DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Volume 9 No. 5 February 1966

ORGANIZATIONAL BULLETIN

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	Literature												
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35 cents

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

YSA, BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

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AREA REPORTS

Ann Arbor

The Ann Arbor local was formed in August with six comrades three of whom were at-large members in Ann Arbor and three of whom transferred from Detroit. In the course of the last semester we recruited six new members.

The radical milieu in Ann Arbor is dominated by the local chapter of SDS, Voice Political Party. Voice has a membership of 200, an attendance at business meetings of 20-100, and can mobilize a core of 200 people to major activities it undertakes on Vietnam.

There is a dual aspect to our functioning on campus: on the one hand we are members of Voice, work openly within it as YSAers, and participate in its activities, on the other hand our major axis revolves around our independent propaganda and contact work.

In anti-war work: the SDS leadership has succeeded in sabotaging all attempts, especially our own, to establish an independent CEWVN. With our strengthened base this semester, we give precedence to intensifying our anti-war work, becoming widely identified as the serious anti-war activists, concretely proposing the best program for the March 25 and 26th days, aiming toward the formation of an independent committee, and selling the Newsletter.

John B.

Berkeley

The beginning of the fall semester, 1965, found the Berkeley local with somewhat reduced forces. In the preceding year we had lost several comrades through transfers and some through normal turnover. As a result, although our work has continued on at least a minimal level, we have found ourselves restricted in the development of regular and attractive functions on the campus itself. Financially, we have had few problems, due to an excellently organized treasury and fairly conscientious contribution from comrades.

Our major task, at least for the next year, will be the building of a viable base on the campus, and the development of basic internal education that will allow us to grow.

The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee: The Berkeley VDC developed very rapidly, and somewhat spectacularly, after the teach-in of May 21st and 22nd. From a small group of

independents organized out of the united front to support the March on Washington, it has grown into an organization that can expect 150 to 200 people at its weekly membership meetings, and whose budget for 1965 will probably exceed \$100,000. However, the organizational and political problems attendent with its growth have been unresolved and, as a result, have left serious scars on the organization.

The general radicalism of the Committee was demonstrated very clearly by the fact that a motion offering total support for the NLF would have clearly passed by a vast majority, but for the consideration of the non-exclusionary policy of the Committee. Unfortunately, the radicalism of the independent Committee members is based upon subjective and emotional judgements, and has never developed a clear political or organizational understanding beneath it. In addition, the leadership of the committee, which has never been elected, but just "exists", has no coherent program, no consistent view of the objectives of the Committee, and no continuity. It has become clear that the success of the VDC is not so much dependent on the organizational and political leadership which it has offered to students in Berkeley, but on the underlying radicalism which appears to exist on the Berkeley campus.

As a result of the tremendous confusion within the organization, the Committee is flying from proposal to proposal in the conviction that some action exists which will automatically give it programmatic clarity and a guarantee of continued existence. In this process, the Committee has swung quite far to the right, with redbaiting, coalition politics, and, occasionally, adventurism, coming to the fore. As a result, it has been difficult as yet to build a viable grouping around the Caucus, or to advance the ideas which we feel might solve some of the VDC's problems. However, we are continuing our work in the Committee to make our ideas at all times clear, and to build the Committee and the Caucus, with the understanding that the situation could begin to change at any time.

The Merritt College Vietnam Day Committee: On the Merritt Campus of Oakland City College, a J.C., we, along with some independents; organized an active VDC. At the beginning of last semester, the only functioning on campus group was the extremely conservative SLATE chapter. The VDC rented an office opposite campus, consistently held campus rallies, and set up a literature table which included YSTs and our Vietnam pamphlet.

The nine rather disorganized DuBois clubers and one active SDS er, did not become openly antagonistic until after the Washington Conference. On the whole, our leadership had the support of the Committee. A motion calling for support of a national organization of independent committees passed unanimously, along with a motion calling for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. Paper membership of the

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campus Committee totaled 50, but realistically there were 20 active students.

Two people from the Committee have joined YSA and many more are interested. Next semester emphasis in the Merritt VDC will be on building the Committee and recruiting to the Caucus.

Sales: The demonstrations called by the Berkeley VDC have given us new experiences in literature sales. the May teach-in and the August Assembly of Unrepresented People were held at a single location we were able to have a table or car to act as a center for literature distribution. At the November march we set up a table at the forming point of the march and distributed "War and Revolution in Vietnam" to comrades to sell along the route of the march. After the march began, three conrades in a car full of literature drove ahead of the march to determine its final destination and to set up a table at this point. When the comrades participating in the march arrived, the table provided a center for literature distribution. As a result, we sold over 700 Vietnam pamphlets in about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours and a total of over \$280 worth of literature and buttons during the eight hours of the demonstration.

CABS: Last July the San Francisco Mime Troupe agreed to perform "The Minstrel Show" as a CABS benefit. We conducted an intensive publicity campaign putting up about 500 posters in local stores and distributing thousands of leaflets on campus and at theaters in the area. We sold 1618 tickets at prices of \$2.00 for students and \$2.50 for non-students. We also held a dinner party for professors before the first performance and charged \$10.00 per person. After all expenses were paid, we were able to contribute almost \$1800 to CABS.

Jäimey A. Syd S. Ernie E.

Boston

Every comrade has been assigned to help organize independent C'sEWVN and/or work with other peace and political groups in the Boston area. Our first successful attempts at working with other groups on Vietnam and other issues came last summer when a few YSAers, along with some disenchanted SDSers, formed a Cambridge CEWVN. After the Cambridge 'c' Committee made several unsuccessful attempts at community organizing the fall term began and we pushed for campus organizing.

Our comrades along with independents from the Cambridge CEWVN organized four independent committees plus an active Vietnam Committee of SDS. The Cambridge Committee called

and publicized the October 16 demonstration. At first the Stalinist leadership of Harvard-Radcliffe SDS opposed endorsing the demonstration, but, as in other cases this year, they were out voted by the membership. Thræthousand turned out for the rally at the Boston Common.

