People held in Washington (Aug. 6-9) was the gathering of leaders from anti-war committees throughout the entire country into a workshop where they could get to know each other, share experiences, and plan co-ordinated actions.

This Vietnam workshop, not scheduled on the agenda, was organized on Friday night (Aug. 6) with the explicit purpose of creating a national co-ordinating committee. It met all day Saturday and Sunday to hash out the concrete plans for this committee and for co-ordinated protests this fall.

The Vietnam workshop, consisting primarily of students in anti-war committees around the country, was attended by 75-200 people depending on the time of day. There was a small sprinkle of women from peace organizations and a couple of people from the National Guardian. Among the organized radical groups the YSA had about 10 (three of whom represented their areas) and the New York DuBois Club had a sizable contingent. PE and Youth Against War and Fascism did not play an active role in the workshop, although they had people in Washington for the weekend. Although there were people from SDS present, they did not play a dominant role. Staughton Lynd, Dave Dellinger, and Bob Parris, the main organizers of the Assembly, did not play an active role in this workshop at all.

Although there were other workshops going on, the Vietnam workshop usually had the most people during the two days.

After hearing reports from different parts of the country, the participants in the workshop broke up into local "caucuses" to select representatives for a national co-ordinating committee. Three YSAers were selected to represent their areas. A total of 34 people were selected to be on the co-ordinating committee (some were co-opted by the group as a whole) and it was agreed that if some area was not represented at the workshop or a new committee was formed that they would be able to have representatives on the steering committee. This reflected the fact that the co-ordinating committee is set up on a temporary basis until a national convention can be held in Madison during Thanksgiving week-end. Although it was first agreed to have the national center for the co-ordinating committee in Chicago, it was later changed to Madison when the Chicago committee could not guarantee a place for a convention and when the head of the Madison Committee agreed to be National Co-ordinator.

National co-ordination was planned for protest actions on the weekend of October 15-16. It was agreed to hold local Assemblies of Unrepresented People on October 15 and demonstrations, rallies, etc., depending on local option on Oct. 16.

Although there was some discussion of how representatives should be chosen for the convention, no definite decision was made. It was agreed that the National Co-ordinating Committee, along with observers from all groups opposed to the war in Vietnam, should hold a meeting in Ann Arbor on September 18 and 19.

There are several interesting observations that should be made:

- 1) The seriousness of the anti-war militants in the workshop was reflected by their refusal to be drawn into various civil disobedience projects and demonstrations in front of the White House while the workshop was going on.
- 2) The Workshop refused to agree to a DuBois Club / proposal to join the ADA-SANE sponsored demonstration in Washington on Oct. 15 instead of organizing independent protests on that date.
- 3) The opportunities for YSAers to make substantial contributions and suggestions and to generally play an influential role were many.

The formation of the National Co-ordinating Committee gives us several focal dates toward which we can orient: (a) the Oct. 15 and 16 protests and (b) the Thanksgiving Convention.

Most important of all, this first step toward organizing the anti-war movement on a national basis points to the necessity for the YSA to become as involved as possible in the anti-war movement. The norm should be that every member of the YSA should belong to an anti-war committee and the main thrust of local work should be anti-war work. **As long as the anti-war movement is ascending, it is better to err on the side of over involvement if we must err at all.**

Suggested Quotas for Fall Subscription Drive

Ann Arbor	75
Berkeley	175
Boston	250
Chicago	225
Cleveland	75
Denver	25
Detroit	150
Los Angeles	100
Philadelphia	75
Madison	25
New York - Downtown	150
New York - Uptown	125
San Francisco	75
San Jose	25
Seattle	25
Twin Cities	125
Washington, D. C.	15
Yellow Springs	15
<hr/> Total	1730

Minutes of August 29, 1965 NEC

Present: NEC: John, Daniels, Doug, Melissa, Ralph, Pete,
Jack, Betsey
NC ALT: Dick, Roland, Howard, Caroline

Chairman: Daniels

Agenda: 1. Transfer of Howard S.
2. Anti-war Movement Report
3. Organization of Plenum
4. Organizational Report

1. Transfer of Howard S. - Jack

Howard S. requests a transfer to Los Angeles in order to attend a trade school there. His perspective is to leave in October.

Motion: To approve the transfer.

Motion Passed

2. Anti-War Movement Report - Doug

Report on Anti-War Movement to be given at Plenum.

Motion: To approve the general line of the report.

Discussion: Dick, Jack, Betsey, John, Jack, Pete, Dick, Melissa, John, Roland, Caroline, Jack, John, Dick, Betsey, Jack, Ralph, Jack, Doug

Motion Passed

3. Organization of Plenum - Betsey

Presentation of procedural motions to be presented to Plenum.

1. To have the National Executive Committee act as the Presiding Committee.
2. To approve invited guests with voice and consultative vote.
3. To have two comrades serve as the Plenum secretaries.
4. To adopt the following procedural motions in the discussion:
 - a. Procedural questions will be decided by majority vote with one speaker for and one speaker against each with one minute.
 - b. Only those seated at the time of the roll call may vote.
 - c. Discussion presentations to be limited to 10 minutes.

- d. In any discussion period no one may speak a second time before each person desiring the floor has had a chance to speak.

Motion: To approve the recommendations.

Motion Passed

4. Organizational Report - Betsey

Presentation of organizational report to be given at Plenum including the following recommendations to be voted on by the Plenum.

Motion: To approve a fund drive running from October 5 to December 20.

Motion Passed

Motion: To approve the combined introductory Militant-YS sub drive to run from September 20 to December 15.

Discussion: Ralph, Roland, Betsey, Pete, Jack, Betsey

Motion Passed

Motion: That the NC call a convention of the Young Socialist Alliance to be held in the early spring of 1966, and that the NC empower the NEC to organize the convention and to decide the place of the convention.

Discussion: Ralph, Dick, Betsey, Jack

Motion Passed

Motion: That Jack be National Chairman.

That Betsey be National Secretary.

That the following be nominated for the NEC:

Jack, Betsey, John, Daniels, Doug, Ralph, Melissa, Dan, Mary-Alice.

Discussion: Pete, Ralph, Jack

Motion Passed

NEC Meeting - August 15, 1965

Present: NEC: John, Daniels, Doug, Pete, Betsey, Jack, Ralph
NC FULL: Gus; Judy
NC ALT: Dick, Caroline, Roland

Excused: Melissa

Chairman: Roland

Agenda: 1. Plenum
2. Bloomington Defense
3. Young Socialist Report
4. Washington Conference of Unrepresented People

1. Plenum - Jack

Although everyone has not yet replied to the plenum poll, there is general agreement that we should hold the plenum on September 7th.

Motion: To hold a regular closed plenum and to invite local organizers and special guests.

Motion: That the agenda and reporters at the plenum be as follows: 1. International Report - Jack 2. Anti-war Movement - Doug 3. Organizational Report - Betsey.

Motions Passed

2. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

\$1500-2000 has been raised in Berkeley for Bloomington Defense as a result of the performances of the Mime Troupe and a theater party. Over \$500 has come in from mailings to professors who have come out against the war in Vietnam.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

3. Young Socialist Report - Doug

One article did not arrive from the field and had to be written in the center. This has held up the YS somewhat. It is uncertain as to whether the magazine will be out by the time of the plenum.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Carried

4. Washington Conference of Unrepresented People - Doug

See enclosed report.

Discussion: Jon, Dick, Doug, Pete, Roland, Jack, Gus, Betsey, Jon, Dick, Caroline, Jack, Betsey, Jack, Pete, Roland.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Carried

Report to the NEC on the Assembly of Unrepresented People

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Doug Jenness

August 15, 1965

NATIONAL CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
STEERING COMMITTEE MAILING LIST

- *1. Sue Schwartz - New York Committee to End the War in Vietnam. 314 W. 100 St. N.Y., RI 9-6305 (home)
- *2. Tom Schwetzer - Cambridge-Boston Citizens Committee to End War in Vietnam. home: 19 Inman St. office: SDS 241 River St. Cambridge 39, Mass.
- 3. Bill Miller - New Brunswick Community Action Project (ERAP) 429 Patton Ave. Bound Brook, N.J. 201-356-0414.
- 4. Bob Heisler, N.Y. DuBois Club; Room 626
- *5. Edy Bobrick c/o Dora McKenna, Pecan Springs Rd. Austin, Texas.
- *6. Larry Seigle - Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam 1819 16th Ave. S. Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- 7. David Gilbert; NY Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1105 Broadway, 889-5793.
- *8. Frank Emspak - Madison Committee, 1728 Van Hise Ave. Madison, Wisconsin 608-238-7182.
- 9. Marc Sapir 315-5 Stanford Villae, Stanford, Calif. 415-322-3518.
- 10. Mel McDonald - SDS Vietnam Staff - 1103 E. 63 St. Chicago.
- 11. Irvin Beinin 172 E. 4th St. Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace.
- 12. Dave Berkely c/o Dept. of Physics, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.
- 13. Joe Gross, Noah Hall, Oberlin, Ohio; Vietnam Ad Hoc Committee, 40 Wilder Hall, Oberlin, Ohio.
- 14. Larry Wadlei, 1714 SE Ash, 235-6529, Portland, Oregon (Reed College).
- 15. Liz Fusco, Box 469, Sidon, Miss.
- 16. Nadya Spassenko, RFD #1, Box 719, Woodstock, New York.
- 17. Neil M. Sheneberger, 461 State St., Lancaster, Pa.
- *18. Lon Hill, 2620 1/2 Melpomene, New Orleans, La.
- 19. Dennis R. Ciosielski, 1524A E. Park Pl. Milwaukee, Wis. 964-0586.
- 20. Earl Silbar - Chicago Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1103 E. 63 St. Chicago.
- *21. Larry White - Detroit Committee - 1101 W. Warren, Detroit, 832-4791.
- *22. Vicki Cooper - Pittsburg Committee - 715 Copeland St. Pittsburgh, Pa.
- *23. Sherry Myers, Nashville Tenn., Southern Student Organizing Committee; 915 18th Ave. S. or PO Box 6403 Acklen Ave. Nashville, Tenn. 291-0393.
- *24. Robin Maisel - Phil. Area Comm., 3613 Barin So. or 228 S. Buckingham, Philadelphia; EV2-6650.
- *25. David Kaetz c/o Yale--New Haven Comm. for Peace in Vietnam; 1321 Yale Station, New Haven; Conn. 203-248-1420.
- *26. Jerry Rubin, Vietnam Day Committee, 2502 Telegraph Ave. Berkeley, California

30-OPTED

- 27. Staughton Lynd
- 28. Dave Dellinger
- 29. Bob Parris
- 30. Eli Zaretsky
- 32. Stanley Aronowitz

Minutes of July 24, 1965 - NEC

Present: NEC: Melissa, Pete, Doug, Daniels, Jon, Ralph
NJ ALT: Caroline, Dick, Roland

Excused NEC: Jack, Betsey

Chairman: Dick

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Washington Report
3. Buffalo "Solve-in"
4. Canadian Conference
5. Berkeley
6. Anti-War Movement
7. ECLC Teach-in

1. National Office Report - Doug

- Lead indicated sections*
- a. Danny R. transferring to Cleveland for the rest of the summer instead of Philadelphia as planned.
 - b. YS has been going very well and several locals have ordered more.
 - c. The Youth Festival was called off after Jack and Betsey arrived in Europe. They still plan to be gone until the second week in August.
 - d. Comrades from Detroit have asked permission to send additional people to Ann Arbor to establish a local in Ann Arbor this fall.

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed

2. Washington, D.C. Report - Dick

The at-large YSAers in Washington have been holding weekly classes on socialism with 10-15 attending. Three contacts have expressed an interest in the YSA. Recommendation that someone from the National Office go to Washington to talk further with those interested.

Discussion: Pete, Doug, Dick, Daniels, Melissa

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed

3. Buffalo Solve-in - Ralph

Ralph and Jim B., along with ten Canadian comrades, attended a "solve-in" on the war in Vietnam held in Buffalo July 22, sponsored by SDS. Representatives of the DuBois Club, Spartacists, Youth Against War and Fascism, Guardian, and SDS spoke. Ralph spoke for the YSA. Total attendance was 400-500. Twenty-five dollars in literature was sold, including 20 copies of the Summer YS.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Daniels, Melissa, Ralph, Doug, Pete

Passed

4. Canadian Conference - Pete

(See enclosed)

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Ralph, Dick, Melissa, Dick, Roland, Doug, Melissa
Doug

Passed

5. Berkeley - Pete

Motion: The NEC recommend to the Plenum to be held September 7, that Peter C. be relieved of all National Office assignments in order to transfer Peter to Berkeley. Jack and Betsey support the recommendation.

Discussion: Dick, Pete, Melissa, Ralph, Doug

Passed

6. Anti-War Movement - Doug

(See enclosed)

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Jon, Doug, Dick, Jon, Caroline, Dick, Doug, Pete

Passed

7. ECLC "Teach-in" - Ralph

The ECLC is holding a "teach-in" on civil liberties on September 17. It will probably be possible for a Bloomington Defendant to speak.

Motion: That we help publicize the teach-in and participate in the workshops.

Discussion: Jon, Daniels, Pete

Passed

July 24, 1965

Canadian Conference - Pete

Peter, Doug, and Ralph attended the founding convention of the Young Socialist Forum in Canada July 17-18. Doug presented the greetings from the YSA, Peter gave a report on the YSA, and Ralph told about the most recent developments in the Bloomington Case.

Five or six comrades from Detroit also came and observed the Convention.

There were about 50 people present. Most of them came from the three Canadian locals: Ottawa, Toronto, and Vancouver, but there were several at-largers as well. Fraternal delegates from Montreal were also present.

The major topic of discussion was the New Democratic Youth, the youth arm of the New Democratic Party. The YSF is playing an active role in building the NDY and in developing a socialist wing within it. At the most recent NDY convention, the left wing caucus led by YSFers came within a few votes of winning a majority.

The new radicalization of campus youth and the growth of SNCC and the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) was also discussed.

Several high school delegates took the floor and talked about developments in the high schools.

The YSF does not have many problems with opponent organizations. The Young Communist League is declining and the Progressive Workers (Maoists) are active only in Vancouver. Both of these groups, for different reasons, refuse to work in the New Democratic Youth.

From a small handful of Young Socialists a few years ago, the YSF today has about 70 members. It was decided to expand the Young Socialist Forum newspaper and to continue to improve it. It was also announced that the National Office would for the first time, have a full time person.

At the plenum of the National Committee following the convention, John Riddell was elected Executive Secretary and John Bannon was selected as the new YSF editor.

July 24, 1965

To All Comrades:

Anti-war Movement Report

I. Assembly of Unrepresented People

(See July 15 report)

II. Summary of Anti-war Work Around the Country

- a. Los Angeles - The Los Angeles Committee to End the War in Vietnam has had as many as 70 people at business meetings. It has carried out a number of projects, the most recent being a large demonstration (700) against Vice President Humphrey. SANE and WSP were only able to rally 200 to their demonstration on the same day. The Committee has gone on record in support of the Continental Congress and has discussed how to implement it. The policy of the Committee is a) non-exclusion, b) self-determination for Vietnam, 3) immediate withdrawal of American troops. YSAers participate openly in the Committee.
- b. Berkeley - The Berkeley Committee was born out of the May 25 Vietnam Day activity and has continued to sustain itself. One hundred people attended a recent meeting and no Stalinists or Social Democrats were present. All YSA suggestions were unanimously accepted. The Committee organized a large demonstration (2,000) against President Johnson when he came to San Francisco last month. The next big project for the Committee is a mass teach-in to be held on October 15 and 16. Three YSAers are on the steering committee.
- c. Minneapolis - Between thirty and forty people regularly attend meetings of the End the War in Vietnam Committee. The Committee conducts demonstrations and is carrying out a seminar series. A demonstration was organized by the Committee against the recent Governors' Conference in Minneapolis. The YSA is active in the Committee and a YSAer is presently chairman.

- d. Chicago - The Chicago End the War in Vietnam Committee has its own office and is carrying out a number of projects. The most recent was to participate in a mass civil rights rally bringing their own banners. There is a YSAer on the Steering Committee.
- e. Detroit - The Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam has two meetings a week - a business meeting and an educational. At a recent meeting a YSAer gave an educational on the current discussion going on within the Anti-war Movement using the list of articles that the N.O. suggested reading. The Continental Congress was discussed and the DuBoisiers opposed it. The Committee raised \$500 by sponsoring a concert for Harry Belafonte. YSAers hold leadership positions in the Committee.
- f. New York - There is a city-wide End the War in Vietnam Committee that is made up of representatives from about ten neighborhood committees. The city-wide committee has an office from which it distributes to the neighborhood committees 35,000 pieces of literature a week. The neighborhood committees plan their own activities - rallies, seminars, leafleting, petitioning, literature tables, etc. Both the YSA and the SWP have people in the various committees. The last city-wide meeting was held at 116 University Place because the committee could not find a hall. The chairman of the Committee is friendly to us and spoke at the Militant Labor Forum on July 23. Trotskyist speakers are included in rallies and our literature is sold at committee literature tables.
- g. Boston - SDS has been active over the summer and dominates the anti-war work. The Boston SDS is tied financially to PAC (a conservative peace group) and has a sprinkling of Stalinists in its ranks. This has made it difficult for the YSA to carry out anti-war work. The YSA is now trying to reach the healthy militants in and around SDS and work with them.

III. Comrades are urged to read Staughton Lynd's most recent article, "The New Radicals", in the Summer issue of Dissent. The August issue of Liberation also carries a number of articles about the Anti-War Movement.

Comradely,
Doug Jenness
Doug Jenness

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York

July 15, 1965

To All Comrades:

Assembly of Unrepresented People

The final version of the call for an Assembly of Unrepresented people in Washington, D.C., August 6-9 is out and a copy is enclosed.

The preparations for this event have been very poorly organized. No arrangements for transportation have been made, very little publicity has gone out, and many other organizational details have not been carried out. SDS, which supports the action and is planning to participate, is not willing to carry organizational burdens.

Therefore, it is likely that the Assembly will not be very large. In light of this the National Office recommends that:

1) Comrades in the Mid-West should not plan to attend the Assembly unless they are able to have their way paid as representatives of their anti-war committees. They should work in any supporting or parallel actions that may be organized.

2) New York locals are responsible for literature sales on August 7 and August 8.

3) Philadelphia, Boston, and Washington, D.C. should send one or two comrades if possible for the August 7 and August 8 workshops.

4) The West Coast locals should continue to participate in the parallel action that is being planned on the West Coast.

Our major intervention in Washington will be to sell the YS and the Militant (which will have special articles on a program for the anti-war movement that week), to talk to people, and push our ideas in whatever ways possible.

Viet-Report

A new publication called Viet-Report (An Emergency News Bulletin on Southeast Asian Affairs) has published its first issue. It is being sold by all the anti-war committees in

New York. YSA locals can order bundles for their bookstores and push to have their anti-war committees order them. If locals or committees make bulk orders and sell them, they can make money. Bulk rates are:

1,000 and over:	2 cents per copy
500 to 1,000	3 cents per copy
Under 500	5 cents per copy

The address is Viet-Report, 133 West 72nd St., New York, New York. 10023.

Comradely,

Doug Jenness
Doug Jenness
National Office
YSA

CALL FOR AN ASSEMBLY OF UNREPRESENTED PEOPLE in Washington, D.C., August 6-9

"I like to believe that the people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. I think the people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."

