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Build Mass Actions August 6-9 and October 31!

With the experience of the Cleveland Antiwar Conference and the New Mobe initiated Milwaukee Strategy Action Conference behind us, we want to thoroughly assimilate the results and outline the tasks before us. Our major objective is to continue to concretize the process of rebuilding the national antiwar coalition and to begin to project, and gather forces for, the mass antiwar demonstrations in the fall.

The occurrence of two separate conferences represents the logical development and surfacing of the divisions within the antiwar movement that have continued to deepen since November 15. The Cleveland conference, organized by ourselves and allies in local antiwar coalitions, represents a continuation of the basic orientation of the antiwar movement. The Milwaukee conference, organized by forces in the New Mobe and the Communist Party, was essentially a response to the Cleveland conference and an attempt to deflect the movement from the course of independent mass action.

These divisions are not new. They are the reflection of fundamental differences that have been brought to the surface by the mounting pressure of the 1970 elections. Three basic approaches are at the root of these divisions: 1) the approach of independent mass action; 2) the approach of isolated acts of civil disobedience or confrontation; and 3) the approach of drawing the movement into support of capitalist "peace" candidates. The Milwaukee conference was organized by forces who were united in their hostility to the first approach and who favored one or the other of the latter two.

These divisions have come to a head at several previous stages in the development of the antiwar movement. In 1966, the battle took place in the context of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In 1968, the battle was marked by the deterioration of the National Mobilization Committee and the split in the SMC.

Now, however, the battle of perspective among the organized sectors of the movement takes place in the context of widening opportunities for mass action. In the previous periods, the actual possibilities for mass antiwar action were on the wane. But, with the May upsurge following the Cambodian invasion, the breakthroughs in the trade unions and encouraging developments in the Third World community, the situation is altogether different. The large attendance at both conferences (1500 at Cleveland and 800 at Milwaukee) is a reflection and confirmation of the real opportunities for action.

The call for fall demonstrations coming out of Cleveland now stands as an unambiguous pole of attraction for antiwar activists and for new forces that can be drawn into activity.

Given the existing divisions within the movement, the Cleveland conference was a large success. In spite of the slander campaign by the New Mobe leaders, the conference was well attended, with representation from 30 states. While a majority of the participants were youth mobilized primarily by the SMC, there was also significant attendance by people from local antiwar coalitions, traditional peace groups and a sprinkling of new forces attracted by the wave of post-Cambodia activity. The keynote addresses—which included labor, SMC and Third World spokesmen and women—sketched the kind of antiwar movement that seems realizable in the near future.

Two very important things were achieved in Cleveland. First, a call was initiated for massive demonstrations this fall on October 31 in major regional centers. Second, an organizational framework was set up to translate the conference decisions into action. The national Peace Action Coalition—with a representative group of five national coordinators and a steering committee composed of the conference presiding committee—is an important nucleus around which we can expand and broaden the antiwar coalition.

A special aspect of the Cleveland conference was the successful battle with our organized political opponents, primarily the Progressive Labor Party and its allies who had mobilized for the conference in a major way.

Since the beginning of the year, the Progressive Labor Party has taken a turn toward increased intervention in the antiwar movement. They have sporadically intervened in meetings of several SMC chapters and in a few local antiwar coalitions. In Boston, they have attempted to maintain an antiwar coalition of their own excluding the SMC and the YSA as well as all "liberals." At Cleveland, their intention was to politically disrupt and destroy the united-front, non-exclusive character of the organized antiwar movement.

We were successful in politically isolating the PL and SDS forces from the overwhelming majority at the Cleveland conference. They proved unable to get an angle by which they could politically disrupt the functioning and decision-making ability of the conference, and the marshaling efforts effectively precluded any attempt at physical disruption. Although they came to the conference with grandiose schemes, they left with their morale deflated by an inability to achieve their objectives.

The Cleveland conference was the antiwar conference at which decisions were made on the basis of a clear programmatic orientation for independent mass action. There is every reason for an optimistic perspective of drawing new and vital forces into the coalition in the next several months.

The Milwaukee Strategy Action Conference, unlike Cleveland, was organized with a completely unclear political axis. Although it was attended by almost the entire leadership of New Mobe, the actual spectrum of participation was quite narrow. A few people from SCLC attended. There was no real labor participation whatsoever. The National Welfare Rights Organization did mobilize about 40-50 people to attend the conference, but they came with the sole intention

of gaining support for their own demands and organization.

The Communist Party was the dominant political force in Milwaukee. They intended the conference to conclude without making any definite decisions on fall activities. The ultralefts were outmaneuvered in their attempt to schedule a week of civil disruption in Washington, D. C., and the conference ended without a concrete alternative focus to the antiwar demonstrations called for October 31.

The decisions which the conference did reach were of a general non-specific character. These are outlined in the article that appeared in the July 10 issue of *The Militant*. The key decision

for the Communist Party was the establishment of a liaison committee with the Chicago Rank and File Conference, giving them some leverage and flexibility to work out plans for electorally-directed "labor-student-community" activity in the fall.

The New Mobe has not yet died but is in the process of quickly fading away. The Milwaukee conference served to advance this process. No formal structure for implementation or action came out of the conference, with the exception of the liaison committee with the Chicago Rank and File Conference. Even in this case, the membership of the committee was left unspecified. The ultralefts were left without an organizational structure with which their confrontation schemes could be imposed on the movement. Thus the Communist Party has side-stepped a minor obstacle to their efforts at drawing the energies of the movement into the electoral arena.

The call for fall demonstrations coming out of Cleveland now stands as an unambiguous pole of attraction for antiwar activists and for new forces that can be drawn into activity. We have a clear field ahead to implement the decisions reached at Cleveland and build antiwar coalitions on the character of the national Peace Action Coalition.



Our first step must be to afford the widest publicity to the proceedings of the Cleveland conference and to make October 31 a synonym for massive antiwar demonstrations. Literature from the Peace Action Coalition on the conference decisions is already available. An 8-page brochure, which was distributed to the participants of the Milwaukee conference, has been printed. Local antiwar committees and SMC chapters should order quantities of this brochure for immediate circulation. They can be ordered from either the Peace Action Coalition (2102 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115) or from the SMC National Office (15 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y. 10003).

The August 6-9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki period will be the next opportunity to pull together local antiwar forces in demonstrations against the war. These demonstrations are important in maintaining the perspective and continuity of the antiwar movement. In the course of building these actions, we should look toward gathering together the forces for the fall actions. The demonstrations themselves can be an important platform from which to project the October 31 demonstrations.

The Peace Action Coalition will probably develop some literature and a poster to help build the Hiroshima-Nagasaki memorial activities.

Reports on local progress in building the Hiroshima-Nagasaki actions should be sent to the Peace Action Coalition.

CARL FRANK
National Antiwar Director
YSA National Office

Fund Drive Over the Top!

Editor's Note: The Spring Fund Drive ended on June 15. The final compilation of the scoreboard was not available in time to appear in the previous issue of The Young Socialist Organizer.