The Greater Boston Committee was formed by those organizations who endorsed the October 16 demonstrations. Although this group mainly co-ordinates, it has initiated some projects including the "man-on-the-street" leaflets and a fund raising concert for the February 12 and March 25-26 activities. The GBCCEWVN puts out a newsletter every other week publicizing local and national anti-war events plus a calendar of events of the participating groups.

We have had a good working relationship with the organizations on the co-ordinating committee. (It is only fair to explain that the leaders of the adult peace groups are a little left of liberal, two of whom have always had good relations with the Boston chapter of the SWP. The DuBois Club people are the most conservative representatives there, and the May 2nd Movement people attend few weekly meetings, in fact none since the November convention.)

Because of past problems in Boston, we first worked in the committees to gain the respect and trust of the independents. Most of the committees were based on withdrawal. Now we are beginning to give more of our analysis of the war and to explain more the meaning of negotiations and to help build the caucus.

During the last six months or so we have lost a little in membership due to the fact that recruitment has dropped off and we have dropped some members. We are now holding contact classes, along with a series of SWP-YSA educationals to which we can invite contacts. These, along with the upcoming conference and convention, should help us recruit. We now have one candidate for membership.

May 2nd is dissolving and the members don't know where to go. We invited the best from their seminars to our contact classes, the first of which was on the colonial revolution.

Members of the local put in a lot of time on the subscription drive. Our regular sales have dropped off in the last period, but we are going to try to get them back on a weekly basis this next semester.

We have been active in the Harvard SDS. This has brought us many problems due to the Stalinist leadership. We have been active in the leadership of the most active committee, the Vietnam Committee. There is some support and a lot of interest in the caucus and the leaders of the Vietnam Committee are thinking of forming an independent CEWVN.

Chicago

The Chicago local has continued its general propaganda work by supporting the Friday Night Socialist Forum and by selling a respectable amount of Vietnam pamphlets (500 of the first edition, 1000 of the second), YS's and Militants. However, our most successful activities were the summer school, a New Years Socialist Educational Weekend, and regional work.

The summer school dealt with black nationalism, our theory of the Negro struggle, the history of the SWP since 1940, the artist's relationship to the revolutionary movement, and imperialism and the permanent revolution. The outside speakers who contributed greatly to the success of the school were Harry Ring, Duncan Ferguson, and Evelyn Sell. The summer school resulted in recruitment, a higher educational level and was a financial success.

Profits from the summer school were used to finance a two week trailblaze in November by two YSAers. They made contacts and sold literature in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, Muncie and Richmond, Indiana, Yellow Springs and Cincinnati, Ohio. In some areas they spoke on Vietnam and the antiwar movement. They sold over \$100.00 worth of literature and subs. Two students were recruited at Champaign-Urbana.

Weekend trips were made by other YSAers to St. Louis, Mo., Carbondale and DeKalb, Illinois, Valpraiso, Indiana and other campus towns nearer to Chicago. Speaking engagements had been set up at some of the campuses, at othere we went in cold.

In the last several years regional work--trailblazing, speaking tours, regular correspondence--has been one of our local's most important sources of recruitment.

We have been active in the Chicago Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Roosevelt University Students Against War and the Hyde Park Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Our people have played leading roles in the day to day committee work, in preparations for the October 15-16 demonstrations, and in attempts to organize committees on new campuses in and around Chicago. In most cases the anti-war sentiment and activity has been channeled into SDS. Our anti-war work has given us invaluable experience working with independents and opponents, has enlarged our periphery and resulted in a number of close contacts.

Our weakness on campus has been a major handicap, both in our anti-war work and general propaganda work.

One hundred and twenty-four young people from eight states participated in a stimulating weekend of socialist education over New Years, 1966. The talks by Evelyn Reed, G

George Novak, Jack Barnes and the tapes by George Breitman on Malcolm X contributed greatly towards increasing the understanding of YSAers and brought a number of contacts into or closer to the YSA. A gala New Years Eve Party helped make the weekend a success.

Several large, successful meetings were set up on campuses in the Chicago area for I.B. Tabata when he was on his recent national tour.

New recruitment locally has been five, one of whom transfered to member-at-large status. Six transfered in, four transfered out, one graduated to adult work.

Joel B.

Los Angeles

Anti-war Work: Our intervention in the anti-war movement has brought several important changes to the local. First, and most important, it has provided a powerful political education for ourselves as well as the whole student left. It provided a testing of our politics and a strenghtening of our ability to function as a political unit in a broad milieu. The war itself has increased the interest in socialism, providing us with an arena in which to discuss basic Marxist ideas. A test of the political interest of the students has been the great increase in sales of our literature, which has something like quadrupled since last year. From the anti-war movement and the growing interest in revolutionary politics, we have made contact with left wing circles on every campus in the area. We have every reason to believe this process will continue and deepen. drawing closer to us the more serious and militant students. Through an increase in recruiting, and the developing potential for even more, our learning and intervention are showing their effects.

Sales: With the rise in the student movement, there has been, as mentioned, a tremendous rise in our literature sales. In addition to growing interest in our ideas, two other important factors deserve mentioning. First, the quality and attractiveness of the YS and pamphlets have had an important effect. Secondly, organization of sales has been somewhat improved. The most fruitful sales are at demonstrations and left wing meetings. (It's necessary that at least one person in the local be on the mailing lists of all groups.)