--- President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Aug. 31, 1959

WE DECLARE PEACE

IN MISSISSIPPI and Washington the few make the decisions for the many. Mississippi Negroes are denied the vote; the voice of the thirty per cent of Americans now opposed to the undeclared war in Vietnam is not heeded and all Americans are denied access to facts concerning the true military and political situation. We must make it plain to the Administration that we will not be accomplices to a war that we did not declare. There can be no doubt that the great majority of the people of the world do not approve of the presence of American troops in Vietnam. We who will come to Washington on August 6 through 9 cannot in any sense represent this majority, but we can let our voices be heard in a symbolic *Assembly of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace.*


AUGUST 6 is the twentieth anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima;

August 9 the anniversary of the Nagasaki bomb. Therefore, we choose August 6, 7, 8, and 9 for a new attempt to draw together the voices of nonviolent protest in America; not only those who have for so long been calling for an end to the Cold War, but also those whose protests focus on racial injustice, inequities by Congressional committees, inequities in labor legislation, the mishandling of anti-poverty and welfare funds and the absence of democratic process on the local level. We invite not only those now active in organized protests but ministers, members of the academic community, teachers, women, professional people, students, people from the newly formed community groups in slums and rural areas, industrial workers, anyone who wishes to symbolically withdraw his support from the war and who wishes to explore the possibilities of inter-action inherent in this community of concerned people.

*Norma Becker
Bob Swann
Donna Allen
Bob Parris
Mel McDonald
Carl Bloise
Peter Kellman
Barry Weisberg
Dena Clamager
Steve Weissman*

*Stephen Amdur
Eric Weinberger
Walter M. Tillow
Carl Oglesby
Ed Hamlett
Jeffrey Gordon
Jimmy Garrett
Courtland Cox
Dave Dellinger
Ray Raphael*

*Sandra Adickes
Francis H. Mitchell
John Porcelli
William Hartzog
Barbara Deming
Mack Smith
Staughton Lynd
Dennis Sweeney
Russ Nixon
Florence Howe
Paul Lauter*



Activities of the Four Days

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

August 6: A demonstration at the White House will center around the Declaration of Conscience which has already received over 6,000 signatures; it declares the signers' complete refusal to assist in the carrying out of the war in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Those of the signers who can come to Washington will constitute the core of the demon-

stration; non-signers will be welcomed. The Declaration has been sponsored and circulated by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, War Resisters League, Student Peace Union and the Catholic Worker. These groups will therefore have full responsibility for the conduct of this aspect of the four-day assembly. There may be nonviolent civil disobedience by some of the signers.

August 7 and 8 will be the heart of the *Assembly of Unrepresented People*. They will be devoted to workshops, probably carried out in the open on the grass surrounding the Washington Monument.

PROGRAM WORKSHOPS

August 7: The *Assembly* will divide itself according to the section of the protest movement which claims the greatest attention of each individual.

There will be groupings of community people and staff who have been working at the local level on organizing the poor to have a voice in the lives of their communities and in the administration of federal anti-poverty funds.

There will be another grouping of people whose interest and work center on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's attempt to have Congress unseat the five improperly elected representatives from their state.

CONSTITUENCY WORKSHOPS

August 8: Vietnam. There will be workshops of ministers, teachers, members of the academic community, women, professional people, students, people from local communities, union members and other "constituency groupings" to plan how they can

There will still be other groupings to discuss the recent threats of destructive investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee of elements of both the peace and civil rights movements.

We hope that there will also be present representative groupings from the ranks of organized labor to discuss labor's attempt to have repealed the so-called "right-to-work law" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

There will be workshops on Free Universities and Student Unions.

Additional workshops on other aspects of non-violent direct action will be scheduled to meet the interests of those present.

work in the summer and through the year to stop the war. There will be a large evening meeting.

A Declaration of Peace drawn up by the initiators of the demonstration will be circulated in the workshops for use on the 9th.

August 9 ("Governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."): Those members of the *Assembly of Unrepresented People* in a position to face possible arrest and willing to pledge themselves to nonviolent behavior during the course of the demonstration will assemble and walk toward the Capitol with the intention of convening the *Assembly* in the chamber of the House of Representatives and thus deny that Congress has the right to declare war in our names. If stopped along the way we will sit down and declare the *Assembly of Unrepresented People* in session. One of the group will rise and begin to read the Declaration of Peace circulated in the workshops on the 8th. If, as seems likely, the person reading is arrested before the Declaration is fully

read, another person will rise and continue reading. The *Assembly* will be open to the reading of additional declarations of peace that individuals or representatives of organizations may bring with them. We hope that this demonstration will serve as a symbol of the desire of the people of the world to express their opposition to the Vietnam war in a democratic fashion.

To implement this plan, we suggest that one focus for community organization between now and August 6 be discussion of what the government *should* do in Vietnam. The results of these discussions could be embodied in declarations of peace which representatives would bring to Washington. Some groups, particularly those farthest away from Washington, may want to create assemblies at state capitals and city councils on August 9.

Preparation for the *Assembly* will be coordinated at 107 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. Address correspondence to Eric Weinberger or Bob Parris. Before and after the *Assembly* related activities will go on in Washington concerning Vietnam, FDP, 14-B, HUAC and community organization. Volunteers are urgently needed. We can probably provide free housing. (A few hundred dollars are needed for office expenses. Checks to Washington Summer Action are requested.)

Minutes of July 7, 1965 - NEC

Present: NEC: Ralph, Melissa, Jack, Betsey, Daniels, John,
Doug, Pete

NC AIT: Caroline, Roland, Dick

Chairman: Ralph

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Plenum
3. Canadian Conference
4. Washington Action
5. Vietnam Pamphlet
6. Bloomington Defense
7. Personnel
8. YS

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. Danny R. is transferring from Detroit to Philadelphia for the rest of the summer.

b. Detroit Educational Conference went very well. Eighty people came from out of town.

c. The Chicago local received an extra 200 YS's to send free to SDSers and contacts who attended the SDS National Convention.

d. Jack and Betsey leave for Europe July 8. They will be gone for six weeks.

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed

2. Plenum - Jack

Motion: To hold a one day plenum of the National Committee in New York on September 7, 1965. All full members of the National Committee will be polled for their approval.

Passed

3. Canadian Conference - Jack

The Canadians will be holding the founding convention of the Young Socialist Forum on July 17-18, in Toronto.

Motion: To send Pete and Doug to the Convention as official observers. Other comrades who are able to attend are encouraged to go.

Passed

4. Washington Action - Doug

(See report of July 5, 1965)

A new call for the August 6-9 project in Washington is coming out this week, but according to our information it will have no major changes. All attempts to have the name of a YSAer placed on the new call failed. The SDS national leadership has endorsed the project and hope that out of the workshops, regional conferences will be called for the fall.

Back read

In addition to the proposals in the July 5 report on the Washington project, our intervention should consist of:

- 1) Sales of the Summer YS and the Militant.
- 2) Distribution of a short brochure on the necessity of joining the Socialist movement.
- 3) Literature table.

Our participation in civil disobedience projects is a tactical decision which will be decided on the spot.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Doug, Dick, Doug, Roland, Jack, Pete, Jack, Doug, Dick, Jack, Doug, Jack.

Passed

5. Vietnam Pamphlet - Doug

read

Motion: To put out a new pamphlet on Vietnam as soon as possible.

Discussion: Ralph, Betsey

Passed

6. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

Due to an unavoidable legal delay, the motion requesting the federal injunction will not be filed until the fall. This means that the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court will not be filed until early in 1966.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Ralph, Jack

Passed

7. Personnel - Jack

Dan and Mary-Alice who were elected to the NEC at the Plenum immediately following the last Convention, will be able to come into New York in late August.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Ralph, Jack, Betsey

Passed

8. YS - Doug

read (The Editorial Board met and decided to have articles on the Korean War, Algeria, and the anti-war movement in the next issue. Other features remain to be decided.

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

July 5, 1965

To All Comrades:

Bob Parris (SNCC), Dave Dellinger (LIBERATION), Staughton Lynd and others have issued a call for a "Congress of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace in Vietnam" on August 9. The call also announces protest activity for August 6 (Hiroshima Day) and August 7 and workshops for August 8.

The call states: "In Mississippi and in Washington the few make decisions for the many. Mississippi Negroes are denied the vote; all Americans are denied influence over the terrible war carried on in our name in Vietnam. We must make it plain to the Administration and to the world that we will not be accomplices to a war we did not declare; that we intend to have a government which truly represents us even if we have to create it ourselves."

The YSA supports the political line of this call and will send people and help bring others to Washington on this weekend.

The call (1) correctly states that the American government is not in the interests of the majority of Americans, (2) that all Americans should participate in such questions as declaring war, (3) and that if necessary a new power separate from the existing government must be established.

It should be clearly understood that this August activity in Washington is not the Continental Congress that Staughton Lynd has called for. (Liberation, June-July). The workshops and civil disobedience activities planned next month are far more modest than the Continental Congress proposal. For one thing, the activity next month does not embody a mass mobilization of tens of thousands of people. This modest orientation, of course, is correct considering the difficulty of organizing a mass mobilization in the summer with so little time. The project (particularly the workshops) is in the spirit of the Continental Congress and could be a stepping stone to it.

No matter how SDS, SNCC, Lynd and others characterize the workshop sessions and no matter what they expect them to accomplish or not to accomplish, these work-

shops will most likely take the form of a national conference of the leading people in the anti-war committees throughout the country. The coming together of the activists, organizers and leaders of the current anti-war movement in Washington to discuss, and hopefully decide where the anti-war movement should go is an important event. A call for the next major mass action will most likely be issued from this gathering. The non-exclusive character of the workshops makes it possible for the YSA to participate openly and to contribute to the discussion and decision making.

The National Office suggests the following guidelines for the locals in orienting toward this project:

- 1) Wherever YSAers are in End the War in Vietnam Committees, they should push to have their committees send representatives to the workshops in Washington August 7 and 8.
- 2) YSAers should push to have the representatives go to Washington in support of the Continental Congress and in support of an anti-imperialist line on the war.
- 3) Wherever possible YSAers should try to get elected as representatives from their committees.
- 4) YSAers should have their committees send for all the information on the Washington project. Write to Eric Weinberger or Bob Parris, 107 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- 5) There have been a number of articles published recently discussing the anti-war movement - where it is going and what it should do. Our comrades should read these articles closely in order to keep on top of the developing events as much as possible. Comrades are urged to read the following articles in particular:

Dellinger, Dave, "March on Washington and Its Critics",
(May LIBERATION)

Pickus, Robert, "Political Integrity and Its Critics",
(June-July LIBERATION) (answer to Dellinger)

Rustin, Bayard, "From Protest to Politics: The Future
of the Civil Rights Movement", (COMMENTARY Feb.)

Lynd, Staughton, "Coalition Politics or Non-Violent
Revolution", (answer to Rustin) (June-July LIBERATION)

Smith, Jack, "Some Problems of the Peace Movement", two
articles, (June 19 and 26, NATIONAL GUARDIAN)

Stone, I.F., "What Should the Peace Movement Do?" (June
23, I.F. STONE'S WEEKLY)

"The SDS March on Washington", (Spring STUDIES ON THE LEFT)

"Up from Irrelevance" -editorial, (Spring, STUDIES ON THE
LEFT)
Hopkins, Andrew, "Of, By and For the Poor: The New Gener-
ation of Student Organizers", (June 19, NEW REPUBLIC)
Arnold, Steve, "The CIO's HISTORY" -book review of
LABOR'S GIANT STEP, (July 3, NATIONAL GUARDIAN)

Comradely,
Doug Jenness

Doug Jenness

July 21, 1965

To All Those Working on CABS:

Enclosed is a breakdown of the amount of money CABS has received from January through June, 1965. A little more than half of the projected \$9,000.00 goal has been raised.

The Dombrowski decision in the U.S. Supreme Court established a favorable precedent for the Bloomington Case. Their finding declared unconstitutional major sections of the Louisiana Communist-control Law, which is similar to the Indiana Anti-Communism Act. It also held that Federal courts may enjoin state court criminal proceedings under statutes that unconstitutionally threaten to deny citizens freedom of speech.

However, there are two major differences between the Dombrowski Case and the Bloomington Case.

1. The Louisiana law is more severe than the Indiana statute.
2. The plaintiffs in the Dombrowski Case had not been indicted by a Grand Jury as the three defendants in the Bloomington Case have been.

To utilize this precedent most fully, attorneys Leonard Boudin and Daniel Taylor would now like to include, along with the three defendants, the YSA as an organization, and if possible, two faculty members at Indiana University, and several tax payers in Indiana, as plaintiffs in the motion to be filed with the panel of three federal judges asking for an injunction. This would broaden the appeal and put the Bloomington Case further within the jurisdiction of the Dombrowski findings.

These additional moves will take more time than the original plans. Therefore the motion requesting the injunction will not be filed until the fall, and any appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court can not be made until early in 1966.

This means we have an additional five months to raise the remaining \$4,000. Everyone working on the case should continue building support and holding money raising projects. In New York, an appeal for funds was sent to all sponsors of the National Teach-In on the War in Vietnam. The well-known pantomime group in the Bay Area, the Mime Troupe, is giving four performances for CABS in July and August. Such projects should be held this summer when possible, and particularly planned for the fall.

Two hundred ten sponsors have been added to the Sponsors List since the Indiana Supreme Court decision in January. This brings the total number of sponsors to over 900. A list of these sponsors is enclosed and more copies are available.

The Faculty Council of the Chicago City Junior College passed a resolution in support of the case. A copy is enclosed and additional copies are available.

Although the legal steps in the case are taking more time, it is important to continue the work of raising money and building support. The goal for CABS for the rest of this year is: \$800 per month in contributions — and all the publicity and support you can get in your locality.

Joyce DeGroot
Joyce DeGroot
National Secretary

The Faculty Council of the Chicago City Junior College passed the following resolution at its May 19, 1965 meeting.

RESOLUTION ON THE BLOOMINGTON CASE

- Whereas: Three Indiana University students, Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and James Bingham, were indicted on May 1, 1963, under the Indiana Anti-Subversion Act of 1951; and
- Whereas: These students were indicted as officers of the University recognized chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance for attending an on campus meeting at Indiana University sponsored by the group; and
- Whereas: It is generally known that the Administration and the Faculty of the University of Indiana have gone on record as resisting outside pressure attempting to interfere with matters purely internal to the academic life of the student body; and
- Whereas: The Indiana University Chapter of the American Association of University Professors has declared: "In a university community, debate, disagreement and the sharp confrontation of opposing ideas is a vital part of the attempt to come closer to the administrative officers of this institution in resisting outside efforts to compel the University to follow other judgments than its own as to recognition of student organizations." and
- Whereas: Although the Indiana statute has already been judged unconstitutional at a pre-trial hearing in Bloomington, the Indiana State Supreme Court, on appeal by the prosecutor, in a split decision last January has upheld the anti-subversion law on the basis of "states' rights," even though federal legislation in this area exists.

Be it therefore resolved:

That the Chicago City Junior College Faculty Council viewing the action on the part of the State of Indiana as inconsistent with the principles of academic freedom, supports the action of the Administration and Faculty of Indiana in upholding the students' rights to a free discussion of controversial issues through student groups.

Contributions to GABS January-June, 1965

Michigan	1,040.00*
New York	786.08
Illinois	711.00
California	538.70
Indiana	368.23
Ohio	464.58
Massachusetts	251.00
Connecticut	125.00
Canada	121.50
Texas	118.00
Minnesota	104.00
Wisconsin	85.00
Colorado	55.52
Pennsylvania	49.00
New Jersey	39.00
Washington	36.84
Hawaii	25.00
Virginia	15.00
Florida	13.00
Washington, D.C.	5.00
Missouri	5.00
Oregon	5.00
Louisiana	3.50
Maryland	1.00
Total	<u>4,965.95</u>

* This includes \$400.00 which was contributed by the Jackson Social Welfare Committee of the First Unitarian Church of Ann Arbor, Michigan. This has been the largest single contribution to GABS.

COMMITTEE TO AID THE BLOOMINGTON STUDENTS
Additional Sponsors

June 21, 1965

CALIFORNIA

California State-
Fullerton
Joseph E. Morran

San Francisco State Coll.
Ruby Cohn
Louis Levine
Adam David Miller
Robert E. Morgan

San Jose State College
Harold M. Hodges, Jr.
Keith W. Johnsgard
David K. Newman
Jack Pierce
Henry G. Pitchford
James W. Pratt
Charles E. Smith, Jr.
James E. Watson

Univ. of Calif.-Berkeley
Paul J. Alpers
Jonas A. Barish
M.S. Beeler
Morris W. Hirsch
John L. Kelley
E.V. Laitone
Jay A. Levine
Henry F. May
Masao Miyoshi
C. Muscatine
Anthony Ostroff
Melvin L. Perlman
Arshi Pipa
John Henry Raleigh
William S. Robinson
Mark R. Rosenzwoig
Mark Schorer
Peter Dale Scott
Pete Steffens
Ernest Tuveson

UCLA
Hans H. Baerwald
John D. Brewer
E. Bradford Burns
Thomas Clayton
Robert Dallek

UCLA, cont'd

Hugh Dick
David Graef
Keith Gunderson
Jere King
Monte Lloyd
Lois McIntosh
Ernest Moody
Victor Oswald
Bert Ravey
Gerald Reagan
Milton Roemer
C. Wade Savage
Harry M. Scoble
Sidney Trivus
Roy L. Walford
C. Sylvester Whitaker, Jr.
Dean S. Wirth
Stanley Wolpert
Neal Wood

San Fernando Valley State Coll.
Morris Schonbach
Daniel Bernd

Individuals
Joan C. Baez
Pat Allen
John D. Grau

CONNECTICUT

Yale
Bruce Nicklas
Robert S. Brumbaugh
E.E. Kriekhaus

ILLINOIS

Amundsen Jr. College
Morris A. Springer

Lake Forest College
Lindley J. Burton

Loop Jr. College
Salvatore R. Rotello

Roosevelt University

Walter L. Arnstein
C.A. Hsiao
Harvey Lyon
Yolanda Lyon

Univ. of Chicago

Richard E. Flathman
Donald P. Tucker

Univ. of Illinois-Chicago
Campus

Robert K. Adams
Shirley A. Bill
Herbert J. Curtis
Robert E. DeMar
Lloyd C. Engelbrecht
Irwin K. Feinstein
Hardy Freeman
Margaret George
Gordon L. Goodman
Willis Jackman
Stanley L. Jones
Alexander Karanikas
Joseph Landin
Darrell H. Lemke
Ruth Marcus
Nan E. McGehee
John D. McNee
Gilbert Osofsky
Harry J. Runyan
Robert S. Schwartz
Pinkney C. Smith
Richard K. Smith
James B. Stronks
John E. Wally
Samuel Weiss
Conde R. Hoskins

Individuals

Nelson Algren
Rev. William T. Baird
Rev. W. Kenneth Cox, Jr.
Patrick Gorman
Sidney Lens

MARYLAND

University of Maryland
W.M. Holter

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston University
Albert R. Beisel, Sr.