The Spring 1970 Fund Drive, the largest in the history of the YSA, has been successfully completed going \$256 over the total national quota of \$27,850.* This spring's fund drive has been a milestone in the history of the YSA. It was the biggest and most successful in a number of ways:

1) It had the highest total national quota: \$27,850, as compared to \$24,050 in spring 1969 and \$13,225 in spring 1968.

2) It had the highest total money paid: \$28,106, as compared to \$23,953 in spring 1969 and \$13,296 in spring 1968.

3) It had the greatest number of locals participating. Forty-three locals were listed on the scoreboard, and an additional ten new locals formed since the beginning of the fund drive sent in contributions totaling \$273 (listed on the general scoreboard). In spring 1969 the scoreboard listed 37 locals; in spring 1968 there were 17 locals.

4) It had the greatest participation from at-large members. At-largers from 36 areas sent in \$656. In spring 1969 at-largers from 19 areas sent in \$213. On the final scoreboard of the spring 1968 fund drive there are no contributions listed from at-large members.

5) The local quotas were the largest ever. The "minimum" quota, that is, the quota suggested for a new and relatively small local, was \$100. In spring 1969 this "minimum" was \$25. There is no corresponding figure for 1968 because there were no new, small locals. The increase in quotas of the larger locals is equally dramatic: Boston went from \$900 to \$1400 to \$1700 over the past two years; Los Angeles from \$675 to \$1500 to \$1800, to cite just two representative examples.

As noted in the last fund drive report, it is now extremely important to begin pooling our experience in organizing the fund drive on the local, regional and national levels in order to learn what methods are most effective. This discussion can take place at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference in August and in the written pre-conference discussion in *The Young Socialist Organizer*.

There are several unique features of this fund drive that should be particularly noted for the discussion. One is the fact that, although the quotas for smaller locals were the highest ever, no local that began its fund raising promptly reported any difficulty in meeting the quota. How can we take advantage of the new objective situation to facilitate fund raising outside our own ranks? How have small locals organized themselves to meet these higher quotas?

Another significant aspect of this fund drive is that some of the regional centers have begun viewing the fund drive as part of their regional responsibility, taking steps to collaborate with new locals to help them organize their finances, reporting the fund drive in regional newsletters and sending special letters about the importance of the fund drive to at-large members in their region. What have been the results of these efforts?

Some locals have adopted the "sustainer method" for meeting the fund drive and are sending in regular payments to the National Office spread out over the whole year rather than just during the two three-month fund drive periods. How successful has this been? What reorganization of the local's finances was necessary in order to go on the sustainer system?

What use has been made of charts, graphs, and so on in motivating the comrades to keep up their pledges? What are the pros and cons of various fund-raising projects? These and other

questions about a local's financial organization should be carefully thought out and thoroughly discussed as we prepare for a major offensive to build the YSA this fall.

* * *

The successful completion of the Spring Fund Drive comes at an important stage in the development of the YSA. We are now larger, and growing faster, than at any time in our history. Our correct political perspectives for an enthusiastic building of the ongoing mass movements, along with our general socialist propaganda, have won hundreds of new members to our ranks.

We see ahead of us a period of continuing social crises, of increasing radicalization, of ever-greater opportunities for building the revolutionary socialist movement. We can realistically look forward to making the YSA the dominant political tendency in the student movement.

It is true now, as it has always been true, that one of the major limitations on our ability to expand our activities — if not in fact the greatest single limitation — is that of finances. To keep regional travelers on the road, to maintain full time organizers, to sustain our national organization, to expand our publications, to get our ideas out to the millions of people who are rapidly shedding their illusions about this system — to do these things, the YSA needs money.

Our norms of financial organization are unique. Virtually all of our funds are raised internally. We expect our members to have steady jobs when they are not in school, to contribute regularly and substantially to the organization. We expect our finances on every level to be organized in an efficient, business-like manner.

Our success in this fund drive shows conclusively that we can maintain these norms as we expand rapidly and assimilate many new members and locals. Continuing to do so is one of the keys to building the YSA this fall. This summer, without any significant let-down in our outside activities, we are striving to solidify ourselves politically and also sharpen all our organizational tools. If we make an analysis of the spring fund drive and look at our overall financial functioning as part of this process, we can be confident about meeting our expanding financial needs this fall.

The Spring Fund Drive was an important victory for the YSA. On to the fall offensive!

FINAL FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD

LOCAL	QUOTA	PAID	%
HOUSTON	\$100	\$125	125
SEATTLE	500	614	123
PORTLAND	100	120	120
ATLANTA	550	650	118
PHOENIX	150	175	117
ANN ARBOR	100	112.45	112
CHICAGO	2100	2240	107
BOSTON	1700	1827	107
TWIN CITIES	1500	1600	107
RED HOOK	100	107	107
KANSAS CITY	100	105	105
NEW YORK	3200	3250	102
BERKELEY	1500	1536	102
CLEVELAND	1900	1921.50	101
OXFORD	100	101	101
DETROIT	1900	1900	100
LOS ANGELES	1800	1800	100
PHILADELPHIA	1600	1600	100
SAN FRANCISCO	1600	1600	100
MADISON	825	825	100
WASHINGTON DC	650	650	100
AUSTIN	500	500	100
NEWARK	250	250	100
PROVIDENCE	250	250	100
HAYWARD	150	150	100
WORCESTER	125	125	100
BLOOMINGTON	100	100	100
COLUMBUS	100	100	100
KENT	100	100	100
PATERSON	100	100	100
SAN DIEGO	100	100	100

ST LOUIS	100	100	100
YELLOW SPRINGS	100	100	100
DEKALB	200	189	95
GAINESVILLE	100	54	54
YPSILANTI	100	50	50
BOULDER	200	50	25
ALBANY	100	0	0
BINGHAMTON	100	0	0
E WASHINGTON	100	0	0
MANSFIELD	100	0	0
MILWAUKEE	100	0	0
SAN JOAQUIN	100	0	0
NATIONAL OFFICE	2000	2000	100
GENERAL	600	929.44	155
TOTAL	\$27,850.00	\$28,106.39	101

GENERAL SCOREBOARD

YSA LOCALS:	
DENVER	\$50.00
OBERLIN	50.00
LONG ISLAND	40.00
OSHKOSH	35.00
FULLERTON	30.00
TAMPA	20.00
EL PASO	15.00
UTICA	15.00
FT. WAYNE	10.00
KNOXVILLE	8.00
TOTAL, YSA LOCALS	\$273.00

AT-LARGE AREAS:

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA	\$122.40
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT	100.00
TACOMA, WASHINGTON	65.50
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE	30.00
WEST HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT	30.00
ARLINGTON, TEXAS	25.00
LOGAN, UTAH	25.00
CINCINNATI, OHIO	23.00
NORTH BRIDGTON, MAINE	20.00
LACROSSE, WISCONSIN	17.00
MONMOUTH, ILLINOIS	15.00
NEW CANAAN, CONNECTICUT	15.00
NEW CONCORD, OHIO	15.00
NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS	15.00
CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA	11.50
PITTSBURGH, KANSAS	11.00
FAYVILLE, MASSACHUSETTS	10.00
HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA	10.00
MARION, OHIO	10.00
MARIETTA, OHIO	10.00
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE	10.00
NORRISTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA	10.00
OAKLAND CITY, INDIANA	9.50
AKRON, OHIO	7.00
BIRMINGHAM, MICHIGAN	5.10
BIG BEND, WISCONSIN	5.00
CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS	5.00
ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA	5.00
HEMPSTEAD, NEW YORK	5.00
IOWA CITY, IOWA	5.00
GRAND PRAIRIE, TEXAS	2.00
PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE	2.00
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO	1.90
FLINT, MICHIGAN	1.54
CHESAPEAKE, VIRGINIA	1.50
GLEN ELLYN, ILLINOIS	.50
TOTAL, AT-LARGE AREAS	\$656.44
TOTAL	\$929.44

ANDY ROSE
Fund Drive Director
YSA National Office

*The total quota was given in the last report as \$27,900. Since that time the quota of the Madison local has been lowered from \$875 to \$825.