Youth Panel: Last summer we sponsored a very good forum that drew 150 (as compared to the usual 50-60). The topic was "NEW YOUTH and the OLD LEFT" - the relevance of Marxism to the new movement. On the panel were representatives of SDS, DBC, YPSL, SNCC, CEWVN, and YSA. What distinguished the YSA from all the others was our revolutionary socialist

perspective. The best most of the others could do was disavow, through a lot of new left cliches, the old left, saying what we need is new ideas. The YSAer explained that this new movement is part of a long historical struggle, the class struggle, drawing lessons from the mistakes and successes of the past. That position was the best received and made cleared by the positions of the others. The topic is of great interest to the student left, and facilitates the explanation of our role in and view of the present movement.

Buttons: With the help of button sales the L.A. local helped finance a representative's trip to the Washington anti-war convention, doubled (from \$200 last year to \$400) without increase in membership, its fund drive quota, and already raised \$165 for transportation to the YSA convention. With two buttons, we've raised about \$500 in six months. At the UCLA teach-in we sold over \$100 worth, and close to that at the Berkeley march (Berkeley local selling most). The student movement is nuts over buttons and I think we should get something from this nuttiness. It takes about a \$50 investment to start. On that, a local can raise \$150-\$200 clear in 3-4 months. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Seattle, Ann Arbor, Boston, San Diego, and Detroit have used this method to reise money.

Derrel M.

Madison

Since we were only a local of four at the end of spring semester, we concentrated on recruiting people from a class series we held over the summer reading Marx, Engels, Lenin, Plekhanov, Trotsky and continuing into the fall with a series on the lessons of the permanent revolution in Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria, Spain, Russia, China, etc. We recruited three from this series and have gotten four or five good contacts around us as well as educating ourselves.

Due to this work we have not been able to work as much as we should have in the CEWVN although one of us has been very active, and four are active rank and filers. Since the beginning of the semester the CEWVN has been very demoralized and is now almost totally dead. This is due to the bureaucratic practices of the leadership and a lack of program and orientation. This is not to say that there is no interest in Vietnam or radical politics. There is still a great deal of interest which is plain to see on campus: all sorts of people wear Vietnam buttons, 250 came out to hear Tabata (at a bad time in the semester), and 175 came out to hear Paul Booth of SDS. YSA has literature sales every two or three weeks and sells about \$30.00. Last week we sold \$75.00 in six hours. People are looking for solutions. At least three or four socialist study groups have sprung up with people dissatisfied with the CEWVN, and existing radical groups. Several of these are grouped

around Professors William Appleman Williams and Harvey Goldberg.

Twenty people signed up to be on the Alexander Defense Committee. Over \$150 was collected at the one big meeting we held for Tabata. This is a further reflection of the interest which exists.

We are planning to set up a forum series in the spring which we hope will fill in the vacuum. We will also be having a class on the history of the U.S. radical movement, emphasizing the peace movement of the thirties.

We also hope to help revitalize the CEWVN if possible.

The only organized opponent on campus is SDS which just organized and is drawing people discouraged with the CEWVN. The DuBois Club dissolved several months ago and its former membership is now in the leadership of the CEWVN where they come out for withdrawal but against the caucus.

Walter L.

New York-Downtown

The Downtown local has traditionally had difficulty in reaching out to new people and getting involved in outside political activity. This has been a direct result of having very few people on campus. The anti-war movement has helped to overcome this handicap. We have members active in half a dozen anti-war committees at the present time and were instrumental in building campus committees at Hofstra, the New School, and New York University.

A great deal of our time has been spent in trying to build a city-wide coordinating committee of the independent committees. Due to the activities of conscious political opponents, the creation of such a coordinating center has proven impossible, and in retrospect, it is easy to see that our energies would have been much better spent in the committees themselves rather than devoting so much attention to city-wide structure.

Early in the fall, we were deeply involved in the city elections. The SWP candidates focused their campaigns against the war, and as a result much interest was generated around the elections. We recruited several people as a direct result of our activities in the elections. However, we were so involved in anti-war work at that time that our educational activities were neglected and as a result we were unable to integrate these new recruits into the local.

While continuing our activity in the anti-war movement, we plan to put far greater emphasis on the internal functioning of the local during the next semester. Our plans include

forums, regular meetings, a more highly structured candidate program, greater emphasis on education of our members. etc.

What we hope to creat during the next semester is a local with its own activities for which it takes full responsibility, and an internal situaltion where new recruits can quickly be assimilated and develop into politically effective individuals.

Dan S.

San Francisco

Our main center of activity since September has been San Francisco State College. At the beginning of the semester we took the initiative in building a VDC on campus. Since then the VDC has grown into an organization with 400 paper members (out of a student body of 12,000) and a solid core of 50 activists. Because of our role in forming and building the committee we have been in leadership positions all semester.

The only opponent organization on campus is the DuBois Club. Its members are spread out, working in SNCC, the Young Democrats, the DuBois Club itself, and a few in the VDC. Though numerically strong on campus, their members are politically weak, and have not presented an effective opposition. Their general tactic has been to work in areas where we are not. On campus this has meant putting most of their strength into SNCC. Most of their activity, however, has been in their off-campus front group, the San Francisco Vietnam Committee, a small, sporadically active "community" organization.

YSA work on campus has centered around regular literature tables and occassional public meetings. Literature moves very quickly on campus. On good days we bring in \$10 to \$20, mainly on pamphlets dealing with the Vietnam war, the colonial revolution, and Malcolm X.

We have a small fraction working at Stanford. The campus itself is extremely conservative. The small anti-war movement which does exist there is dominated by May 2nd and right wing pacifists.

In general, our activity in the anti-war movement has enabled us to build a large periphery, mainly at SF State. Through this work the local has become a solid unit. Off campus people help to back up the campus fractions through organizing socials, literature sales, publicity work, etc. In addition, one comrade has done extensive work to place our literature in bookstores and on stands through a professional distributer and independently.

New York - Uptown

Great hordes of people haven't been swarming into the uptown YSA, but we have recruited two comrades. We have also qualitatively developed our local through regular educationals on Labor's Giant Step and Farrell's tapes on the Minneapolis strikes.

