

The enclosed three antiwar reports were given at a joint meeting of the New York resident National Committee members of the Socialist Workers Party and the YSA's National Executive Committee. They should be handled like any normal NEC report-- that is, their contents should be summarized for the membership of each local.

## Antiwar Report -- J. Barnes

The purpose of tonight's meeting is to discuss both the general political situation we face in the antiwar movement which you have had a chance to read in Farrell's memorandum, and secondly to bring the comrades up to date on what has transpired since Muste's death and where we stand now vis-a-vis the April 15 Spring Mobilization. We thought the most effective way to do this was to have a general report, a report on the Student Mobilization Committee, and a survey on how preparations for the action are proceeding around the country.

The forces in support of the Spring Mobilization have continued to increase steadily over the past two months. This includes a small, but significant endorsement by a section of the labor movement for the first time for one of these national actions against the war. The addition of new forces is symbolized partially by the addition of the two new vice chairmen. Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, is one new vice chairman and Dagmar Wilson, national leader of Women Strike for Peace, is the other. The first, Robinson, symbolizes the new forces that have come in, and the second, Dagmar Wilson, symbolizes the decision of the old forces not to leave.

Last week the Militant carried a roundup front page article on the official endorsements of the Mobilization by the labor movement. The Northern California District Council of the ILWU, the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO (who sent three council delegates from three different unions to the Spring Mobilization Steering Committee in San Francisco), the president of the California AFT, and Al Evanoff of District 65 here in New York, have all formally and publicly endorsed the Mobilization. Since the Militant article, Kipp reports that local 10 and 6 of the ILWU, and the Women's Auxiliary, local 16, have both voted to officially endorse the Mobilization and have pledged to mobilize their members to come out. The Golden Gate branch of the National Association of Social Workers has officially endorsed the Mobilization.

It is especially important to note the agreement by Emil Mazey to be a featured speaker at the anti Vietnam-war rally in Chicago March 25. Other speakers will be Dr. Spock and Martin Luther King. The fact of Mazey's speaking was noted today in a column in Chicago's major newspapers so it appears Mazey's appearance will get significant publicity. This is the first time any figure of this rank in the labor movement has publicly spoken at a big antiwar rally -- and everyone recognizes it is not simply a personal decision.

In Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York, there are labor sub-committees of the Mobilization Committees and the ones in

San Francisco and Los Angeles have been actively working to get labor support for the Mobilization, and the one in New York is making plans to do this on a large scale in the next five weeks. Of course this doesn't represent large labor forces, but what is important is that the small breakthrough into the labor movement we have been looking for has been made for the first time.

Our comrades are very active in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York in the labor sub-committees of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

In the Negro movement the breakthrough has not been as big as in the labor movement, though formal support has been obtained as in the previous mobilizations, from leaders of SNCC and CORE. On the West Coast two Negro student organizations -- the San Francisco Friends of SNCC and the Black Student Union of San Francisco State College and Carlton Goodlett, the publisher of the San Francisco Sun Reporter, have become official endorsers of the Mobilization. Also, Eldridge Cleaver is heading up an Afro-American sub-committee of the West Coast Mobilization Committee whose purpose is to build a separate feeder march from the ghetto into the march in San Francisco. In New York a separate feeder march is being organized from Harlem. It is too early to tell how successful it will be. More importantly, plans are being made for an anti Vietnam-war rally in Harlem on April 1, at which the Harlem nationalists, radicals and James Bevel will speak together. Also, Martin Luther King's attack on the war, and his demand last week for withdrawal of troops from Vietnam is an indication of the pressure that exists.

Perhaps the biggest new development in this Mobilization as compared to past Days of Protest has been in the increase in sheer quantity of people who are beginning to turn out to support and actively build the Mobilization in the two centers. The numbers of volunteers, the numbers of those willing to do work, to distribute leaflets, etc., the numbers of people attending organizing meetings and the numbers of new young people coming around, are all much greater than in any previous action -- and they are becoming active at an earlier stage before the mobilization than previously. Now we are five weeks away from April 15, and this may not seem to the comrades to give us much time, but in the last mobilizations we were two or three weeks away from the dates before we could be sure they would be successful.

We have had little trouble in getting sponsors for the Mobilization though some "moderates" have balked. Already the West Coast has signed up 400 sponsors.

The major problem thus far has been in maintaining the support of the conservative peace groups. To understand the trouble we have been having with such groups as Women Strike for Peace, the American Friends Service Committee, and SANE, that led to the blow up last weekend, we have to review the history of the devel-

opment of this mobilization a little. At the Cleveland Conference on November 28 neither the youth organizations or the conservative peace groups were widely represented. The conference bulk was made up mainly of the radical pacifists, various sponsors of the November 5 Mobilization, and the YSA and SWP. Much of what we did in Cleveland was therefore an anticipation of bringing in larger forces. We nailed down April 15 and set the wheels in motion in cooperation with A.J. Muste as chairman, to start building the Mobilization. We did not force a vote there on the withdrawal line, but concentrated on getting a date set and the best possible organizational structure set up to build the mobilization. We then had three jobs; try to draw in the other youth and campus forces, draw in the broader forces that we thought existed, and set a political tone around the country that would maximize the effect of these mobilizations to be clearly for self-determination for Vietnam. A month later at the student conference in Chicago we turned a conference organized by the Stalinists into a vehicle for setting up the Student Mobilization Committee which was for withdrawal in support of April 15. This student conference played an important role in preventing the reversal of the decisions made in Cleveland and it helped to get the organization of the Mobilization off the ground. By mid-January a representative of the civil rights movement, James Bevel, agreed to become executive director of the Mobilization Committee.