YSA Pre-Conference Discussion

Detroit Third World Antiwar Report

The impact of the antiwar movement upon Third World communities across the nation has become increasingly obvious to most observers. This impact can be measured in two ways: 1) by the participation of Blacks and other Third World peoples in the organized antiwar movement and its actions and 2) by the depth of assimilation on the part of Third World activists of the strategy and tactics of the antiwar movement.

The fall and spring offensives against the war witnessed a marked increase in Third World participation in antiwar actions. In Detroit, where close to 20,000 turned out for the October 15 demonstration and where school attendance in inner city schools was down over 90%, one fourth of the participants in the march and rally were Third Worlders. Similar developments occurred across the country. Two of the most striking examples are the Chicano Moratorium on the West Coast and the development of the Third World Contingent in San Francisco.

It was around the fall offensive that we began to build a base for future antiwar actions in the Third World community in Detroit. At Highland Park Community College where we had been working since September 1969 the fall offensive laid a good base for the building of a viable SMC. The fall action there was successful and we gained one recruit.

HIGHLAND PARK

Following the February SMC Conference in Cleveland we expanded our work at Highland Park and began antiwar work at Wayne State University around the National Black Referendum. SMC meetings at Highland Park were well attended both by students from the college and students from the high school which adjoins the college building. Meetings ranged in attendance from 12 to 30. Most of the SMCers were active in building the April 15 action and the actions at the college—a petition campaign to turn the school over to antiwar forces April 15 for an antiwar teach-in, a mass meeting March 18 on the war and the Black community, and the antiwar referendum.

Students from the Highland Park SMC were also instrumental in forming and adding life to the Third World Task Force of the citywide SMC. Most of the activists from the Highland Park SMC attended Task Force meetings regularly and did a great deal of work on publicity, banners and posters for the April 15 action and the National Black Referendum.

A projected high school rights campaign at Highland Park High School as well as the Black Referendum at the College were cut short by a student strike there beginning April 13, when most of the students directed their energies towards the defense of a victimized professor. However, most of the students who had been involved in building the SMC at Highland Park attended either the April 15 rally at Wayne State or the rally in downtown Detroit or both, even though the occupation of the student center and picket lines at the College were still going on.

Since April the antiwar action as well as most other political action at Highland Park has

undergone a lull due, most likely, to the inconclusive outcome of the strike there.

WAYNE STATE

At Wayne State where we initiated an Ad Hoc Committee for the Black Referendum we were able to involve at first a dozen or so interested activists as well as gain endorsements from other campus organizations including Black fraternities and sororities. Some of the activists in the Ad Hoc Committee were drawn into the Third World Task Force and helped build the Black Referendum. The lack of participation on the part of the Wayne State Association of Black Students made work on the referendum somewhat difficult. The ABS is the largest and best organized Black student organization on the campus. It also possesses the most material resources.

Because we were not able to build the Black Referendum on a large scale at Wayne State it was cancelled, which was definitely a mistake. This was doubly true in view of the fact that we had ballots, posters and red-black-and-green ballot boxes already prepared. The results of the Black Referendum would have been overwhelmingly in favor of immediate withdrawal as they were in other places. (See *The Militant*, June 19.)

Besides our work on the Black Referendum at Wayne State, we were deeply involved in building the SMC there. The big difference between Wayne State and Highland Park, where the student population is 90% Black, is that at Highland Park the SMC is a predominantly Black organization.

At Wayne State we intervened into meetings of the ABS, always securing verbal support for antiwar actions and conferences but rarely participation in building antiwar actions or attendance at conferences. This was due in part to the ultraleft leadership of the ABS at the time.

The participation of Black students from Wayne State in the April 15 action was not hampered, however, by the lack of support from the ABS. Although the number of Third Worlders participating in the April 15 action was smaller than in October, all who participated did so because of the work of the SMC and were either SMCers or responded to an SMC call for action. A large number of the participants were Black college students.

MAY EVENTS

The May events had a profound impact on the Black student population in Detroit. At Highland Park the SMC and the Student Council sponsored a joint rally which drew between 300 and 500 students. The Dean of the College closed the school, probably more in anticipation of a regeneration of political activity there than in memory of the massacred students. At Wayne the response of Black students to the May events was mixed.

One group, the Black Action Coalition, took the position that the upsurge was cutting across their aims. Hastily put together during the first days of the strike at Wayne, the BAC gave verbal support to the strike demands for immediate withdrawal and the turning over of university facilities to antiwar forces but did nothing

to spread the strike into the Black community. Even this verbal support was elicited only because of our intervention. They finally conceded so that they could get on to "more important business."

Because Wayne State closed it was difficult for us to rally a healthy group of independents around us as a counterweight to BAC. The closing of the school had the same effect on our antiwar work in general.

When the Jackson murders took place, however, we were able to regenerate a certain amount of the momentum of the first days of the May upsurge through our intervention in a coalition of Black groups on campus. This coalition called a mass rally to protest the killings at Jackson State, initiated a petition campaign to get all cops off campus and designated a day of protest during which students were urged to wear arm-bands.

Out of this formation another group crystallized, the Coalition for Black Struggles, the central thrust of which is antiwar. The leaders of the group are members of the All African Peoples Union, whose major spokesman, Dan Aldridge, wrote in the *Michigan Chronicle* last November (under the impact of the fall offensive) that Black activists should get involved in the antiwar movement.

It is too early to say which way this group will go. We plan to continue working in it and pushing for a mass action perspective. Possibly such a group could develop into an SMC-type formation.

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Our plans for the summer are to continue building the SMC at Highland Park, hopefully expanding the Third World Task Force of the SMC into the high schools, and building the Coalition for Black Struggles at Wayne State around concrete actions. The Task Force has been discussing staging rallies in the Black community on a periodic basis as a buildup to a larger mass action. In fact the first of these was planned for May 9 but was cancelled due to our heavy involvement in the Wayne State strike.

Many comrades who were previously inactive or only peripherally active have geared into antiwar work and begun to take on not only a greater share of responsibility in the antiwar movement but in YSA work as a whole. The organizational skills acquired in organizing the antiwar actions can be applied in other instances. Confronting our opponents such as the ABS and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers on the question of mass action against the war has clarified the nature of their politics and revealed the underlying identity between their position and that of such groups as the Progressive Labor Party, the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League, etc.

