

young socialist the organizer

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YSA PLENUM REPORTS

OBERLIN CONFERENCE: AUG. 8-15

The art of politics
consists in knowing what
to do next; that is, how to
apply the program of Marx-
ism to the specific situation
of the day.

JAMES P. CANNON



Welcome to the 1970
SOCIALIST ACTIVISTS
& EDUCATIONAL
CONFERENCE



20 Cents

Oberlin Socialist Activists Conference

Plans are moving ahead for the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference at Oberlin College August 8-15. This issue of *The YS Organizer* includes the schedule of classes and lectures plus some new information on the organization of the conference.

All comrades are urged to use the excellent campus facilities for housing which cost \$4.25 per day. There is only a limited amount of less expensive housing and no free housing.

Comrades planning to camp will need cars. Sites in Findley State Park, which was also used at the Oberlin conference last year, cost \$1.75-\$2.00 per night. Access to cheap housing will be determined on the basis of need. Comrades must provide their own sleeping bags or blankets. Air mattresses will be sold.

Free childcare will be available, staffed as last year by the parents and volunteers. Comrades who wish to arrange for professional childcare should immediately contact Mrs. Wynn, RD 2, Grafton Rd., Oberlin, Ohio; phone, (216) 775-3116.

All comrades must eat in the Oberlin cafeteria. The cost is \$4.25 per day for three meals.

The conference is open to all YSAers and to sympathizers or close contacts who have been invited by a YSA local. There will be an \$8 registration fee for YSAers and other invited guests.

The possibilities for the growth of the YSA during this period are greater than ever before. The Socialist Activists and Educational Conference in Oberlin will be the culmination of our experiences this spring and summer. At Oberlin we will tool up our movement for all the activities of the fall offensive which, along with our participation in the mass movements, includes several major YSA-building campaigns in such areas as recruitment, sales, regional work and finances.

At the Oberlin Conference we want to examine every aspect of our work—locally, regionally, and nationally—in order to best prepare ourselves for the fall. Comrades from around the country will have the opportunity to learn and

share their experiences in building the YSA and the mass movements.

The Oberlin conference will begin with five days of delegated proceedings at which all the political positions of the American Trotskyist movement will be thoroughly discussed. The last three days of the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference will provide comrades with a chance to get together in workshops, panels, and national antiwar, women's liberation, Black and Chicano fractions, in addition to the series of classes. In addition the YSA film will have its premiere showing at Oberlin.

One of the highlights of the week's activities will be the kick-off rally for the SWP 1972 Presidential campaign. The rally will be held Thursday, August 12, in Cleveland and will feature as speakers Farrell Dobbs, Fred Halstead, Clifton DeBerry, Evelyn Reed, Cindy Jaquith, and the candidates, who will be announced at that time.

Representatives from the antiwar, feminist, Black and Chicano movements will give statements of support for the campaign. This rally is being built as a public meeting and every comrade from Oberlin will be coming to the Sheraton Cleveland Hotel at 8 p.m. to be present for the opening rally of our biggest campaign ever.

Attendance by all YSA members at the conference is the key political task for the summer. All comrades should attend and a special effort should be made to see that YSAers from the region and at-large areas are brought to the conference. This national gathering of our movement to discuss the major political questions facing revolutionists will be invaluable preparation for the fall offensive to build the YSA.

EDUCATIONAL SESSIONS

The educational program of the conference, which will take up the central issues of world politics today, will serve as the culmination of the local socialist summer schools.

There will be seventeen class series, each consisting of two or three sessions. Since there will

be time for only three series each day, five or six classes will be going on simultaneously. Following is a list of the classes and lecturers.

- 1) *The History of British Trotskyism*—Susan Williams
- 2) *The Background of the Crisis in Ireland and Perspectives*—Gerry Foley
- 3) *Dynamics of the Revolution in the Mideast*—Peter Buch
- 4) *The Quebec Independence Struggle*—lecturer to be announced
- 5) *Prospects for the French Revolution*—lecturer to be announced
- 6) *Aspects of the Current Radicalization*—Caroline Lund
- 7) *Current Debates in the Women's Liberation Movement*—Evelyn Reed
- 8) *Socialist Electoral Policy from Debs to the 70s*—Doug Jenness
- 9) *The Marxist Theory of the National Question*—Tony Thomas
- 10) *Applying the Transitional Program*—George Novack
- 11) *The SWP and the Struggle Against the Vietnam War*—Carol Lipman
- 12) *An Overview of Party History Since the 1950s*—Harry Ring
- 13) *Party Structure and Organizational Principles*—Lynn Henderson
- 14) *Revolutionary Socialism vs. Popular Frontism*—Les Evans
- 15) *Labor History and Trends, and Stalinism and Trotskyism in the Labor Movement*—Frank Lovell
- 16) *The Basics of Marxist Economics*—Dick Roberts
- 17) *Culture and Revolution*—George Weissman

FRANK BOEHM
YSA National Chairman

Building the Fall Antiwar Offensive

The antiwar movement has now completed a of discussions and conferences resulting in a common calendar of actions for the fall. This agreement is expressed in a joint statement issued by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice calling for a series of actions which will culminate in massive regional actions on November 6.

A formal agreement of this character at this early stage of building the actions is a significant achievement. It creates the basis for a rapid expansion of the organized support to the antiwar movement, and especially those forces committed to mass, peaceful demonstrations around the "Out Now" demand. In the context of the deepened anger at the war in the wake of the Pentagon Papers, the possibility clearly exists to organize truly historic actions on November 6.

It is important to keep in mind that the agreement on a common set of actions in no way constitutes a strategic shift by the Communist Party. They have not given up their multi-issue line, their commitment to "set the date" or any other position.

Their agreement, however, to participate in a unified fall antiwar calendar presents significant opportunities for NPAC and the SMC. By working with the CP, the antiwar movement can ensure the broadest possible support for the November 6 action.

How far the Communist Party will be forced to go in turning their formal endorsement into active building of Nov. 6 depends in large measure on our ability to make the action into a broadly endorsed, well-publicized, mass action. The key to the most massive antiwar activity in the fall on all dates, but especially on November 6, lies in the immediate steps in local areas to build and organize for November 6.

Our central task is to begin to draw together

the broadest possible endorsement of and participation in the planning and organizing for November 6. The logic of the PCPJ's endorsement of Nov. 6, and the agreement on other action dates, points in the direction of a unified organizing committee, including common offices, leading bodies, and even common staff. This efficient way to organize those actions agreed to by both groups.

Within the framework of such joint committees, however, we are in favor of maintaining and strengthening NPAC local affiliates and the SMC as the mass action, "Out Now" wing of the coalition. The PCPJ forces will also want to maintain their own organizational identity.

It is to our advantage to see the political debate between the various elements of the antiwar movement take place within the context of joint planning for the fall actions. We can anticipate and should prepare ourselves for an intensified debate over the central issues facing the antiwar movement.

We think NPAC and SMC should take the initiative towards setting up such formations in local and regional centers. These initiatives should be in the form of well thought out proposals that provide for working unity around common dates, and also allow for the continuation of the distinct coalitions.

In areas where the PCPJ exists, we favor the local PACs and SMCs trying to involve PCPJ directly in united planning bodies. Where PCPJ does not exist, we favor going to those organizations and milieus which generally support PCPJ with the same aim in mind. Central to the success of these formations will be the involvement of new forces that can now be mobilized in action such as certain trade unions, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asianguis, women's organizations, GI and veterans groups,

gay groups, student governments, etc.

Optimally, we would like to see the Oct. 13, Oct. 25, and Nov. 6 actions all planned by joint organizing committees. Oct. 13 and Oct. 25 can be important and useful actions in themselves, especially if they are planned as actions designed to set broader forces in motion in preparation for Nov. 6.

The SMC will play a vital role in this fall offensive. The building of massive, independent antiwar actions will depend in great measure on the SMC's success in mobilizing students in action as the left wing of the movement. The Oct. 13 action is a valuable date for an initial focus for the SMC's big push on the high schools and campuses in preparation for Nov. 6 and the Nov. 3 student strike.

The recent NPAC convention's success is the launching pad for this fall offensive. The NPAC convention was the largest, broadest coalition convention in the history of the antiwar movement. NPAC's authority must now be used to further the broadening of the antiwar movement. Several key tasks are now before NPAC and the SMC: 1. Plans and concrete steps toward the formation of unified fall offensive organizing committees should be made. 2. Immediate steps should be taken to gain endorsement and publicity for Nov. 6 and other fall action dates. 3. Initial plans for the Nov. 6 actions should be made, and the SMC should immediately begin planning a mammoth reach-out campaign on a regional scale to set up new high school and college chapters as schools reopen.

DAVE FRANKEL
YSA Antiwar Director

Organization Report

Editor's Note: We are reprinting in this issue the Organization Report and The Young Socialist Organizer Report which were unanimously approved by the recent National Committee plenum of the YSA, held in New York City, July 5-8. These reports outline the major campaigns which the YSA will be undertaking in the fall. In the next issue of The Young Socialist Organizer, we plan to reprint the Financial Report to the plenum.

This report is intended to focus in on the building of the YSA itself in the context of the various campaigns that have been laid out in the other reports to the plenum. In talking about building the YSA, we are primarily talking about six interrelated tasks:

- 1) Building our base on the campuses and high schools and establishing ourselves as the center of political life on the campuses and high schools.
 - 2) Getting out our program through a full range of socialist propaganda activities, including sales of our press, sub drives, literature tables, forums and classes, and election campaigns.
 - 3) Recruiting students and other youth to the YSA.
 - 4) Educating and training our members as YSA cadres—leaders of the YSA and the mass movements.
 - 5) Expanding the YSA geographically through regional work, including both recruiting new locals and at-large members and then consolidating and developing them.
 - 6) Strengthening the national center of the YSA.
- This work of building the YSA is the most important work that we do—it is at the center of all our work because it is the key to overturning this whole rotten capitalist system. Building the YSA is also essential in order to build the movements that have emerged in this radicalization so far into mass independent movements capable of winning their demands.

THE YSA AND THE MASS MOVEMENTS

Unlike the sectarians who counterpose their own grouplets to the mass movements, we see building the YSA and building the mass movements as complementary, not contradictory.

We fully support the goals and demands of these movements and we know that every victory they win is a victory for revolutionists, because it is a blow struck against the capitalist system. In a very direct sense as well, we can build the YSA *by* building the mass movements, because as these movements develop and involve more people in struggle, those people radicalize further and further.

This fall, for example, thousands of women will become involved in the abortion repeal campaign who had never before considered themselves feminists, radicals, or socialists at all. As they work in the campaign, they will come to understand more about the real causes and extent of their oppression. They will begin to question other aspects of this society and they will begin to be open to socialist answers. Many of them will go on to join the YSA.

One of the reasons they will join us rather than some other radical tendency is because they will see in practice that YSAers are the most active and consistent builders of the abortion repeal campaign.

Experience shows that we get most of our recruits out of our deep involvement in the mass movements. This spring, more than 50 percent of our recruitment was from working in the antiwar movement. Of the women we recruited, 36 percent came from antiwar work and 36 percent from women's liberation.

The other side of the relationship between the YSA and the mass movements is that the expansion in size and influence of the YSA is a vital factor for the success of these movements.

We say that we, the revolutionary socialists, are the only ones who can provide a correct leadership for these movements not out of arrogance or any messianic complex, but because we know that in our program and analysis lies the only correct understanding of the contradictions of capitalism that created these movements. Our program embodies decades of experience of the socialist and labor movements all over the world and enables us to develop strategies for building these movements so that they avoid the mistakes of the past.

THE YSA AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

When you look at our central goal of overturning capitalism in the U.S. and on a world scale and instituting an entirely new social system, you can really see why building the YSA is our most important task.

History is full of examples of revolutionary or pre-revolutionary situations that were stifled, defeated, or betrayed because of incorrect leadership—because the revolutionary socialists were not strong enough to take the leadership. Taking on and defeating the American ruling class will be the most difficult task of all and will require a theoretically and organizationally prepared leadership.

Leading the oppressed nationalities and the working class in a successful socialist revolution will require a mass revolutionary socialist party. We do not aspire to become that party. We think that a revolutionary party already exists in the U.S., although not a mass one yet, and that is the Socialist Workers Party. We are in political agreement with the SWP and we support and help to build it.