The YSA was active in support of the SWP mayoralty campaign. The campaign was educational for us as well as for the Vietnam Committees - as our candidates were heard, literally, everywhere.

The uptown local has been active in the Vietnam Committees at Columbia and City College and in a neighborhood committee. Lately the leadership of the Columbia Committee has gotten more conservative. We tried with little success to convince the independent leadership types of our views and have learned not to put all our eggs in the basket of influencing them. We are now working to get rank and file committee members into the caucus and to raise their consciousness. It's hard to get independents to understand the need to fight for a good position - but since things have polarized since the convention, principled independents (and those with guts) have found themselves aligned with us on important questions.

There was an attempt at City College, where the Stalinists are strong, to exclude us from the activities of the committee. The City College Vietnam Committee has become so bureaucratic that it has become a big problem for us just to get a membership meeting called.

PL has learned from us that it is fruitful to be in the committees and they are sending people in.

An antiwar meeting at Columbia was filmed for a movie on the Student Revolt. This was very good because a good portion of that meeting was devoted to a debate on withdrawal vs. negotiations.

There is great potential to organize high school groups against the war. We have found that in order to get new blood into the movement, it is best not to work through existing high school organizations and mailing lists. Instead, you can saturate a school with leaflets for a few days, calling for a meeting near the school. The idea of a teach-in at the high school and of classes on the Vietnam war goes over very well.

In New York there is a city-wide group for high school students but it is bureaucratically run, with kids having to say in what goes on. To encourage high school students to take more initiative, local committees at each school with city-wide coordination is better.

With all the antiwar work going on, the CABS chapter has been active, holding a raffle, a film showing (using free films from the library) and a folk concert is planned for February. We have found that it's useful to get CABS chartered on campus

so that you can hold affairs there free, without renting a hall.

Toby R. · `

Philadelphia

The Philadelphia local has roughly doubled its membership since the last convention, and except for one comrade who is working full time, all are students and active on campus.

The principle area of work is in the Antiwar Committees at the U. of Penna., Temple U., and the Phila. Area Committee which is by far the biggest and healthiest of the three. In the Philadelphia Area Committee we are the dominent political force, and we have been able to build the Supporters of the Newsletter into a large and active group. The Supporters in particular and the Phila. Area Committee to a lesser degree attack all antiwar questions with a highly political outlook due primarily to our influence. Both the Penn. and Area Committees have taken a withdrawal position.

At Temple the Stalinists and Social Democrats bloc together to control the committee and to drive independents out. We have been able to convince a few independents however to stand and fight for the right to be heard in the committee and are gaining respect for hard work in building the antiwar movement.

Because of our leading role, much of the work has fallen into our laps in the committees. In recent months, however, independents have taken on a larger share of the burden and have worked hard to build the antiwar movement.

We fell a little short on our subscription campaign. We got blitzed at the U. of Penna. dormatories when two of our comrades were arrested. Amy, 5'2', was charged with attacking a 6' campus guard as well as selling without a licence, resisting arrest, and conspiracy. Although charges were dropped and an attempt by the University administration to inflict punishment was beaten down, our work at Penn. was hampered temporarily by the incident.

The educational program fell by the wayside because of the other work we were doing. In the coming semester the whole program is being revamped so that classes will be more complimentary to our other work, using films, and tapes where possible. The internal classes are being beefed up with the aid of local SWPers.

We helped run a Militant Forum on Cuba, a small MLF on the antiwar movement, a meeting for I.B. Tabata, and a huge meeting for Charles Sims of the Deacons which put us into contact with some militant black youth (calling themselves Brothers of the Deacons).

Robin M.

San Jose

The San Jose local had dropped from eight to six members by September 1965, due to a transfer and a resignation. Since then we have recruited five, one has dropped out, one has transferred in, and we have two close contacts who we expect to recruit shortly. When the spring semester starts, we will have ten YSAers on campus at San Jose State College where the YSA is now a campus recognized organization. We have had some problems absorbing the new members, but have restructured the organization to maximize active membership.

The rise in left-wing activity at SJSC since the summer has been very encouraging. The old left-wing groups have, without exception, disappeared. At the end of September a chapter of SDS was organized and received strong, immediate support. We worked in SDS to organize a teach-in for Oct. 15-16, and most of the work was done by YSAers. After the successful teach-in we were instrumental in forming a San Jose Vietnam Day Committee. This committee now has a membership of about 60. The support for the Caucus in the VDC is almost total. Since the growth of this committee, SDS has dropped to a membership of less than 20, and their strength is negligible. A DiBois Club chapter has been formed in San Jose, but they have only two members on campus, and have engaged in no cativities there.

To summarize: On a campus of 22,000 where radical activity is rapidly increasing, the YSA is undoubtedly the leading organization. The radicalizing students are looking to the YSA for leadership and our possibilities for further recruitment are excellent.

We showed the FALN movie to an audience of about 40 and sold 17 subs. When Tabata was here we raised \$130 for the Alexander Defense Committee. Attendance at Tabata's speech was good, and he was well received. Since most YSA members are working as well as going to school, we have a hard time following schedules for educationals, but we hope to correct this in the near future.

We were unable to make our fund drive quota, but did send in \$75.00 just after the drive closed which didn't appear on the scoreboard.

Despite the fact that all our members are politically inexperienced, and half of the local has been active for only three months, our position at SJSC remains excellent, and we look forward to further improvement.

Peer V.

Twin Cities

As with all locals, anti-war work has consumed most of the energy of the local in the last period. Our committee began at the beginning of the summer of 1965. During the entire period of the committee's existence we have been the organizers and builders of the main activities. The committee has been plagued by one factor, partially stemming from the fact that it was organized while school was not in session. We have not attracted many new people from the campus, but still have a committee mainly of radicals. Plans are now being made to move onto the campus.