By continuing our antiwar work over the summer we hope to draw in more forces so that by late summer or early fall we can initiate a successful Black Moratorium on the scale of the West Coast Chicano Moratorium.

NORMAN OLIVER
JOHN HAWKINS
Detroit YSA



Tasks and Perspectives for Atlanta Revolutionaries

Editor's Note: The following article contains major excerpts from a tasks and perspectives report presented to the Atlanta YSA June 14 by YSA organizer John Votava.

WHAT A TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES IS

Before actually beginning the tasks and perspectives report I would like to briefly outline just what a tasks and perspectives is. The reason for this is that about one-third of the present Atlanta YSA has never been involved in such a discussion. This fact, by the way, also serves to point up one of the major themes of this report, that is, our tremendous growth over the last period.

An old axiom of our movement is that without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary practice. It is also true, moreover, that revolutionary theory grows out of revolutionary practice. From day to day and week to week our comrades work very hard to build mass actions against the war, around local campus issues, in the women's liberation movement and in all the areas of activity that we have previously decided, through conventions and meetings such as this, are the crucial areas that revolutionaries want to intervene in.

However, it is precisely because of this hard day to day work that it is incumbent upon us from time to time to assess the general situation and the general direction of our past work. We should ask ourselves certain questions. How accurate was our analysis of the situation the last time we stood back and took an overall look? Were our projections basically correct? How well did we attain the goals we set? If we were successful, why? If not, why did we miss? What new developments have occurred over the last few months that we now have to take into account? What do the next few months look like? What opportunities are there for us? What are the recruitment possibilities? What is our financial situation? How many of the openings that present themselves can we take advantage of? How can we most efficiently organize ourselves to maximize the number of openings we can take advantage of?

In general then our task is to set ourselves an overall course to follow for the next months along with an allocation of forces and resources to accomplish the tasks we set out to achieve.

This is the purpose of a tasks and perspectives report. Normally it only covers the past period and projects for the period immediately ahead. However, in this report I am going to cover what we have achieved in the last year. I think this is merited because our meeting this afternoon is sort of a milestone in the development of the Atlanta YSA. Recapping our progress over this whole period will give us a better perspective in looking forward to the future.

REVIEWING THE LAST PERIOD

There are only three people in this room who were in Atlanta and in the YSA one year ago today. Last June there were twelve comrades in the Atlanta YSA. We had only one comrade on any of the campuses in the city. The only contacts we had were with other radicals of the long established and general SDS type and variety. There were four or five other political tendencies in Atlanta, all of which were either as big as or bigger than us, and all of them had much stronger roots in the Atlanta radical movement. In the antiwar movement, our main area of work, we had to fight every inch of the way to keep the actions single issue, mass oriented, democratic and non-confrontationist. All those questions were touch and go at every antiwar meeting last year. The general political discus-

sion, for example, around the April 5, 1969, demonstration centered on whether it would raise the demand for Southern nationalism.

But what is the situation twelve months later? Our campus work over these months has become qualitatively stronger and has been decisively influential in the campus struggles and activities that have taken place. At Georgia State we were able to build the antiwar movement, initiate a women's liberation group, establish a base for a veterans' group against the war, run an election campaign, set up a Young Socialist supporter group for the Georgia statewide SWP campaign, elect a comrade to the student government, make contact with the Black students and through recruitment of Black students establish a Black work fraction. At Emory University, with numerically limited forces, we were still able to have an important and often decisive influence in the antiwar and student actions on campus. We were also able to establish our name and politics on campus, sell a very large number of subs to *The Militant* and play a major role in the Emory Women's Liberation group.

In the antiwar movement we have helped build the broadest coalition there has ever been in Atlanta. We have been decisive in initiating and organizing the largest antiwar demonstrations Atlanta has ever had. And now the antiwar movement has the beginnings of crucial financial support from both the Alliance for Labor Action and some businessmen. Lastly, the antiwar movement is beginning to draw in certain forces from labor and the Black community.

In the area of women's liberation our analysis that the campus is the key at the present time in building the movement proved correct. We initiated one group at Georgia State and that group held a number of successful forums. We also took an active part in the Emory Women's Liberation group. From that campus we helped build the International Women's Day action. We held a Southeast regional panel on the perspectives of the women's liberation movement. We have also been involved in the Women's Liberation Center downtown. In all these areas we have laid the groundwork for future united front mass actions, while at the same time some of our comrades have become well known public spokeswomen for the movement in Atlanta.

Regionally our work has met with tremendous success. In fact, it is in this area of work that the point about our opportunities far outstripping our physical ability to take advantage of them is clearest. There are five locals in the Southeast besides Atlanta and nine at-large areas.

The Socialist Workers Party, I'm sure everyone is aware, has made a great impact with its campaign in Atlanta and elsewhere in Georgia. Through its campaign our ideas have gotten out to just about every Atlantan and Georgian who reads the papers or watches television. The YSA has played a very significant role in that campaign. At Georgia State a Young Socialist supporter group was established which ran in an election for student government offices. That campaign tied into the SWP campaign and was the basis for concretizing the SWP platform in the minds of a large number of newly radicalizing students. Moreover, it has been through the regional contacts of the YSA that we have been able to set up speaking engagements for our candidates around the state.

Corresponding to this growth and activity has been a growth in our financial situation. Finances, of course, are the key to increased political activity making it possible for us to take advantage of the opportunities that open up for us during the year. It should be noted

that the parallel growth of the YSA politically and financially is not an accident or a coincidence. One could not have taken place without the other. And in the immediate future our political growth cannot proceed without a parallel growth financially.



Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia. Working with SWP to expand every aspect of statewide campaign will be major task for Atlanta YSA.

The result of what we have accomplished over the past year is the following: We are no longer just one of the many political tendencies in Atlanta but rather we are the strongest, numerically the largest, the best known, the most respected and the most effective radical organization in Atlanta. Moreover, we are the tendency most integrated into all aspects of the political scene here.

Internally we are a more stable local, no longer making frequent and major changes of assignments. Because of our growth we have been able to free people up for major assignments in the expanding work of the SWP. In short, we have come a long way from our old headquarters in the rear apartment on 14th street. Our present headquarters is as much a symbol of that growth as the other things previously mentioned.

This is what we have achieved. And this is totally in line with the goals we set for ourselves six months ago, nine months ago and one year ago. Now the question is what are our plans and what steps are we going to take in the immediate future.

TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

First of all is the question of the summer school and the best possible conclusion of any summer school—the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference. We have a large number of new comrades who have never been through a socialist summer school. We also have a large number of people who are part of the socialist struggle in other areas of the South attending the Atlanta summer school. The most important task this summer is the political and organizational education of these cadre. We must motivate and encourage every comrade from the region to do all the reading for the summer school classes and participate actively in the local's work. In this way we will raise the political and organizational level and understanding of both the Atlanta YSA and the regional YSA-ers, the result of which will be strengthening both, by their further interaction now and in the fall.

Key to the completion of this task will be the national discussion of our activities at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference. Every comrade should make every effort to attend as much of this eight day conference as possible. Since attending the conference will be quite expensive, it is necessary that all comrades begin to organize their budgets now.