At the same time, we see that the current radicalization is deepest among the youth and especially students, and it is in this layer that all the movements generated by the radicalization so far have drawn their leaders and best activists. There is a basis for building an independent socialist youth organization which can build the party and help the party in leading the socialist revolution.

The YSA can attract thousands of young militants who have not yet fully worked out their political beliefs and who are not yet committed to a perspective of becoming lifetime revolutionists, but who are willing to engage in political activity with the revolutionary movement. In the YSA, these militants can gain experience and training to become professional revolutionists.

Our goal is to build the YSA into a mass organization and win hegemony among radicalizing youth. We feel that is a realizable goal.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE YSA

In order to carry out its tasks there are several important characteristics the YSA must have. First is programmatic clarity and homogeneity around the program of revolutionary Marxism. The program is the basic foundation of the YSA.

The YSA must be a centralized, national organization in order to be the most effective political force. Our centralism enables us to throw the weight of our entire membership into campaigns we support.

The YSA must be fully democratic in its decision making. The democratic aspect of democratic centralism is necessary to ensure the maintenance of a correct political perspective and it is also the only way to maintain our centralism. In a voluntary organization like the YSA, centralism and discipline can only be based on political homogeneity, and political homogeneity can only come from having full discussions among the entire membership and then democratically deciding our political orientation.

The YSA must have a multi-national composition. Within the United States there exist several oppressed nationalities, each with its own particular type of oppression and each with its own dynamic of struggle. We support self-determination for all of these nationalities. We support their independent organization. But their struggle for self-determination, the working class struggle for socialism, and the struggles of other sectors of the population for an end to their own specific oppression and exploitation under capitalism all have a common enemy—the American ruling class. To lead these struggles to final victory through a successful socialist revolution, the revolutionary party and youth organization must unite anticapitalist fighters from all nationalities and all sectors of the oppressed on the basis of one revolutionary program.

The characteristics just cited are the same as some characteristics of the revolutionary party. It is also important to understand how the YSA differs from the party.

First, of course, the YSA is a *youth* organization. The YSA is independent and has no formal ties with any other organization, although we are in political solidarity with, and collaborate with, the SWP. Approximately 27 percent of the

members of the YSA are also SWP members.

As a youth organization, the YSA is more open and easier to join. This relatively open character of the YSA—this receptivity to taking in newly radicalizing young people—must be maintained, just as our program and organizational norms must be maintained, if the YSA is to play the most effective role in the coming American revolution.

LEADERSHIP

The YSA seeks to develop its own qualified leadership. Our concept of leadership is that of the leadership team—not the system of individual "stars" or of pretending to have no leadership at all. In such a team the strengths and weaknesses of individuals are balanced against each other so that the team as a whole is much stronger than just the sum of the individuals.

We do not see the leadership as consisting of specialists from various areas of work. An executive committee in which one person reports on and discusses nothing but antiwar work, while another relates only to women's liberation and another only to finances, is not a well-functioning exec. Each exec member should be thinking about and discussing all areas of the YSA's work and the exec as a whole should be overseeing all these areas of work. It is only in this way that the collective abilities of the entire team are brought to bear on all problems.

By the same token, we do not elect an executive committee on the basis of selecting one person from each fraction or committee. Each individual should be elected on the basis of his or her own leadership abilities.

These concepts of leadership hold true from the National Committee to the executive committee of a newly formed local of five members. All locals, even the newest and smallest, should aim to develop such a functioning leadership team.

So far this report has reviewed some basic concepts about the nature and goals of the Young Socialist Alliance. What the National Executive Committee is proposing, and what will be concretely laid out in the remainder of the report, is that this fall we undertake the biggest campaign in our history—a mammoth fall offensive to build the YSA.

RECRUITMENT

Building the YSA means above all recruitment. Before taking up the specifics of the fall recruitment drive, it is important to review what the YSA's attitude toward recruitment is. There are two ideas about recruitment that sometimes arise that we would like to take up.

First is the idea that we should tighten up on recruitment, that we should not be quite as open as we have tried to be in taking in new people. This attitude sometimes crops up in locals that have taken in a large number of new members and at the same time experienced a fairly high turnover rate. Comrades may feel that tightening up on recruitment will help alleviate this turnover in membership.

Certain organizational steps flow naturally from this attitude—such as having candidate programs, or requiring that prospective members must have read a very broad selection of our basic works. Such steps move in the direction of making the YSA more like the party—of making joining the YSA almost like joining the party.

That is just the opposite of the direction in which we want to be heading. The YSA is not the same as the party—neither is it just a junior version of the party. The YSA aims to recruit hundreds of thousands of young people who have begun to radicalize and are willing to participate in revolutionary political action. We are not out to recruit only tested Bolsheviks.

People join the YSA on the basis of agreement with our program and agreement to work to put the program into practice. That does not mean that new members must be familiar with all the details of our program on every question before they join. Rather, if someone comes around the YSA, reads the campaign literature and some of the basic statements on our program, and agrees with what she or he reads, then we want that person in the YSA.

The "tighten up" attitude goes hand in hand with what can only be described as a mythical view of the history of the YSA, and a longing

for some imagined good old days, when we were fewer, but better.

Like all myths, this one contains a couple of elements of truth. It is true that the YSA was much smaller then—but the reason it was smaller was that very few people were willing to join. It is also true that people who joined the YSA five or six years ago tended to have read more before joining than most new recruits today. But again, this was simply because the radicalization was less developed at that time. The mass movements, which today provide activists with proof of the correctness of our program, had not appeared or were only beginning. Just about the only way a person could be convinced to join the YSA was if she or he had done a lot of reading.

Several years ago, nearly all locals had candidate programs. The reason for having these programs was to make it easier for people to join the YSA—not to try to screen people out.

Today the situation is different. Millions of students have at one time or another been involved in some form of independent political action. Anticomunist ideology has been seriously weakened. Joining a socialist organization no longer seems like such a big step, and so the half-way house of the candidate program has outlived its usefulness. This fall, all unnecessary barriers to recruitment should be eliminated.

The Young Socialist supporters for the 1972 SWP presidential campaign will serve as a bridge to recruitment. Thousands of young people will be drawn into activity and into contact with us on the basis of support for the SWP election campaign. Not all of them will be willing to join the YSA right away, but our aim should be to recruit as many of them as possible to the YSA itself as rapidly as possible.

TURNOVER IN MEMBERSHIP

To fully understand the YSA's attitude toward recruitment it is necessary to understand the problem of turnover, because the turnover in our membership is sometimes used as a justification for the "tighten up" attitude. That a certain turnover occurs is undeniable. This spring, for example, while we recruited over 450 new members, we also dropped about 220 people.

While we try to keep this turnover to a minimum, we realize that it has always been and will always be a feature of our recruitment. The turnover is high now simply because we are recruiting so rapidly. The key to holding new recruits is to integrate them into the functioning of the YSA and to educate them in our politics. This is best accomplished once we have them inside the YSA—attending meetings, participating in fractions, coming to classes, etc.

To set very high requirements—like candidacy periods, or long lists of required readings—for new people wanting to join, in order to ensure that none of them would ever drop out later, would only hamper our growth—and there would still be a turnover.

We are confident that by taking a very open attitude toward recruitment and at the same time working to develop politically all YSA comrades, we will be able to recruit and hold many more new members than if we tried to screen out before they joined everyone who might not stay with us.

The second incorrect idea about recruitment is complacency. People are attracted to the YSA. Students will simply walk up to a literature table and ask to join. What this shows, though, is that the potential for recruitment if it is consciously and systematically organized is even greater.

The YSA is relatively large—we are the largest of the organized tendencies in the youth arena. But our goal is not just to be the biggest of the socialist youth tendencies, our goal is to become *gigantic*.

When we talk about the YSA becoming a mass organization, that does not mean just a few thousand members. It means hundreds of thousands of members, and chapters on virtually every campus and high school. That will only happen if we consciously organize our contact work and recruitment. Any sort of complacency about where we stand now would be very dangerous.

FALL RECRUITMENT DRIVE

This fall the YSA needs to take not only an open, but an aggressive attitude toward recruitment. We should utilize all our organizational skills to maximize recruitment, to bring the actual rate of recruitment into the closest possible correspondence with the objective possibilities.

In order to do this, the National Executive Committee proposes a fall recruitment drive, to begin with this plenum and get into full gear with the opening of schools. We are not pro-

posing a specific numerical goal for this drive, because any figure we could suggest would probably give too conservative an estimate of what our recruitment potential is.

It should be clear, though, that we are confident that over the course of the 1972 campaign, the YSA can—at the minimum—repeat the percentage gains made during the 1968 campaign, in which we doubled our membership.

The recruitment drive will in a sense be the biggest campaign we are involved in, because it incorporates all our other work. Everything we do this fall, from selling subs to building the SMC, should be geared toward our recruitment campaign.

There are a number of factors which will lead to success in the fall recruitment drive:

1) Our deep involvement in the fall antiwar offensive, the abortion repeal campaign, and all our other areas of mass work. Recruitment activities cannot be counterposed to mass work, but must be integrated into it.

We want to be particularly conscious of recruiting the people we work with or come in contact with in the various movement offices—SMC, abortion coalition, and others. As YSAers working in these offices, we should not only be open about being YSAers—we should make sure everyone there knows we are in the YSA, why we are, and why they should be too.

2) Conscious attention and direction given to the campaign by the YSA leadership. Leading comrades should be assigned to work on the campaign, and the leadership should motivate the recruitment drive, take responsibility for and oversee it, and regularly assess its progress.

3) The 1972 SWP presidential campaign, through which all our propaganda will be focused and which will serve to draw around us thousands of radicalizing youth.

4) *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. The recruitment drive will be waged as a public campaign through the pages of *The Militant* and *ISR*, which will report on the fact that the YSA is undertaking this drive, regularly print a variety of "Join the YSA" ads, and publish feature stories on the YSA's program and activities and why student activists and all campaign supporters should join the YSA. Sales and the sub drive will be an integral part of the recruitment drive.

5) Thorough local organization of the drive. One comrade in each local should be assigned as recruitment drive director. This comrade's job is not simply to do contact work and recruit people, but rather to organize the entire local for recruitment, follow up on notifications of inquiries sent to the N. O., organize contact classes and socials, etc.

Wherever possible, recruitment committees should be established to draw together comrades from all areas of work to make sure that recruitment is a part of that work. Even if a committee is not possible, locals should try to have one person in each fraction assigned to recruitment.

Local organization of the drive should begin this summer, or as soon as campus locals get back together in the fall, so that as soon as there are students on campus we can start getting out recruitment material, holding "Join the YSA" meetings, etc.

6) Regional organization. Aside from the fact that the recruitment drive, like all our national campaigns, will be organized on a regional basis, there will be quite a few specifically regional activities related to the drive, especially for recruiting in areas where there are no comrades yet.

We should also take note of the effect that regional socialist educational conferences can have on recruitment throughout the region. At least 11 percent of those recruited this spring joined right after attending such a conference. Regions should start planning early to have these conferences again this fall, probably around Thanksgiving weekend.

7) National direction of the recruitment drive. The National Office will prepare regular progress reports for *The Militant*, *The Young Socialist Organizer*, and mailings. We will publish a whole series of recruitment materials, such as posters, leaflets, and photo-ready "Join the YSA" ads for campus newspapers. In addition to the national progress reports, *The YS Organizer* will carry stories from locals about how they have organized the drive and what successes and problems they have had. We will devise a recruitment report form for locals to send in on a regular basis so that we can best keep on top of how the drive is going nationally.

8) The Eleventh National Convention of the YSA, which we expect will again be an open convention which will help attract and recruit hundreds of young people to the YSA. The convention call, logistical information, and promotional materials will be out early enough so that convention building can be a focus for all contact work and regional work.

We want to look at this recruitment drive, not in terms of a three month effort coinciding with the fall period of activity, but as only really beginning in the fall period and actually running parallel to the SWP '72 campaign. In this context, the YSA convention will give us an opportunity to evaluate the opening stage of this recruitment drive.

Although no numerical goal has been set, this recruitment drive will undoubtedly be the biggest ever for the YSA. The objective possibilities are there. What is required is a consciousness in the YSA of the primacy of recruitment, and the organization of the recruitment drive as a major campaign.