Boston University, cont'd

Robert B. Kent
John G. Read
William E. Ryckman, Jr.
Banks McDowell, Jr.
Robert H. Sproat
John J. Stachel
Marx Wartofsky
Howard Zinn

Brandeis University

H.M. Gitelman
Allen R. Grossman
Donald Hindley
Leonard W. Levy
Henry Linschitz
Maurice R. Stein

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox
Seminary

James P. Bobrick

MIT

Hilary Putnam

Smith College

M. Adams

Suffolk University

Rev. Richard Troy

University of Massachusetts

Charles S. Adams

MICHIGAN

Michigan State University

Joseph M. Firestone
John B. Jackson
Alfred Meyer
John Pease
T.B. Strandness
Dave Walden
Joseph K. Rohere

University of Michigan

Sydney E. Bernard
Philip Booth
John T. Burns
Daniel H. Carson
Jesse E. Gordon
Carl Ginet
John W. Gyr
Leon Mayhew
Henry J. Meyer

(20)

University of Michigan,
cont'd

Marc Pilisuk
Anatol Rapaport
Sheldon Siegel
J. David Singer

Wayne State University

Jerry G. Bails
A.T. Buchará-Reid
Clifford L. Maier
Max Mark
J.W. McCormick
Richard Place
Mel Ravitz
Richard M. Reinitz
Barry Rothaus
Athan Theoharis
Travis Trittschuh
Marilyn S. Watson
Hugh Whipple

Individuals

Richard Goodman
William Goodman
Robert F. House
James Lafferty
Ernest Mazey
Harry M. Philo
Thomas W. White

MINNESOTA

Univ. of Minnesota
Louis Safer

NEW MEXICO

University of New Mexico
Roger Y. Anderson
Harold C. Meier

NEW YORK

C.C.N.Y.
Shalom Endleman

Columbia University
Lawrence Pinkham

Hofstra University

Tom Brown
Joseph Goldman
Arnold E. Horowitz
David Jacob
Mary Gilbert Ligou

Hofstra University cont'd

Anne Morgenstern
John A. Rounds
Myrtle N. Searles
Elie Siegmeister

Individuals

Paul Krassner

NEW JERSEY

Adelphi
Allen M. Krebs

Rutgers University

B.P. Sonnenblick

Stevens Institute of Tech.

Lawrence Goldman

OHIO

Antioch
Victor Ayoub

Western Reserve University

A.L. Burnett
Charles deLeon
Sargent P. Harwood
L. Douglas Lenkoski
Jerome Liebman
George Sayers
Arthur G. Steinberg
Israel Weisberg

Individuals

Jack G. Day
John H. Kennell
Benjamin Spock

PENNSYLVANIA

Gettysburg State College
Janvier L. Hamell
Vernon Ingrham

Univ. of Pennsylvania

Anthony G. Amsterdam
John F. Benton
Alan Cassels
F. Hillary Conroy
William T. Fontaine
Richard C. Kagan
Neil Leonard
Gabriel Kolko
Jonathan Mirsky
Stanley K. Mumford
Charles Rosenberg
Arthur B. Shostak

Minutes of June 28, 1965 - NEC

Present: NEC: Ralph, Melissa, Jack, Betsey, Daniels, John,
Doug

NC ALT: Caroline, Roland

Excused: Pete

Chairman: Doug

Agenda: 1. Bloomington Defense Tour Report
2. Administration of the National Office
3. SDS Convention
4. Anti-War Movement

1. Bloomington Defense Tour Report - Ralph

Report on national tour.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Betsey, Roland, Ralph, Jack, Ralph, Melissa, Jack, Daniels, Doug, Ralph, Doug, Daniels, Betsey, Jack

Passed

2. Administration of National Office - Betsey

Motion: While Jack and Betsey are out of the country Peter to be in charge of calling any NEC meetings which are needed. Doug to be in charge of day to day administration of the N.O.

Passed

3. SDS Convention - Jack

A fraction of seven comrades including NCers from Chicago and Detroit attended the SDS convention. (See enclosed report.)

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Doug, Ralph.

Passed

4. Anti-War Movement - Jack

We have had a lot of discussion on the anti-war movement. Last week's report was sent to the field. We have found that non-exclusive Committees to End the War in Vietnam are active in all parts of the country. We are a strong force in many of these committees and should concentrate our work in them.

We want to push for a national action on which the anti-war movement can focus. The Continental Congress idea is one which has been raised within the anti-war movement which we should support in the committees. It provides a focus for the campaign. It could provide us with a platform for putting forth our solution to the problems against which young people are rebelling.

We should continue to stress the slogans of "withdraw the troops," self-determination for Vietnam and non-exclusion. We should continue to educate in the study groups in the Vietnam Committees on the history and causes of the war.

As soon as we get more information on any actions being planned we'll send it to the field.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Daniels, Jack, Betsey, Doug, Melissa, Betsey, Jack

Passed

REPORT ON THE SDS NATIONAL CONVENTION

The National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society met in Kewadin, Michigan from Wednesday, June 9th to Sunday, June 13th. The YSAers who attended the convention were Joel, Joe, Carrie, and Bev from Chicago and Danny, Derrick, and Peter from Detroit.

The main part of this report will outline the decisions made by the SDS National Council. The report does not cover the workshops since people in them changed their positions at random and in general were very uncritical of what they said or proposed. Many of the decisions that effect our relations with SDS and our further orientation were not made at the convention, but were relegated to sub committees pending a referendum vote of the membership.

The agenda of the National Council was as follows:

1. University Report
2. Foreign Policy
3. Political Strategy
4. Democracy and Internal Structure
5. League for Industrial Democracy
6. Educational Research Action Project
7. Research Publication
8. Fund Raising

University Reform

The proposals passed by the N.C. were:

- A. Encourage SDSers to write articles on topics like, "What is Education"?
- B. SDS will give fund raising assistance to these projects.
- C. SDS will continue to work in and through NSA, the aims being:
 1. To recruit NSAers to SDS
 2. To attempt to change the programs of NSA
 3. To criticize the program of NSA on foreign policy
- D. Have a campus traveler to coordinate and encourage articles, etc.
- E. Set up a sub committee in Chicago to coordinate this activity.

FOREIGN POLICY

After a lengthy discussion they agreed the U.S. is in a foreign policy crisis and SDS should have a national anti-Vietnam War focus. Paul Potter had hesitations on the foreign policy orientation. A plan was presented by Kissinger to leaflet army bases on the Vietnam question. Resulting arrests under the Espionage Act would lead to a "publicity-getting trial" in which the defendants would use the precedent of the Nuremburg Trials. Since the Kissinger

plan engendered much opposition, a sub committee was set up to consider the following proposals:

1. Kissinger Plan
2. International Tribunal (Sept. ?)
3. International Teach-in (Oct. ?)
4. Another March
5. National Protest Day
6. Continental Congress
7. Some form of coordinated activity on Hiroshima Day

Minimum work will continue on South Africa research.

POLITICAL STRATEGY

Steve Max's position favoring coalition Democratic Party politics was not well received. Tom Hayden of the Newark project took a position against running independent candidates ("at this time") but wants to run a program with freedom vote techniques. He came out explicitly against coalition politics.

In the workshops many different lines on political strategy were introduced. Mike Sweig of Hoboken is the instigator of the "non-project" theory. His theory is that you don't organize people into a movement because any organization represses people. He is the ultimate expression of the anti-leadership sentiment in SDS.

Derrel and Pete reported to about 35 people in the political workshop on the SWP and FNP campaigns as examples of independent politics.

Jeff Shero of Austin said that SDS should try to organize white collar and other "middle class" people in addition to the poor.

DEMOCRACY AND INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The basis for this discussion was the desire on the part of a large section of SDSers to decentralize SDS or to define what SDS means by leadership or do away with the leadership concept completely. Many felt that certain decisions made by Kissinger in reference to the March on Washington were not reflective of the vast majority of SDS. What they wanted to do is to define the leadership structure and to implement a wider basis of decision making. They set up a sub committee to investigate the alternatives and submitted a set of proposals to be voted on by a membership referendum. The proposals were:

- A. Do away with the president, vice president and national secretary and make the decision making body the national staff
- B. Retain the present national posts
- C. To have a program whereby the posts will be rotated

among the N.O. staff.

People changed their positions so often it is difficult to estimate what the end result will be. There is a serious anti-leadership feeling in SDS and a general inability of the organization to come to grips with it. It is interesting to note that both the president and the vice president campaigned to abolish their respective posts.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Background: The League for Industrial Democracy (LID) is an SP dominated fund granting institution headed by Michael Harrington. SDS was founded as the official youth group of the LID. In the past year the relations between SDS and LID have been strained. One of the most recent confrontations between LID and SDS came as a result of a plan by SDS to put up posters in New York which read, "Why are we burning, killing, and torturing people in Vietnam?...to prevent free elections." LID told SDS that they would sue SDS if they went ahead with the posters because by encouraging people to write the president they were entering into a "lobbying function" which was against the tax exempt status of LID. (See article in the Spring 1965 Studies on the Left on the March on Washington.)

LID sent Rustin and Harrington on tours of SDS offices. They met such widespread opposition from SDSers in every part of the country that LID called a meeting with SDS to discuss such questions as: 1. Why is SDS so open about working with "known Communist organizations"? 2. What is SDS's opinion toward Communism? 3. Why does SDS not criticize the Vietcong? 4. Why doesn't SDS have positive proposals for the government instead of unconstructive criticism?

The proposals adopted in relation to LID moved toward establishing SDS per se as a political organization (non-tax exempt) and RIP (Research Information and Publication) as a tax exempt arm of SDS through which other tax exempt organizations could give money. There was general agreement in SDS that they did not want to relinquish any of their projects or activity to a ruling of the staff of LID.

ERAP - EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ACTION PROJECT

ERAP is the community project section of SDS. The ERAP people tended to be less political than other SDSers. The anti-national organization orientation came partly from ERAP people and partly from campus chapters like Antioch, Berkeley, and Swarthmore where the chapters are very loose - no elections, no delegates etc. ERAP is almost autonomous, raising much of its money locally and independent of SDS. A proposal by Kissinger was accepted

leaving it up to those in ERAP to decide what relationship they want to have with SDS from now on. We sat in on some of the project workshops, but concentrated on Chicago.

Chicago JOIN project: There was a strong white liberal, social worker tone to the discussion. The project is in a Republican ward composed of poor whites from the South, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and Mexicans. The head of the project, Richard Rothstein, gave a brief history saying the project has had "no real successes" in its 1 1/2 years. There were complaints that students would work for a month or two and then quit. They now have a community union orientation rather than one of organizing the unemployed. Their main activity is exposing the War on Poverty. People petitioned for a day care center hoping funds would come from the WOP. Because the community didn't have representation, the day care center was never approved. JOIN people tried to be represented at WOP's Urban Progress Center as members of the Community to voice their criticism, but were refused admittance. JOIN is now trying to encourage students to stay with the project for several years.

RIP - RESEARCH INFORMATION AND PUBLICATIONS

RIP was set up as a result of the need for more correspondence and publications. Carl Oglesby, the new President of SDS from the U. of Michigan, will head the research work for RIP in Chicago. The following proposals concerning RIP were made:

- A. To make studies of student movements in other countries and to investigate the possibilities for SDSers working in other countries
- B. To develop a correspondence program with other countries
- C. To expose the Boards of Regents at universities and those professors receiving money from the CIA

FUND RAISING

Kissinger reported that \$75,000 was spent last year, mostly for ERAP projects. Monthly N.O. expenses average two to three thousand dollars. The Industrial Unions Department of the AFL-CIO has cut off SDS completely. This was a result of the SDS position on the March on Washington. The following recommendations were adopted:

- A. SDS should become financially independent and start raising funds to enable them to work freely without depending on LID or being hampered with political pressures from LID and other contributors.
- B. Instead of community projects being supported from the N.O., each local area should try to support itself.
- C. Set up a professional fund raising committee with Kissinger working full time to train SDSers to become fund raisers.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Amendments - The anti-red baiting amendments proposed by Kissinger to be added to the SDS constitution were passed by a large majority. Opposition came from Tom Kahn of LID. (Steve Max, long time SDSer and former head of the Gates youth in the CP, voted with Kahn against amendment #1. There was no real controversy over amendment #2.)

Composition - Mostly students from middle class backgrounds. Women made up approximately one third of the convention and with only a few exceptions played no significant role in the discussion. There was a very small Negro representation. There was a large layer of fresh recruits who were very impressed with the convention and were looking forward to working in projects.

Opponents and Observers

PLP - One person, Ed Clark, represented PL. He gave out Progressive Labor, Challenge, and Road to Revolution free.

M 2 M - Roger Taus, Dick Rhodes and one or two others distributed the Free Student.

SPARTACIST - Steve Starkweather, Bob Henes, and one other manned a small Spartacist literature table. Sales were slow.

There were no official observers from YPSL, DuBois or ASOC.

Dave Dellinger distributed Liberation. He spoke at the N.C. Lynd's article on the Continental Congress made an important impact. George Clark from the British CND and the Committee of 100 took part in the sessions. Steve Amdur was there from SPU. Ed Hamlett represented SSOC.

There were 31 Canadians there from the Student Union for Peace Action. They mentioned the Bloomington Case often in workshops.

ANECDOTES

The Texas group was considered the most radical. However, even they do not function as an openly socialist faction or tendency. A guy was heard assuring another SDSer that "Not all the Texas people are Trots."

One SDSer was commenting to Kissinger that he was getting tired of hearing someone talk about Trotsky and the Trotskyists. Kissinger remarked that you have to realize that 1% of each new generation of radicals joins the Trotskyists, but what is more significant is that one Trotskyist makes 50 of all the other groups on the left. There was only one or two instances of open anti-YSA re-

sentment. In general people were glad that we came and glad that we set up a literature table.

The convention was very poorly organized and there was endless discussion. There were cries of outrage if someone called the question even if the discussion had gone on for hours. The whole first day was spent setting up the agenda.

LITERATURE TABLE

We sold \$100 worth of literature. The Trotsky anthology and Deutscher's trilogy went first. Pamphlets on Cuba and speeches by Malcolm X also sold well. A surprising amount of our basic literature such as Third International After Lenin and History of American Trotskyism was sold.

AREAS REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE (Areas with stars had large delegations.)

Nashville	New Brunswick	Toronto*
Cleveland*	Cairo	Alabama
Lansing	Ann Arbor	Newark
Louisiana	Antioch	Seattle
Boston*	Berkeley	Los Angeles
Buffalo	Bloomington	New Orleans
Kalamazoo	Detroit	Stanford
Baltimore	New York*	San Jose
Chicago*	Hoboken, N.J.	Carleton
Philadelphia	Austin*	New Haven

Chicago Fraction
June 28, 1965

Attention All YSAers:

FINAL FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD:

<u>Local</u>	<u>Accepted</u> <u>Quota</u>	<u>Paid</u>	<u>%</u>
Madison	50.00	85.00	170%
New York-Uptown	250.00	420.56	168
Chicago	750.00	1016.50	136
Detroit	500.00	606.00	121
Washington D.C.	50.00	55.00	110
Philadelphia	100.00	105.50	106
Boston	850.00	856.50	101
Los Angeles	250.00	251.00	101
Ann Arbor	50.00	50.00	100
Antioch	50.00	50.00	100
Berkeley	750.00	750.00	100
Kent	50.00	50.00	100
New York-Downtown	500.00	500.00	100
San Francisco	150.00	150.00	100
San Jose	50.00	50.00	100
Twin Cities	500.00	500.00	100
Cleveland	150.00	110.00	73
Denver	25.00	5.00	20
Seattle	-	-	-
<u>At Large</u>	<u>50.00</u>	<u>30.00</u>	<u>60</u>
Totals	5125.00	5641.06	110%

June 16, 1965

Dear Comrades,

YSAers can be proud of the record fund drive we have just completed. The total amount collected was way over both the original suggested figure of \$4700 and the accepted quota of \$5125. The important thing about the drive was that all the locals took the drive seriously and sent in as much as they could.

Comradely,

Betsy Barnes
Betsy Barnes
National Office
YSA

2. Fund Drive Report - Roland

The comrades pushed the fund drive over the top. The final figure was \$5641.06. All locals but three made their quotas and many went over. Chicago set a new record by sending in \$1016. All the new locals made their quotas.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Pete, Dick, Roland, Dick, Betsey, Roland, Jack

Motion Passed

3. Young Socialist - Jack and Doug

a. Jack: Motion: That Doug become editor of the YS.

Motion Passed

b. Doug: The July-August YS will be out before the end of June. All the copy is at the print shop.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Jack, John, Betsey

Motion Passed

4. Report on the Anti-War Movement - Jack

See enclosed.

Motion: To accept the report.

Discussion: Dick; Melissa, Pete, Betsey, Jack, Betsey
Jack, Doug, Jack, Roland, Dick, Jack, Betsey
Jack

Motion Passed

5. Cuba - Jack

The Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee has issued a press release stating that the Canadian summer student Cuba trip had been cancelled by the Cuban government. The Militant will have an article on it. The Posados paper, Red Flag, had a banner headline which stated that the Cuban Trotskyists had all been released from jail. This has not yet been confirmed.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

Report by Jack on the Berkeley Teach-in and the Anti-War Movement

After speaking at the Berkeley teach-in, I returned to New York via some of the larger locals. The picture I was able to get of the anti-war movement from the teach-in and the local visits made the trip very worthwhile.

The Berkeley teach-in was more radical than the national teach-in. The students responded enthusiastically to the radical tone or suggestions of speakers especially Lynd, Moses, Potter, and Deutscher. Lynd's speech received the most enthusiastic ovation. He made some

off the cuff comments about the Democrats and Republicans which were not recorded in the text in the Militant. His speech both fairly well expressed the current level of understanding of the anti-war movement, and tended to take it a step forward as it combined a stand against the two parties along with the major emphasis on non-violence, mass civil disobedience, and moral protest.

The response to Deutscher's talk was also very impressive. His speech in Berkeley was better than the one to the National Teach-in. He presented himself as an "unrepentant Marxist", and left off the loyalty oath. Although it was late and cold, the audience of over 10,000 was extremely attentive and gave Deutscher a standing ovation.

Our role in the teach-in was similar to our role in the March on Washington. We worked to keep the teach-in anti-Johnson, "unbalanced" and non-exclusive. We got good experience in working with other groups and the youth around the anti-war movement were very impressed with the YSA's role. The Los Angeles comrades led a car caravan up to the teach-in from L.A. We sold a great deal of literature as reported in the Builder, \$94 worth of pamphlets and books in addition to almost 500 each of the Militant, YS, and Vietnam pamphlet. The one major error the comrades felt they made was in not pushing for a SWP spokesman which they could probably have gotten.

It is clear that there is some division in the ruling class itself as to what should be done in Vietnam. On my stops across the country I noticed that many of the big city papers' cartoons, letters to the editor, and opinion columns were attacking Johnson's policy. This has helped breed the permissive atmosphere within which the protest movement has flourished.

It is hard to tell exactly what the attitude of the working class is toward the war. There have been "negative" examples of their lack of antagonism to the student protest - there have been no large counter pickets organized to break up anti-war meetings or demonstrations, nor

have there been any big pro-Johnson counter rallies held.

There has been a proliferation of Committees to End the War in Vietnam. Most of them grew out of the Committees that were set up to build the March on Washington. Almost all our locals are involved in these Committees. Nowhere have we been excluded, although in some areas we have had to fight for our right to take part. In many areas we have helped to strengthen the non-exclusionist tendencies in the anti-war movement by proving ourselves the best builders of anti-Vietnam war activity. It is very likely that activities against the war in Vietnam in the summer and especially next fall will continue to be, in the main, organized by these committees. Participation in them is central to participation in the anti-war movement.

The Monthly Review recently had an article that commented that the anti-war upsurge demonstrated that the "peace movement" was viable. They are wrong. It is not the old "peace movement" which is in the vanguard of this movement. It comes out of and is the largest manifestation thus far of the student movement. What the anti-war movement has done has been to draw a line through the ranks of the "peace movement", so that they have been forced to take stands against or for the radical demands and anti-administration actions of the anti-war movement. The statements by Rustin and Thomas on the March on Washington were very important in this respect. The anti-war movement has to a large degree bypassed the leadership of the CP and SP, although many of the committees include members of the DuBois Clubs and Social Democratic groups. Exclusive organizational methods and Democratic Party coalition mania are very antagonistic to the spirit of the young radicals.