We are not going to wait until the fall to move heavily into regional work. In line with the national perspective that regional work should have an equal priority with antiwar work, we will be expanding our regional work this summer. Already there is a regional fraction of three people. More comrades will be added in the next week. All correspondence must be regularized.

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... it is precisely because of this hard day-to-day work that it is incumbent upon us from time to time to assess the general situation and direction of our past work.

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A regular newsletter will be put out and biweekly tours planned. We are also going to organize our finances in accordance with this regional perspective.

We are going to lay the groundwork this summer for a massive regional drive in the fall. Included in this perspective is the projection of a full-time regional traveler in the fall.

Lastly, since we want to make regional work the center of our future expansion, all regional mailings and correspondence from all the other fractions should be handled through the regional fraction.

In antiwar work our two tasks are 1) to continue building mass actions and keeping the antiwar movement out of bourgeois politics, and 2) to help build a regional antiwar apparatus. This means establishing SMCs on as many campuses as possible. Here again the summer work will be the preparation for a massive push in the fall. Out of the actions called by the Cleveland Conference and out of the traditional Hiroshima Day actions we must build whatever antiwar organizations can be built in the region and in the city.

Our campus work will be a little limited this summer. Therefore we are not projecting regular campus fractions or work. Our major goal is to see if we can get other people interested in maintaining ongoing antiwar committees. However, we should not forget that the campus remains the base of our activities, the source of building the antiwar movement, the socialist campaign, women's liberation, sales of *The Militant* and our other publications, etc. Therefore we will be assigning one comrade to be responsible for campus work at Emory and Georgia State and assigning other comrades who are free during the day to help out on whatever work there is to do.

We have already reorganized the women's liberation fraction and are getting geared into the coming actions. We are going to build the August 26 action, sponsor debates with the other candidates for office in Georgia, try to build a

Southwide conference in the fall and continue to participate in the Women's Liberation Center. Our basic orientation will be to continue to try to build united front mass actions, constantly involving wider and wider layers of women in the struggle.

On the campaign the SWP has projected increased activity for the summer rather than a lull. The campaign fraction has already been expanded and more people will be added in the next week. Eleven new pieces of literature will be printed and re-printed in the next month.

The YSA's major task in regard to the campaign will be to work closely with the SWP to expand every aspect of the campaign—fund raising, speaking engagements, literature and press relations, etc. More specifically the goal is to establish Young Socialist supporter groups on every campus where we have contacts or endorsers. At the minimum these groups can set up speaking engagements for our candidates, while at the maximum they might run campaigns of their own tying in with the statewide campaign as we did at Georgia State. This type of work calls for a special representative from the YSA to the campaign committee to take charge of youth work and make reports to the YSA.

One area where we have been previously lacking information as well as opportunities to intervene into is the Black struggle. Here our Black comrades are going to play important roles in the next period both working on the campaign fractions to get our socialist ideas a hearing in the Black community and by reporting on the latest developments in the Black communities. In this next period regular reports to the YSA executive committee and to the local will be crucial in developing our intervention in the Black community.

There are just two more areas of work that I want to mention, but both take on a special importance in the coming period. One is the establishment of a contact committee. With the large number of comrades now in the local, along with a growing number of people coming

around literally every day, we must either regularize our attempts to draw these people into our organization and integrate them into the organization or we will suffer, at worst, losing a lot of potential revolutionary activists and, at best, slowing down their development. In view of this it is important that each comrade realize the responsibility that he or she has in the area of contact work. The executive committee is recommending that we establish a contact committee.

Finally we come to finances. We have a good solid budget outlined for the coming months. It should enable us to carry out the work we have planned plus give us the type of bank balance that will permit us to weather any emergencies. In the past year there have been a number of SMC steering committee meetings and other movement gatherings that we could not attend because of the lack of funds. A good bank balance will insure that these opportunities are not missed in the future.

Included in this budget is the payment of a weekly sustainer to the YSA National Office. As some comrades know the SWP does not have a twice yearly fund drive. Instead each branch pledges approximately the amount of money that they would pay during the fund drives. It is easier for a branch to pay that amount over an entire year since the payments are spread out. It is also better for the National Office since their income is regularized. We think it is both desirable and possible for the Atlanta YSA to adopt this method for meeting our financial obligations to the national organization.

This sustainer pledge and the entire projected budget can be successfully undertaken only if we actually achieve the projected budget. That means it is necessary for every comrade to be working and paying a weekly pledge regularly. This is an important goal for every member of the YSA, whether they will be here for the summer or for the next five years.

JOHN VOTAVA
Atlanta YSA

Tips on Pathfinder Press Distribution

Many of the YSA locals and SWP branches around the country have begun to organize sales of Pathfinder Press material to bookstores. Comrades have been assigned as Pathfinder Press sales representatives and have begun to go around to the retail and college bookstores showing our books and getting orders of \$50 to \$100 from the stores. As exciting as this opening to retail bookstores is, another area of sales has begun to develop in a big way—selling books and pamphlets to college professors for use as textbooks or supplemental reading in their classrooms.

We have sold our books to college professors in small quantities for some years now. In the last year, however, these sales have grown larger, reflecting a trend among professors towards the use of more, and a greater variety of, paperback books relating to the current social upheaval in the United States. Most YSAers who are students will recognize this trend. It is particularly developed in sociology where radical books are used extensively. Books on the Black struggle are used in almost every department.

It has only been since the very end of the spring of this year that these types of sales have been promoted and solicited extensively. The initial results of promoting our books are just now beginning to come in. A full report from Pathfinder Press can be expected in August when all the orders are in. One of the representatives from the Boston area is expecting orders from his work at one school to total around \$1,500. Altogether about one hundred campuses were reached this spring by Pathfinder representatives.

In the context of demonstrated interest by professors in our books for classroom use, the YSAers around the country should plan now for a big drive this fall to visit college professors in the schools near each local and get them to buy Pathfinder books for their classes.

Generally, college professors are totally free to choose the material they want to use for classroom instruction. A professor will come across a new book, read it and, if he or she finds it applicable, will send an order to the campus bookstore. The students will then be obliged to buy the book in order to complete

the course. In the book business this type of sale or order from a professor is called an "adoption." College adoptions are usually secured between January and April. The bourgeois publishing houses maintain armies of college travelers who go to the campuses, talk with the professors and show them all the new books. If the professor is interested, the company will send him or her a free examination copy of the book to read and consider for use in the classroom. A free examination copy of a new book is a small matter when the possibility of an adoption of 30 to 1,000 copies of a book is involved.

While the Pathfinder representative cannot hope to compete with the bourgeois textbook armies, our books have a very special appeal and uniqueness alien to regular textbooks—our books are highly relevant. Liberal and radical college professors are desperately searching for books to make their courses more relevant to the students. Thus, the Pathfinder representative is well received and professors show a keen interest in our books, most of which are totally new to them.

As a rule, even on politically underdeveloped campuses, by visiting all the radical and liberal professors and showing them Pathfinder material, the representative can expect to come away with orders totalling several hundred dollars. They key is to find the prospective instructor and properly present the books.