While we nominally held the leadership and had a great deal of influence in the committee, a combination of DuBois and SDS generally maintained a voting majority. If they felt threatened they mobilized for the meeting. The best example of this was the election of delegates to the Washington convention when the DuBoisers brought their parents, and some even their grandparents, to vote. In the long run they lost by this tactic. They had convinced some of the nonaligned that we were trying to "take over" the committee and use it as a front, but they exposed themselves. As a result the DuBois Club is pretty well isolated within the committee now, and people generally place confidence in our leadership. The Newsletter Supporters is still weak but with the election results and the general mood of the committee now, this should change soon.

All of our recent recruitmenthas come directly out of our antiwar work. We attracted enough people around us to begin to hold a contact class. But before we could begin the class the serious people joined, and the character of the class changed a little. When the school year began we were too weak to carry out much more than our antiwar work, but as a result of that we recruited enough people to carry out work in other areas as well.

Our second focus of activity has been on Joe Johnson's deportation case. Separate reports will go into the case and the defense committee, but it should be mentioned that we have had several comrades working on this. The committee has been able to keep the case in the news for almost two years in spite of the extremely slow pace of events, and the response to the case has been good. The case was responsible for attracting several of our new recruits to us. We have just received the decision from the Immigration Service that Joe has forfeited his citizenship and should be deported to Canada. This means that we will need to throw more effort into the case to get more publicity, sponsors, and money.

Our campus YSA work was very minimal the first quarter with only a few campus forums, sales and literature tables. Now, with the increased strength of the local, we are beginning a weekly forum series on campus and are putting our literature tables and sales on a more regular basis. But even our limited work has attracted a few people to the Friday Night Socialist Forum.

With our present strength, real opportunities are emerging. Our opponents have fewer cadre (a very elastic use of the term)

in the entire area than we now have on campus. The DuBois Club and SDS are better known but this we hope to change with regular activities.

John B.

Washington, D.C.

The YSA began here as three members-at-large who joined in October 1964. We were instrumental in motivating a reluctant SDS chapter to begin work on the April 17th March on Washington, but even then they did not get into gear until three and a half weeks prior to the demonstrations.

After the March we began a Cuba discussion group. This was a very successful undertaking which drew its initial nucleus from the same SDS chapter which had in the meantime disintegrated. The group attracted many new people, and with some delay on our part, we recruited four people to the YSA from this milieu. We attained local status with a membership of eight.

Our program of education has been at the present time somewhat hindered from lack of well-groundedand experienced comrades. Nevertheless, we have been progressing fairly well on our own. We have been reading such material as In Defense of Marxism, Struggle for a Proletarian Party, and are beginning Trotsky's The Third International After Lenin. In addition, we have decided that to facilitate keeping track of events it would be good to divide the world into sections and assign a different section to a comrade who gives periodic reports on developments as he deems them necessary.

Our Militant-YS sub drive quota was 100% filled but we found it necessary to donate four subs to college and public libraries due to saturation of other possibilities.

We have had good success in the area of recruitment and have generally managed to maintain our average membership at seven. Two individuals have been forced to drop out due to circumstances beyond their control and others have transferred to New York. At the present time our membership is unusually low, but we hope to recruit several good contacts in the near future.

At the present time we have only one member on campus. He has been instrumental in the recent formation of the Washington Area Students Committee to End the War in Vietnam and in arguing for withdrawal of troops as the best program for the group to adopt. Work is also being done on the problem of official recognition by various colleges of their respective antiwar groups.

We are also attempting to form an on-campus socialist discussion group and have received the support of several professors who are friendly to the idea. It is of special note that the YSA is the only organized radical political

tendency that has been able to create a fissure in the reactionary wall of American University, and it is there that we have gained several good contacts. This is a measure, at least in part, of the increasing political interest which is growing out of the general opposition to the war in this area.

An individual close to the YSA took on the task, almost single-handedly, of making the arrangements for I.B. Tabata's engagements in Washington. Mr. Tabata spoke at Howard University and a public hall. A reception was held for him as well as a press conference, the latter being considered by him as the best of his tour. A total of \$360.00 was raised.

Leon F.

Anti-war Work, Washington, D.C.: The anti-war work is by far the most resource consuming task of the Washington local. We started the Washington C.E.W.V. at the time of the August 6-9 Congress of Unrepresented People and have continued to be the most active and hardest workers in the committee. The formation of the Washington Committee was a major factor in channeling much new interest in what was previously a relatively apolitical area. The Washington YSA is still considered the center of radical activity in Washington--especially Vietnam war protest work. But keeping up with all the new activity is becoming increasingly more difficult.

The upsurge in political interest around the Vietnam issue is quite striking. For example, Catholic University has a well functioning committee—the last place anyone familiar with Washington would expect to find political activity. The universities, and high schools to a small extent, are by far the areas of greatest activity. There are people in the Washington Committee who would like to work in middle class areas and in the ghetto. We have not attempted to discourage them, but no one has as yet really made the effort. I feel that both might be useful experiments if done correctly.

In August and September, the Washington Committee made a small effort to work in a lower middle class area with a literature table on the street, but still the only real responses we received were from students. I am expecting a change in this situation sometime in the near future, but I have only the vaguest notions of how to reach these new groups of people.

The size of the Washington Committee has not grown a great deal; the campus committees which have sprung up have absorbed most of the new people. Our function is one of a literature center for the committees in the area, coordinating efforts such as the Oct. 15-16 and March 25-26 demonstrations, and helping to start new committees.

The Washington Committee was active in making arrangements for the SDS March on Washington and for the National NCC Convention.

Cleveland

Over the summer, the Cleveland local recruited five new people and one member transferred in. Since then, although only one new person has joined, we have had a general growth in education, organizational functioning and external work.

Internal educationals have been held on <u>Labor's Giant Step</u> and <u>The History of American Trotskyism</u>. We now have a class on <u>State and Revolution</u> and are organizing a Saturday Socialist <u>Educational based on The Dynamics of World Revolution Today</u>.