There are certain ideas and attitudes which are prevalent among those in the anti-war movement. The high handed actions of the President in carrying on the war and especially the lies of the government have been important in opening people's eyes to the undemocratic character of American democracy. The concern with democracy has helped perpetuate the healthy non-exclusive internal atmosphere of the movement and the openness of students to new ideas.

Many of the students approach the war in Vietnam as a moral question, not as a political question. Many are enthusiastic about civil disobedience and there is a dominant strain of support for "non-violence". When someone suggests an action they will often speak of it as a "non-violent action."

The new anti-war movement shows more militancy and has more of a sense of humor than the old "peace movement." There is not the intensity and self righteousness that used to be so common among SPUers. Nor are professional pacifism or third campism raised to quasi-principles.

A large number of those in the anti-war movement will agree with us when we point out that the Democratic and Republican parties should be rejected. But they confuse Democratic and Republican party politics with politics in general and even those who reject the two major parties tend to reject politics period.

I spoke at the forum in Los Angeles along with a leading SDSer who spoke about the chasm between the "old" left and the "new" left. Her argument, which is common among "new radicals" is that the issues argued by the "old" left (SWP, CP, SP) are and always have been irrelevant. (More of these students than I suspected do know some radical history and are aware of the role of the Communist Party.) They have somewhat the same attitude the nationalists had toward the "white radicals" at first. They tend to view the "old left" as an undifferentiated whole. Before Malcolm accepted us as revolutionists we had to differentiate ourselves from the other "white radical old left" groups and we had to show that we had something to offer. It is only in common action as well as with our propaganda that we will be able to show that the difference between the old radical movements are important and relevant, that we are the revolutionists, and that the young radicals have good reason to suspect the rest of the "old left".

It is clear that if we are to influence the anti-war movement and to win recruits from it to our ideas, we cannot do this by standing on the sidelines. We must become more familiar with the attitudes and ideas of those who are participating as well as their various organizations, committees, and projects.

We are now active participants in the anti-war movement and can make suggestions which will affect the movement. We need to decide what actions we want to support and push and we need to figure out how to make our calls for such things as independent political action more concrete. Some thought and further discussion must be given to the propagandistic and agitational tasks before us, especially in relation to the idea of a Continental Congress, which is the best idea to come from within the movement for the next focus of a national mobilization of the anti-war movement.

We will want to continue the push to widen the anti-war movement to more students and more campuses. The democratic attitude of the students has made them anxious to spread the movement to people off the campus. We

should encourage people to give talks against the war to civil rights groups, community groups, unions, high school groups, etc, as long as it is not a substitute for deepening the protest as much as possible on the campus itself.

This outline report should be viewed as the beginning of a discussion on this question. At the next NEC we can have the benefit of ideas from comrades in the field and can think out and nail down these questions further.

June 13, 1965

NEC Minutes - May 16, 1965

NEC Present: Pete, Jack, John, Doug, Melissa, Betsey,
Daniels

NC Alt: Caroline

NC Excused: Ralph (on tour)

Chairman: Melissa

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. MPI Youth Conference in Puerto Rico
3. Bloomington Defense
4. Young Socialist
5. Fund Drive

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. SDS is having a convention somewhere near Chicago the second week in June. Chicago NCers to be in charge of intervention.

b. Art M. has written that Robert S. from Antioch has requested to join as a member at-large.

Motion: To accept Robert S. as a member at-large.

Discussion: Melissa, Betsey

Motion Passed

2. MPI Youth Conference in Puerto Rico - Pete

Report on conference of the Pro-Independence Movement in Puerto Rico which Peter attended. Approximately 300 attended the convention. Shabazz and Peter both spoke. Possibility of a fall tour of campuses by one of the youth leaders of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Betsey, Pete, Daniels, Pete, Melissa, Pete

Motion Passed

3. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

Report on Jim and Ralph's tours.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

4. Young Socialist - Doug

a. We have been able to get an interview with Isaac Deutscher for the Young Socialist.

b. A longer article on the anti-war movement will substitute for the Castro article.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

5. Fund Drive - Betsey

Almost \$1,000 has come in this week. This means that we will definitely make the suggested quota of \$4700. A number of the smaller areas such as Washington came through with good pledges.

Motion: To accept the report.

Motion Passed

NEC Minutes - May 5, 1965

Present: NEC: Jack, Melissa, Betsey, Doug, John, Daniels
NC ALT: Roland, Caroline, Dick, Howard
NEC Excused: Ralph, Pete

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Pamphlets
3. Fund Drive
4. Young Socialist
5. Anti-War Movement
6. Berkeley Vietnam Community Day
7. Bloomington Defense
8. Yale Socialist Conference

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. The BUILDER will be coming out next week.

b. There has been an increase in the number of subs and inquiries coming into the N.O. lately. This is due to the March on Washington sales, the increased number of sales and distributions in local areas, the Reston editorial, and the general rise in interest in radical ideas as a result of the Vietnam protests.

c. The following locals have reported that they are making plans for summer schools: Berkeley, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Detroit, Chicago, and the Twin Cities.

Motion:To accept the report.

Motion Passed

2. Pamphlets - Melissa

a. Both articles from the YS for the Congo pamphlet had to be composed. The pamphlet will be printed next week.

b. Work on the Malcolm X pamphlet is progressing. Malcolm's speech to the Harvard students has been transcribed and is ready for editing.

Motion: To accept the report.

Motion Passed

3. Fund Drive - Roland

We are still \$6.00 behind schedule. If the last weeks of the drive bring the usual pick up we should be able to meet the quota on time. Every local but Seattle and Antioch has sent in some money.

Motion: To accept the report.

Motion Passed

4. Young Socialist - Jack and Doug

Jack: Barry can no longer carry the responsibility for editing the YS.

Motion: That Doug take over responsibility for putting out the next issue of the YS with Barry's assistance.

Motion: That we have a summer issue of the YS. This would aid our continuing intervention in the anti-war protests and it would help to maintain the continuity of the YS so that too much time does not lapse between issues.

Motions Passed

Doug: The editorial board of the YS has met and suggests that the summer issue of the YS include the following articles:

1. Reprint of Fidel's speech on internationalism (either the one that was in the Militant or the May Day speech)
2. An article putting the development of Fidel's ideas on internationalism in historical context and pointing to their significance.
3. An article on the Dominican Republic.
4. Second installment of Pete's series on Negro history
5. Editorial on the anti-war movement - where it should to from here.
6. Short items on the Neville Alexander case and the and the Bloomington Case
7. YS Notes - expanded as in the last issue

Motion: To accept the proposals of the editorial board.

Discussion: Melissa, Doug, Dick, Melissa, Dick, Jack, Doug, Jack, Betsey, Jack.

Motion Passed

5. Anti-War Movement - Doug

The "national teach-in" is scheduled for May 15. Hook-ups are being arranged around the country. Many YSA locals are involved in helping to arrange for hook-ups in their areas. The teach-in is being sponsored by the Committee for a Public Hearing on Vietnam.

In a number of locals we are picking up recruits as a result of the march. In Chicago and Cleveland our relationship with SDS is improving. In almost all the locals YSAers seem to be alert to the opportunities of the anti-war movements. There should be a good potential for sales of the summer YS.

6. Berkeley Vietnam Community Meeting - Jack

The Berkeley AFT and the faculty peace group are sponsoring a "Community Meeting" which will feature 24 hours of speeches and panels on Vietnam. Speakers will include professors, radicals, politicians, reporters, liberals, civil rights figures etc. Arnoni, I.F. Stone, Norman Thomas, Bob Parris, Senator Gruening, Dave Dellinger and Dr. Spock are among those who are advertised on the leaflet as already accepting invitations to speak.

Jack has been invited to participate in a panel including representatives from PL, the DuBois Club, and SDS. Our comrades are helping to organize the meeting. It looks as though the attendance at the meetings will be big. We will try to get YSA and SWP speakers. The meeting will afford a good opportunity to sell the YS, the Militant and the Vietnam pamphlet.

Motion: To accept the report.

Discussion: Dick, Betsey

Motion Passed

7. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

a. The appeal to the panel of three federal judges in Indiana has been filed by Attorneys Boudin and Taylor.

b. As a result of the Dombrowski decision (see the May 3 issue of the Militant) Attorney Boudin has taken the following steps:

1. Sent Hoadley a letter calling his attention to the Dombrowski decision and suggesting he drop the case. (Hoadley has filed a friend of the court brief in the Dombrowski case.)

2. Amended the motion that has been filed with the three federal judge panel in Indiana calling attention to the Dombrowski decision.

3. Filed a separate motion with the YSA as plaintiff stating that the YSA's functioning as an organization is being interfered with due to the existence of the unconstitutional Indiana law.

c. Report on fund raising activities in various locals.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

8. Yale Socialist Conference - John

Four YSAers from N.Y. and three from Boston went to New Haven for the Yale Conference. We set up the best literature table at the conference and sold \$30.00 worth of literature before the N.Y. group left. The best attended meeting on the Negro struggle drew 175.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Dick, John, Doug, John

Motion Passed

~~Handwritten mark~~

April 28, 1965

TO ALL NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

The Socialist Workers Party has asked us to send out the enclosed information on the Joe Johnson Case which we think will be of interest to you. YSAers in the cities Joe will be visiting are urged to try to set up meetings on the various campuses in their area.

Comradely,

Jack
Jack Barnes

116 University Place
New York, N.Y. 10003
April 15, 1965

To New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit,
Milwaukee, Chicago and Twin Cities:

JOE JOHNSON TOUR

Dear Comrades:

Comrade Joe Johnson, declared "stateless" and ordered deported to some as yet unknown country by the U.S. Immigration Service, is planning a tour of the East Coast and Mid-West area next month. The purpose of the tour is to lay the groundwork for ultimate expansion of the "Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson."

Up to this time the defense committee has been organized only on a local basis in the Twin Cities. However, appeals will inevitably have to go through the courts following exhaustion of Immigration Service channels. At that time a national defense effort will be required to raise the funds and gain the publicity and support necessary to conduct a serious challenge of the Immigration Service ruling.

It is expected that the present tour will enable Comrade Johnson to get some publicity about his case, locate and sign up additional sponsors and raise enough money to cover the tour expenses with some left over for the defense committee legal fund. The C.O.D.J.J. has raised over \$1,300 in the Twin Cities, most of which has been already used in the defense effort locally. The latest deportation hearing in Minneapolis took place yesterday with no favorable results.

Branches should assign someone to take charge of tour arrangements and help Joe meet potential committee sponsors and/or contributors. He is also prepared to speak about his case at public meetings or forums where an appeal for contributions can be made. Where possible campus meetings should be arranged. The Twin Cities committee has met with much sympathy and support at schools and colleges in Minnesota. Fact sheets, brochures and other material explaining the case will be sent to each area directly from Minneapolis.

Joe Johnson Tour . . . 2

Attached is a proposed tour schedule. Any changes that have to be made should be discussed with the National Office as soon as possible. The expense column contains the minimum figure it will be necessary to raise in each city to guarantee that tour expenses will be met. It will not be necessary to make hotel reservations as Joe will be able to stay at comrades' homes and thus keep expenses to the minimum.

Please notify us where Comrade Johnson will be staying in your city and what other arrangements are being made for his visit. Copies of all correspondence with the National Office should be sent to Lew Jones, 704 Hennepin, Rm. 204, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403. Also, copies of any correspondence with Lew or Joe concerning the tour should be sent to the National Office.

Comradely,
Ed Shaw
Ed Shaw
Organization Secretary

os/es

PROPOSED TOUR SCHEDULE FOR JOSEPH JOHNSON

<u>CITY</u> . . .	<u>DATE</u>	<u>MINIMUM QUOTA</u>
New York	May 5-9	\$65.00
Philadelphia	May 10-11	15.00
Boston	May 13-14	25.00
Cleveland	May 16-17	25.00
Detroit	May 19-21	35.00
Milwaukee	May 13	15.00
Chicago	May 24-28	35.00

Box 471
Cooper Station
N.Y. N.Y. 10003

April 27, 1965

Attention NCers

Dear Comrades,

We print the letter on Negro history from Danny for the information of NCers. Although it is clear that no campaign can now be opened on a national scale, the NEC has urged Detroit to probe any opening in this area if it doesn't conflict with other summer activities such as their summer school. We are considering expanding Pete's articles in the YS on Negro history into a pamphlet. Any experiences that locals have had in this area should be forwarded to the N.O.

Comradely,



Jack Barnes
National Chairman YSA

- C O P Y -

Danny R.
Detroit
April 10, 1965

Dear Jack,

The following are some ideas raised by informal discussions about Detroit experiences.

We might consider, wherever possible, undertaking campaigns for the teaching of Negro History in the schools-- high schools and colleges. Such campaigns would not be major, such as CABS, Vietnam, etc, but would be minor campaigns taken on in addition to our major tasks. The primary value of the campaigns would be our propaganda for the teaching of Negro history, although there is a possibility that concessions could be won in college curricula. We could gain from Negro history campaigns by broadening our contacts among young Negro militants, working together with them for the demand, and be orienting the YSA itself towards education in Negro history.

On the college level, the demand would be for optional courses in Negro history as part of the normal curriculum of history departments. There was already some discussion of this at Wayne, for instance, in the past among some faculty. In attempting to win this demand it would be important to make faculty connections.

This demand could be campaigned for by the YSA directly, or by Negro history clubs or discussion groups, which, if they already existed, we could approach, or, if they did not exist, we could play a key role in initiating, linking up with militant black students. Obviously, locals with black comrades on campus would be in the best possible position.

The demand in the high schools should be for obligatory teaching of Negro history for all students. In many high schools (at least, judging from Detroit) there already are Negro history clubs which carry on general educational activities. They could be approached with this proposal. Where such clubs already exist, a city-wide federation of Negro history clubs could push the demand. Such a federation could seek to organize those schools where no clubs were established and could set up its own educational activities in the absence of the demand being met. In order to gain leverage and respectability, attempts should be made to link up with adult Negro history organizations--such as the Association for the Study of Negro History.

Needless to say, if such federations were established they would serve as a center for some conscious and militant

- C O P Y -

Negro youth. High School Negro History Clubs, or Federations, could organize demonstrations for their demands and appear before the Board of Education hearings in order to get publicity. If such a development were to take place, the role we could play in helping to initiate it, making wider contacts for it and bringing new forces, providing educational assistance and an orientation on carrying on the struggle, could all be very great.

Combined with this activity, the YSA could issue some propaganda on Negro history in its own name. One possibility would be a pamphlet by a young Negro comrade, or contact, on how he saw the necessity for the teaching of Negro history and participated in the struggle for the teaching of Negro history

---we could run articles in the YS on Negro history or publish a pamphlet on some aspect of it.

As well as campaigning for an intensive teaching of true Negro history, campaigns could be waged against the extensive lies and distortions that exist on the subject. G.O.A.L. here in Detroit led such a campaign a couple of years ago and won some gains. It occurs to me, that the mobilization of forces against the distortion of Negro history would be the logical starting point for taking the offensive for Negro history courses. And many textbooks are filled with racist interpretations or omissions.

We here in Detroit are probably in the best position to probe some work in this area, having people in the leadership of a high school Negro history club as well as Negro comrades on the Wayne campus.

The whole concept appears to me to be particularly appropriate for high schools. There the internal regime is such that it is often difficult or impossible for students to function on broader political questions. The advantage of this demand is that its legitimacy--an interest of students in their education--cannot be denied while at the same time the fight for the demand could attract the most militant students.

Comradely,

Danny

NEC Minutes - April 21, 1965

Present: NEC: Daniels, Jack, John, Doug, Betsey, Melissa
NC ALT: Caroline, Roland, Dick, Howard
Excused: NEC: Ralph (on tour)

Chairman: Pete

- Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. PL Conference
3. March on Washington Report
4. SDS National Council Meeting
5. Post March on Washington Situation
6. Letter from Detroit on Negro History

1. National Office Report - Betsey

The Yale Socialist Club is holding a conference on the weekend of May 30. The speakers will include Huberman, Aptheker, Shabazz, Lynd, Lynn and others.

Motion: To send a delegate to the conference and to investigate the possibility of putting up a literature table.

Discussion: Pete, Melissa

Motion Passed

2. Progressive Labor Movement - Jack

Report on convention given. Report to be sent to NCers.

Motion: To accept the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Dick, Jack, Doug, Pete, Dick, John, Melissa, Betsey

Motion Passed

3. March on Washington - Doug

Report enclosed.

Motion: To accept the report.

Discussion: Jack, Doug, Roland, Howard, Pete, Roland.

Motion Passed

4. SDS National Council Meeting - Doug

Doug attended the SDS National Council meeting in Washington. Report enclosed.

Motion: To accept the report.

Discussion: Dick, Jack, Doug, Pete, Jack, Pete, Doug, Jack, Dick, Pete, Jack

Motion Passed

5. Post March on Washington Situation - Jack

Report Enclosed.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Dick, Roland, Melissa, Jack, Doug, Jack

Motion Passed

6. Detroit Letter on Negro History - Jack

See enclosed.

Motion: To send out letter from Danny to NC for their information.

Discussion: Doug, Melissa, Jack, Pete, Jack, Roland, John, Pete, Jack

Motion Passed

Note: Correction for NEC minutes of April 14, 1965.
The motion on point 4, Letter from San Francisco, should read, "Jack to write letter explaining NEC's position against projected second Southern visit and seeking more information."

Reports on the March on Washington, SDS, and Post March
Plans Given to the NEC April 21, 1965

The April 17 March on Washington was successful in rallying over 20,000 people, mostly students, from all over the country. It was the first time in American history that so large a protest has been organized against a war while the war was going on.

In sponsoring the march, the SDS did not make the mistakes that have been made by many peace groups. They issued a call which correctly described the Vietnamese war as a civil war; they did not exclude any organizations from endorsing the march, and they did not relinquish the sponsorship of the march to a committee of more conservative adult peace groups as SPU did in 1962 when they turned the sponsorship of the march over to "Turn Toward Peace." They encouraged the distribution of literature by all endorsers covering different views of how to end the Vietnam war.

The YSA was able to correctly assess the potentialities of the march and from the beginning took steps to help build it. For six weeks after they put out the original call the SDS did almost nothing to build the march. It was during these weeks that the YSA played an especially important role. In some areas during this time the YSA contacted local SDS chapters and urged them to start organizing for the march. We pushed the march at public meetings, talked with contacts about it, etc. We continually urged the SDS NO to print up and get out large numbers of calls thus publicly committing themselves.

There are a number of important lessons from the march which YSAers should be conscious of:

1. The theory, popular with DuBoisiers and YPSLs, that watering down demands automatically leads to bigger protests, was undermined. The uncompromising stand which SDS took in opposing the role of the U.S. and in characterizing the war as a civil war helped to build the march. The march showed that to the extent that the true facts about Vietnam are made known through teach-ins, speeches, leaflets, pamphlets, articles, radio and TV presentations, and in general conversation--to this extent the protest against the war will mount. The strong stand of the march dove-tailed with what was being said in the teach-ins. Through our pamphlet, our forums, campus meetings, and tours and through the YS we participated in the general campaign to get the facts out and build the spirit of opposition to the war which swelled the march.

2. The march can serve as an example of the success of a non-exclusion policy which includes all organizations

who can agree on a common action on a concrete issue. Because of the active role we played in building the march across the country we helped to reinforce the SDS non-exclusion policy by proving that it is possible for revolutionary socialists to join in a common project with other groups in a cooperative way. We urged the SDS to allow different organizations to bring their own signs in their own names. When they would not go along with this we dropped the question since it was not of key importance. The YSA thus proved itself a militant active, non-sectarian builder of the march.