Several ways of locating the radical and liberal professors can be used:

1) Use the college catalog or class schedule, noting down courses which look good and the professor's name.

2) Use the textbook store's official booklist (if available). This list will contain course numbers, professors' names and a list of books used in his or her class.

3) Walk along the textbook shelves observing those courses using radical books. Get the course number and professor's name.

4) Go to the departmental offices. Sometimes the departmental secretaries will be able to supply you with a list of radical or liberal professors when you identify yourself as a radical booksalesman.

5) Once you have at least the course numbers

go to the faculty offices and find the professor's office.

Selling books to professors is different from selling books to bookstores. Our material will basically sell itself when the instructor reads it. After a brief description of the book, which will increase the professor's interest, give him or her a free examination copy of the book you think he or she might be able to use. You should point out its special features and suggest its application in the instructor's class work. This is essential because a book like *Black Voices From Prison* is one thing to an English instructor, another thing to a sociologist and quite another to a criminologist. You must interest him or her in the unique features of the book and stimulate his or her interest in reading it. The professor may, for example, have received ten new Black books that semester and will read two or three at the most. You can either leave a sample of the book with the professor or have it mailed from Pathfinder Press in New York. As the latter process takes several weeks you may want to have samples sent to you from New York to give to college professors.

Be flexible in determining which books to promote. Black books are used in four or five different subject areas. Ethnic studies courses will use socialist material. Sociology instructors will use books more commonly associated with political science or history. Mandel's pamphlet on economics is currently used in sociology, history and economics and could easily be used in government and ethnic studies classes.

While the normal selling season is between September and April, fruitful work can be done during the summer. If you have limited time to sell to professors, establish a priority list such as: ethnic studies, sociology, political science, economics and English. After completing your visit send the professor's name to Pathfinder Press in New York. Pathfinder will place the professor on the national mailing list to be sent flyers on new books and will send the professor any books that you request for him.

JIM KENDRICK
Pathfinder Press Representative
San Francisco

L. A. Counteroffensive

How Revolutionists Defend Themselves

Editor's Note: Regular reports in The Militant have covered the May 27 attack on the Los Angeles YSA and SWP headquarters and the growing defense campaign. The following article analyzes our approach to defense against right-wing terrorism in the U.S. today—how and why we wage a political defense.

On May 27 *gusanos* (Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles) made their sixth attack on the SWP and YSA in two years. A recent wave of escalated right-wing terrorism included similar arsons and murder threats on The Haymarket, a radical coffee house used as a movement center for RYM and other groups, and The Ashgrove, a folk and jazz nightclub used as a meeting place for the International Socialists and others.

Our political perspective prepared us for launching a counteroffensive beginning as soon as the four comrades escaped from the burning headquarters.

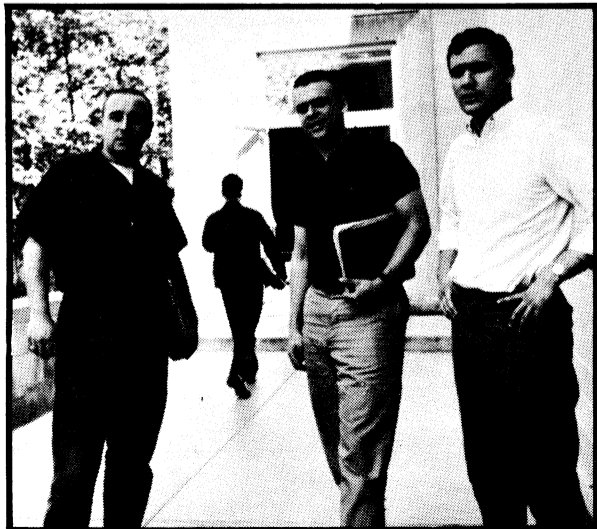
What enables us to respond to these attacks in a positive political way, rather than succumb to subjective reactions of fear and propose all sorts of wild schemes? First, we see the rising radicalization in this period and our ability to win extremely broad support for our right to exist and function openly. This support comes not only from the radicalizing youth but also from others whose pro-civil liberties attitude is encouraged by the growth of the radical movement and the blows that the movement has struck against the McCarthy witch-hunt atmosphere.

Second, while we realize that the continued radicalization necessarily means a polarizing of social forces and will evoke a frustrated response from the right, we also know that our continued growth and ability to function openly and proudly in the mass movements and in the electoral arena is in the long run our best way of repelling such attacks. Should terrorist attacks scare us into an underground stance, we would only be encouraging future attackers having the prospect of blotting out an isolated group.

Third, our movement is rich in historical experience of how to defend itself.

The main way we defend ourselves, in any period, is politically. This basic principle immediately sets the priority of political response over technological response (e.g., turning the headquarters into a fortress, etc.). Technology must be discussed in its proper perspective—as a secondary question—once the political response has been decided. By a political defense we mean the building of a united front defense effort. An injury to one is an injury to all.

From the beginning, in Los Angeles, we launched a two-pronged effort: 1) a civil liberties campaign, and 2) a rebuilding campaign. We helped initiate the Citizens Committee for the Right of Free Political Expression. The Committee's purpose is to: "mobilize a campaign of public pressure and legal action to secure the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the May 27, 1970, arson and attempted murder attack on the election headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party," and to solicit financial support for this campaign.



Bloomington 3. Defense of Bloomington students charged by witch-hunting prosecutor was first major defense campaign of the YSA.

We were projecting a campaign to pressure the city authorities and the cops to capture and convict the *gusanos* responsible, demanding that they enforce their own laws. Yet at the same time we knew that the police were cooperating with the *gusanos*, if not actively, then at least by their record of not going anything to catch the perpetrators of the past five attacks on our movement.

This seems at first to be a contradiction. How could we demand that people implicated in the crime, the agents of the class enemy, the cops, capture the *gusanos*?

To resolve this contradiction we must understand the nature of bourgeois democracy and how the American ruling class maintains itself in power. At this time, in this country, the capitalists rule not by direct force of arms but primarily by means of illusions. The main illusion is that ours is a democratic society, that we have a government which represents all the people. Keeping up this illusion means that the ruling class is limited in how it can deal with dissent. The masses of people really believe that even those who disagree with the government have a right to express their dissent. Because, in its own self-interest, the ruling class needs to keep up this facade, it is very susceptible to the pressure of public opinion.

A general unleashing of right-wing terror at this time (despite the contention of some radicals that this has actually happened, that we live under fascism, etc.) would severely impair the government's claim that this society is completely democratic. While it is true that the ruling class is cultivating, now as always, certain elements which could play a role as fascist gangs, it wants to have control over when and how these gangs are used. The ruling class and the city government of Los Angeles certainly do not frown on the *gusano* activities, but a broad public campaign can make it too politically costly for the authorities to continue to wink at these attacks.

We cooperate with police efforts to track down the *gusanos* not because we think the police are seriously interested in enforcing the law, but in order to establish a record of cooperation that lays the basis for forcing them to act, or else exposing them for their inaction.