It wasn't until February 1 that Muste returned from north Vietnam and helped to write the first draft of the call. There was a great deal of debate and foot-dragging by the right wing in connection with getting out the call. But what was finally arrived at was a call that for the first time in a national protest had the line of withdrawal. Up until now the themes of the official calls have been "end the war" with us trying to impose the withdrawal slogan and spirit as much as we could on the action. This April 15 call addresses itself specifically to the G.I.'s and black people, and for the first time, to the labor movement. The call says "to labor, facing higher taxes and prices while war profits soar and pressures are applied against wage increases and the right to strike." Secondly, the call attacks the U.S. for violating the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese and states, "We march to dramatize the world-wide hope that the United States remove its troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese can determine their own future in their own way."

The line of the call is in contradiction to the public line of both the traditional peace organizations and many of the new forces that are starting to be drawn around the Mobilization. The right wing came in too late to dominate the writing of the call and they were "trapped" by their own rhetoric which over the past months has been in words for the withdrawal of American troops. They tried to hedge by supporting at the same time the contradictory position in favor of negotiations -- but even or-

ganizations such as Women Strike for Peace have given in somewhat in the past period to the increasing pressures within the movement to support the withdrawal line.

The biggest attempt to water down the call came after the draft call was actually mailed out. On February 27 at a steering committee meeting of the San Francisco Spring Mobilization Committee, representatives of the AFSC, Women Strike for Peace, the CP, and the Democratic Party opened up an attack on the call. Their position was that a demand which included negotiations had to be substituted for the withdrawal section of the call. After a long debate a motion was passed by a vote of approximately 44 to 35, to ask the national Mobilization Committee to reverse its position in the call. Following this defeat we were able to gain a majority in favor of a motion saying that if New York ended up keeping the original call, the West Coast wing of the Mobilization wouldn't break away or draw up a new call of their own.

Three days later there was scheduled a national working committee of the Spring Mobilization Committee. A delegate from Women Strike for Peace brought in the decision made on the West Coast and opened up the same debate here. Once again there was a debate, but this time we were able to defeat the attempt to change the call -- with Keating, Bevel and Abner Grunaur of SANE supporting us -- by a vote of nineteen to seven. Thus the withdrawal character of the call was maintained and the right wing was held in the Mobilization Committee, in spite of this.

We could of course function as we have in the past with a call that did not demand withdrawal as long as it did not contradict self-determination and left us freedom of action. However under the present conditions, watering down the call -- even without imposing the negotiations position -- would have been a step backwards politically and a blow to the morale of especially the youth in building for April 15.

There are two more things to be noted. One is the appearance of the reform Democrats, and Kennedy Democrat types in the mobilization committees. This has been noticed especially in New York and San Francisco. Second is Arnold Johnson's affirmation, at the New York Steering Committee meeting following the defeat of the proposal to put negotiations in the call, of the determination of the CP to help build the mobilization. This was made clear in the March 7 Worker which opened a campaign with a signed article by Johnson stressing the importance of the Spring Mobilization, along with an editorial urging the organization of buses for transportation to the two mobilizations and a front page box advertising the mobilization.

While there will be more differences and frictions, it looks now as if the Mobilization will be large. Also, the destabilizing effect of Muste's death on this coalition has been neutralized for the moment although his absence has made the practi-

cal organizational and financial problems of the Mobilization Committee more difficult to solve and has put a cloud over the post-April 15 regroupment for the next step forward.

All this takes place within the framework of Lyndon Johnson's most recent escalation. Johnson has, for the moment, turned away from a negotiations posture, and has begun what is clearly another major escalation of the war which, in itself has had an impact on the people we are working with, including the right wing of the movement.

All of these new developments and our consideration of the general tasks and problems that will face us following April 15, re-emphasize our key tasks in the next five weeks of preparation: 1) the building of student participation in the movement as an independent and strong force; 2) maximizing the small but important breakthrough into the labor movement; and 3) bringing about the further participation of the Negro movement. These tasks are the key both to making this Mobilization qualitatively bigger than the previous ones and to giving us the best possible situation within the movement to work after the current coalition is hit by the severe stresses likely after April 15.

In addition to our work inside the antiwar organizations, we are intervening in the movement through our own propaganda campaign. The Militant has opened up a new column -- a Spring Mobilization campaign column -- which will be carried from now until April 15. Most locals should have started to organize getting the combined \$1.00 Militant-YS subscriptions into the hands of the forces we are working with.

The youth have distributed a 54,000 run of three brochures in the name of the YSA supporting the Mobilization, as part of building support for the Spring Mobilization, and have ordered their second run. In addition the YSA is running two national tours to present both the position of the YSA on the Vietnam war and the antiwar movement and to build the April 15 Mobilization.

Finally, the practical details of the marches have been tentatively laid out. In San Francisco there will be a four mile march up Market Street ending up in a rally in Kezar Stadium. In New York the demonstrators will gather in Central Park's Sheep's Meadow and the plan is to march down 5th Avenue and across town on 42nd Street to the rally at the United Nations.

March 6, 1967