We've gained a sizeable layer of campus contacts through anti-war work and plan to put contact work and recruitment on a campaign basis in the next months. None of the other tendencies, including SDS which has two community projects, have a campus base.

The Cleveland CEWV was formed in October after the International Days of Protest. An ad-hoc group, initiated by us, built those events and proved the possibility of a permanent committee to independents. There are between 25-45 at committee meetings.

A discussion of withdrawal is going on in the Cleveland Committee, with the sentiment overwhelmingly in favor. As soon as the new semester begins, we plan to expand the circulation of the Newsletter and in all likelihood the Cleveland and Kent State chapters will become sponsors, contributors and distributors of it.

Anti-war Work brought us into close contact with the local DuBois Club. They were formed over the summer and have independent types in the leadership. One of their two regional organizers (for the East-Midwest) has just quit, both because of disagreement with their anti-war perspective--and general agreement with ours--and because of his difficulties in building the DuBois Clubs as an independent organization.

Three of our members live at Kent State University (40 . miles from here), and a fourth commutes there. The Kent comrades helped to initiate an anti-war committee and are the leading force within it.

Last November, a social at our hall was raided and 30 people arrested on three different charges. The defendants include civil rights and trade union figures as well as almost half of the YSA. The Committee to Aid the Debs Hall Defendants has been raising money and publicizing the case.

During the fall elections, we gave critical support to two independent Negro candidates for council and to Carl Stokes, a Negro Democrat who ran for mayor as an independent and came within 2,000 votes of defeating the Democratic Party candidate.

LITERATURE

Combined Young Socialist-Militant Subscription Drive

Here are the final totals for the subscription drive. Quite a few subscame in after the last scoreboard appeared in the Militant bringing our grand total up to 1640.

Area	Accepted Quota	Subs Received
Ann Arbor Berkeley Boston Chicago Cleveland Denver Detroit Los Angeles Philadelphia Madison N.YDown N.YUp San Francisco San Jose Seattle Twin Cities Washington, D.C. At Large	75 175 250 225 75 25 125 100 75 25 200 125 75 25 200 25	79 109 201 211 64 94 109 80 47 144 97 125 26 11 82 34 123
		10.0

Of the total number of 1640 subs collected, 337 were subs sent in by people on their own. This figure is a good indication of the interest in the Militant and the YS. The figure of 123 at-large subscriptions listed above refers to those subs sent in from areas where we have no YSA locals. Those substhat were sent in unsolicited from areas where we have locals were applied to the guotas of those locals.

Some areas such as Madison had a high number of people sending in subs on their own. Most of these were the direct result of Militant and YS sales at demonstrations, meetings, etc.

At least two-thirds of the subscriptions were sent in on the king size "Unique Combination" sub blanks which appeared weekly in the Militant. The Militant ad for a "special offer for anti-war demonstrators" was especially effective. 68 subscriptions came in during the two weeks after the October 15-16 demonstration, most of them clipped to or referring to that ad. 1127 Young Socialsts and 802 Militants were sold at the Washington antiwar demonstration.

The subscription drive was very successful considering the very heavy load all locals were carrying during the period of the drive. The main portion of the drive came in the most

concentrated period of antiwar work when we were busy building committees, and making preparations for the 15-16 of October and the Thanksgiving Convention. This situation would have been alleviated somewhat if we had started the drive a few weeks earlier.

Most locals were unable to devote as much time to this sub drive as they have to drives in the past. Boston was the only local which had consistent week by week mobilizations. A number of locals got large numbers of subs by showing the FALN film.

Our Subscription Distribution

Now we have a total of approximately 2000 subscriptions to the Young Socialist. Below is an indication of their distribution by states. The count was made before all of the 2000 came in. Also it does not include foreign subs.

States With More Than 50 Subscribers

New York	Michigan150 Detroit 73 Ann Arbor 66 Other 11
California284 Los Angeles 67 San Francisco 51 Berkeley 37 San Jose 25	Pennsylvania98 Philadelphia 60 Other 38
Oakland 11 San Diego 11 N. Calif. 26 S. Calif. 57	Wisconsin
Massachusetts209 Cambridge 98 Boston 33 Waltham 25 Other 53	
Illinois	

States With 10 to 50 Subscribers

Maryland	Washington,	D.C.	New Jersey
Washington	Florida		Indiana

States Under 10

Alaska	Connecticut	Kentucky	Missouri
Alabama	Georgia	Louisiana	Montana
Arkansas	Iowa	Maine	Nebraska
Colorado	Kansas	Mississippi	New Hamp.

New Mexico North Carolina Oregon Rhode Island South Carolina South Dakota Tennessee Texas Vermont Virginia West Virginia Arizona

Vietnam Pamphlet

Our 10¢ Vietnam pamphlet continues to sell very well. We sold out our entire first run of 10,000 pamphlets very quickly. A second small run of 1,000 also sold out. In light of the spectacular sales of the first edition of the pamphlet we printed 15,000 copies of the new revised, up to date pamphlet, War and Revolution in Vietnam. Below are the figures on sales for this edition. Already over half the copies are gone. Besides those orders listed, orders have come from Lincoln, Nebraska, Baltimore, W. Hartford, Virginia, Lancaster, Penna., Houston, Texas, and Ithaca. 1,040 Vietnam pamphlets were sold at The Washington Antiwar demonstration. Almost all the bills are paid for The War in Vietnam. Those that are unpaid have been added into the "Money Due" column below.