Another question we had to consider was that of armed self-defense. The basic consideration is the level of the mass movement we function in. Are masses of people ready to arm themselves for defense against right-wing attacks? Do masses of people see such armed self-defense as necessary? Would such a policy win broad support from the population or would it serve to cut off support? Could it provide a pretext for a police raid on our headquarters? Merely to raise the question in the context of our present situation is to see what course we must take.



Minneapolis 18, led by James P. Cannon and the late V. R. Dunne (hand to chin). Campaign waged by the Civil Rights Defense Committee in behalf of leaders of the SWP and Local 544 was classic example of how revolutionists defend themselves.

The right of armed defense is a principle to revolutionaries, but its use in any particular situation is a tactical question. We are not pacifists. We reserve the right to use any means necessary to defend ourselves, but we want to use the *best means*, the means that correspond to the level of the people we are trying to reach. To substitute the armed self-defense of the vanguard for the armed self-defense of the masses would be suicidal. The ruling class is looking for a pretext to attack us and we don't need to provide that handle for them.

We have no intention of sacrificing the advantages of an open public headquarters and socialist bookstore in order to make our hall into an armed fortress. This would only isolate us and narrow our appeal.

Our ultraleft opponents in Los Angeles argued that the Citizens Committee was a great way of reaching the liberals but that within the movement we needed something more than that—a mutual aid armed defense set up, for example. This gave us the opportunity to explain that civil liberties are a vital issue to socialists, that socialists must be in the forefront of the fight to defend and extend civil liberties, that civil liberties to the extent that they exist are the products of mass struggles, that despite ultra-left romanticism about "going underground" the revolutionary socialist movement is best built when it enjoys freedom of speech, assembly, etc.

With this understanding of the nature of and need for a political defense, we opened up a vigorous defense effort that is progressing rapidly. The sponsorship of the Citizens Committee is very broad, including Los Angeles City Councilmen, ACLU dignitaries, top union officials, professors, Third World leaders and almost every section of the radical movement. And this is only the beginning. We are organizing delegations to confront the district attorney and demand that the original charges of attempted murder be brought against the *gusanos*. We are also organizing a delegation to the *L. A. Times* to demand editorial statements against *gusano* terrorism and better news coverage of the attacks. We are continuing our drive for prominent sponsors. We are churning out information and fact sheets about the case and encouraging others to help distribute these materials. We are urging our sponsors to write letters to the newspapers, write editorials, raise money, etc. We are establishing a reward fund for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the criminals.

Our campaign has already achieved concrete results. For the first time in any of these attacks the police have let us try to identify the attackers in lineups. Three suspects picked up

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after the attack on The Ashgrove will have a pre-trial hearing on July 6, and one of them is charged with the arson of our headquarters.

In addition to working with the Citizens Committee, we have responded clearly in our own name. We held a press conference the morning after the attack in the burned out headquarters. We solicited and received solidarity statements from a very broad section of the movement. Plus we have had speaking and TV engagements. We began a rebuilding fund, wrote a fund appeal letter and were able to get prominent individuals like Terrence Hallinan, Charles Gary, John T. Williams and others, to sign it. We had a successful fund raising party three days after the attack, on the night of the May 30 antiwar demonstration. (We project raising

the money needed to rebuild the headquarters from outside the YSA and SWP.)

Although we have maintained a mobilization spirit to rebuild the headquarters in time for a grand reopening celebration to defend the Cuban revolution, two months after the attack, we are not letting down at all in our routine areas of work or in our functioning in the mass movements.

By the time the headquarters is back in perfect shape, by the time we have recruited the independents who are drawing closer to us because they are impressed by our response to the attack, our combativeness and our lack of demoralization, by the time we see the full weight of the Citizens Committee bearing on the city authorities, we will be able to say that

we turned a potential defeat into a victory for our movement.

It will be a victory not only for us but for the radical movement as a whole, which can learn from our example and be better able to respond to terrorist attacks in a principled, political manner.

CAROLE SEIDMAN
Los Angeles YSA

Citywide SMC Built in Houston

Editor's Note: The following article originally was scheduled for publication in The YS Organizer before the May general student strike. Shifts in the schedule and the priority events placed on other items meant postponing its publication until now. Even though it was written before May, we believe the generalizations the article makes remain relevant and valuable for YSAers and YSA locals building the SMC in other areas.

Houston, Texas, is a traditionally conservative southern city that witnessed its first antiwar march on November 9, 1969 with a crowd of 2,000. The antiwar committees, which have functioned intermittently in Houston, were the Houston Committee to End the War—a group of retired and professional liberal types, and the University of Houston Committee to End the War, which had never been able to mobilize students on the campus due to the lack of democracy and organization within the group.

On April 12, however, Houston had a city-wide march and rally of 3-4,000. This action, the largest ever held in Houston, was almost exclusively the result of the Houston city-wide SMC, which had only been organized for two months. In the course of building this action, the SMC established contacts in every high school and college campus in Houston, in addition to setting up four high school SMCs. The SMC had also initiated a vigorous campaign for high school rights and it sponsored a High School Rights Conference on May 9.

The Houston YSA was formally organized in January, 1970. Because of the lack of a viable student antiwar group in Houston, YSAers set about building an SMC. We hope that this outline will help other new locals in their antiwar work. These are the steps we took:

1) Set up a meeting. We urged antiwar students to attend the SMC Cleveland conference and we invited them to participate in holding a discussion meeting after the conference. To publicize this meeting we leafleted at a rock concert which many high school students attended, and at the University of Houston.

2) The SMC meeting endorsed a mass action in April. At the first meeting plans for an April city-wide mass action were discussed and endorsed. The formal establishment of an SMC was agreed upon and plans were made for another meeting. The people attending this first meeting leafleted and publicized the following meeting.

3) The SMC participated in building a Peace Coalition in Houston. The SMC was instrumental in calling for a Peace Coalition, in which the UHCEW, the HCEW, students from Rice University and the University of St. Thomas, and the Moratorium participated. This coalition

obtained legal counsel to successfully challenge two reactionary laws in Houston banning all parades which did not have "a broad patriotic appeal," and allowing the District Attorney to set prohibitive and discriminatory insurance requirements on antiwar marches.

4) The SMC cooperated in building an action during antidraft week, emphasizing the importance of a mass action. A speaker was obtained from the national SMC office. Many new students were drawn into the SMC through involvement in leafleting, painting signs, and other work for the march and rally.

5) The SMC pressed for an April mass action within the Peace Coalition. After antidraft week the leadership of the UHCEW and the HCEW opposed a mass action in April, despite votes of both of the committees as a whole to sponsor a march and rally. The SMC then took the initiative. We obtained the permit for the march and passed out five thousand leaflets with the date of the march on them. Once the SMC had shown enthusiasm in working for the action, the entire Peace Coalition set about implementing the plans for April 12. A YSAer-SMCer was asked to be the chairman of the Peace Coalition and to speak at the demonstration.

6) The SMC was built through focusing on the April action. We called contacts in every high school in Houston. These high schoolers passed out 40,000 leaflets in their high schools for April 12, despite extremely repressive rules against leafleting in the high schools. High schoolers also sold the *Student Mobilizer* and SMC buttons in their schools. SMCs were organized in four high schools. Because antiwar committees are not allowed in the high schools, the students met in their homes or in parks, often circulating news of the meetings by word of mouth. In addition, the SMC helped arrange the speakers list, take the collection, make the signs and banners, organize the monitors, and lead the march on April 12.