PROPAGANDA

In broad historical terms, the growth of the revolutionary movement depends on factors beyond our control—the ebbs and flows of the class struggle. In a period of radicalization like the present, our growth hinges on our ability to understand, identify with, and develop correct strategies for the new movements and forms of struggle that arise. Within this context we seek to maximize our growth through a variety of socialist propaganda activities.

CAMPAIGN '72

For the next year and a half, the central vehicle for all our propaganda will be the 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. The campaign should be seen not so much as a separate area of work—although there will be many specific campaign activities—but as the primary way of carrying out all our socialist propaganda.

That is, instead of conducting tours and getting speaking engagements, we will be setting up campaign tours and speeches. We will be selling the campaign newspaper, *The Militant*. Our student government election campaigns will link up with support to the SWP campaign. We will get out our ideas through the campaign platform and campaign leaflets. Rather than just doing contact work, we will be working with Young Socialist supporters. All of our propaganda will relate to the campaign.

THE MILITANT

Our best weapon, as always, will be *The Militant*. *The Militant* serves to educate and organize our movement. Every week it carries indispensable reporting on national and international events, gives our analysis of the current political situation, polemicizes against all opposing viewpoints, and lays out our tasks. *The Militant* is the best tool for recruitment, because reading *The Militant* is the best way to become familiar with what our movement is all about.

When we talk about building a base on a particular campus, we know that going through the dorms and selling a few hundred subs, along with regular individual copy sales, is one of the primary steps to establishing the YSA and its ideas on that campus.

We intervene in the mass movements through *The Militant*, and the influence and respect *The Militant* has won among activists in La Raza Unida parties shows the impact it can have even on movements where we are hampered by lack of forces.

The Militant has been steadily improved and expanded to meet our needs in this radicalization. Since the radicalization began, it has tripled in size. The format has been modernized so that *The Militant* is a very attractive and readable publication. The business and editorial staffs have been regularly expanded. Our movement has invested tens of thousands of dollars in new equipment for printing and distributing *The Militant*. The establishment of a Southwest Bureau is further evidence of the growth which *The Militant* is experiencing.

Our goal is for *The Militant* to become a mass circulation socialist weekly, far surpassing all the other radical or socialist press in quality, circulation and influence. It is already within striking distance of its two major competitors—the *Guardian* and the *Daily World*.

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The big increases in circulation in recent years have come primarily from the subscription drives which we have conducted along with the SWP. The recent sub drives have served to increase not only the circulation of our press but also the awareness within the YSA of the role and importance of the press.

Through these drives we have acquired considerable skill in sub-selling and developed such organizational techniques as dorm drives, campus registration line blitzes, local mobilizations, regional teams, the use of charts, etc. Three lessons of the sub drives should be singled out for special attention:

1) Leadership attention and leadership direction are necessary for success in the sub drives. This includes assigning leading comrades to head up the drive and having regular reports and discussion in the executive committees about the drive.

2) Sub-selling must be integrated into all areas of work. Comrades should be conscious of taking *Militants* and sub blanks wherever they go, and of selling at all antiwar, women's liberation, or nationalist meetings and at other political events.

3) Sub drives are a regional responsibility. In both of the last two sub drives several locals—primarily regional locals—failed to sell their full quota of subs. It is the responsibility of the regional center and regional organizer to see that every local in the region makes its quota. If one local starts to fall behind, it is worth sending a couple of top sub-sellers from the center out to work with the comrades, teaching them the techniques and giving them confidence in how easy it is to sell subs.

FALL SUB DRIVE

We do not have a proposal for the fall sub drive at this time. The total goal, and the proposed local quotas, are being worked out in collaboration with the Socialist Workers Party and will be presented at their convention next month. We can say, however, that the fall sub drive will be the biggest ever, and will require all the expertise we have developed in recent years.

We can also say that it will be a joint drive for subscriptions to both *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*.

We would like to get some feedback and discussion from the plenum on this fall's drive. For example, would your local be able to take a quota twice the size of its quota last fall? That is the range in which we are thinking—one and a half to two times the size of last fall's, or 25,000 to 30,000 subs.

The campus blitz effort will again be key, with sub sales on the registration lines and through the dorms.

During the last sub drive we discovered the value of sending teams out into the regions, partly because we had almost saturated many of the nearby campuses in the previous drives. These teams would stay out for several days, selling hundreds of subs and laying the basis for new YSA locals. Regional teams will again be important this fall, simply because of the magnitude of the goal.

We want to start now to get the YSA thinking about this drive—and thinking big about it. One indication of just how big it will be is that we are considering sending full-time national sub-selling teams out on the road to reach places regional teams might not hit. We might use these national teams to zero in on some major cities where we want to establish the Trotskyist movement, but where we don't yet have locals.

BUNDLE SALES

Up to this point, bundle sales have not increased as rapidly as subs. In fact, the information Cindy and Norman got on their organizational tours this spring indicated that bundle sales are one of our weakest areas of work.

For *The Militant* to become a mass circulation paper will require consistent attention to bundle sales and the participation of the entire YSA in selling our press. The National Executive Committee proposes, as the second major campaign for the fall, a campaign to improve bundle sales of *The Militant* and *ISR*.

This campaign will be conducted as an organized national campaign, to complement and continue after the fall sub drive.

All the lessons of the sub drives can be applied to bundle sales: the need for careful attention to organizational techniques, for leadership attention and direction, for integration into all areas of work, and for organization on a regional basis.

Several of the regional center locals have already begun working to improve their bundle sales, in line with projections for a similar campaign made at the SWP plenum in March. Now we should broaden the campaign out to include the entire YSA.

Every local should establish a joint *Militant/ISR* sales committee—not as a team of comrades who only sell, but as a team which organizes the entire local to sell our press.

A comrade in the National Office will be assigned to work with *The Militant* and *ISR* Business Offices to direct the sales campaign and sub drive nationally. We will have national progress reports in *The YS Organizer*, along with articles from locals describing their work. We intend to draw together some of the excellent articles that have already appeared into a sales handbook.

Sales committees should also be conscious of utilizing the monthly sales letter sent out by *The Militant* and *ISR* Business Offices.

ISR SALES

This campaign is intended to improve bundle sales of both *The Militant* and *ISR*. The *International Socialist Review* was launched last spring as the monthly theoretical magazine of the American revolutionary movement. In the first year of its existence, the biggest steps forward toward making the *ISR* the leading theoretical journal of the American left have been in the quality of the magazine itself. The *ISR* is unquestionably one of the most impressive journals of the left anywhere—in the quality and timeliness of the articles, the lively and attractive format, and every other respect.

Bundle sales of the *ISR* have been even weaker than *Militant* sales. The emphasis that has been placed on getting the *ISR* on newsstands in no way implies that that is the main way the magazine should be sold. The main way the *ISR* should be sold is by hawking—at demonstrations, on campus, at meetings, on street corners, and everywhere we sell *The Militant*.

To improve *ISR* bundle sales, sales committees might want to try some of the following suggestions. Whenever a sales team goes out, have one or more comrades assigned to sell *ISRs* exclusively. Whenever an individual comrade goes on a sale, take along both *Militants* and *ISRs*. If each person who bought a *Militant* were offered an *ISR*—that is, the same technique used in the sub drives—we would sell a lot more *ISRs*.

While the *ISR* is a theoretical magazine, it is not an abstruse, stratospherically "high level" magazine of interest only to a select few. The *ISR* is aimed at—and the last two sub drives proved the *ISR* will be bought by—the same audience as *The Militant*.

CAMPUS FORUMS AND CLASSES

A number of locals have begun holding occasional forums—in a few cases, even regular forum series—and have found them very useful. Our forums can capitalize on students' interest in current events to draw them around the YSA. A forum series helps establish the YSA as a pole of attraction and political debate on the campus and furthers the process of making us the center of political life on the campus. If carefully organized forums can make money for the YSA as well.

Some locals have even been able to get YSA class series semi-officially adopted as part of a "free university" program. Jack Lieberman's class on how to make a revolution, which the Florida legislature tried to throw off campus, is a well-known example.

All locals should try holding some forums this fall, even if a regular series is not possible. The Young Socialist supporters for the campaign will be a good vehicle for setting up forums with campaign speakers.

Right at the beginning of school, each local should stage a big "Join the YSA" meeting. It would not necessarily be called a "Join the YSA" meeting, but that would be the essence of it. Such meetings should be very widely publicized, in order to take advantage of the fact that in the early fall many students are actively checking out the political organizations on the campus.

The meeting could feature presentations on the YSA's program and activities, followed by discussion and then signing people up to buy subs, to endorse the campaign, and to join the YSA.

The formation of the Claremont local following a "Join the YSA" marathon put on by comrades from Riverside and Los Angeles, in which a whole series of comrades spoke on various aspects of the YSA's program, shows the potential of these meetings.

STUDENT GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

Another important area of propaganda is running student government election campaigns. The organizers' forms showed that we ran campaigns this spring on at least 38 college campuses and 9 high schools, and that we won office in at least 6 of these campaigns.

I want to go briefly into some questions about our strategy in these campaigns, and in particular the question of what is principled and what is not.

There is nothing unprincipled about running a campaign under a name other than "Young Socialists." There is nothing unprincipled about running on a slate with independents or other radicals who do not agree with the YSA's full political program. In many cases we have gained from running on such slates, for example, by recruiting the independents.

What decides whether such a campaign is principled is the program on which we run. It does not have to be the YSA's full program, but it cannot contradict our program. For example, we could not run on a slate whose platform included "Set the Date." Obviously, then, the bounds of what is permissible in principle are very broad. Within those bounds, the tactical decisions of what sort of campaign to run can best be made by keeping in mind the goals of these campaigns.

The reason we run student government campaigns, and the way in which we have made the most gains, is to build the mass movements and get out the YSA's name and ideas. Winning is subordinate, although whenever we campaign we run to win.

That is why our campaigns should be clearly labelled Young Socialist campaigns and should use our program for the student revolt—as concretely applied in the particular situation—as the campaign platform. That is why our campaign this fall should link up the student government election campaign with support to the SWP presidential and statewide campaigns—because that is the best way to get out the YSA's politics and publicize the YSA.

It would be totally incorrect for us to run on a slate with others on a watered down platform, simply in order to have a better chance of winning. On many campuses, vaguely "radical" student parties are springing up to contest these elections. We should feel absolutely no pressure to participate in these formations.

EDUCATION

Our aim is not just to recruit new members but to educate, train, and develop them into YSA cadres—that is, as comrades who are completely loyal and dedicated to the revolutionary movement but also critical minded, independent thinkers; who are well educated in Marxist theory, our organizational norms, and the history of the class struggle and who are skilled in applying our theory to new situations that arise; who have had experience in all different sorts of assignments in a number of different locals.

The YSA is not composed of two classes of members—thinkers who make the decisions and doers who implement them. We seek to educate all our comrades around our full program. Nor is the YSA a federation of specialists in various areas of work. The YSA is a vanguard youth organization with one revolutionary program and one centralized organization, which seeks above all to build itself and develop all its members into well-rounded Bolsheviks.

The local leaderships must consciously think out what assignments, both internal and external, comrades should take to maximize their development. We do not want to have comrades hanging on in one assignment or type of assignment for year after year. Also, we must be careful not to hold comrades back from challenging assignments simply because they are relatively inexperienced. We do not have any concept that comrades must have been in the YSA for a year or two before taking on assignments like being antiwar director or local organizer. Working on such assignments—with the collaboration of a more experienced leadership team—is one of the best ways to develop comrades.

An important part of gaining experience in the revolutionary movement is working in different locals. The mobility of our membership is a very good sign—it shows that comrades are very conscious of belonging to a national organization and are responsive to our national needs. It enables us to build up or reinforce a particular area very rapidly when we need to.

While comrades sometimes transfer simply for personal reasons of wanting to live in a par-

ticular place, we want to coordinate transfers nationally, and local organizers should keep the National Office informed when comrades want to transfer or are willing to transfer.

In addition to the education that comes simply from working in the YSA, comrades personal reading is important. We urge all comrades to organize their own reading programs, including all our periodicals as well as books and pamphlets.