<u>Area</u>	Number of Copies	Money Due
Ann Arbor	50	50.00
Berkeley	700	20.00
Boston	1000	-
Buffalo	15	1.50
Chicago Cleveland	1100	20 00
D enver	300 25	28.00
Detroit	1000	2.50 75.00
Lawrence	25	/) . 0 0
Los Angeles	500	25.00
London, England	25	-
Philadelphia	200	30.00
Madison	100	-
Newark	175	17.50
N.Y. Uptown	155	7.50
N.Y. Downtown	540	49.50
San D iego	25	5.00
San Francisco	600	54.95
San Jose	100	10.00
Seattle	300	35.00
Twin Cities	300	30.00
Toronto	700	40.00
Vancouver	250	35.00
Washington	100	-
Miscellaneous Total	1140 9425	_

Malcolm X Pamphlet

In the few months since the Malcolm X Pamphlet came out we have sold 1855 copies out of a total run of 4500. 465 of these have gone to bookstores.

Local or Bookstore	No. of Copies	Money Due
Bookshop, New York Bookshop, San Francisco Bookstore, New York Bookstore, Philadelphia Bookstore, Chicago Bookshop, California Bookstore, Detroit	100 10 200 20 50 5 80	\$ 2.10 43.95 4.84 10.50 1.05
Ann Arbor Antioch Berkeley Boston Chicago Cleveland Detroit Lawrence Los Angeles Madison New York Philadelphia San Francisco Seattle St. Louis Twin Cities Washington, D.C. Toronto Vancouver Ithaca Washington Demonstration Miscellaneous	20 3 50 100 300 50 125 30 200 25 20 50 110 20 8 75 20 75 20 75 29 50	5.00 - - - 12.50 5.00 11.25 5.00 12.50 25.50 5.00 - - 18.75 6.25 1.25
Total	1855	

New Opportunities and Success in Distributing

In the San Francisco Bay Area we are conducting an experiment in the wholesale distribution of the Young Socialist, the International Socialist Review, and the publications of Merit Press. Six months ago two comrades arranged for a local wholesale distributor of quality paperbacks and periodicals to distribute 300 copies of the Young Socialist and 200 copies of the International Socialist Review, at 50% of cover cost on consignment. The wholesaler has on the average sold 75% of the copies sent to him. The returns are picked up locally by a comrade.

Distribution is within a radius of 50 miles of San Francisco, the out-lying cities being Concord, Santa Rosa, and San Jose, California. The three locals in this area supplement the dis-

tributor with street sales, campus table sales, and they solicit new accounts in bookstores and on stands by showing the magazines, taking an order and having the distributor fill the order. For the price of 50% we have automatically increased the volume of our sales, the area and intensity of their distribution, and have shifted the leg-work and time for this task off the locals involved.

The distributor may take 50 copies each of the new Socialism on Trial and Permanent Revolution on consignment at 50% for distribution to local bookstores. He will not show the books to bookstores, but rather will include the titles on an internal trade publication mailed to his clients.

The importance of this new inroad, although local in nature, should not be underestimated. Arrangements of this nature if established in other cities could considerably increase the volume of our sales and widen the awareness of our press. Given that there is limited interest in Marxism, and given that sales will be small from the outset, this manner of circulating our publications will serve as an important introduction to Merit Publishers.

Recently, I attempted direct selling to bookstores in the Bay Area. The result of this experiment is noteworthy. On one Saturday, I sold \$30.00 retail at three different stores, and as a sideline, got a review for Malcolm X Speakes. At one bookstore, I showed Malcolm X Speakes to the dealer who took 3 copies immediately on face value. He then took 10 each of the Malcolm pamphlets and 50 copies of War and Revolution in Vietnam to be sold at a loss to him for 10 cents each. At a second store, I sold a sampling of the Malcolm pamphlets with the promise to buy more if they sell. This dealer already had 5 copies of Malcolm X Speakes on his display table, next to its obvious companion volume, The Autobiography of Malcolm X. These copies had been ordered directly from Merit Publishers. A third store promised to take our entire afro-american pamphlet line after the new year inventory.

The use of a distributor is valuable first and foremost for distribution of the YS, ISR, and the Militant. These can be distributed independently in bookstores and on newsstands by comrades if no arrangement can be made with a distributor. College bookstores or stores and stands frequented by students and ghetto bookstores are the best sellers of our literature. Any independent distribution of paperbacks should concentrate on books of current interest on subjects like Vietnam and Malcolm X. It is wise to notify Merit Publishers before you get involved in sales to find out information on discounts, orders, and shipping.

Jim K.

Traveling Literature Table

Julius S. wrote the following in a letter to the N.O.:

"At the DuBois meeting for Meyerson we tried something new and set up a literature table on the sidewald outside the meeting. We sold \$25.00 worth of literature in spite of the fact that 75% of the 300 people were CP'ers over 60. The noncommitted independents were all impressed and bought quantities of literature. We sold our stuff, Warde, Malcolm, Cannon. As we have found out at UCLA, people, especially students are hungry for our type of literature and nobody else offers it. We are THE suppliers of works on socialism, Cuba, Malcolm, etc. Our traveling literature table will be with us now on sales. Of course, we have the native advantage of year-round outdoor act activities."

NATIONAL TOUR REPORT

The YSA fall tours, which began on the weekend of October 15-16, came at a time when the large nation-wide demonstrations and government attacks on "draft-dodgers" had stirred up wide-spread interest in the growing antiwar movement. As a result, we were able to get much more press coverage than on previous YSA tours. Several locals put out press releases before I arrived, then followed up with phone calls to all the major radio and TV stations and newspapers to arrange for interviews and press conferences. In Chicago, for example, we got one TV interview filmed at the headquarters, three or four radio interviews taped at the headquarters, several phone-radio interviews, a half-hour live radio interview, a large press conference, and TV coverage of the meeting where Paul Booth and I spoke.

As usual, the reporters managed to put their own slant on the stories, and misinterpret things that were said, but the coverage was reasonably good and it did get our name and activities to a wide audience.

In general, the audiences on the tour were small but sympathetic. Only one meeting, which was packed by YAF, was openly hostile. In addition to meetings sponsored by YSA and socialist discussion clubs in which we are active, I spoke in several places under the auspices of antiwar committees (including a teach-in of 800 at the University of Minnesota) and SDS.