7) Because eight to ten high schoolers were victimized for passing out leaflets in their schools, ranging from suspensions to expulsions, a Student Rights Campaign is being initiated with a conference and fund-raising on May 9.

8) After April 12, the SMC called for a demonstration to coincide with Agnew's visit to Houston in late May. The SMC plans to continue its activities through the summer.

The following are some lessons we learned while organizing the SMC:

1) To decentralize the SMC. Other large cities might

benefit from our experience in Houston. Because Houston is such a large city—1,302,000 people—with areas of the city fifty miles apart, we changed our perspective from large mass meetings of high schoolers to smaller meetings of one representative from each school. We encouraged local SMC meetings, and we offered to come to a local high school and help them organize a local meeting. We also helped them make leaflets to publicize these meetings, as well as giving them buttons, posters, and literature from the national SMC.

2) To act independently. The SMC decided not to wage a factional struggle within the UHCEW, where we were red-baited and bureaucratically excluded from decision-making. Nor did we carry out a fight in the steering committee of the Peace Coalition, where conservative members tried to block mass actions. Rather we took the initiative in launching a mass action in April, which clearly appealed to the membership of all the groups in the Peace Coalition. By working within the perspective of mass action, the SMC gained the leadership of the entire antiwar movement in Houston—including the university segment where we had not been strong before.

3) To continually educate in the SMC meetings. The SMC in Houston was built through continuous actions. Our meetings were geared to getting the tremendous amount of work done in a business-like way. We found that we should have spent more time in educating around the issues of mass actions and ultraleftism, however. At one point, the ex-SDS group invaded a Peace Coalition meeting en masse and demanded three speakers for the rally April 12. The sympathy of several SMCers swung the vote to allow these ultralefts to speak.

4) That the entire YSA antiwar fraction should be involved in making the decisions about how the YSA is to be involved in the SMC. Continual discussions were held about the policy and actions of the SMC in the YSA antiwar fraction, especially when the leaderships of the other antiwar groups refused to build for a mass action in April. The decision-making never fell on one person alone.

The YSA gained tremendous respect from antiwar activists in the Peace Coalition and on the campuses in Houston for the way the SMC was organized. They admired the efficiency, hard work, and democratic spirit of the YSAers in the SMC, and hopefully, in the future, these activists will be fertile ground for recruitment to the Houston YSA.

ANNE SPRINGER
Houston YSA

Mass Upsurge Eliminates ROTC

In the campus workshop as well as in the plenary sessions of the National Emergency Conference in Cleveland, speaker after speaker from PL-SDS claimed that their method of fighting campus complicity with the war, namely confrontationist adventures and "rip-offs" involving only a few participants, was the only effective tactic. Trashing ROTC offices, they stated, would result in the abolition of ROTC while mass actions involving a broad spectrum of participants were nothing more than "sell-outs." The successful struggle against ROTC at New York University exposes this claim as pure nonsense.

The anti-ROTC campaign at NYU, which had been led by SDS for the past four years, reached its climax last October 15 when a small band of ultralefts wrecked the Army ROTC offices—their contribution to the Moratorium Day actions, which centered around an SMC-sponsored rally that drew some 5,000 persons. The result of the ultraleft attack on the ROTC office was three-fold: 1) the administration gave ROTC a bigger and better office, 2) several leaders of SDS and Transcen-

dental Students (an amorphous collection of students holding varying degrees of ultraleft and Maoist beliefs) were victimized and 3) the Young Republicans gathered about 2,000 signatures on a petition supporting ROTC's presence on campus.

On that very same day, however, the NYU SMC launched an intensive program to gather massive support against ROTC. A petition was circulated, teach-ins were held and basic information about the nature of ROTC training was published. The campus newspaper proved to be a highly effective tool for educating the campus about ROTC. In March the ROTC staff was challenged to a debate by the NYU SMC. They refused to attend, further discrediting themselves in the eyes of the students. Finally, the crucial stage was reached in May when NYU joined the nationwide student strike.

All fifteen colleges of NYU supported the strike. Mass meetings in each of them voted overwhelmingly for the immediate abolition of ROTC. In Washington Square College (the largest of the fifteen) virtually every academic department demanded the abolition of ROTC as

students and faculty members joined forces to form one of the most effective antiwar universities in the country. During the second week of the strike the Strike Coordinating Committee, which included representatives of the SMC and YSA, sent a resolution to the University Senate demanding that ROTC be removed from campus within 24 hours. Sixteen hours later the Senate voted to remove all ROTC facilities and offices from the campus immediately and to terminate the Army and Air Force ROTC contracts by June of 1971.

During this massive upsurge SDS and their allies were engaging in their usual confrontationist adventures and other ultraleft activities, successfully isolating themselves from the vast majority of the striking students.

It was only through the persistent and at times frustrating work of building a mass movement that ROTC was finally eliminated from New York University.

FRANK MANNING
New York YSA

young socialist the organizer

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

EDITOR: FRANK BOEHM

BUSINESS MANAGER: MARTY RUDENSTEIN

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JULY 22, 1970

British Women's Liberation Activist to Tour U.S.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance will be jointly sponsoring a tour this summer for Jo O'Brien, a leader of the British women's liberation movement.

Jo O'Brien is a member of the editorial board of *Socialist Woman*, a British women's liberation magazine which has been published for about a year.

The topic of the tour will be the British women's liberation movement, including information on recent struggles of women workers in Britain, the role of the trade unions in women's equal rights struggles, the meaning of the Equal Pay bill proposed by the Labour Party, abortion reform in Britain and the activities of the women's liberation groups.

Jo O'Brien has recently returned from a three week tour of Czechoslovakia, and will also be able to answer questions on the situation of women in that country.

A tour schedule is printed below. The reason we were not able to include all areas in the schedule is that she will be traveling on a special charter flight for only a three week period. Comrades from other areas not included on the tour schedule will be able to meet and talk with Jo O'Brien at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference August 9-15 in Oberlin, Ohio.

It is very important that we take the financial side of this tour seriously so that it will pay for itself. It will be more difficult to raise speakers' fees from universities during the summer, so comrades should begin immediately to apply for honorariums.

In addition to campus meetings, Jo O'Brien can speak at our regular public forums and before meetings of citywide women's liberation coalitions or groups, asking for a donation from women who attend to cover the travel expenses.

The tour quota of \$50 from each stop is a minimum to be raised. All honorariums raised from the tour should be sent to the Socialist Workers Party national office, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

DATE	AREA	QUOTA
JULY 24, 25	NEW YORK	\$50
26, 27	BOSTON	50
28, 29	TORONTO	50
30, 31	CLEVELAND	50
AUG. 1, 2	DETROIT	50
3, 5	CHICAGO	50
6, 7	MINNEAPOLIS	50
8	TRAVEL	
9-14	OBERLIN	
15	RETURN TO LONDON	

CAROLINE LUND
YSA National Executive Committee