Organized local educational programs are, of course, crucial. The best local educational are those that deal with how we apply Marxist theory to the particular struggles we are involved in today. Some new locals, simply out of inexperience, have plunged into educational series on complex topics rather far removed from our immediate tasks—such as Marxist economic theory—before comrades are completely familiar with our strategy for the struggles we are immediately involved in. While it is important for all comrades to study such topics, including comrades in small locals, that is best done through our summer schools or through more advanced local class series that comrades can participate in after they have gone through a series of more topical classes.

Regional centers have a special responsibility to work with outlying locals in developing their educational programs.

Our socialist summer schools provide an incomparable opportunity for comrades to educate themselves in our program, norms, and history. The response to the summer schools this year was on the whole very good.

The culmination of this summer's educational programs will be the SWP convention in August. We should already be organizing to bring every YSAer to the convention. It will provide not only education in our strategy for making the American revolution but also an example of how the revolutionary party functions—how it democratically arrives at its political orientation.

In addition, the 1972 presidential campaign will be launched at the party convention, and gearing the YSA locals into the campaign building tasks in a much more specific way than we are able to at this plenum will be facilitated by having the maximum number of YSAers there. We should also try to bring to the convention YSAers from the regions who have not come to the summer schools.

NATIONAL OFFICE

We realize that strengthening the National Office is a vital part of building the YSA as a strong, centralized national organization.

This spring, as a result of our growth and the development of a whole new layer of YSA leadership—along with the establishment of a strong financial base through the spring fund drive—we were able to strengthen the national center to an unprecedented extent. There are now twelve comrades staffing the National Office.

Since the convention, Lee Smith and Susan LaMont have graduated and taken assignments for the SWP. Linda Charet took an assignment as *ISR* business manager and since has been asked to take an assignment in the New York local. We have added to the National Office Mirta Vidal, Dave Frankel, Nancy Cole, Terry Hardy, Ruth Robinette, and Louise Goodman. The comrades remaining in the N.O. since before the convention are Frank Boehm, Rich Finkel, Cindy Jaquith, Norman Oliver, Laura Miller, and Andy Rose.

The staff is representative of the geographic scope of the YSA. The comrades in the National Office come from the DeKalb, Atlanta, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Diego, and New York locals.

This strengthening of the National Office must be seen as a major accomplishment of the YSA this spring, helping lay the basis for all our ambitious fall projections. As comrades can imagine, the office can carry out a much broader range of activities now than it could a couple of years ago when there were only five people in the N.O.

To handle the hundreds of inquiries about the YSA we receive each month, we have developed an assembly line process that any bourgeois efficiency expert would be proud of, with form letters, prepared information packets, etc.

We conducted three national tours this spring: the financial tour and the two organizational tours. We plan to have organizational tours of the same type again this fall.

In addition to the tours there has been quite a bit of travel from the center, including sending

a representative from the N.O. to each initial regional committee meeting of the spring, sending several observers to the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes convention and plenum, having comrades from the N.O. attend various meetings and conferences of the antiwar, women's liberation, Black and Chicano movements, as well as many trips for consultation with the locals.

Publications is an area which has been relatively weak, but which we are already starting to improve. This spring we published a new edition of *Introduction to the YSA*, including the documents from the convention, and a recruitment leaflet for April 24, along with several reprints. Comrades have already seen the first of our new buttons. These are just the first in what will be a whole new series of buttons and posters.

We are bringing out the *Organizing the YSA* pamphlet as an ongoing series of organizational handbooks, with sections on finances, sales, defense, education, etc.

What our strengthening of the National Office has meant is that we are now able to give more direction to all areas of the YSA's work. This process is an ongoing one with no end in sight and this fall we will continue to augment the N.O. staff.

REGIONAL WORK

For several years it has been pointed out that YSA regional work is one of our most important activities, on a par with antiwar work or anything else. Our geographic expansion has been one significant factor in making us the strongest socialist youth group in the country. We already have a greater geographic scope than any of our opponents except the CP, and even the CP does not operate openly in as many areas as we do.

Our experience with regional work has convinced us that the radicalization has penetrated into every part of the country. Everywhere our travelers go, they find there are high school and college students who will join the YSA and who can develop as leaders of the YSA. Recruitment in the regions has not only swelled our ranks but has also produced many YSA leaders.

The regional expansion of the YSA takes the SMC, November 6, the national abortion campaign, and socialist ideas into more and more areas of the country.

The August 1970 plenum of the National Committee adopted a series of proposals that opened up a whole new stage in our regional development. These proposals were designed to maximize both the recruitment of new locals and at-largers and their consolidation. One of the main lessons we had learned from our work up to that point was that holding and developing these new locals depended primarily on their regular contact with more experienced comrades.

The proposals adopted at that time were:

1) Regional committees were to be constituted in each region, consisting of representatives from all the locals and at-large areas in the region. These committees would meet regularly to facilitate the regional coordination of our national campaigns—antiwar actions, sub drives, fund drives, election campaigns, etc.—by providing for regular consultation and collaboration among locals and at-large members. The regional committees were not to be formal bodies with any decision-making authority, but rather consultative, informal committees.

Through the functioning of the regional committees we hoped to see the development of a regional team leadership—that is, a number of comrades throughout the region, not just in the center, who thought about and discussed all our activities on a regional scale and provided direction, motivation, and leadership for our work on a regional scale.

2) We projected that the regional committees would select a comrade as regional organizer. The regional organizer would work with all the locals and at-large members, consulting with them about their work, and helping to educate them in our organizational norms and political ideas.

We differentiated the functions of the regional organizer from those of a regional traveler, who goes onto completely new campuses to make contacts, sell our press, and recruit. We pointed out that the regional organizer would have no formal authority and would have to work on the basis of his or her own leadership qualities and ability to convince and motivate comrades.

3) We proposed that a collective financial arrangement be developed to spread out the costs of the regional work—particularly the cost of having a full time regional organizer—among all the comrades in the region. Having all the locals and at-largers contribute financially to the regional work would help develop the consciousness that regional work was the responsibility of the entire region, not just the central local.

4) Within the regional centers, we projected having a regional committee or regional secretary to carry out the day-to-day tasks of answering correspondence, putting out a regional newsletter, handling the finances, etc.

5) We projected that every local would carry out the trailblaze-type work which will be referred to as "field work" for the rest of this report, of reaching out to new campuses and new cities.

Now, almost a full year later, we can evaluate what progress we have made in carrying out these proposals, and how successful they have been in moving regional work forward.

PROGRESS OF REGIONAL WORK

Overall we must say that there has been significant progress in regional work. The YSA has absorbed the importance of regional work and it is now going on in one form or another in virtually every region.

Having regional committees established in most of the regions has enabled us to organize many of our campaigns on a regional basis for the first time. The success of April 24, the \$43,000 fund drive, the sub drives, the emergency actions we have carried out such as in defense of the Quebec independentist movement, the statewide election campaigns, various regional women's liberation conferences and actions are all due in large part to our improved regional coordination.

The upcoming regional antiwar actions, the fall sub drive, and the 1972 election campaigns—which will again include many statewide campaigns as well as the presidential campaign—all point to the continuing importance of regional organization and coordination this fall.

The broadening out of the political leadership of the regions beyond the centers has definitely begun to take place. It is most significant that in the Michigan and Midwest regions, the current regional organizer is a comrade who, prior to becoming regional organizer, was a member of an outlying local, not the center local. The higher political consciousness in the regions is also shown in the large number of transfers from outlying locals into regional centers this spring. The large turnout for the socialist summer schools is another good sign. There seems to have been a greater response from the regions than ever before.

The locals in the regions are unquestionably stronger, on the whole, than ever before. There now exist quite a few regional locals which are large, experienced and relatively stable.

The increased strength of the regional locals was particularly striking in the fund drive. Many of the outlying locals took on and made quotas of \$300, \$400, or \$500. Only a couple of years ago such locals would never have been asked to take quotas of more than \$50 or \$75.

Regional finances has been a weak area. While in many regions some sort of collective arrangement has been worked out, at least on paper, so that the center no longer bears the entire cost of regional work, in general regional finances remain at a low level. Payments from many locals into the regional funds are small and sporadic. Just as important, regional fund raising has been minimal. These difficulties with regional finances have often made it a real strain to have a full time regional organizer, much less regional secretary or traveler.

The field work aspect of regional work has definitely marked time. Regions that put a regional organizer on full time did so at the expense of not having a full time traveler. In general the outlying locals have not been carrying out field work on their own, although there are exceptions, of course. Also, some regions in which there had been no locals outside the center did put on a full time regional traveler—such as in the Upper Midwest and Pennsylvania.

On the whole, though, little field work has been done and this fact is reflected in the small number of locals formed this spring. Last spring, from the 1969 convention to the August 1970 plenum, 19 new locals were formed. This spring, from the 1970 convention until now, only 10 new locals have been formed, or approximately half as many as in the corresponding period last year.

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We do not see this change in emphasis as any sort of major setback for the YSA. The establishment of regional committees and organizers and the consolidation of regional locals has laid the basis for recruiting and developing many new locals this fall. What we must be conscious of is simply that field work has been weak and this fall we want to correct that weakness.

CURRENT STAGE OF REGIONAL WORK

What stage have we reached in our regional work, and what are the main tasks we should project for the fall? It is clear that we are still in a transitional period, moving in the direction of establishing a regional structure but not yet ready to make the formal changes in the YSA's organization that will be involved. Our basic task remains to carry out the proposals of the August 1970 plenum, extending them to every region of the country and correcting the weak areas that have been noted.

It would not be correct to formalize the existing regional committees, because to do so would violate fundamental principles of democratic centralism. Even if the composition of these regional committees were more strictly regulated so that, for example, they consisted of the organizers and NC members from all the locals, they still would not conform to our standards for formal leadership bodies.

According to the norms of democratic centralism, all such bodies must be democratically elected by the membership to carry out the democratically arrived at decisions of the membership. Elected leadership bodies are always under the control of the membership. The local executive committee is elected by the local membership to carry out the political tasks and perspectives approved by the membership. The National Committee is elected by the National Convention to carry out its decisions. In cities like Boston and New York, where there are several YSA locals, a full citywide convention elects a citywide executive committee and charges it to carry out the decisions of the citywide convention. The citywide exec is then the highest decision-making body in the city between city conventions.

The only regional executive body that would conform to our organizational principles would be one that was elected by a regional convention and responsible to the regional convention. These regional conventions would decide upon the most effective way to implement national convention and plenum decisions, and would elect a regional executive body which would be responsible for implementing these decisions and leading the work of the region in between regional conventions.

It is obviously possible, although very few instances have arisen, for there to be disagreements within the region. If these are simply tactical differences, they must be settled by arriving at a consensus among the local leaderships through a process of consultation and collaboration. The regional center and regional organizer have the primary responsibility for seeing that this consultation takes place.

If more fundamental political disagreements arise, it should be clear to all comrades that our political line is established nationally by conventions and plenums. It is not within the authority of any regional committee—or for that matter any local—to change the political decisions made nationally.

If seemingly tactical disagreements come up which are stubbornly resistant to being resolved through consensus—if the locals are totally unable to agree on a question such as selection of the regional organizer, or the site for a regional antiwar conference—then the system of informal regional bodies provides no solution. This type of situation would seem to indicate that more was involved than simply tactical disagreements.

Are we ready, then, to establish regional bodies that would conform to democratic centralist norms? One prerequisite for establishing such bodies would be the existence of a number of stable locals in a defined geographic area, because we would not want the regional organization to be ephemeral or have it called into question as locals dissolve, comrades transfer, etc. Another prerequisite would be the emergence of a political leadership team on a regional scale. Neither of these conditions yet exists fully in any region of the country.

ROLE OF THE REGIONAL CENTER

To understand why this is true, we need to examine some general questions of how the YSA can build strong regions. Just from looking at a map it is obvious that nearly all of the existing regions are far too large to function as real

working regions. Yet we cannot simply chop them up into more manageable areas, because fundamental to our concept of a region is the *regional center*—a large, stable local which includes in its leadership a whole team of experienced YSA leaders.

The stability, continuity, and calibre of political leadership necessary for a regional center are best available where there is a branch of the Socialist Workers Party—these are exactly the qualities embodied by SWP branches. The interaction between the YSA leadership and leading comrades of the SWP is one of the bases for having a regional-center-type local. Besides, YSA-ers who develop into leaders and professional revolutionists go on to join the SWP, and are to be found almost without exception in cities that have SWP branches.