Our intervention at the march with our ideas was very successful. 129 YSAers and approximately 25 friends of the YSA from around the country sold over 2100 copies of the new YS. Several high school students sold 80 Malcolm X pamphlets. Militant supporters sold 1600 copies of the Militant and twelve subs came in to the Militant office the first three days after the march. It is significant that the climate of the march was such that non-YSAers wanted to sell the YS. Also significant was the change in the relation of forces on the left which the sales indicated. We were the only socialist tendency with the exception of a few American Socialist salesmen representing ourselves as socialists. We were thus able to show that honest non-sectarian builders of the march could at the same time be the best propagandists for socialism. There was no contradiction.

In the Bay Area unfortunately the march committee was split in the final days of preparation and two demonstrations were held. 50 YS's were sold plus pamphlets and Militants. The biggest political gain derived from the march derived from the exposure of the "Red" Democrat Willie Brown who at first agreed to speak at the rally, then announced he had never agreed to speak and said he endorsed Johnson's policies. In Los Angeles a successful demonstration of 1,000 was held and 159 YS's were sold. The YSA played an important role in building the demonstration and won the respect of other groups and individuals involved.

SDS National Council Meeting

The following is a short summary of some of Doug's observations of the SDS National Council meeting he attended after the march:

Though SDSers consider themselves militant and radical, most do not consider themselves socialist. Most consider SDS a social movement and not a political organization. Many are concerned with fighting unemployment, poverty, the Vietnam war, civil rights etc. on a grass roots level. They might be called radical democrats (not Democrats). There are individuals who are receptive to our ideas and who are politicalizing, but there is no tendency within SDS which we know about that is socialist.

SDS is clearly not an opponent organization in that they represent none of the major international currents of socialism: Stalinism or Social Democracy. Rather they are a product of the new awakening of students in an environment in which there is no radicalization in the working class. They are not a competitor with us for socialist youth. Their non-sectarian openness and loose organization-
al concepts makes it easier to work with them on united actions than our opponenets and we should continue to deepen our friendly and politically collaborative relations with them, continuing to recruit whom we can from their milieu and membership.

SDS is planning the following activities to follow up the March on Washington:

1. Vietnam emphasis week May 3-8 culminating with demonstrations on May 8. The character of this activity was left to the option of the chapters. We should push for May 8 local rallies where feasible.

2. A national debate between 3 professors and Bundy, Rusk, and Rostow on May 15 in Washington D.C. A group of professors active in the recent teach-ins are attempting to organize this. SDS wants to have it piped into halls and campuses around the country.

Post March on Washington Situation

The present division in the ruling class over the Vietnam war continues to make discussion of the war "legitimate" and we should continue to exploit this to the hilt. The continued escalation of the war and the international protest as well as the opposition in this country provides an objective situation which gives us opportunities to intervè with our ideas. For these reasons we should continue our national propaganda campaign on the Vietnam war.

1. We should encourage a broadening of the protest against the war in Vietnam to include people who have not been interested before. We should work through existing march committees where possible to continue the propaganda campaign through teach-ins, pamphlets, articles etc. There is a tendency among some SDSers and other groups to want to turn to actions such as civil disobedience by small groups in order to "radicalize" the protest. We should counterpose as extension of the propoganda campaigns so that new individuals and groups can be included in any future demonstrations and rallies.

2. We should continue to push our own analysis of the Vietnam war tying this in with our general ideas on socialism and the ultimate solution to war. The article in the latest YS and our pamphlet will help in doing this. Locals should consider the possibility of contact classes on the permanent revolution and imperialism centering on the Vietnam war. Either Pioneer or the YSA will publish Castro's speech with an introduction. This will be an important weapon in our propoganda work on Vietnam.

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

April 20, 1965

Attention All YSAers:

Dear Comrades,

YSAers came to the March on Washington from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Northfield, Minnesota, Kent, Ohio, Washington D.C., Bloomington, Indianapolis, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Chicago, and Madison. They sold ~~over~~ 2000 copies of the latest YS. Besides the YS 1600 Militants and a few Malcolm X pamphlets were sold. Approximately one out of every ten marchers bought a YS. All through the day the numbers of YS salesmen grew and a good number of friends of the YSA joined in on the sale. No other group made the kind of sale we did. The Free Student, The Bulletin, The American Socialist, The Insurgent, The Partisan etc. were all sold in small quantities. A full report will be coming out on the significance of the march itself and on the question of where we go from here.

Comradely,
Betsy Barnes
Betsy Barnes
National Office YSA

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003
April 19, 1965

Attention Organizers:

Dear Comrades,

Now that the March on Washington is over, those locals who have not already done so ^{can} turn their attentions to planning summer schools. Schools where the basic ideas of the movement can be studied are very important to inspire, harden, and raise the consciousness of the membership. Without education on our basic political and organizational ideas it is impossible for the YSA to survive and develop in this period.

Local activities should be planned to compliment the classes. In past years it has been found that it is impossible to run a summer school and continue the same amount of YSA activity as is normal during the year. If local activity is not cut - the extra load of meetings and readings will wear YSAers down instead of renewing and inspiring them for further work.

Those who are organizing schools might take into consideration a number of things in particular. 1. It is important to arrange the schools so that YSAers will be able to handle the readings assigned. This means basic assignments short enough so that YSAers have time to read them and supplementary readings for those with extra time. One way to encourage reading is to pass out or dictate questions which YSAers can try to answer from their reading. If reading is not done the sessions tend to turn into "bull" sessions where little is learned. 2. Careful planning should go into the choice of material, lectures, discussions, readings, questions, etc. If the school is not planned well it can easily become boring and can lose relevance to present day problems. 3. Plans should be made with the nature and needs of the local in mind. Check through the local to see how recently different comrades have studied the basic classic by Trotsky, Lenin, Cannon etc. Before planning a series on any subject be certain that there are people knowledgeable enough on the subject to make the sessions concrete, meaningful and interesting.

At largers or people in small locals should make every attempt to move for the summer to a larger local where there will be a school. Where this is impossible even small locals can hold schools or drive to neighboring locals for special sessions. Tapes can be ordered and speakers exchanged between locals. The N.O. will be glad to give any help or suggestions it can.

Comradely,
Betsy Barnes
Betsy Barnes
National Office YSA

To All those Working on CABS:

The Indiana Supreme Court has denied the appeal for a rehearing. Attorney's Leonard Boudin and Daniel Taylor are now filing an appeal with a panel of three federal judges in Indiana.

The primary job of CABS at this stage of the case is raising the \$9,000 necessary for the immediate expenses. Of this total, \$2,000 has been raised. This means that we must raise \$7,000 within the next five months.

Listed below are some of the money raising projects that have been tried in various areas.

1. New York raised \$362.00 at a benefit folk concert. A folk singer sympathetic to the case was asked to give the concert, and he arranged for two other singers and a guest appearance by Phil Ochs. The main factor in drawing the capacity crowd was the publicity. In addition to ads in the Village Voice, leaflets were pasted up on the campuses in New York.
2. Bloomington raised over \$270.00 at a similar folk concert. Publicity was also the main factor here, including articles in the local as well as campus paper, a ticket booth in the student union, and hand bills passed out between classes.
3. Berkeley raised \$63 and got nine sponsors by sending out a mailing to 100 professors who had signed a petition against the war in Viet Nam. They pointed out that this was a much higher return than they had ever gotten before and was extremely encouraging.
4. Los Angeles has sent in over \$100.00 raised from contacting professors and through Ralph's tour.
5. Jim raised \$175.00 in Cleveland by visiting professors and asking for contributions. Ann Arbor has sent in over \$70.00 by doing the same thing.
6. Both Detroit and Chicago are sending out faculty mailings with an appeal for funds signed by some of the sponsors on the campus.
7. Boston has reported some excellent plans including a flamenco concert at Boston University and a "dorm to dorm" fund raising drive. They also reported that Ray Ginger has agreed to have a party to raise money for the case later in May, and that a similar party is planned at Brandeis.

We have found that such things as folk concerts, large individual contributions, appeals sent out by specific groups to their members, and parties have raised the significant amounts of money we need. Please send in reports on the results of work in your area.

CABS
April 21, 1965

NEC Minutes - April 14, 1965

Present: NEC: Daniels, Jack, Melissa, Doug, Betsey, John, Pete
NC ALT: Roland, Howard, Dick, Carolyn
NEC Absent: Ralph (on tour)

Chairman: Daniels

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. March on Washington
3. MPI Youth Conference
4. Letter from San Francisco

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. Letter to go out from the N.O. encouraging locals to set up summer schools.

b. Letter has come from Chicago reporting that a leaflet advertizing Malcolm's tapes has brought a good response.

Motion: To approve report.

Motion Passed.

2. March on Washington - Doug

a. Some groups, specifically the ASOC and SPU are planning civil disobedience in Washington. We will not participate;

b. The last minute arrangements for YS distributions are being made. Approximately 100 YSAers plan to be in Washington. In addition there will be contacts.

c. SDS put out a news release very critical of Johnson's speech. It looks now as though the march will be very big.

d. Final organizational plans are being made. Three YSAers will go down to Washington early.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Jack, Betsey, Doug, Dick, Jack.

Motion Passed.

3. MPI - Pete

The Fourth National Conference of the youth of the Pro Independence Movement of Puerto Rico will be held during May 1st and 2nd at Bayamon, Puerto Rico. We have been asked to send a delegate.

Motion: To send Pete as official YSA fraternal delegate.

Discussion: Jack

Motion Passed.

4. Letter From San Francisco - Jack

Letter from Kipp read and report summarized.

Motion: Jack to write letter explaining NEC's position against Southern visit and seeking more information.

Discussion: Pete, Betsey, Jack

Motion Passed.

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Paul Sweezy, N.Y.
Rev. John B. Thompson, Calif.
Miss Olive Van Horn, N.Y.
J. Raymond Walsh, Wisc.
Palmer Weber, N.Y.
David Wesley, Pa.
Frank Wilkinson, Calif.
Henry Willcox, Conn.
Prof. H. H. Wilson, N.J.
Prof. Francis D. Wormuth, Utah

April 13, 1965

To: All conference participants

From: Russell D. Stetler, Jr.

Subject: Students Bill of Rights

The enclosed drafts of a "Students Bill of Rights" and "Preamble" are the result of the afternoon discussions and evening meeting at the conference DEMOCRACY ON THE CAMPUS. These drafts were assembled by a styles committee in Philadelphia; they are based on the revisions of and additions to the original working paper which were agreed on by a consensus of those remaining for the evening meeting. Since we wish to publish a final statement approved by a majority of the conference participants, it is essential that you respond to this letter. Your response should make clear your approval or disapproval of all aspects of the Bill of Rights itself and its Preamble. Specific criticisms are needed to effect both minor and major changes.

Your participation at this stage is crucial. The current drafts are the work of less than one-third of the conference participants, and they were ratified by a consensus under great pressures of time. If the final documents are truly to be the product of the conference of which you were a part, they must include your insights and critiques. Please submit them as soon as possible.

(Please see reverse side)

PROPOSED PREAMBLE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS

For many years, American higher education has been led to social apathy, intellectual suppression, and job training by powerful external institutions and business-like academic bureaucrats. It is now imperative for students to announce and pursue the goal of democracy on the campus, intellectual freedom, and academic vitality in the social system.

Students and, more deplorably, faculty have forsaken leadership of the academic community. In their places, professional academic administrators responsible to an external board of visitors and regents have developed; they have found ingenious theories to suppress student maturity and thoughtful action; they have built the university on the material corpus of industry, defense, and corporate wealth; they have replaced the intellectual climate with the social slumber of "preparation for citizenship;" they have renounced the conflict of ideas and have provided instead cumbersome channels for inhibiting communication; they have reduced the student to an exploited body and the faculty to a production line. Their loyalty is not ours, their commitments not to the academic community and its vital, unique role.

Democracy on the campus is our goal; and every method of student and faculty leadership and protest must be used to achieve it.

We call for free education, for the control of the entire physical and intellectual structure of the academic community by the faculty and students, with students having full control over the non-curricular policies of student life. We declare that the true function of the administration and regents (or trustees) is to administer and serve the policies of the faculty and students. With this at the core of our principles, we demand and will commit every effort to the following basic rights and academic freedoms of students in a democratic and intellectually free academic community.

DRAFT OF
STUDENTS BILL OF RIGHTS

(Submitted to all participants in the conference DEMOCRACY ON THE CAMPUS, held March 27, 1965 in Philadelphia for suggestions and criticism.)

The following is presented as a set of criteria by which to measure democracy on the campus. It represents the planning committee's idea of the optimal conditions which would define the democratic campus.

To us, democracy involves the ability of people to confront and to help shape the environment in which they live. All should be able to influence the decision-making processes and thus institutionalized procedures to achieve this end must be established if democratic values are to be preserved.

We believe in democracy - both on and off the campus. As young people living in the academic community, however, our immediate social contact point is the university. Thus it is, that, based on our belief that a good society can only be democratic, we submit the following recommendations for the university.

The necessity for free inquiry at institutions of higher learning has long been recognized. Both teacher and student should be free of all restriction on their thinking, questioning, and expression. It is under such circumstances that knowledge can best be pursued.

1. Students must be free to establish a democratic student government, elected by the entire student body and free from censorship. This student government must serve as the students' representative in all levels on decision-making. This participation must be on an equal footing with representatives of the faculty in determining both social and academic aspects of university life. The student government alone must decide on non-curricular matters affecting students only.
2. Students must be free to join or organize any organization on or off campus. Such organizations must be granted unfettered freedom of inquiry, speech, and action.
 - A. They may invite any speakers, audience, and participants they choose.
 - B. They may discuss any subject matter they choose.
 - C. They may promote causes they support by distributing literature, passing petitions, picketing, or taking action they believe desirable on or off campus.
 - D. They need not have a faculty adviser; but if one is desired, he or she must be selected by the organization itself.
 - E. They must not submit membership lists to the university.
 - F. Members or advisers must not as a group or as individuals suffer any discrimination because of their affiliation.
 - G. There must be no discrimination in the use of physical or recreational facilities.
 - H. Any organization or individual in the university community must have the right to distribute literature and use university facilities for meetings. They may co-sponsor off-campus speakers.

3. Faculty must help to insure freedom of expression of students in the classroom. They must refrain from harmful disclosure of statements made in the course of conversations without prior knowledge and consent of the individual concerned.
4. Students must be free to publish and distribute both subsidized and unsubsidized publications without university censorship of editorial policy. Selection of staff must be on the basis of interest and activity and must be done by the organization itself. Staff must be protected from punishment or suppression for any views expressed. Right to remove staff members must be reserved to the organization. Campus radio and television stations must be subject to censorship and control only of FCC regulations.
5. Access to a college education must be given to all those who desire it. All those desirous of a college education must be granted admission without regard to race, color, creed, national origin, political beliefs, criminal record, or economic status. Stipends must be awarded to those who need them without discrimination according to race, color, creed, national origin, political beliefs or criminal record. Admissions criteria must be decided on by faculty and students. They must establish the basis of admissions. Tuition must be abolished.
6. Students and faculty must have control over curriculum. There must be no compulsory ROTC. Students must participate in decisions concerned with the granting of tenure to faculty. There must be no loyalty oaths or disclaimer affidavits required.
7. All misdemeanors on campus must be tried by a student-faculty hearing board in accordance with due process.
 - A. There must be a code of proscriptions and penalties referring to all possible conduct subject to regulation in the university community.
 - B. Preliminary investigation must not include pressure or harassment attempting to elicit confessions of guilt.
 - C. Searching must only be done in the presence of the accused in accordance with protections regarding search and seizure contained in the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
 - D. Notice of charges must be given in writing well ahead of the hearing. The accused must be given a full statement of rights and recourse.
 - E. Status of the student on campus must not alter pending the hearing.
 - F. The accused must be allowed right to counsel, right to testify and cross-examine, and right to confront his accusers.
 - G. A transcript must be made of the hearing and must be made available to the student. All information which the university possesses pertaining to the student must be available to him.
 - H. The hearing must be open or closed according to the preference of the accused.

- I. The accused must have the right to appeal the decision to a faculty-student body constituted to hear and pass on such appeals.
 - J. Decisions of the hearing board must be made solely on the basis of evidence presented at the hearing.
8. There must be no campus police who are not under student-faculty jurisdiction. No other law enforcement agents may be allowed on campus, unless by invitation of the student-faculty government.
 9. The university must not give institutional penalties or punishment for political misconduct off-campus.

NEC Minutes - April 7, 1965

Present: NEC: Daniels, Jack, John, Doug, Melissa, Betsey,
Pete
NC ALT: Caroline, Roland, Dick
NEC Excused: Ralph (on tour)

Chairman: Caroline

- Agenda: 1. National Office Report - Betsey
2. Fund Drive - Roland
3. Selma - Pete
4. Letter from Ralph - Jack
5. Bloomington Defense - Daniels
6. Algiers Youth Festival - Jack
7. March on Washington - Doug
8. PL Conference - Jack
9. Congo Pamphlet - Pete

1. National Office Report - Betsey

- a. The letter on the BUILDER has gone out.
b. A letter from the Canadian Progressive Worker has come in asking if they could print articles from the YS in their magazine. The advice of our Canadian co-thinkers has been solicited and we are waiting to hear from them.
c. Jack spoke to around 150 people at a Vietnam rally in Philadelphia. He also spoke at the Militant Labor Forum meeting in Philadelphia where Shabazz spoke.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Dick, Jack, Dick, Jack

Motion Passed.

2. Fund Drive Report - Roland

Since the March 6 report a number of locals have sent in large amounts of money and we are beginning to catch up after a slow start on the drive.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed.

3. Selma - Pete

See enclosed.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Pete, Melissa, Betsey, Pete, Dick, Pete, Betsey, Jack, Pete, Jack

Motion Passed.

4. Ralph's Letter - Jack

Ralph's letter read.

Discussion: Roland, Melissa, Jack, Melissa, Dick Jack, Dick, Betsey, Dick, Jack, Dick

Motion: To table Ralph's letter until he returns from tour.

Motion Passed.

5. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

Ralph is now in Berkeley and from there goes to Seattle, Vancouver and Denver. Jim is returning from the Midwest and is beginning the East Coast leg of his tour with a talk at the N.Y. Militant Labor Forum. The Philadelphia conference was not a big success, but literature on the case was distributed to the 150 students who came. Tom flew in from Bloomington to give one of the talks. Joan Baez became a sponsor of the defense committee.

Motion: To accept the report.

Discussion: Pete, Daniels, Dick, Jack, Betsey, Daniels

Motion Passed.

6. Algerian Youth Festival - Jack

For a number of reasons the Youth Festival is of special importance this year. 1. Major political differences in the world socialist movement will probably be brought out into the open. Large delegations are expected from Cuba, Algeria, and the African liberation movements. 2. It will be an important opportunity to obtain interviews, gather information, and gather material for a YSA tour. 3. Many of our co-thinkers are sending leading comrades as delegates. We have been urged to take advantage of this by our co-thinkers. Friends have already agreed to finance half the cost. We should be able to raise some of the rest from outside sources.

Motion: To send Betsey and Jack to Algiers as official delegates to the Festival.

Discussion: Melissa, Betsey, Jack, Roland, Jack

Motion Passed

7. March On Washington - Doug

A report came in on part of the Larry Schumm tour on the West Coast. The tour was moderately successful with some new contacts made. Larry spoke on several campuses in the Bay Area and Seattle, but due to illness was not able to get to Vancouver.

A report from Ann Arbor indicated that the SDS excluded us from march preparations, but that we were not

excluded from the teach-ins. In Cleveland we also had problems in working with the SDS committee. Buses will be coming in from Cleveland and Oberlin. In Cincinnati a contact is organizing people to go to the march from there. In Washington D.C. YSAers are helping to organize the march and to distribute literature and pamphlets.

The slogans have finally been chosen: "End the war in Vietnam," "Withdraw Now," "Negotiate," "I will not fight in Vietnam," "Ballots, not bullets in Vietnam," "War on poverty, not on people," and "Self-determination for Vietnam."