We see building a strong regional center as vital to building a region. The regional center has the primary responsibility for providing the political leadership, financial base, and personnel for regional work. We continually urge comrades from the region to transfer in to a regional center, both because of the need for strengthening the centers and because a comrade can only develop up to a certain point in an outlying local. We reject any provincial attitude that it is more important for a comrade to stay in an outlying local and build it. All the outlying locals, and the region as a whole, will be best built by having the strongest possible regional center.

The creation of a number of additional regional centers, will be necessary before we advance to a formal regional structure for the YSA.

It is by a combined process of continually recruiting new members and locals out in the regions and continually transferring many of the comrades recruited in the regions into centers, that we are now building the strongest possible regions. The seeming contradiction between trying to recruit and build up regional locals and then transferring a number of comrades out can only be resolved through an understanding of the role of the regional center and especially its role in developing the YSA and party cadres that are needed to build new SWP branches and new regional centers of the YSA.

It should also be noted that this process opens the way for the development of a whole new layer of leadership in the regional locals as comrades transfer out.

COLONIZATION

At this point I would like to explain why we think that colonization is not the most effective way of building regions. Colonization—by which we mean sending one or two leading comrades out into the region for an extended time to recruit and build around them a stable local—reverses the process of building the regional center which we see as the key to building regions. It takes comrades out of the regional center, where they could be taking on major assignments—such as being regional organizer or regional traveler.

If done in a geographically compact region, where the potential exists for regular contact with the regional center, then colonization is above all inefficient. The comrade sent out to colonize could be traveling around the region building several locals instead of just one.

If done in a very large region, on the basis that it would be difficult to sustain contact between the center and the new local, it serves to isolate the settler and sets him or her up to fail to recruit rapidly, and then become demoralized. Any comrade who has ever been an at-larger or member of a new, small local can testify to how difficult that isolation makes all aspects of YSA work. Simply because a leading comrade is put in that situation does not change the isolation.

The main problem with colonization, though, is that it tends to cut across and substitute for an indigenous local leadership, rather than collaborating with and developing one. Colonization ignores the fact that we can go anywhere in the country and recruit students to the YSA and—if we have a regional organizer, strong regional center, and functioning regional committee—consolidate and develop them as YSA leaders.

TASKS IN REGIONAL WORK

Within the framework of carrying out the proposals adopted at the August '70 plenum and extending them to all the regions, there are several major tasks we should set for YSA regional work in the fall:

1) Continuing the work of establishing regional committees that meet on a regular basis and having full time regional organizers, and through these forms coordinating regionally all our na-

tional campaigns. That is, continuing what we have been doing for the last year and extending it to all the regions.

2) Continuing to strengthen the regional centers by encouraging the greatest number of comrades from the regions to transfer in to centers. Within the centers, assigning adequate forces to the regional apparatus for getting out the newsletter, handling correspondence, and carrying out the other day-to-day tasks.

3) Launching a major campaign to recruit new locals and at-largers through full time field work in all the regions. By singling out this aspect of regional work for special attention, we are by no means taking a step backward or returning to what we were doing prior to last August. Rather, on the basis of the gains made in the last year, we want to take advantage of the potential for recruitment that exists in areas we have never reached. In a sense, this campaign is simply the regional counterpart to the overall recruitment drive.

To carry out this campaign we will need both a full time organizer and a full time traveler in every region as soon as possible. The regional traveler would work with comrades assigned from all the locals to participate in part time field work in their areas. Even in regions where it is not possible to sustain a full time traveler right away, major attention should be devoted to carrying out regular field work from all the locals—including setting up literature tables, selling *Militants* and subs, holding "Join the YSA" meetings on nearby campuses, sending comrades on weekend trips to more distant campuses, etc.

This field work will be vital to building Campaign '72, and by the end of the fall or the beginning of next spring we hope to see full time YSA travelers on the road in virtually every region.

4) Strengthening regional finances. Major improvements in regional finances are obviously required to have two people on full time in each region. There are two ways in which we can plan to strengthen regional finances: by having every local and at-large area devote a major part of its financial resources to regional work, and by carrying out more fund raising activities on the regional scale, particularly through the socialist speakers bureaus.

These projections on regional work flow naturally from the expansion in all areas of work—the recruitment drive, sub drive, sales campaign, and all our mass work. Work on all these other campaigns will be a part of, and will be facilitated by, the expansion of regional work.

FALL OFFENSIVE

This fall will be an exciting time to be on campus. While the bourgeois commentators are hailing what they see as a new quiescence among students, a turning inward to contemplation, pottery-making, or Jesus, we understand that none of the basic contradictions of capitalism that generated this radicalization have been resolved at all.

We see that the radicalization has deepened and will continue to deepen, especially among high school and college students, and that the potential exists for truly unprecedented campus explosions. We have already begun work on building the November 6 antiwar actions into the biggest demonstrations ever, and on building the first national demonstration of the abortion law repeal movement.

These same hack journalists who are writing off the student movement in the pages of *Time* and *Newsweek*, along with the reformists of all stripes, look toward the 1972 elections for a turn by students to "responsible" political action—a la Berkeley April coalition—within the bounds of the capitalist political system. We look toward the 1972 elections knowing that they will see the most dynamic revolutionary socialist election campaign since the time of Debs, and knowing that thousands of students will be *broken from* capitalist politics during this campaign.

In this context we have mapped out the fall offensive to build the YSA, focusing on three major campaigns:

1) The recruitment drive, through which we will organize and systematize recruitment to the YSA.

2) The sales campaign and sub drive, through which we will get out our press on a wider scale than ever before.

3) The field work or regional "trailblazing" campaign, through which we will take all of our campaigns onto hundreds of new campuses.

Work on all these campaigns should begin right away. By organizing and preparing over the

summer, we can hit the campuses with a blitz effort as soon as they open that will leave the YWLL, IS, PL, the ultralefts, Young Republicans and Young Democrats and all the opponents of revolutionary socialism wondering what hit them. Naturally, we want as many comrades as possible on the campus and locals should already be working out how to get more comrades on campus.

We have to organize ahead of time and prepare to most effectively utilize every comrade because there will be so much going on. The minute schools open, we will be in the thick of building

the SMC and November 6, building women's groups and the abortion repeal action, holding "Join the YSA" meetings, selling subs on registration lines and in the dorms, plastering the campuses with SWP 1972 campaign literature, setting up literature tables, selling *The Militant* and *ISR* everywhere and all the time—not to mention getting regional travelers on the road so that all these activities take place on campuses throughout the regions where we have no comrades yet, as well as all the places we already have locals or at-large members.

This fall we can expect to take major steps

forward toward our goal of becoming a mass revolutionary socialist youth organization. Our watchwords must be:

"ONTO THE CAMPUSES!"

"ON TO THE FALL OFFENSIVE!"

ANDY ROSE
YSA National Office

Canadian Waterloo Conference

The first cross-Canada Socialist Educational Conference, organized by our co-thinkers in Canada, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, will be held at the University of Waterloo in southern Ontario from August 20-25. Regional organizing teams have been set up throughout Canada to build and publicize this conference, which will be open to all people interested in revolutionary ideas. Since May, these teams have been signing up people to attend the conference, and in Vancouver a special train has been arranged to transport people across Canada for the conference. From all indications the educational conference will be a tremendous success, attracting hundreds of people from all across Canada.

The theme of the conference is "Canada's revolutionary past and future" or how to make a revolution. Each of the five days will be divided into three sections: in the mornings there will be major talks by a Canadian or Quebecois socialist; in the afternoons there will be workshops and other small group sessions; and the evenings

will be devoted to special events—guest speakers, parties, plays, films, etc.

The major talks include: "The New Radicalization and Where It Is Heading" by John Steele; "The Meaning of Life—A Marxist Analysis" by George Novack; "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?" by Evelyn Reed; "Feminism and the Canadian Revolution" by Jacquie Henderson; "Quebec: The Struggle for Independence and Socialism" by Manon Leger; "Fifty Years: Building a Revolutionary Party in Canada" by Ross Dowson; and "How to Make a Revolution in Canada" by Joan Newbigging. The afternoon workshops will cover a diverse range of topics, from the Canadian Suffragist movement to Marxist Economics. In the last year the Canadian Trotskyist movement has grown significantly on the campuses and in the high schools, and major sessions at the conference will concentrate on perspectives for the student movement this fall.

All YSAers are urged to attend the Waterloo Conference, if at all possible. It can be an excellent opportunity for Trotskyists from the United States to talk to our co-thinkers in Canada, to familiarize themselves with our movement

there, and to learn about the mass movements in which Canadian Trotskyists participate. Plus—it will provide an opportunity for some entertainment and fun!

The growth of the LSA/LSO and YS/LJS in size and influence and the rise of new movements in Canada, like the abortion repeal movement and the Quebecois independentist movement, make this upcoming conference of revolutionary socialist youth an exciting and educational prospect for any YSAer.

YSAers planning to attend the conference should write immediately to the Socialist Educational Conference, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The registration fee is \$25, which includes room and board for the five days. For food only the fee is \$15, and for the educational sessions only, the price is \$2 per day. These fees must be sent in by August 1. For more information, YSAers should contact the conference committee at the above address.

NORMAN OLIVER
YSA National Organization Secretary

Organizing a Socialist Speakers Bureau

During the 1970 SWP California election campaign, we saw the great acceptance of our candidates as spokespeople for the entire radical movement and the potential for getting honoraria for our candidates on the campuses. This spring the Los Angeles local decided to make a concerted effort to organize this area of work and make even greater gains by setting up a speakers bureau which could provide the campuses with radical speakers on a year-round basis. This would give us a way to both raise money and introduce students to revolutionary socialist ideas.

The first thing we did was to get a copy of Lovejoy's *Guide to Colleges and Universities* and look up the names, addresses, and main telephone numbers of all the colleges and universities in Los Angeles. From this we made a logbook with one page for each of the schools.

On each page we recorded the names of those at the schools who could help us obtain honoraria as we came into contact with student body presidents, speakers bureau heads, history and political science professors, student activities directors, YSA contacts, and so on. Every time a call was made to a school, we recorded the date and response in the logbook to facilitate follow-up work.

Then we began to draw up a list of speakers from Los Angeles and other areas, after checking with speakers in the region and National Office for their availability. We wrote a short biographical sketch and listed the topics and titles of the presentations for each speaker we were going to offer.

We called the speakers bureau Activists and Issues Forum and printed a very professional letterhead with our name, address and phone. Our first mailing was sent out to all the different colleges and universities, and in some cases we sent four or five mailings to a particular school depending on the number of "honoraria contacts" we were aware of at the school.

Our cover letter explained that we were a new speakers bureau which made available speakers on all the issues which are of most interest to students today, such as the antiwar movement, women's liberation, Black and Chicano liberation struggles, Marxist theory, the history of the radical movement, etc. We also explained that we were enclosing information on a few of our qual-

ified speakers and that speakers on other subjects were available on request.

Along with the biography of each speaker, we included the suggested fee, explaining that group rates could be arranged for campuses desiring more than one speaker. The average fee we suggested was \$150 for a speaker, but in the follow-up work we were flexible, sometimes getting more, sometimes less. As new speakers came through town on national tours, new mailings were sent out with pertinent information on these special speakers.

After the initial mailing, the main bulk of the work for actually getting the honoraria began. Very few responses came strictly from our first mailing, but it familiarized campuses with the Issues and Activists Forum and could be referred to when we began the calling.

It is essential to call every campus that receives the mailing, and we were able to set up some engagements over the phone. Others were arranged after personal appointments. It was also important to keep the logbook up to date, so that at every moment we had an accurate account of the status of speakers with each school.

In arranging honoraria we learned how the speakers programs are drawn up at the different schools we contacted, and this helped us in setting up speaking engagements way in advance. With this information the YSA could also plan its own budgets for election campaigns, fund drives, tour quotas on the basis of engagements that had already been confirmed.

Most of the large colleges in California, for example, set up their fall speakers programs in the summer, and the L.A. speakers bureau sent out a full mailing in June, followed it up immediately with phone calls, and has already planned out speaking engagements for the fall. We found that many school budgets are depleted by the fall, and since these schools operate on a "first come, first served" basis, we want to be there first with our speakers.

Although at many schools it is still possible to set up speaking engagements in the fall, the honoraria are usually smaller then. All these facts concerning when the speakers budgets are approved and how much they are should, of course, then be entered into the logbook.

Since we began the speakers bureau in Los Angeles we have come up with several ideas which have solicited a good response from schools. One idea in particular was setting up speaking programs in which a group of speakers present talks on different aspects of the same topic over a period of time.

One of the programs which we offer is entitled "The Movements for Social Change in the U. S." and includes speakers on the antiwar movement, feminism, nationalism, and ends with the speech, "Should America Go Socialist?" The program has four speakers and the "suggested fee" for the entire program is \$450. If a school is approached when the budget is just being made, it is likely to accept a program we offer. Other programs we have offered are on "Women's Liberation: 1848 till Today," and "The Chicano Movement."

Perhaps the project that has gotten the best response for us this summer is films and speakers. One program is Sergio Eisenstein's film "Ten Days That Shook the World" followed by a speaker on the Russian Revolution. The film can be rented from major film distributors for about \$55, and with the lecture, schools will pay up to \$300.

Other films are available to us for the same types of political film programs and catalogues are put out by all major film distributors. Newsreel films can also be used this way, and the film-lecture programs provide for a dynamic presentation that many schools find very exciting.

The most important key in setting up a speakers bureau, as in carrying out all our other work, is professionalism. Every piece of literature from a speakers bureau must be neat and businesslike.

All in all, the speakers bureau is one of the best ways not only to raise money, but to get out our ideas. With the depth of the current radicalization and the interest in hearing socialist ideas, we have more possibilities open to us than ever before in this arena of work.

JUDE COREN
Los Angeles YSA

The Young Socialist Organizer Report

The Young Socialist Organizer was launched at the 1969 YSA convention, at a crucial juncture for the YSA. The fantastic growth which we had experienced, and the wide geographic expansion which had accompanied that growth, necessitated a change in YSA publications.

Since we now had so many new members who had to be educated in our politics and organizational norms and, of course, in our action strategy for building the YSA, we needed the kind of publication that could orient internally toward YSA activists on the campuses and in the high schools. The fact that, for the first time, a significant section of the YSA membership was at-large, and that we had expanded our activity into so many areas of work, made this kind of internal publication even more necessary.

In this regard, our previous publication, the *Young Socialist*, could not serve this purpose. It had been oriented toward the student movement as a whole, with emphasis on hawking sales like *The Militant*, and experiments in including more information of an internal nature in it, such as area reports, were largely unsuccessful. A real contradiction arose—the internal needs of the YSA as opposed to the external orientation of our only publication.

Our movement still needed a publication with which to reach the student movement with our ideas on major theoretical questions of topical interest, and we made the decision to launch the new *International Socialist Review*, in conjunction with the Socialist Workers Party, at the same time for this purpose.

The publication of the new *ISR* flowed from our analysis of the current radicalization. That is, as with *The Militant*, we found it unnecessary arbitrarily to aim a separate publication at radicalizing youth per se, since the current radicalization affects most sectors of society, youth included, around the same issues, such as the war, the Black struggle, the Chicano struggle, women's liberation, gay liberation, etc. Therefore, we orient both our newspaper and our theoretical magazine toward students and non-students, youth and older people, alike.

Along with *The Militant* and the *ISR*, we needed a publication oriented primarily toward our own membership for several reasons. First of all, it would serve as a vehicle to carry out the education of our new and relatively new recruits—of the developing leadership of the YSA—about the basic organizational principles around which our movement is organized.

Next, it would allow us to exchange information among locals, at-largers and the center regularly on our experiences in translating our program into action—in strengthening our internal organization, in participating in the mass movements, and in recruiting to the YSA.

Thirdly, it would provide a quick, direct way for the comrades in the center to communicate important reports to the entire membership. (Our previous system of sending out these reports in mailings was not entirely adequate, since most times this information did not reach the entire membership.)

Lastly, we needed a publication which could serve as a useful introduction to the functioning of the YSA for those interested in joining; this publication could effectively demonstrate the seriousness, professionalism and enthusiasm with which the YSA approaches every aspect of our work.

That gives us a general idea of what we intended to do with *The Young Socialist Organizer* as it was launched. We can now take a look at our success in meeting these projections over the past sixteen months.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZER

We can certainly be proud of what we have accomplished with *The Organizer* thus far. In this discussion, we can dwell somewhat longer on the improvements that have been made in *The Organizer* and spend less time on its weaknesses than past reports have been able to do.

Although *The Organizer* still has some definite weaknesses, which will be discussed further on in this report, these weaknesses have been minimized, and *The Organizer* now stands as a vastly improved publication—just the tool that we need to help us recruit and develop leadership.

Our success in making *The Organizer* this kind of publication stems from a number of improvements we've made in it over the past year and a half. Comrades should understand that all of these improvements have taken place as part of

a developing process, in which every local area has played a part. A brief review of these improvements will give comrades a better idea of how far we've progressed.

First of all, we have been able to achieve a much better balance of articles in *The Organizer*, and we have greatly improved our coverage of previously slighted areas. The fact that we've regularized our printing schedule so that we now come out regularly every two weeks with eight-page issues has given us much more space to expand this coverage. The index of articles which has been printed in *The Organizer* since the convention gives us an indication of this.

At our last convention, it was reported that, over a period of ten months, we had printed 19 issues which had included approximately 150 major articles. This time, we can report that in the six months since the convention, we have published 12 issues which have included approximately 128 major articles.

Two areas in which our coverage has increased most dramatically are women's liberation and sales of our press.

The following chart compares the number of articles we have printed thus far in 1971 to the number of articles printed during the first ten months of *The Organizer*, from March to December, 1970:

CATEGORY	1971	1970
Finances	21	21
Women's Liberation	19	8
Antiwar	18	21
Sales	12	7
Campus Elections	8	6
Black and Chicano Liberation	7	5
Defense	7	8
Education	7	13
High School	5	4
Recruitment	2	8
Regional	2	7
Gay Liberation	2	0
Arab Revolution	1	2

Although the figures on regional and recruitment are slightly misleading, since many articles on other areas of work dealt with these subjects. For example, a large number of articles on mass work discussed recruitment; still, these figures indicate the areas in which our coverage must be improved quite a bit. We expect to rectify this situation with coverage of our expanded fall activities.

One area of work in which the extent of our activity is really not reflected in the pages of *The Organizer* is high school work. We expect that much more attention to this will be paid by comrades when the high schools reopen in the fall.

A particularly outstanding improvement in our use of *The Organizer* has been the increased integration of it in specific areas of work, and a corresponding improvement in those areas of work on a national scale. This can best be seen in our success in this spring's financial campaign, including our fund drive victory. Since the convention, 21 articles dealing with finances were printed in *The Organizer*. Reports from comrades around the country have indicated that these articles, which included fund drive reports and scoreboards, reports from local areas on various aspects of the local campaigns, and special features, such as the educational on finances, played a key role in our immense success.

Another indication of the improved integration of *The Organizer* in our work is the steady increase in the number of contributions which we receive from the field. For the first few months that *The Organizer* was published, the lack of these kinds of articles was quite crippling in our efforts to make *The Organizer* more topical and relevant to our work. Currently, we are receiving about enough material from the field on a regular basis to round out each issue; and, in most issues, articles from the field are predominant.

We have also been successful in making *The Organizer* more timely to our major campaigns. Line articles from the center have most often been utilized to motivate our major activities while they are occurring.

We've also been able to make a number of technical improvements in *The Organizer*. For example, we've utilized visual aids like charts and graphs more frequently, and found less of a need for space fillers like abstract pictures and

symbols. The expansion of *The Organizer* staff from one to two full time comrades has made it considerably easier for us to improve the entire publication, to make its contents more current, and to get it published regularly and on time.

The diversity of articles printed—including reports from comrades in the center, contributions from the field, special features such as local Tasks and Perspectives reports, and also the various notices and brief articles which appear in "The Column"—can be considered a positive aspect of *The Organizer's* development.

Hopefully, the trend which was established with the spring financial campaign will continue throughout the fall, and *The Organizer* will be even more instrumental to our continuing progress in every area of work. It's obvious that *The Organizer* can continue to develop and expand to meet the needs of our growing organization if the YSA leadership as a whole collaborates in that development and expansion.

NEXT STEP FORWARD

We would like to propose that we take a big leap forward in the development of *The Organizer* by approving the expansion of our publication from a biweekly to a weekly at the beginning of the fall, so that we can begin at that time to give weekly coverage to all of our fall campaigns.

Since the inception of *The Organizer*, the establishment of a weekly has been a primary goal. It became quite evident to the first comrades who were assigned to *The Organizer* that this was a necessity after the very first issue was published.

A biweekly *Organizer* just cannot sufficiently meet the needs of an organization like ours; the current semi-monthly schedule means that we have to receive articles from the field that we want to print several weeks prior to the publication date. The upshot of this is that many of these articles are outdated even before they appear in print.

Having a weekly *Organizer* will greatly alleviate this problem. We will be able to publish articles from the field soon after we receive them since, with a weekly, we will always be in the midst of preparations for a new issue. This also means that comrades in the field will be informed of new developments in our work, and will receive information on what comrades in other parts of the country are doing much more quickly. We'll have more flexibility in orienting particular issues toward specific campaigns, too.

As it stands now, we try to focus each biweekly issue on the most immediate campaign in which we are engaged. But having only a biweekly allows us just two or three issues to discuss and plan for an antiwar conference, for example, and this information can often arrive too late to be of much use.

With a weekly, we will have twice as many issues per month to build for specific actions and conferences, and we will be able to keep comrades informed of the latest developments soon after they occur, rather than relying upon the full-page, overall reports, such as many of the antiwar reports we've had. A graphic example of this time lag is the fact that antiwar reports had to be written almost one month prior to the time comrades in the field received them via the biweekly *Organizer*.

The major reasons for this expansion have been implicit in every report given at this plenum. We will need a weekly publication in order to keep up with all of our expanded fall activities and the many new campaigns upon which we are embarking. This is obviously going to be the busiest fall the YSA has ever seen, and a weekly *Organizer* is a necessity if we are to adequately organize all of this activity.

We project making the initial weekly *Organizers* four-pagers, but only until we can take care of the organizational transitions that will be necessary, such as the training of a new staff person. Along with the perspective for a weekly, we are proposing to add a third staff person to *The Organizer* as soon as possible.

We also intend to experiment with the format of *The Organizer*, and try to come up with something that will be easier and possibly less expensive to put out. As our fall campaigns get rolling, we have the definite perspective of making *The*

Organizer a consistent eight-pager, or its equivalent if we are able to institute a format change.

A weekly will also give us an opportunity to involve many more comrades in the actual production of the paper, and especially in writing for it. We hope to have almost every YSA comrade in the country writing for *The Organizer* this fall. Thus, our publication will play a more significant role in developing leadership skills in all YSAers.

Already a rather wide layer of comrades in the National Office have gained the experience of working directly on the production of *The Organizer*. Increasing *The Organizer* staff will allow us to train even more comrades in these skills, such as editing, copy-reading, layout, picture cropping, etc.

Making *The Organizer* a weekly is quite a significant achievement for the YSA. Not only is this the first time that the YSA has been able to support and utilize a weekly publication, but it also makes us the only radical youth organization with our own weekly publication. None of our opponents can even come close to that.

A weekly *Organizer* is the logical continuation of all of the improvements in our paper which this report has already outlined. Taking this important step expands our organizational horizons immeasurably.

FALL CAMPAIGNS

In line with the character of the YSA as an organization of activists in the mass movements, a major aspect of *The Organizer* is its coverage of our participation in these movements. This fall, our two central mass work campaigns will be our work in helping to build the November 6 regional mass actions against the war, and the fall action for the repeal of all abortion laws. Obviously, we want to discuss our work in these campaigns, and exchange experiences, on a weekly basis.

With cooperation from all local areas, we should be able to include at least one article from the field on each of these campaigns in every single issue. The local leadership should be constantly on the lookout for new angles from which contributions can be written—for example, we'll want to share our experiences in helping to organize SMC chapters on the campuses in the fall, in helping to build local coalitions, in developing programs to reach out to special constituencies with the antiwar movement, and the many other ways in which the YSA has gained the reputation of being the most consistent builder of the antiwar movement.