From all indications the march is growing. Our main job in the next week will be to get the YS printed and to organize YSAers from the various locals who are sending people to sell the YS at the march. We will concentrate on YS sales. A letter will go out giving instructions on what YSAers should do in Washington.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Melissa, Doug, Jack, Dick, Pete, Melissa, Jack, Dick, Doug

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed.

8. Progressive Labor Conference - Jack

Motion:To approve the report.

Motion Passed.

9. Congo Pamphlet - Pete

The Congo pamphlet has been delayed and still has not gone to the printer.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa

Motion Passed

Report on Selma March to April 7 NEC by Pete

The trip to Selma gave me a good picture of the spirit and mass nature of the movement and gave me a chance to talk with many of the participants. The entire Negro community in Selma and Montgomery mobilized to support the march. Although most of the participants were very militant, they tended to be pro-Johnson. I found no pro-socialist sympathies. Among SNCC activists, many were opposed to Johnson, but no one I spoke to opposed the movement's support of LBJ in the 1964 elections. The general belief is that Johnson can be pressured into supporting the struggle. As one person put it, "by supporting Johnson, he is indebted to us."

Among the cadre elements in SNCC there is the recognition that King is a phoney. They resent the fact that in every action that comes into national prominence King comes in and takes credit for them when others have done the work. But because there is no clear political opposition to King's Democratic Party line, the resentments are only expressed in tactical differences and bitter frustration.

There is widespread interest in the ideas of Malcolm X and some of the SNCCers consider themselves Malcolm X supporters. The recent request for a thousand copies of Malcolm's speech by a Mississippi freedom school is an indication of this.

The masses of people in the march, of course, were not pacifists. They agree with the tactic of non-violence in demonstrations, but are willing to defend their homes or themselves when they are attacked individually. Among the SNCC workers there still exists principled pacifists. There was unanimous agreement that forcing Johnson to send troops was a victory. It confirmed the correctness of our slogan, "Get the troops out of Vietnam and send them to Mississippi." The march could not have been held without them.

The reaction to me as a Militant reporter was friendly. Many people knew what the Militant was and a few were readers of the Militant. In the SNCC office there were stacks of a number of different radical newspapers which people could take, including the Militant.

Some of the SNCC people, especially those from Atlanta, were friendly to my views on Malcolm X and the colonial revolution. As compared to the Northern struggle, there was very little interest generally in Africa or in the colonial revolution. In general, the political understanding of the people who went down from the North was fairly low as support to the Negro people of Selma reached large non-radical layers in the North.

Box 471
Cooper Station
N.Y. N.Y. 10003

March 31, 1965

Dear Comrades,

From all reports, the SDS March on Washington appears to be gathering more and more support. The SDS national office has been sending out thousands of calls and has been selling thousands of buttons. They are chartering a train as well as buses from New York and buses are being chartered from all over the country. Two buses are committed to come from the West Coast.

The march route seems to be definitely established. Marchers will be meeting in front of the White House, then march to the Sylvan Amphitheater to hear speeches and then to the Capitol Building. Speakers will be Senator Gruening, I.F. Stone, Bob Moses, Ida Pierce, and Paul Potter (President of SDS). Slogans have not been definitely established. "End the War in Vietnam," "Withdraw troops from Vietnam," "I will not fight in Vietnam," and "Negociate the War" are the most likely prospects.

The militancy of this demonstration coupled with the likelihood that it will be very large, makes it imperative that the YSA have a successful intervention. We will be selling the new YS which will carry a feature article "The Permanent Revolution in Vietnam." Other literature will be sold and probably a literature table will be set up.

- 1) All locals on the East Coast (Boston, New York, and Philadelphia) are expected to mobize for the march.
- 2) All locals should send in estimates of how many YSAers are coming AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
- 3) All YSAers attending the march who have cameras should bring them.
- 4) Continue to sign up as many people as possible for the march. The April 12 Militant will be a special build the march issue and locals may want to order extra copies.

Correction of the NEC report of March 24 on the March on Washington: The NEC report stated that the DuBois Club in the Bay area tried to substitute the SDS call for a more pro-Johnson one. What really happened is that SDS, the DuBois Club and the YSA united against PL who wanted a more militant call which would change the characterization of the war from "civil" to "peoples war against U.S. imperialism."

Comradely,
Doub Jenness

NEC Meeting - March 24, 1965

Present: NEC: Jack, Doug, John, Melissa, Daniels, Betsey
NC ALT: Dick, Howard, Roland
NEC Excused: Ralph, Pete

Chairman: Roland

- Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Fund Drive Report
3. Bloomington Defense
4. Vietnam Tours
5. Vietnam Washington March
6. Selma
7. Breitman Letter
8. Militant Coverage of Youth Activities

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. YSA locals participated in demonstrations in support of Selma around the country. In Philadelphia we took the initiative in the sit-in at the Federal Building and in the sit-in at the Liberty Bell. In Denver we took part in the sit-in at the FBI office. In Boston we participated in demonstrations and were able to sell 600 Militants at one demonstration. In New York we participated in a demonstration where 1000 Malcolm X pamphlets were sold along with many Militants, Militant subs, and copies of the Young Socialist. Two people from Madison went to Washington D.C. to take part in the demonstrations there.

b. A Builder is planned for this spring. A letter requesting articles will go out in a week.

c. Bob sent in a favorable report on Tallahassee after visiting with YSAers there. One YSAer plans to spend the summer in New York.

d. A second run of 1500 YS's has been made making a total run for this issue of 6500.

Motion: To accept the report.

Discussion: Melissa

Motion Passed

2. Fund Drive Report - Roland

Comrades will receive their fund drive reports in the mail.

3. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

The appeal to the Indiana Supreme Court for a rehearing has been denied as expected. The lawyers are now in the process of appealing to a panel of three federal judges in

Indiana. The mailing to the sponsors was sent out and money has begun to come in. The President of the AAUP at Hofstra University has offered to send out a mailing to the faculty at Hofstra. Another mailing is being sent out by a sympathizer in Houston. Ralph is now in Los Angeles. His tour is going well. Jim is in Chicago on the first leg of his tour. All of the material the Committee planned to reprint is now out. Mineographed copies of two of the legal documents have now been made. A mailing has been sent out urging people to raise money and giving some suggestions on how to proceed. Tom will be speaking this weekend at the ECLC conference in Philadelphia. A number of YSAers are going down for the conference.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

4. Vietnam Tours - Doug

See enclosed.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

5. Vietnam Washington March - Doug

See enclosed.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, John, Dick, Roland, Howard, Jack

Motion Passed

6. Selma - Jack

We have sent Pete to Selma to cover the march for the YS and two YSAers from San Francisco have written that they have an opportunity to spend two weeks in Selma. Suggest we approve their trip.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Melissa, Roland, Melissa, Doug, Dick, Jack, Dick

Motion Passed

7. Breitman Letter - Jack

Read a letter from Breitman to the NEC suggesting a pamphlet called "Malcolm X Talks To Students." He suggests that it include a speech by Malcolm X to students at either Harvard or Tuskegee Institute, the YS interview, and Jack's speech to the New York Memorial Meeting.

Motion: To assign Melissa to be in charge of printing such a pamphlet.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack

Motion Passed

8. Militant Coverage of YSA Activities - John

The Militant should have more news about what the YSA is doing around the country, especially since the YS is now a bi-monthly magazine. YSAers should be encouraged to send in more articles and material and action pictures of YSAers for articles on youth activities in the Militant.

Motion: To write locals suggesting one comrade in each local be assigned to be responsible for seeing that articles get sent to the Militant. To include a short article in the Builder on how to write articles for the Militant.

Discussion: Dick, Doug, John, Dick, Jack

Motion Passed

Report on Vietnam Tours to the NEC by Doug- March 24, 1965

EAST COAST

Thus far I have had an informal meeting in Washington D.C., three meetings in the Philadelphia area, and eight meetings in New England. Several more talks are planned for New York and for Penn State in State College, Pennsylvania, and Drew University in New Jersey.

Although most of the meetings were modest in size a number of excellent contacts were made on the tour. At three different schools I found students who had been attracted to Trotskyist ideas independently of the YSA or SWP. As one student put it, "Trotsky is my hero."

The Boston local made an effort to get me on campuses where we have never had YSA speakers before. Various organizations sponsored me including student governments, SDS locals, a civil rights club, and a political science club.

A number of generalizations can be made from my experiences on the tour:

1. Some students are becoming attracted to Trotsky on their own, especially through commercially published books.

2. Very few of the students I spoke with say that socialism is bad. Many believe that socialism is good but impossible. Others feel that this country is actually evolving slowly toward socialism. This Social Democratic attitude is very strong and provides a base for SDS.

3. Warde's pamphlets sell well to college audiences.

4. Outside of New York the DuBois Clubs are weak, especially in New England.

5. PL has influenced several New England campuses: Yale, Harvard, and to some extent Haverford

6. SDS is growing rapidly and has nowhere near tapped its potential.

MIDWEST

Joel has given talks in Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Madison, Ann Arbor and at the University of Illinois. His biggest and most successful meeting was a debate against a right winger at Loop Jr. College in Chicago. The debate was sponsored by the Student Senate and 100 people were present while he "demolished" his opponent. Loop is predominately a Negro school and a large number of contacts were made after a good discussion session.

In Minneapolis a press conference was arranged for him and he received excellent publicity on a TV and radio station as well as in the Minneapolis Star and Minneapolis Tribune. He spoke to the March on Washington Committee in Minneapolis. Several other meetings were arranged.

A literature table at the U. of Wisconsin while Joel was there brought in \$16.00, mostly in YS's.

Joel reports that he received a number of questions on the draft and on whether one should fight in Vietnam or not.

The report on the West Coast tour has not yet been received.

Report to the NEC on the March on Washington by Doug

The SDS took a major step in the past couple of weeks when they refused to give up the sponsorship of the March on Washington to a "broader" sponsorship with adult peace organizations (War Resister's League, Catholic Worker, etc.) in the leadership. Pressure from adult groups has been put on SDS to make the march more conservative. The ADA wrote SDS that they could not support the march because SDS had invited the participation of radical groups which would undermine any good purpose the march might have.

Policy statements with a rough organizational time table have been printed and distributed. (see enclosed) Small posters have been printed and subway posters are being printed now. A list of tentative slogans such as "End the War in Vietnam", "Self Determination for Vietnam", "Escalate Freedom in Mississippi", etc. has been drawn up. SDS is still open to suggestions and we have suggested several more militant slogans.

Developments around the country indicate significant progress on the march. Philadelphia has an excellent committee with representation from various political tendencies and campuses. The committee holds regular meetings and has set up a speakers committee, a publicity committee, etc. At last count they had sold over 600 tickets for buses to Washington. The YSA has played a good role and has recruited the head of the committee.

Minnesota also has an excellent committee with representation all the way from the Young Democrats to the YSA. Tickets have been sold for at least two buses to date. Mailings have been sent to potential financial contributors and \$300 has been raised to help pay for transportation.

Detroit has formed good committees at Wayne State and Cass Tech. In New York committees have been formed at Columbia and Hofstra. There is no city-wide committee and various groups are organizing buses to go down independently. The downtown YSA is selling tickets for buses being chartered by SDS. Activity has been slow in Boston but there will certainly be buses from there. There is considerable interest at Amherst and U. of Massachusetts. Buses are expected from Wisconsin, Texas, and Penn State. Chicago is the only major city where there has been difficulty organizing for the march.

Sympathy demonstrations are being planned on the West Coast despite an unsuccessful attempt by the DuBois Clubs in the area to drop the SDS call for a more pro-Johnson call. The Ad Hoc Committee against the war in Vietnam in the Bay area voted for complete freedom of slogans. In Los Angeles a committee has been formed which includes members of AFSC, YSA, SDS, the Unitarian Church, YD, and WSP.

All locals should do the following:

1. Send in estimates of how many YSAers and non-YSAers are going from your area.
2. Concentrate on actually selling tickets and signing up people to go on the march. Don't try to do things now that should have been done earlier.
3. Publicize the march with press conferences, press releases, radio and TV time and articles in school papers.

March 24, 1965

C O P Y C O P Y C O P Y C O P Y

MEMO TO MARCH ON WASHINGTON COORDINATORS

1) As plans now stand, the activities in Washington will begin with a picket of the White House beginning in the morning. This is an activity which people can join in as they arrive. In the early afternoon, the marchers will assemble at the Sylvan Theatre below the Washington Monument to hear the speakers. From the Sylvan Theatre the March will proceed down the mall toward the Capitol Building. When we are stopped 500 feet from the Capitol Building, we will attempt to send a token delegation forward to present a statement to Congress on behalf of the marchers.

2) A large March banner (identifying the March as the March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam) will be prepared, and a number of smaller signs will be printed. We are asking everyone to bring signs stating what school or city they are from, and no other signs. The small printed signs will contain a variety of slogans (which will be circulated in advance). They will not contain SDS identification. There will be no SDS organizational identification on any sign--- we are asking all endorsing organizations to omit organizational identification from school or city signs they prepare. The object of the March is a unified protest of American foreign policy, not a cacophony. There will be no prohibition on the distribution or sale of literature by anyone at or to and from the March.

3) National publicity should begin to appear about the time you receive this mailing. Currently we have the following ads set: Back cover of The Nation, full page in The Progressive, back cover of Studies on the Left, and 3/5 of a page in the National Guardian. Contemplated are ads in the New York Times and the New Republic, but these are more expensive. If we win a battle with the New York Transit Authority, subway posters will go up in New York.

4) Enclosed in this mailing are a March calendar to give some guidelines in local organization, a sample of the bibliography on Vietnam now available, and an order form for March materials.

Please keep us informed as your plans develop. Drop us a post card or letter estimating the number of people and buses you expect to bring as soon as possible.

March on Washington Office
Room 309
119 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10003
Al 4-2176
Al 4-2366
Gr 3-7274

NEC Minutes - March 11, 1965

Present: NEC: Pete, Jack, Betsey, John, Melissa, Daniels

NC ALT: Dick, Roland, Caroline

Excused: Doug (on tour), Ralph (on tour)

Chairman: Dick

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Membership
3. Malcolm X
4. CABS
5. Vietnam

1. National Office Report - Betsey

The response to both the new YS and the pamphlet has been good. From all areas of the country are coming reports that there is a better response to the ideas of the YSA now than there has been during the late fall and winter months. The rise in general interest in radical ideas and activities was first reported from Boston and then started to be noticed in New York and in Detroit. The locals are all extremely loaded down with activities.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion passed.

2. Membership - Betsey

San Jose at-large comrades have written in asking for local status and for membership for five students just recruited to the YSA there. With the addition of these five people the local there will have eight members. The at-large members in San Jose have been active for some time doing CABS work, selling the YS and Militant, and participating in a local socialist club.

Motion: To accept the five San Jose applicants into the YSA and to give the San Jose YSA local status.

Discussion: Roland, Betsey.

Motion passed.

3. Malcolm X - Betsey

There is a lot of interest in the ideas of Malcolm X at this time. It is the duty of the YSA to get these ideas

out to as many people as possible. For this reason the N.O. will send a letter to the locals with suggestions on how they can carry out this important work.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Roland, Melissa, Jack.

Motion passed.

4. Bloomington - Daniels

Mark Dewolfe Howe of the Harvard Law School and Herbert Muller of Indiana University have both definitely agreed to be co-chairmen of CABS. It might be possible to get 2,000 copies of the brochure by Friday. The brochure will definitely be out Monday, and the mailing will be put out Tuesday. A new list of sponsors has been mimeoed and bundles of them have been sent to the locals. \$80 has come in from Houston. The schedule for Jim's tour is out. Articles on the case will be appearing in the ECLC magazine, Rights, and in the Free Student.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion passed.

5. Vietnam March - Jack

See enclosed.

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Melissa, Jack, Roland, John, Jack, Betsey, John, Roland, John, Jack, Joyce.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion passed.

Report to the March 11, 1965 NEC on the Vietnam March

Jack: The March on Washington preparations have passed the first critical stage and it looks like the first explicitly anti-war national student demonstration will definitely take place. This is a big step forward from the "peace" demonstrations of previous years. More important, the YSA will play a leadership role in many areas in mobilizing people to go on the march. The call is one we have endorsed and can politically support. We are getting the chance to show that we are not a "sectarian" group as we have been slandered in the past.

Our tour speakers are distributing buttons and calls and are helping to persuade people to go on the march. The SDS has maintained its policy of allowing all groups to sell and pass out literature on the march. This is the first time such a large march has had this explicit policy.

The policy for signs according to SDS is that SDS will silk screen signs for the march and will ask everyone to carry these signs. The slogans are not yet determined, but there will be a spectrum of different slogans such as "Withdraw Troops" and "Negotiate" etc. These signs will not even say SDS. SDS is encouraging people to bring signs indicating their schools and cities so that the march will reflect clearly a broad geographical representation. We had encouraged SDS to allow organizations to bring signs with their organizations on them, but we do not consider this key. If the SDS slogans are not pro-Johnson and if SDS continues to stick to its present policy concerning literature sales, the march will certainly have an anti-Johnson and militant tone and will be more free than former marches. We will co-operate with the sign policy of SDS so long as the slogans chosen are in agreement with the line of the call. In areas where sympathy demonstrations are being held we will push for an "everybody bring your own signs" policy with any signs being drawn up by sponsoring organizations to reflect the line of the call.

As soon as definite information on what the slogans will be comes out, we will notify the locals.

Betsey: Reports on the progress of local March on Washington Committees have come in from around the country. In some areas committees have been formed which welcome all tendencies and which are signing up people for the March on the basis of the call. Such is the case in Philadelphia, Detroit and Minneapolis. Ann Arbor has reported that SDSers are willing to sell our pamphlet at their literature tables. In Boston arrangements have been made for us to send Doug to a large number of schools in different parts of New England. In some areas there has been some trouble with Stalinists, Social Democrats or PLers trying to exclude us. Berkeley reports that the DuBois Club is doing what it can to make this march reflect their own pro-Johnson views. A general rule seems to be that we have a better opportunity to help build united committees if we get bargaining power by actively building the march and organizing schools in the area so that our opponents find it difficult to rationalize excluding us.

March 11, 1965

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003
March 12, 1965

Dear Comrades,

There is great interest in the ideas of Malcolm X at this time. During the next months each local should try to do whatever can be done to get the ideas of Malcolm X out. Some suggestions on how this might be done are the following:

1. A new pamphlet, Two Speeches by Malcolm X, has just been printed by Pioneer Publishers, 5 E. 3rd St., N.Y. N.Y. 10003. The pamphlet is already out so that it can be ordered right away. Sales of the Vietnam pamphlet and the YS have been good all over the country, so that there should be time to push this pamphlet.

2. Meetings can be held featuring tapes of Malcolm's speeches. Tapes are available in Chicago at \$2.00 a tape. Orders should be sent to Dave Weber, c/o Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St., Chicago, Illinois. Tapes on hand are the following:

a. Malcolm X speaking to the N.Y. Militant Labor Forum April 8, 1964, after he split with the Muslims.

b. Malcolm X speaking to the Militant Labor Forum, Jan 7, 1965.

c. Malcolm X speaking to New York City College students Nov. 7, 1963 before breaking with the Muslims.

d. Speech on Malcolm X by George Breitman given at the Memorial Meeting for Malcolm X at the Detroit Militant Labor Forum.

3. Pioneer Publishers is planning to put out a pamphlet of the speech by George Breitman to the Detroit Memorial Meeting. This will be very good to sell to people who want to get a history of Malcolm's development as a revolutionary and a clear understanding of his ideas.