Since the national abortion law repeal campaign is a new venture for us, our experiences in building this movement will be of special importance for the YSA nationally. We still need very detailed contributions on all aspects of the abortion campaign—how meetings are organized, how sponsors are collected, lessons we've learned from confrontations with our opponents, special ways we've found of recruiting to the YSA from our work in building the action, etc.

Every fraction of comrades working in these areas should regularly discuss and assign comrades to write *Organizer* articles. Of course, we also want regular contributions from comrades involved in all areas of external work; these two campaigns are used in this context as an example.

A special focus of *The Organizer* in the fall will be the other major campaigns which the YSA will be carrying out. Primary, of course, is the recruitment campaign. Most articles which comrades write about our work in the mass arenas should deal in part with recruitment, but we also want to place a special emphasis on separate articles on recruitment.

For example, we'll want to have weekly reports from our national recruitment campaign director along the lines of this spring's fund drive reports. To complement these reports, we'll need articles from recruitment directors across the country on experiences in recruiting, and on the ways in which we will organize ourselves to maximize recruitment gains.

A second campaign we will emphasize in *The Organizer* is the fall fund drive. Our work in this area will follow the lines which we developed in the spring campaign, but we'll want to be able to print much more material from the field on finances, and utilize weekly coverage to especially increase the participation of YSA at-large members in the fund drive and the fall financial campaign, with special articles on at-large fund raising and hopefully, some contributions from at-largers on their experiences in this area.

The third campaign which will be thoroughly discussed in *The Organizer* is the fall sub drive. Since this sub drive will be the largest ever and probably the first one for many YSAers, there will be a need to reiterate many of the lessons of past sub drives in *The Organizer*, and also to exchange our experiences in developing new ways of obtaining subs on the campuses and in the high schools.

The fourth campaign which will warrant our special attention is the campaign to improve our *Militant* and *ISR* sales. This type of campaign will also be a new experience for most YSAers, and will require a number of reports from the center, and many contributions from the field on our progress. We want *The Organizer* to play the same sort of role in this campaign that it did in helping to improve our finances this past spring. Already, comrades can see from reading *The Organizer* the increased attention that's been paid to sales lately.

As the Organization Report pointed out, we will be making a special effort to improve our regional work in a number of ways. *The Organizer* should be central to our regional plans. The regional staff, especially the regional organizer in each area, should devote sufficient attention to working with at-large comrades and those in outlying locals in preparing material for *The Organizer*, in utilizing it in our work with contacts, and in carefully absorbing the information which *The Organizer* regularly contains.

We especially need the collaboration of the regional staffs if we intend to increase our coverage of regional work. Articles should be sent in regularly on our experiences in expanding the regional apparatus, in recruiting at-largers, in setting up new locals, etc.

Finally, I want to talk about *The Organizer's* place in the biggest upcoming campaign of all—the 1972 Socialist Workers Party election campaign. We don't want to approach this campaign in quite the same way as all of the others; the big difference is that the 1972 campaign should permeate every other area of our work. It should be discussed in the pages of *The Organizer* in the context of our antiwar, women's liberation, Black and Chicano struggle, sales, and all of our other activity; the campaign will be a definite focus of every issue of *The Organizer*.

The Militant, of course, will be the campaign newspaper of the SWP and the YSA, but *The Organizer* will assume the role of the youth campaign organizer. Just as *The Organizer* concentrates on the organizational side of the YSA's political life, so too will it report on the organizational side of the '72 campaign.

One thing we hope to establish in the fall is a special campaign page, which will deal primarily with our experiences in organizing and recruiting from the Young Socialist supporter groups. Our success in this will depend upon contributions from comrades in the field from the beginning of the next school term on through the entire campaign. We are confident that the increased use of *The Organizer* in our campaign activities will lead to substantial bundle increases by many locals.

Just a few general points should be made here on the importance of *The Organizer* in these campaigns. The scope of the articles which we will be able to print in the fall issues will depend upon the amount of attention which the local leadership in all areas gives to soliciting material for *The Organizer*. In this sense, the key component in our fall plans for *The Organizer* is the work of comrades in the field.

Whenever comrades are debating whether or not to write up an article on a particular experience, it should be kept in mind that comrades in other parts of the country are probably grappling with similar questions and, therefore, an article which sheds light on the subject will certainly be relevant and useful.

Articles for *The Organizer*, without exception, should be viewed as contributions to our movement's collective body of written knowledge, which we can use to educate new comrades long after they have appeared in a particular issue.

AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT

Now, briefly, I want to go over a few of the remaining weaknesses in *The Organizer*, and suggest some ways in which we can overcome these as soon as possible.

Probably our most immediate problem is the fact that, despite improvement, we still do not put *The Organizer* to full use in our local activities. We've had many indications, through letters, tours, etc., that *The Organizer* is most ef-

fectively utilized by comrades in newer locals and at-large areas—comrades with the least amount of experience in our movement. These comrades depend on the information which *The Organizer* provides in carrying out their work in the mass movements and in organizing new locals. Our job now is to utilize *The Organizer* fully in the larger, more established locals. Every YSA comrade should understand the importance of keeping up with *The Organizer*.

We should include discussion of *The Organizer* in executive committee and local meetings regularly. This gives the local the opportunity to keep on top of developments which should be written up for *The Organizer*. The assignment of an exec comrade as *Organizer* correspondent would greatly enhance *The Organizer's* usefulness by systematizing both the integration of the paper in the local's work, and the solicitation of articles to contribute.

Fractions should also consistently use *The Organizer* by discussing the various pertinent articles in fraction meetings. Often times, brief educational can be organized on the basis of certain articles, such as past contributions we've had on defense and other topics.

The key to getting every comrade in the local to read *The Organizer* is to efficiently distribute it, so that every comrade gets a copy in her or his hands regularly. For this purpose, at least one comrade should be assigned to oversee the distribution of *The Organizer* at local meetings. We have had reports from local areas on a number of ways which have been devised to efficiently distribute *The Organizer*.

One local distributor labels each copy with a comrade's name and passes these out before the business meeting. Comrades who aren't present get their copies mailed to them with the city letter. Another local assigns a comrade to hawk *The Organizer* at business meetings.

We feel confident that there will be a steady increase in the bundle orders of all the locals, if closer attention is paid to distributing *The Organizer* to every comrade.

In order to continue improving *The Organizer*, we will also need a steady increase in the number of contributions which we receive from each local on a weekly basis. Unfortunately, the staff still spends a large part of its time soliciting articles from the field; the majority of all articles which eventually appear in *The Organizer* are first conceived of by comrades on the staff or other comrades in the National Office.

This is a sign of weakness in our publication, not of strength. As we are more successful in integrating the paper into all areas of our work, ideas for articles should come more naturally from all YSAers.

A final problem we should deal with here is the mailing problem. Unfortunately, the inadequacy of the U.S. postal system is not something which we have power to control. The results of the survey we took several weeks ago on the various arrival times of *Organizer* bundles indicate that the bundles arrive anywhere from three to seven days after they've been mailed, which is a considerable improvement over the two weeks it took under our now defunct second class permit. Although we can't project an immediate solution to this problem, we will continue to experiment with mailing systems, and will attempt once more to obtain a newspaper permit from the postal department.

FINANCING THE WEEKLY ORGANIZER

I want to briefly review the business side of *The Organizer* at this point. Along with the projection that *The Organizer* be expanded to a weekly, we want to propose to the National Committee that the cover price of the paper be increased from 10c to 20c; the cost to locals would then increase from 7c to 16c per copy. This increase is necessary in order to help ease the deficit on which *The Organizer* has been functioning from its inception.

Based on our current run of 2000, it costs approximately 24c per copy to print and mail *The Organizer*, yet we've only been taking in about \$23 from bundle orders per issue.

The National Office budget has had to almost totally subsidize *The Organizer* because so little money has been returned from bundle orders and subscriptions. Increasing the cover price will not eliminate the need for this subsidy, but it will decrease it considerably.

Provided that locals carry out the campaign to eradicate the back debts, and are able to keep current on their *Organizer* bills, the price increase

continued on the following page

will return 16c per copy for the bundles. The subsidy will then only have to make up an 8c deficit.

Some comrades may be wondering why *The Organizer* is so expensive to have printed, especially in comparison with *The Militant*, which costs only 25c for 24 pages. The reason for this difference is basically that *The Organizer* has a much smaller run than *The Militant*, and is therefore more costly to print, even with the expansion of Photo Comp Press's facilities. Also, the paper on which *The Organizer* is printed, and its special layout, contribute to its cost. Although we are projecting an experimentation with less expensive formats, etc., it is not realistic to project a lower cost at this time.

As comrades can see, then, the projected price increase to 20c per copy is vital to our successful expansion to a weekly in the fall. In discussing this proposal prior to the plenum, it was apparent that we simply had to reorganize the finances of the publication in this way. It didn't seem likely that paying an additional 10c per copy would place an undue financial strain on each comrade.

* * *

The major proposal in this report—expanding *The Organizer* to a weekly at the beginning of the fall—should be seen in conjunction with all of our other plans for expanded activity in the fall. Just as with all of the plans being made

at this plenum, the quantitative and qualitative improvement of our publication is contingent upon the role that the national and local leadership plays, as outlined in this report.

We've come a long way with *The Organizer* over the past sixteen months, and we will be able to take a crucial stride forward immediately after the plenum. In short, the expanded weekly *Organizer* will be one of our most important tools in expanding the YSA and winning hegemony in the student movement.

LAURA MILLER
YSA National Office

Wisconsin Abortion Coalition

On April 19, Dane County District Attorney Gerald Nichols ordered a raid on the Midwest Medical Center, the only legal abortion clinic in Wisconsin. Police confiscated all equipment and records, and charges on two counts of criminal abortion were brought against Dr. Kennan. His four female assistants were in addition charged with "aiding and abetting" the abortions.

The next morning, as news of the raid was reported in the Madison newspapers, close to 300 women stormed outside Nichols' office to condemn angrily this flagrant denial of women's basic right to control our own bodies. At this demonstration, and throughout the upsurge, the Women's Action Movement, which is the only action-oriented women's liberation group in Madison, was looked to for leadership.

The Women's Action Movement saw this raid as just one more indication that the fight for legal abortion would be a long struggle and that there was an immediate need for a viable and broad-based coalition that could respond to this attack on women's rights and lead the struggle to repeal all anti-abortion legislation.

A mass meeting was thus called to launch such a coalition and 60 women attended, representing women's groups from throughout the city, Zero Population Growth, and independent women drawn into activity as a result of the raid on the abortion clinic.

At this meeting, some women did not see the need for an on-going struggle for the right to abortion and thought that the coalition should simply focus on the defense of Dr. Kennan and the immediate reopening of the abortion clinic. The proposal from the Women's Action Movement steering committee, however, was passed emphasizing the need to build a statewide movement that would be capable of turning the anger and militancy of women into a powerful political force.

The Wisconsin Coalition for the Repeal of Abortion and Contraception Laws adopted a program based on the demand for the total repeal of all abortion and contraception laws and that the charges be dropped against Kennan and his staff. The Coalition also demanded that no charges be brought against any of Dr. Kennan's patients, that the records and equipment seized in the raid be returned, and that the clinic and others like it be allowed to reopen unharassed.

The Coalition sent out an immediate press release announcing its demands and plans for a demonstration on April 27. About 200 enthusiastic women participated in this action despite rain and some confusion because of a change in the location of the demonstration.

During this demonstration we also received word that a Federal District judge had granted an injunction which would allow Kennan to re-

open the clinic and prevent the prosecution of him or his staff. The court battle continued, however, in later weeks with a long series of legal decisions being made and overturned almost daily, leaving the legality of abortion in Wisconsin unresolved.

In the meantime, the Wisconsin Coalition for the Repeal of Abortion and Contraception Laws continued to organize women in the fight to control our own bodies. A second demonstration on May 8 was planned demanding the total repeal of the abortion laws, and the Coalition sent a delegation of women to the Governor's office with 3,000 signatures on petitions gathered by the ZPG and the Women's Counseling Service for this same demand.