4. A record of Malcolm X's speech to the Grass Roots Conference in Detroit has been made available by the Afro-American Broadcasting Co. in Detroit. This speech was made to a large audience just before Malcolm broke with the Muslims. You may order this record by writing Harriet Talan, c/o Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 1, Michigan. For orders of under 10 records the cost is \$3.98 per record. For orders of over 10 the cost is \$2.48 per record.

Comradely,

Betsey Barnes
National Office, YSA

NEO Meeting March 2, 1965

Present: NEC: Melissa, John, Daniels, Pete, Betsey, Jack
Excused: Ralph (on tour), Doug (on tour)
NC: Joel
NC ALT: Carolyn, Roland, Dick

Agenda: 1. Bloomington Defense
2. Fund Drive
3. Southern Speaking Engagements
4. Membership

1. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

Ralph's tour schedule is prepared. He started on tour March 1, hitting the Southern and Western states first. Herbert Muller, Distinguished Service Professor of English and Government at Indiana University, and Mark De Wolfe Howe of Harvard Law School, have agreed to be the National Co-Chairmen of CABS. The brochure and stationery have been held up longer than expected.

Motion: To accept the report.

Passed

2. Fund Drive - Roland

The response to the fund drive call has been good. Boston and Minneapolis both pledged \$200 over their suggested quotas. Although they have discussed their quotas in local meetings already, Detroit, Chicago and Berkeley are late in sending in their quota acceptances.

Discussion: John, Roland

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed

3. Report on Southern Speaking Engagements - Joel

See enclosed Report.

Discussion: Jack, Dick, Joel, Jack, Melissa, Pete

Motion: To accept the report.

Passed

4. Membership - Joel

Three students have applied for membership from Tallahassee.

Discussion: Dick, Joel, John, Joel, Jack, Dick, Joel, Jack, Roland, Betsey, Joel, Pete, Betsey, Joel

Motion: To accept the Tallahassee applicants as members-at-large.

Passed

SOUTHERN TRIP -- February 5-26, 1965 -- Joel Britton

Houston

I spoke at Will Rice College (subdivision of Rice University) to 150 students, distributed literature. The topic was "A Marxist Looks at U.S. Foreign Policy" and dealt with the Congo, Cuba and Vietnam. The meeting was sponsored by the college. The reception was neutral or hostile for the most part -- only two students were friendly afterwards.

A reception was held by the Houston Socialist Forum -- 25-30 were present. The talk to them covered the Bloomington Case and YSA support to the SWP election campaign. Over \$7.00 worth of literature and several subs were sold. Warde's books and pamphlets sold especially well. The Forum is composed of social democrats, left liberals, Spartici, and Trotskyists. It puts out a newsletter and holds public meetings about once a month. (A meeting for Norman Thomas drew 400-500.)

A sympathizer is doing work for the Bloomington defense.

Austin

I spoke briefly at an internal meeting of SDS before they discussed the business at hand for them, entry into the campaign for student body president, running the president of SDS on a program of radical university reform. About 20 were present.

The next day 50-60 students heard my talk on "The War in Vietnam -- A Socialist Analysis" sponsored by the University of Texas SDS. It was very well received by most of the kids in or around SDS.

About \$8.00 worth of literature and a few subs were sold.

Later on a meeting was arranged with a group of visiting Chilean students and their UT student chaperones. A student I'd met acted as translator and took our side in the discussion. I distributed literature to the Chileans and got the name of a young CPer who wants to exchange letters and literature.

The radical milieu is relatively large and friendly at UT. At least one student is already working on Bloomington defense and will probably be a YS distributor. On SDSer consistently distributes

Southern Trip -- 2

our literature, especially the Militant.

There is no real competition in Austin -- a few left overs from YPSL who don't know where to go and the usual progressive beatniks. The guy who was going to organize a DuBois Club is straightened out and now is very pro YSA.

New Orleans

I talked to a friend of our movement who has helped COFO with legal problems. We spent most of the time discussing politics -- the 64 election, Johnson's recent attacks on North Vietnam, the Negro struggle and the Bloomington case. He had gone "part of the way with LBJ" and since the bombings of North Vietnam thinks he was wrong not to support DeBerry.

He is now doing Bloomington Defense work.

Tallahassee

A smaller radical milieu exists at Florida State than at U. of Texas, but three students asked to join after my talk which was sponsored by the Students Act for Peace. A small but sympathetic audience -- 15-20 heard the talk and bought about \$10.00 worth of literature and several subs. I was the first radical speaker SAP or YPSL was able to get on campus -- usually the Unitarian chapel is used.

The students have a semi-recognized YPSL of 10 members on campus through which they will function for a few months. None of them are YPSL types -- they weren't in long enough and were too pro-Cuba to be corrupted.

I talked to several professor friends of our contacts -- two of them had had direct contact with our movement recently, one at Berkeley and the other at Williams College. They were friendly.

Between the Texas and Florida meetings I stopped at several places in Mississippi and followed the Florida meeting with a stop at Montgomery and Selma.

Southern Trip -- 3

McComb

I talked with the COFO staff and their New York lawyer and a few of the local people. I met one of two sixteen year old girls who initiated organized self defense in McComb last fall after a series of bombings. The bombings ceased after the chickens came home to roost.

Jackson

I visited the state COFO and FDP offices and attended the MFDP convention. Most of the COFO staff seemed to be white radical types (but the bulk of the SNCC staff was out of town). Left newspapers were in evidence in the COFO office (eg., they get 20-30 Workers each week).

From discussions with COFO people organized self defense is used all over the state, in virtually every COFO project. It is usually organized by the Negro community which guards freedom houses, meeting places etc.

The MFDP convention was attended by 400-500 Negroes. About 20 of them gave short and usually very militant speeches, often critical of the federal government and of more conservative elements like NAACP and "teachers and preachers." Some of the concrete proposals discussed were local and state-wide school boycotts, voter registration and the FDP congressional challenge. No final decisions were made.

The atmosphere in Mississippi was relatively relaxed due to the FDP congressional challenge deposition taking and the presence of the Civil Rights Commission.

Montgomery

I interviewed E. D. Nixon who told how the Montgomery bus boycott developed and how he recommended M. L. King to head up the organization Nixon initiated.

Southern Trip -- 4

Selma

I met a SNCC field secretary who gave a good interview for the Militant and expressed an interest in getting our press and literature more broadly distributed in Alabama.

Signs in the SNCC-SCLC office said "This office is in mourning for Malcolm X."

The prospects are good for increasing our press circulation in the South, both on the white campuses and in the civil rights movement. I encountered some hostility in Jackson but most FDP, SNCC and CORE people I met were friendly. Bundles of the Militant and VS will be sent to Houston, Austin, Tallahassee, Mississippi and Alabama.

This trip South laid the basis for Ralph to speak in Florida, New Orleans, Houston and Austin. Future national tours should include this southern swing if financially feasible.

The costs of this trip were offset by contributions from our friends in Houston.

NEC Minutes for February 24, 1965

Present: NEC: Jack, Pete, Betsey, Melissa, Ralph, John, Daniels

NC AIT: Carolyn, Roland, Dick

1. National Office - Betsey

Motion: Roland to be fund drive director for the spring fund drive.

Passed

2. ECIC Conference - Carolyn

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee will be holding a conference on civil liberties on the campus in Philadelphia the weekend of March 27. Five different civil liberties case histories will be presented. A Bloomington Defendant will present the Bloomington Case. We are planning to work on the planning committee for the conference.

Discussion: John, Carolyn, Betsey, John, Carolyn

Motion: To accept the report.

Passed

3. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

The new brochure and new letterhead are being prepared. Ralph's tour will start the first of the month.

Discussion: Jack

Motion: To accept the report.

Passed

4. Malcolm X - Jack

The messages that have come in from around the country were very much appreciated.

Discussion: Roland, Jack

Motion: To accept the report.

Passed

5. Cornell - Dick

Around 20 students came to hear Dick speak at Cornell. He was sponsored by the Young Socialist League. The Cornell YSLers have been in close communication with ~~Robertson~~, but are open-minded and interested in our point of view. There are a good number of newly radicalized students around the YSL.

Discussion: Jack, Dick

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed

6. Algerian Youth Festival - John

John spoke with the National Chairman of the American Algiers Youth Festival Committee. The Festival Committee has finally rented a headquarters and is sending out applications. We have offered endorsement and help. We should continue work along the same lines.

Discussion: ~~Jack~~, Dick

Motion: To accept the report.

Passed

COMMITTEE TO AID THE BLOOMINGTON STUDENTS

Tour Schedule

Jim Bingham

March 18	Travel
March 19-23	Detroit
March 24	Travel
March 25-29	Chicago
March 30	Travel
March 31-April 4	Cleveland
April 5	Travel
April 6-12	New York
April 13	Travel
April 14-17	Toronto
April 18	Travel
April 19-29	Boston
April 30	Travel
May 1-8	Philadelphia
May 9	Travel
May 9-22	New York

CABS National Office
March 8, 1965

Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students Tour
Schedule for Ralph Levitt

March 4-5	Tallahassee
March 6	Travel
March 7-8	New Orleans
March 9	Travel
March 10-11	Houston
March 12	Travel
March 13-15	Austin
March 16	Travel
March 17-18	Albuquerque
March 19	Travel
March 20-21	Tucson
March 22	Travel
March 23-24	Scottsdale, Tempe Area
March 25	Travel
March 26-April 1	Los Angeles, San Diego Area
April 2	Travel
April 3-April 11	Berkeley, Bay Area
April 12	Travel
April 13-14	Seattle
April 15	Travel
April 16-17	Vancouver
April 18	Travel
April 19-20	Denver, Boulder
April 21	Travel
April 22-26	Minneapolis, St. Paul
April 27	Travel
April 28-29	Madison, Wisconsin
April 30	Travel
May 1-6	Chicago
May 7	Travel
May 8-9	Indiana
May 10	Travel
May 11-16	Detroit
May 17	Travel
May 18-22	Cleveland

To All Locals

To Be Read to All YSAers:

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York
February 22, 1965

Dear Comrades,

The following letter was sent to Malcolm X's widow, Betty Shabazz, from Jack Barnes, the National Chairman of the YSA.

"Dear Betty Shabazz,

"We are thinking especially of you and your children at this time of great loss. We have always felt the deepest respect for your husband as a revolutionary leader and as a man who spoke the truth. His warmth and sensitivity and his sense of humor made us feel close to him as a person. In our efforts to work for a better world his life will continue to inspire us to live up to his example of courage and honesty.

"We also believe of Malcolm what you have said, that 'the magnitude of his work will be felt around the world.' This will especially be felt by the younger generation of revolutionists in this country and abroad of whom he was so fond and who look upon him as one of them.

"Fraternally,

"Jack Barnes
National Chairman
Young Socialist Alliance"

Comradely,

Betty
Betsey Barnes
National Office YSA

SCHEDULES FOR VIETNAM TOURS

WEST COAST - Larry Shumm

February 15-24: Bay Area
February 25: Travel
February 26-March 7: Los Angeles, San Diego
March 8-11: Travel
March 12-17: Seattle
March 18-22: Vancouver

Midwest- Joel Britton

March 6-10: Minneapolis, Carleton
March 11: Madison
March 12-16: Chicago
March 17: Travel
March 18-22: Detroit, E. Lansing, Ann Arbor
March 23: Travel
March 24-31: Cleveland, Oberlin, Kent,
Antioch, Columbus, Cincinnati
March 31: Travel
April 1: Louisville
April 2: Travel
April 3-4: Bloomington
April 5: Travel
April 6: St. Louis
April 7: Travel
April 8: Carbondale
April 11: Milwaukee

East Coast- Doug Jenness

February 24: Washington
February 26-March 3: Philadelphia
March 4-5: Travel
March 6-21: Boston Area, Springfield Area
March 22: Stockbridge
March 23: Ithaca
March 24: Penn. State
March 25-29: New York City Area

YSA National Office
February 23, 1965

NEC Minutes for February 17, 1965

Present: NEC: Pete, Ralph, Betsey, Jack, Melissa, Doug, Daniels, John

NC Alt: Dick, Carolyn, Roland, Howard

Chairman: John

Agenda: 1. National Office Report and Fund Drive Report
2. Bloomington Defense
3. Vietnam Campaign
4. Southern Speaking Engagements

1. National Office Report and Fund Drive Report - Betsey

a. Suggested quotas have been sent out to the locals for the spring fund drive. This drive will be the largest in the history of the YSA. It will need to cover expenses for a seven month period while the last drive covered only five. Big expenses during this period will include costs for four issues of the Young Socialist, the pamphlets, and the expanded activity of the national office.

b. Report on the acquittal of Robert Higgins and Richard David on the charge of assault and battery in Detroit.

c. A report has come from Jan on the conference sponsored in East Lansing by the MSU Socialist Club. There were 40 people at the first meeting. A large percentage of those attending were from various radical groups in the midwest: Marcyites, several FLers, some SDSers, some older Guardian people etc. Jan spoke on a panel on Vietnam and was given 10 minutes to speak on the Bloomington Case.

d. Two NECers visited Philadelphia and report that the local there is very active. They are running an educational series and a forum and are working on the march on Washington and are getting started on CABS work.

e. A report has come in from Kent on the Kent Vietnam demonstration. Since the demonstration the Kent YSA has been recognized by the Student Senate as a campus club.

Discussion: Jack, Ralph

Motion: To approve the report.

Passed

2. Bloomington Defense

a. Ralph: The Northern Student Movement is having a conference. We hope to get a chance to speak to the conference on the case.

b. Joyce: Attempts are being made to contact people to speak

for us about the case.

c. Jack: Immediate tasks include planning a national tour, getting out a brochure and sending letters to the sponsors.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Roland, Jack, John

Motion Passed

3. Vietnam Report - Doug

See attached report.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Betsey, Dick, Jack, Pete, Howard, Jack

Motion Passed

4. Report on Texas and Florida Speaking Engagements - Jack

Report on Viet Nam Work Doug

The recent bombings against North Vietnam stimulated a wave of protest demonstrations all over the country which is still continuing. Our locals handled themselves well helping to build demonstrations and in some areas initiating and organizing them. In most areas we joined other organizations in a united protest.

The Militant (Feb. 22) covered most of these demonstrations. One significant demonstration not covered was a rally on the University of Minnesota campus where 400 people were present. Speakers from various campus organizations spoke including a YSA'er as well as a Young Democratic Farmer Laborite. The YSA'er received front page coverage in the Minneapolis Star. With the exception of Kent College in Ohio, the protests against the bombings were not severely harrassed by the right wing as was the case during the blockade of Cuba.

The most significant general development from these demonstrations was the formation of multi-organization Ad Hoc Committees Against the War in Vietnam. In Boston, a Student Committee Against the War in Vietnam was set up jointly by the Young Christians, SPU, May 2nd, SDS, and YSA. A policy that anyone can distribute and sell literature at demonstrations has been established. The YSA in Boston concentrated their attention on the campus where they had good working relations with SDS instead of working on the one campus where the head SDS'er is hostile Stalinist. Their efforts in building united committees on the Boston area campuses has won them new friends as well as members from the SDS periphery.

It now appears that the Ad Hoc committees being formed around the country are going to be the organizers of the March on Washington:

1. Where no existing committees to build the march exist we can help to form them on either a city wide or a campus wide basis. The best name is simply _____ Ad Hoc Committee for the March on Washington.

2. We should urge these committees to begin making arrangements for busses, publicity, speakers, etc.

3. These committees should get local P.O. box numbers or home addresses and phone numbers. These local addresses should be stamped on the SDS calls that are distributed locally. These committees should immediately send away to SDS for literature and buttons. SDS printed only 5000 copies of the call on the first run but has promised to run more if there is a demand. If every local Ad Hoc Committee floods their office asking for 5 or 10 thousand, it might

stimulate them to print more. The buttons are very nice calling for ending the war. They sell for a quarter. They can be asked for on cosignment from SDS, 119 E. 5th Ave. Room 308, New York City, N.Y.

The SDS held a press conference in New York on Feb. 18, where the call for the March on Washington on April 17 was affirmed. (See enclosed)

Up to date information about the activity against the war in Vietnam should be sent to the N.O. immediately. Also all information about rallies and demonstrations should be sent to the Militant. The deadline is Monday.

The YSA pamphlet, THE WAR IN VIETNAM, is now off the press and over six thousand have been mailed to the locals. Berkeley and Boston have each agreed to take an initial bundle of 1,000. The ten cent price was deliberately set to give the pamphlet the widest possible sales and every local should sell as many as possible.

The three YSA propaganda tours on the war in Vietnam are set up and Larry on the West Coast has already begun. Doug will begin touring next week on the East Coast and Joel begins in the Midwest the first week in March. These tours will serve to present our ideas on the colonial revolution, particularly Vietnam, to sell the pamphlet, and the YS, and to build support for the March on Washington.

NEC Report
Feb. 17, 1965

Feb. 14, 1965

To All Locals

Dear Comrades,

The Vietnam pamphlet will be out this week, probably February 18th. It traces the development of the war in Vietnam from the withdrawal of the Japanese in '45, the independent Indo-China, the occupation of Saigon by the British, the re-invasion of Vietnam by the French with CP support, the development of peasant and guerrilla opposition, the conditions on the land, the involvement of the U.S., right up to today. Its facts will arm every student who sympathizes with the Vietnamese people to convince others. It will provide an excellent example of our vanguard role in educating politicalizing young people.

With the forthcoming YSA regional tours on Vietnam, the SDS March on Washington, and the general interest in recent events every local should consider a sizable order. The NO has decided to sell the pamphlet at 10 ¢ each. This will not meet printing and mailing costs until we have sold close to 10,000. However, our goal is to give it the largest possible circulation as fast as possible. Because of the low price we are asking the locals to pay the full price of 10 ¢. The Boston and Berkeley local have each ordered 1,000 copies. All orders must be paid immediately.

If your order is received by Feb. 18th it will be sent out as soon as the pamphlets come off the press. If necessary you can phone in your order. The NO number is YU 9-7570, or call Pete C. at OR 3-1778 or Betsy B. at YU 2-4156.

Inclosed is an order blank and a return envelope. Please enclose payment with your order if at all possible. Fill out and return your order form even if you phone in your order.

Comradely,
Peter Camejo
Peter Camejo
National Secretary

Box 471
Cooper Station
N.Y. N.Y. 10003
February 13, 1965

Attention All YSAers

Dear Comrades,

We are planning the spring fund drive to run from March 7 to May 15. The expanded national office activities, the pamphlet program, and especially the new magazine Young Socialist are demanding more money. We will need to run the biggest fund drive the YSA has ever had to cover these costs and to take advantage of the many opportunities for the YSA to reach new people with our ideas in the coming period. Because we will want to wait until school starts in the fall to start our next drive, this spring drive must cover expenses for 7 months.

Attached are the proposed quotas for each local, arrived at on the basis of the numerical and financial strength of each local, past performance, and the over-all amount that we need to raise. As in the past sustainers sent in since the last fund drive and through the period of this drive may be included in the quotas.

Please fill out the attached form indicating your accepted quota and send it back before February 28. At-large YSAers also should send back the pledge blanks indicating whatever they think they can give.

Comradely,

Betsy Barnes

Betsy Barnes
National Office

Spring 1965 YSA Fund Drive Proposed Quotas

Boston	650
New York (downtown)	500
New York (uptown)	250
Chicago	750
Detroit	500
Berkeley	750
Los Angeles	250
San Francisco	150
Minneapolis	300
Madison	50
Kent	100
Cleveland	150
Ann Arbor	50
Antioch	50
Denver	25
Seattle	25
Philadelphia	100

Please fill this in and send it back to the N.O.
as soon as possible. It must arrive in N.Y. before
February 28:

Local _____

Accepted Quota _____

Amount of pledge to be given in the form of monthly
sustainers to the N.O. since the last fund drive and
during the period of this drive _____

Fund Drive Director _____

Address _____

Remarks:

NEC Minutes, February 8, 1965

Present: NEC: Jack, Ralph, Pete, Betsey, Doug, Melissa,
John
NC Alt: Dick, Caroline, Roland, Howard

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Vietnam
3. Bloomington Case
4. Constitution
5. Alexander Case

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. Bill and Pat from Southern Illinois University have applied for at-large membership.

b. The national office has been in contact with the Young Socialist League at Cornell U. Dick will be speaking on the Congo at Cornell February 20th.

c. A report was sent in by Philadelphia on the American Socialist Organizing Committee's Philadelphia convention in January. Only the general discussion was public. The other meetings were held at the home of a local member and were closed. The public discussion was attended by around 30 persons. This included 7 observers from other groups.

d. The Wayne State University YSA in Detroit has been recognized, and it has hit the local papers. Since they have got on campus there has been a red-baiting attack against them and the Detroit local. The clippings are available for NECers to look at.

e. Report on speaking engagements at Houston, Austin, and Tallahassee.

f. The run on the next Young Socialist will be 5,000. It should be out by the 20th.

Discussion: Ralph, Melissa, Howard, Roland,
Melissa, John, Dick, Melissa, Pete, Melissa,
Roland, Jack, Betsey.

Motion: To accept into membership Bill and Pat.
Passed Unanimously

Motion: To approve the N.O. report
Passed Unanimously

2. Vietnam - Doug

Literature on SDS has been sent out to the locals. The SDS call is not yet out, although it should be out Feb 12. The pamphlet is written and is ready to be sent to the print shop.

Discussion: Melissa, Doug, Jack, Pete, John, Betsey, Roland, Jack, Dick, Pete, Jack, Pete, Betsey, Jack, Ralph.

Motion: To approve the report.
Passed Unanimously

3. Bloomington - Jack

See attached.

Discussion: Jack, Roland, Jack, Melissa, Pete, Ralph

Motion: To approve the report.
Passed Unanimously

4. Constitutional Committee - Jack

Motion: That the NEC as a whole constitute the Constitution Drafting Committee and that the national office be responsible for bringing in a draft of the new constitution.

Passed Unanimously

5. Information on Alexander Case - Dick

Dick will be keeping the NEC informed on the work of the Alexander defense. Work on the case by the youth must be curtailed because of the priority of the Bloomington case.

Discussion: Dick, Jack, Betsey

Please Read To Locals

Extra Copies Included For Circulation Among Membership

NEC REPORT ON THE BLOOMINGTON CASE BY JACK

The New Stage of the Case

The issues raised by the Indiana Supreme Court's January 25 decision have made the case of the Bloomington students the most important civil liberties case in the country today. Comrades should be sure to read the February 8th Militant and the March-April YS for a thorough description of the issues.

While the two civil liberties issues of freedom of inquiry for students and the constitutional guarantees of speech, assembly, and thought remain, the effect of the recent Indiana decision is to bring to the fore another issue, the "states rights" issue.

The Indiana decision reverses the legal precedents set up in the past years against McCarthy-like prosecutions under state sedition laws. It is an attack not only on the civil liberties of students and the citizenry, and a reversal of the post-McCarthy Supreme Court decisions protecting civil liberties, but it is also an open "states rights" threat to the civil rights movement. If the January 25 decision should be upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court it would be an open invitation to Southern, and some Northern, states to prosecute civil rights activists for "assembling to overthrow the state government."

The Indictment Against the Students Is Reinstated

The Indiana Supreme Court decision reinstates the indictment against the three students for assembling on May 2, 1963. If convicted, they would be faced with one to three year jail sentences for their ideas. However, arrests and trial proceedings cannot take place as long as the defendants are appealing the decision of the Indiana Supreme Court.

The Legal Steps

There are three steps to the appellate procedure which the attorneys for the students intend to use.

First, they will petition the Indiana Supreme Court to rehear the case. This will probably be denied

around the first of March. It is necessary to do this in order to point out the errors in their decision and to prepare the record for appeals to higher courts.

Second, the attorneys will go to the Federal District Court Judge in Indianapolis, ask him to appoint another Federal District Court Judge and a Federal Appeals Court Judge to sit with him in a three judge panel. This panel would be asked to hear our request for an injunction that would prevent prosecutor Hoadley from going ahead with the case. The appeal will be based upon the fact that the law is unconstitutional. Our attorneys will ask these three judges, acting for the federal government, to prevent the state prosecutor from proceeding. We should have a decision from the three judge panel relatively soon, probably by the first of April.

Third, if the three judge panel should either refuse to hear our plea or should rule that our constitutional rights are not being abridged, we would then appeal their decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. If the U.S. Supreme Court rules on the constitutionality of the law, and declares the Indiana Anti-Communist Statute unconstitutional, the case would be won. However, there is a chance that the U.S. Supreme Court will refuse to hear the case, or may even uphold the law, in which case we would face a trial in Bloomington.

The Tasks of the YSA

As you can tell from the above, the new stage of the case presents a great opportunity as well as new responsibilities for the YSA. No civil liberties case in the history of our movement has had such a broad appeal. New support on a national scale must be built for the case. The story of the case will have to be presented to students and teachers all over the country. A great deal of money will have to be raised. This work will have to be started very soon, because of the rapidity of the appeals and the proximity of the trial which the defendants face if the appeals should fail. Organizations and individuals who were not approached or who did not previously sponsor or contribute to the case will have to be approached, and the new stage of the case explained to them. This is especially true of individuals and organizations connected with the civil rights movement. The case of the Bloomington students now has a direct and immediate bearing on them.

The Plans of CABS

In order to make possible expanded work, the CABS has asked Joyce DeGroot to work for it as full time National Secretary. The first steps CABS will take will be to reprint its informational literature, prepare a brochure which explains the new stage of the case, and plan a national campus tour for one of the defendants this spring.

Work in the defense of our comrades---building the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students---is once again the central task of the YSA. Our immediate job will be the acquisition of new sponsors for the Committee and fund raising activities among the supporters and current sponsors of the Committee. A schedule for the defendant's tour will be sent out in a few weeks.

As soon as the material is reprinted and the new brochure is prepared, quantities of the material will be sent to all locals and supporters of the Committee.

The Education of the YSA

One of the first steps in each local must be the education of the membership in the history and meaning of the case. We will send out an outline of a set of educationals that several locals used last year. Each local should consider doing this series as a local educational series to better understand the history and meaning of our movement's involvement in the fight for civil liberties. It is also important to discuss the practical experience of CABS in order to get concrete ideas for fund raising activities.

The Fund Raising Goal

The magnitude of the general tasks before us can best be seen by the magnitude of the financial task we face. The CABS has a bank balance of \$1700. It has an outstanding debt of \$2200 for loans received to pay previous legal debts. It has a debt to a Bloomington Attorney for \$300. It has an additional current legal debt of \$600. Our attorney's estimate is that minimal legal expenses alone for the three appellate procedures outlined above will come to \$3000. This is exclusive of any expenses whatsoever for trial preparations. The cost of reprinting and mailing out the educational material to the sponsors, speaking tours, and the administration of the fund raising activities of CABS, will be approximately \$5000. This means that we must raise \$9500. In its existence so far, CABS has raised approximately \$9000.

February 7, 1965

January 20, 1965

Confidential
To Judy

It's important that YSAers understand the nature of our participation in building the SDS March on Washington--the political hows and whys. One of our first tasks in all the locals will have to be a clear educational and discussion on this. The relatively new YSAers especially have to understand this move before they throw themselves into it with energy and confidence.

There are a couple initial difficulties along this line that we will have to overcome. One is inexperience. Most of the YSAers who are now members were not involved in work in either SPU or FPOG. They are not used to working as part of a broader movement, especially one that we don't control. They will have to expect all sorts of negative things to happen that would never happen in CABS or in Youth for DeBerry and Shaw, for instance. We are going to have to stress to our own people that we are not competing with SDS for the leadership or sponsorship of the march. We are working with SDS as a supporting group and we cannot be concerned over, and are not responsible for, this or that lack or this or that mistake. What we are after are contacts, good relationships with SDS, greater influence and legitimacy within the broader student "left", aims to which secondary organizational irritations must be subordinated.

The second problem is the danger of sectarianism. It will be impossible for us to carry out this ~~proj~~ project and get the gains from it if we display any kind of sectarian attitude. We have an open door to a broader circle of kids than we are now working with and an opening to becoming a more "legitimate" and "relegant" sector of the student left. The least we can do is to avoid giving help to anyone seeking to slam this door on us.

We are after two main things; one is contacts within the active student movement and the other is developing close working relations with SDS nationally. We would also like to dispel the myth of YSA sectarianism which our opponents always spread about us to new kids. We want to show that we can be the best and most non-sectarian builders with others of any action with which we are in basic agreement.

Just where SDS is going in general is not certain. Our leading comrades, at least, should become familiar with their basic ideas and organizational character. They continue to grow in size and have considerable financial backing. They consider themselves ~~activites~~ activists in a general liberal-radical sense, rather than politicals. They tend to view us, not as some isolated sect, but as the Trotskyist wing of the general student movement. We want to reinforce this image. They have the resources to initiate and organize other national activities on the scope of the march on Washington and may be turning in the direction of doing more of this. Remember Jon's report on them at the convention.

There are several main tasks:

1. We have to keep in mind that our intervention in this march and our propoganda campaign against the war in Vietnam are national projects. SDS's strength which will govern how much they ~~xxx~~ will be able to do in organizing for the march will vary from place to place, as will individual SDSers' attitudes toward us. But we have to subordinate any frictions and resolve any problems within the framework of the larger considerations of what we can get out of this thing nationally. I assume it will be easiest working with the SDSers in the Midwest and in New York, where we have established good relations. It will be a little harder in New England where Stalinist-minded kids have a lot of influence. On the West Coast we will have to assume the obligation of doing most of the work, since SDS is very weak there.
2. We think the best organizational format would be the formation of broad March on Washington committees in the various localities, which can include representatives of everyone supporting the march. The committees would arrange such things as raising funds for transportation, arranging symposiums presenting different points of view on the Vietnam question, collect and sell literature on Vietnam, and most important, organizing the various campuses and high schools in the area. Little concretely can be done on this until the call is out, but initial feelers can take place.
3. Our three tours will have a two-fold nature. 1) We will get our ideas on Vietnam war across and present our solution. The pamphlet will present our line very clearly. We have to make no compromises in it. It is published under our name. We will try to present ourselves as the main spokesmen against the Vietnam war. 2) The tours will be used ~~xxx~~ as organizing tours for the March. We will take along with us plenty of the SDS calls, buttons, etc. and try to get the kids on the various campuses organized into committees to arrange the trip to Washington. We will thus show in practice that there is no contradiction between clearly presenting our own point of view and trying to win people to it, and at the same time supporting and building the March within the framework outlined by the sponsor.

This letter is going to just one leading comrade in each major local. A lot of the correspondence will have to be done this way. ~~Please treat this letter in this manner.~~ Share the ideas with leading comrades, but keep the letter confidential.

It is important that the comrade in the local ~~xxxxxxx~~ assigned to head up this work be capable of understanding these things, and the necessity of working very closely with the center. There are a thousand and one subtleties in this kind of work. It would not be fair to assign it to an inexperienced comrade.

We are not sure how this thing will go because it's so early. Regardless of that, it must be viewed as a great opportunity.

Unlike the SPU experience, we are getting in at the beginning, not at the end, and the leadership we are working with is happy to have us--a little different from the witch-hunting, Stalinophobic Schachtmanites. The ~~goal~~ goal of the next month ~~actually~~ actually is ~~so deeply~~ to so deeply commit SDS to the action that it would be extremely difficult for them to pull out when they get the inevitable pressure from their conservative moneyed sources. Even if that happens the Vietnam question remains a dominant one on the campus and will grow more acute in the immediate future. So we have a good axis for our tours, regional conferences, and press, even if we should have some disappointment on the march.

The pamphlet will be a good tool in all this. We are going to run from 6,000 to 8,000 in order to get per unit costs down under a dime. We can then have a campaign to sell it and the dime price should make it relatively easy. It will be the major single propaganda tool in our own name, around the Vietnam question. But it will be possible to sell it for a dime only if a couple of the major locals order a thousand and we can challenge the other locals to order big supplies. We are thinking of organizing an intra-local sales contest around this with prizes etc. What do you think of this?

Finally, to keep up on developments the NO should have periodic reports from you in addition to reports from ~~organizers~~ organizers. Please emphasize to the comrades working on the March that unofficial carbons of all important correspondence should be sent to the NO.

Comradely,

Jack
Jack

NEC MEETING JANUARY 17, 1965

Present: NEC: Jack, Betsey, Pete, Melissa, John, Ralph,
Doug

Consultative: NC Alt: Caroline, Howard, Roland,
Dick

Chairman: Pete

- Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. National SDS March on Washington
3. Young Socialist and Young Socialist Forum
4. Joe Johnson Case
5. Yale Speech

1. National Office Report - Betsey

a. Letter has come in from San Jose at-large members reporting on new recruitment and inquiring about the possibility of forming a local in San Jose.

b. A leaflet has come in from Bloomington showing that work on Bloomington defense is moving along there.

2. National SDS March on Washington - Jack

(See attached.)

Motion: To approve the report and proposals

Discussion: Melissa, Jack, Dick, Jack, Roland,
Melissa, Betsey, Peter, Ralph, John, Jack

Passed Unanimously

3. Young Socialist and Young Socialist Forum - Jack

The convention made the increasing of the YS circulation and the promotion of the YS forum one of our central tasks.

- Motion: 1. Assign Peter to be business manager of the YS and the YS forum
2. Assign Will to be circulation manager of the YS
3. Assign Dave to be publisher of the YS forum
4. Assign Melissa to handle art work for the YS
5. Assign John and Doug to YS editorial board
6. Continue Barry as editor of the YS

Discussion: Betsey, Dick, Melissa, Pete, Dick, Jack

Passed Unanimously

4. Joe Johnson Case - Jack

A pring tour for Joe Johnson is important in beginning to broaden his defense and in further publicizing

the case. While Lew is responsible for national Joe Johnson defense work and educational material out of the Twin Cities, the tour and general defense work around it will be co-ordinated with the center.

Motion: Assign Ralph to be New York co-ordinator of national defense work for Joe Johnson.

Discussion: Doug, Jack, Betsey

Passed Unanimously

5. Yale Report - John

John accompanied William F. Warde when he spoke at Yale. Report on Yale Socialist Club and further contact.

Discussion: Melissa, Pete, Dick, John, Pete, Melissa, Jack, Ralph, Jack, Pete, Ralph, Roland

Box 471
Cooper Station
N.Y. N.Y. 10003

January 19, 1965

Attention YSA Organizers:

Dear Comrades,

The enclosed is an NEC report on the SDS April 17 March on Washington. It was passed unanimously at the NEC meeting of January 17.

NCers and local executive committee members should discuss the report and start to think of how best to build the March and the propaganda campaign. A report on the executive committee discussions and the report from the National Office should than be presented at a local meeting. It should be kept in mind that work on a national project of this kind will be a new experience for many YSAers. A discussion of our experiences in our work in the SPU and FPCC may be of some value.

Each local should appoint a leading comrade to be in charge of YSA activity in building the march in their area. The national office will send information on the march to the organizers who can pass it along to those in charge of the march and to the YSA local as a whole. Send us the name of who is put in charge.

Comradely,

Jack
Jack Barnes
National Chairman

Report on the SDS March on Washington by Jack to January 17 NEC

The last session of the National Council of SDS, which met at the same time as our convention, passed a motion to sponsor an April 17 March on Washington against the Vietnam war. The next day it issued a press release and a letter asking other groups to endorse the march. (See attached.) The release calls the war in Vietnam a civil war and calls for an end to American intervention. The SDS leadership has stated that they welcome help in building the march. The march itself will be organized on a non-exclusive basis, that is any group may endorse it, help organize it, and bring their own signs and literature to the march.

SDS plans to print large quantities of an official call by February 1 which can be distributed between then and April 17, and which will be the basic organizing leaflet of the march. They will simultaneously put out buttons. SDS also plans a series of general educational and promotional activities in February and March on the Vietnam war culminating in the march.

The concrete anti-war character of the call and the non-exclusive character of the proposed organization of the march makes it potentially the biggest national youth action since SPU's anti-nuclear test march. It has the potential to be much larger than , and more militant than, SPU's 1962 March on Washington. Its organization will attract around it thousands of students opposed to America's dirty war. The various radical youth groups will be on trial in the eyes of many newly radicalized youth. Their ability to pitch in and build the action in a non-sectarian manner will be tested.

Along with work which we can do in organizing the march the YSA can carry on an active campaign against the Vietnam war using tours, conferences, the YS, and the YSA pamphlet on Vietnam. This march offers a sharp focal point for the general propaganda campaign outlined in the political report passed at the convention.

Concrete proposals for a propaganda campaign on the Vietnam war and for building the march are the following:

1. Release an NEC statement officially endorsing the march. (See attached.)
2. To run three national YSA propaganda tours on Vietnam in three regions in February and March. Doug to tour the East Coast, Joyce to tour the Midwest, and an NCEr from the West Coast to tour the West Coast. Regional tours will allow us to speak at the largest possible number of campuses where we have contacts, many of which we cannot ordinarily hit with the tight schedules of a single-person national tour. Tours can be used to build and publicize the march.
3. Our regional and city wide educational conferences will emphasize the Vietnam question and the colonial revolution.
4. An inexpensive pamphlet on Vietnam has been drafted by Robin which should be out in the middle of February. Distributing this pamphlet

will be one of the most important aspects of our general campaign against the war in Vietnam.

5. The February IS will carry our press release endorsing the march in the next issue and a full back page for the April 17 March on Washington.

6. The NEC assign Doug activity in the Vietnam propaganda campaign and in building the march.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

January 2, 1965

Students for a Democratic Society, a national student educational and social action organization, announced today that it is sponsoring a Student March on Washington to call for the end of American intervention in the Vietnamese civil war. The march, set for Saturday, April 17, will coincide with student Easter vacations and is a traditional time for peace oriented activity.

In calling the march SDS wishes to stress in particular the underlying and basic questions involved in the American government's current activities. Hence the preparations for the march will emphasize the facts that the war is producing untold injury to the Vietnamese people, that our participation in that war injures Americans at home by creating an atmosphere in which the government continually deceives the public and decision making becomes further removed from public control, and that men of good will must stand up against these injuries to both ourselves and to Vietnam.

SDS is actively soliciting endorsements of the march from all interested organizations and individuals and welcomes the cooperation of all who subscribe to the purposes of the march. Further details will be released as the plans are completed.

January 3, 1965

Dear Friend:

First let me apologize for the mimeographed form of this letter. Unfortunately the size of this mailing prohibited us from sending everyone a personalized letter.

As a result of the deteriorating situation in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society is sponsoring a March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam. We have chosen a date in late Spring, April 17, in order to allow adequate time for the kind of preparations which a large nation-wide action requires. And although it is our hope that the war might be over by Easter time, the chances are that it won't be-- if anything it will be worse.

We are writing you now to request your endorsement of this march, to ask your cooperation in making it a success, and to solicit any suggestions you may have regarding the entire endeavor. To date only three speakers have been approached, Senators Morse and Gruening and journalist I.F. Stone. We have also decided to emphasize the basic facts of the war as opposed to any particular set of demands or solutions. Your suggestions on all of these matters would be appreciated.

Can we count on your support? If so, please write us as soon as possible. Organizations should designate a specific individual with whom we can continue to correspond.

Fraternally yours,

C. Clark Kissinger
National Secretary