The excitement and enthusiasm of many women in the Coalition during this spring showed the potential of the struggle against any restriction on women's right to control our own bodies. The Women's Action Movement is planning to continue building the Coalition and spearhead the campaign to build the fall national action for the repeal of all abortion laws.

PATTY MELNICK
Madison YSA

Miami U. Campus Elections

The Oxford Young Socialist Alliance has recently completed a campaign for the student government offices at Miami University, which is a state-assisted liberal arts university with an enrollment of approximately 12,000 students in Oxford, Ohio.

As we began our campaign, the YSA did not have full recognition as a campus organization, and we saw the campaign as being an important means of advancing our struggle for recognition, in addition to getting out our basic program and building April 24. In regard to recognition, the campaign was a complete victory in that within two weeks after the conclusion of the elections, the Oxford YSA received full recognition as a campus organization.

Our campaign also played an important role in supporting a struggle currently being waged by a broadly representative coalition to have contraceptives made available to women students at the campus health clinic and to have the university hire a full-time female gynecologist by next fall. (See *The Young Socialist Organizer*, 4-2-71.)

We encountered several problems during the course of the campaign. The first of which being that there were only four comrades in the local when we initiated the campaign. Three comrades were candidates and the fourth coordinated the campaign. The energies required by the campaign, however, somewhat strained our effectiveness in other work areas, but the results of the campaign absolutely confirmed that we had made the right decision in launching the campaign.

We found the limitations imposed by an elections committee on the period of campaigning, the

financing of the campaign, and the means of campaigning to be unduly restrictive. These arbitrary and often absurd regulations seemed calculated to minimize participation in the elections. We feel that the basis for challenging some of these restrictions has been clearly established and that there is a real possibility for eliminating them in the future.

The campus newspaper also refused to become fully involved in the elections, and this greatly hampered our effectiveness in reaching many students. The paper accepted short statements from each of the candidates, but gave its endorsements without any comment whatsoever.

Despite the fact that our campaign was the first socialist campaign in the school's history and that our candidate for president was the first woman to run for that office in nearly 20 years, the campus newspaper was unable to make any pertinent comments in this regard. Moreover, when our campaign approached the other four candidates in the presidential primary about endorsing April 24, and three of them did, the paper refused to publicize this fact.

Prior to the primary election, our candidates held several dorm talks that were fairly well received. At these dorm talks we would pass out our campaign brochures, give a brief introduction about the campaign, and then ask for questions. This procedure was quite effective, but we were not able to do it often enough.

Our candidate for president debated the four other primary candidates before about 70 students and was interviewed with the other candi-

dates on the university television station. Unfortunately both the debate and interview did not really focus in on the political questions involved as the other candidates would make repeated pledges to "work effectively through channels" to improve the school. Thus to many students the elections seemed to be an apolitical matter, and we had difficulty in overcoming this attitude.

In the primary, our presidential candidate received 415 votes out of a total of 3,233, or slightly more than one-eighth of the vote, which, considering the character of the campaign, was extremely good. The campaign clearly established the YSA on campus. We gained a large number of new contacts, and by the end of the term we had recruited five new comrades!

We printed 4,000 brochures. The cost of the brochure, \$91.00, was financed by a special campaign sustainer. We utilized the "YSA Program for the Campus Revolt" and material from another campus campaign in the Ohio region in drafting our brochure.

We felt that having an attractive, professionally printed brochure was well worth the additional cost in that it showed how seriously we regarded the elections. Anyone wishing to have a copy of this brochure should just write the Oxford YSA, Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45056.

QUINN ROBINSON
Oxford YSA

Regional Work in the Midwest

The Midwest region is one of the largest in the country, stretching 800 miles from Indiana to eastern Kansas. The regional center, Chicago, is not centrally located for the locals and at-largers scattered over the region. However, we have begun taking steps to overcome these objective difficulties facing our regional work.

In light of the decisions of the YSA nationally on regional work and considering the great opportunities open to us in the Midwest—the scarcity of organized opponents, the depth of the radicalization—we decided to begin building a real regional apparatus and developing a consciousness in all the locals of the importance of regional work.

Up to the present time, our regional work has centered on firming up the existing locals and developing closer collaboration between the locals and the center. We felt that this work should precede any extensive trailblazing, because expansion into new areas would be far more successful if there were well-developed locals to take advantage of and further that expansion. Without the consolidation of the existing locals we would be recruiting people out in the "middle of nowhere" and not getting back to see them for a month and a half—maybe they'd still be there and maybe they wouldn't.

How did we concretely go about meeting the goals we set? Two factors proved to be key: regular monthly regional meetings in St. Louis (the approximate geographic center of the region and equally inaccessible to all comrades); and periodic trips to each of the locals by the regional organizer.

Although the locals did select representatives to a regional committee, *all* members and close contacts from the outlying locals were encouraged to attend, especially executive committee members. The meetings were set up in the same way as local business meetings, including reports on the past month's activities by each local and at-large area as well as reports and discussions on the national campaigns we were carrying out. In this way the locals and at-large members were able to share their experiences, learn from each other's successes and setbacks, and benefit from the knowledge and experience of comrades who were heading up areas of work in Chicago.

At one meeting we discovered that the situations faced by all four locals in women's liberation work were almost identical. This led to the suggestion that the women's fractions exchange re-

ports and minutes with each other by mail. This is just one example of the value of regional collaboration.

The tours by the regional organizer also served to strengthen the locals by increasing contact between them and the center. We learned a number of things through the tours conducted this spring that should greatly improve regional work in the fall.

First, for the tours to have the maximum value, the regional organizer should spend at least five days in each local. This gives him or her enough time to get a good grasp of the local's activity in all areas, to meet with each fraction, with the executive committee and with the organizer several times.

Second, the regional organizer must combine the roles of organizer, educator and public spokesperson for the YSA. One of the main ways we plan to finance regional work is through honoraria for the organizer while on tour. This means he or she must be ready to speak on a number of topics at any time. The regional organizer should also have educationals prepared on topics which are of specific interest to the local being visited. For example, if going to a local planning a campus election campaign, an educational on socialist electoral policy would be useful.

Third, the regional organizer should have a firm grasp of the organization of our finances. It would be a good idea for the National Office to provide regional organizers with the YSA financial handbook. The regional organizer must be prepared to help the local financial directors and play a role in raising the financial consciousness of all the locals.

Another important role regional organizers can play is that of Pathfinder Press representative. One day in each local should be spent visiting professors and bookstores with a comrade from the local, training him or her to do Pathfinder work on a regular basis. I did this one afternoon with a comrade at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb. In just two hours we were able to get orders for desk copies of 25 or 30 Pathfinder titles, including a significant selection of Mandel and Novack from an ex-Stalinist professor.

In short the regional organizer must be thoroughly familiar with *every* area of our work.

We discovered this spring that in a region the size of ours it is very difficult, if not impossible, for one comrade to be both a regional traveler/

trailblazer and regional organizer. Because of the expansion of our movement and the need for a full time regional organizer in order to build a strong region, it is important to separate these two functions.

We project that in the fall the regional locals will take responsibility for bringing the YSA into new areas, with the center providing assistance in particularly promising situations. If the financial situation permits we want to have both a regional organizer and a trailblazer. The trailblazer (or regional field secretary, to use a less woody appellation) would operate from each local or at-large area in turn, going to campuses in the area, giving talks, selling literature, and recruiting. The locals could continue follow-up work after the regional field secretary had moved on.

One final suggestion concerns the way regional meetings are organized. In this area a certain amount of flexibility is in order. We should keep in mind that when comrades are asked to travel long distances to meetings, it is important that they get as much out of them as possible. This means structuring the meetings in such a way as to best utilize the time available.

In addition to the area reports and discussions we might try things like educationals by leading SWP comrades with whom YSAers out in the region do not come in contact very often; workshops on such topics as graphics, Pathfinder work, finances; and informal activities where comrades can relax and get to know comrades from other parts of the region.

Much has been learned from regional work in the past year; much remains to be done. But I think we can look forward to the time when no major campus in this country will be without a local of the YSA building today's independent mass movements and the revolutionary socialist movement itself. Only the continued development of regional work by every local of the YSA will make that a reality. We must take what we have learned and prepare ourselves to go onto the campuses this fall to strengthen every local we now have and build dozens of new ones all across the country.

FRED MURPHY
Chicago YSA

New YSA Buttons and Pamphlets

The YSA has launched an ambitious series of publications in preparation for the fall offensive. Some materials are already available and can be ordered from the YSA National Office.

At-large YSA members, as well as YSA locals which owe the National Office more than \$100, must send payment in full with their orders.

ORGANIZING THE YSA

Since its first publication in April 1970 *Organizing the YSA* has proved to be a useful tool for both new and more established YSA locals, providing valuable information on how to organize a local and relating that day-to-day practical advice to an explanation of our principle of organization, democratic centralism.

A second edition was published last November and included additional aspects of the YSA's organization—in regional work, for example—as well as more details on such specific topics as sales, defense, and finances. Most of the additions were articles which first appeared in *The YS Organizer*.

With the continuing expansion of the YSA it became clear that the need existed for not one but a whole series of organizational handbooks. Therefore, the third edition of *Organizing the YSA* is being published in several parts.

The first section deals primarily with general concepts of the organization of the revolutionary socialist movement—from why we use the method of democratic centralism to how we conduct YSA local business meetings. In addition, this section

includes an article on defense work which provides a concise explanation of how we approach defense of our movement.

The articles included in the first section are "The Organizational Concepts of the YSA," by Mary-Alice Waters, "An Organizational Guide for YSA Locals," by Robin Maisel, and "How Revolutionists Defend Themselves," by Carole Seidman. Also included are the YSA Constitution, a sample of local minutes, and a basic reading list.

The material in this first section will be invaluable for new locals and for classes in all locals. All regional organizers or regional travelers should have several copies available for at-large members or new locals.

The pamphlet is 8 1/2" x 11" in size and 32 pages in length. Since it is primarily for internal use rather than for sale to the general public, the price of 30c reflects the actual cost of the pamphlet and no discount is offered for bulk orders.

NEW BUTTONS

The first three buttons of what is projected to be a full new line of buttons and posters are now available.

The "YSA" button is 7/8" in diameter and available in red on yellow, blue on green, and black on tan. The cost is 15c each for less than 20; or 10c each for orders of 20 or more.

The "Repeal All Abortion Laws" button, in orange and white on black, 1 1/2" in diameter, was a best-seller at the recent national women's

abortion law repeal conference. In addition to selling this button themselves, YSA locals should make sure local abortion or women's liberation groups know about the button and that they can order it in quantity from the YSA National Office. The cost is 25c each for less than 20; or 15c each for orders of 20 or more.

The "Self Determination for Palestine" button, black on white, 1 1/2" in diameter, will become increasingly popular on campus as more and more students learn the truth about the Palestinian struggle and are won to the support of the Arab revolution. International student organizations may be interested in ordering this button in quantity as well. The cost is 25c each for less than 20; or 15c each for orders of 20 or more.

The discount price in each case applies if the *total* order is more than 20 buttons and not only if more than 20 of a particular button is ordered.

Other buttons available from the YSA National Office are "By Any Means Necessary," "Bring the Troops Home Now," "Viva Che," the Che picture button, and the Lenin and Trotsky YSA button, all at the 25c/15c rate; "Bring Me Home Alive," at 30c each for less than 20 or 18c each for 20 or more; and the red button at 15c each for less than 20 or 10c each for 20 or more.

NANCY COLE
YSA National Office

young socialist the organizer

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

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LOCAL OR AT-LARGE AREA

	NUMBER	COST
ORGANIZING THE YSA	_____	_____
YSA BUTTON	_____	_____
ABORTION REPEAL BUTTON	_____	_____
PALESTINE BUTTON	_____	_____
TOTAL COST		_____
PLEASE BILL US _____		
ENCLOSED IS \$ _____		

NOTICE TO READERS

Beginning with this issue the cover price of The Young Socialist Organizer has been raised to 20c. Discount rates for bundles are available on request. The subscription rate has been increased to \$10 per year for individuals and \$20 per year for institutions. All current subscriptions will, of course, continue to their previously-determined expiration date. Effective immediately, all renewals and new subscriptions will be at the new rates. These price increases are part of an overall expansion program for The Young Socialist Organizer. For more details, see the full report on The Young Socialist Organizer which was adopted by the recent National Committee plenum of the YSA.