Audience reaction to the information about the post World War II troop demonstrations tended to be a mixed one of interest that such a revolt had occurred, and skepticism that anything similar could happen again. Questions usually centered on the differences between the 1945-46 period and the present. However, the questions that were not raised were as significant as those which were. For example, the implication that World War II was basically an inter-imperialist war was never challenged, although several people asked me to clarify it. Also, in light of recent U.S. actions, the fact that U.S. troops and equipment were used after the war to suppress the colonial revolution seemed obvious to kids. Several years ago a much larger portion of the audiences would have been skeptical about both of these things.

The tour was certainly very helpful to us in reaching new antiwar activists with our ideas, particularly on the question of the draft, and in helping to build the antiwar convention.

Mary-Alice S.

TRAILBLAZE REPORTS

Eastcoast Trailblaze

The 1965 East Coast trailblaze covered 25 campuses in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Our job was to sell Young Socialists, Militants, and Pioneer literature, to meet campus radicals and learn about each campus, and to spread information about the national antiwar convention in Washington November 25-27.

The trailblaze lasted two and one-half weeks instead of a month as originally planned and for the most part was limited to two people, Don U. from Boston and Russ D. from New York Uptown. We sold 305 YS's, 421 Militants, and \$25.00 worth of other literature, totaling \$140.00. Expenses (for gas, tolls, and calls) were \$40.00. We paid for our own food and got free lodging.

Of the 25 campuses we visited, fifteen had a peace or left political group, indicating that the campus left is stronger this year than last. Ten had SDS chapters, two had independent peace committees oriented toward the National Coordinating Committee, and three had Committees to End the War. Seven of the ten schools with SDS chapters are ivy league, single-sex colleges. Two of the other schools are state universities whose SDS chapters are actually political clubs that recently affiliated with the national body. However, the affiliation was mostly in name only for the benefit of vague national ties.

None of the SDSers we talked to were hardened reformists. Most were very new to politics. When we gave them stacks of the convention call printed by the Cambridge Committee they showed a real desire to participate. Most of the radicals we talked to hadn't heard about the convention, only about the SANE march November 27.

Given the war hysteria, it may have been harder than at other times to break through the students' hostility, but once you broke through, the conversation went straight to Vietnam and the draft, which has direct personal importance for increasing numbers of students.

At Wesleyan part of the Freshman football team tried to run us off the campus, but after we started arguing several students took up our defense. Later, when our lit table was swept clean by another goon squad we got everything back plus a radio interview and sympathetic coverage in the school paper.

We sold well at middle to lower middle class schools like Springfield College and Atlantic Union where we found little or the snobbery of the expensive schools.

The following is a brief report on the state university campuses we visited:

University of Rhode Island, Kingston, R.I.:

6,000 students (conservative), a 25 member affiliate of SDS, Students for Democratic Action, some liberal faculty.

University of Mass., Amherst, Mass.:

12,000 students expanding to 20,000, 40 in an SDS affiliate called Young Independents which is part of a 4-college SDS (U. Mass, Amherst, Smith, Mt. Holyoke).

University of Conn., Storrs, Conn.:

10,000 students, Hartford-Storrs Committee for Peace in Vietnam has over 50 members. Military Day has been picketed for 6 years. ROTC now a dead horse an anti-military hoot drew morw people than the military ball. 2000 people at teach-in competing with another big event. 100 people going by bus to Nov. 27 SANE march. Student Senate voted condemnation of HUAC and McCarren Act. Civil rights group to contest selling ban.

University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H.:

5,000 students, no political group.

Recommendations:

- 1) Frequent communications between trailblazers and central HQ.
- 2) Orientation of trailblazers by someone with trailblaze experience.
- 3) Follow-up system at central HQ (make up mailing list and send out an immediate mailing with relevant material. Mail contact within a week of trailblaze contact would be impressive and help develop contacts).
- 4) Writing in advance to establish contacts, schedule meetings, etc. (CNVA Peace Caravan had pre-scheduled meetings at campuses it visited).
- 5) Sell in evenings at campuses likely to be restrictive. There are fewer officials around at night.
- 6) Try to get sub into the libraries.

Don U.

Midwest Trailblaze Report

In November, two comrades from the Chicago local went on a short trailblazeing trip in the mid-west. The following are exerpts from their report:

I. Champaign-Urbana

First came in contact with SDSers who were having a literature table, selling antiwar lit. SDS is a recognized campus

group with about 40 kids who will do active work - they got 200-250 out to demonstrate October 15-16. One of the SDSers organized a meeting at a Unitarian luncheon, and Joe spoke for about 15 minutes to 15-20 persons. The meeting could have been better, but some of the SDSers weren't interested in attending it. The anti-draft program has very little, if any, support here.

Currently there is a large reform movement on campus, coordinated by the Student Committee on Political Expression (SCOPE), and involving many SDSers and fraternities and sororities. This movement recently had a rally of about 3,000 students for changes in women's hours, student control of the newspaper, etc.

II. Terre Haute The opposite of Urbana. Almost nothing going.

III. Cincinnati

They have a city-wide antiwar committee, and after our visit on campus decided to set up a campus committee with about 14 kids.

Two kids arranged for a soap box for Joe on the U. of Cincinnati campus. A Vietnam literature table set up between the geology and engineering buildings served as a focal point. A friendly prof started a mock argument with Joe to get some attention. Joe started a dialogue which lasted for about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour with the 300 or so kids that gathered around the bench he was standing on. Some of the unfriendly elements in the crowd tried to start some trouble, but there were many who were sympathetic. The two kids who set up the meeting were impressed, but also learned some of the dangers of this kind of activity, and decided to initiate an organized antiwar committee. Several of them will attend the convention the city-wide committee is pushing the March.

IV. Antioch

There is a large SDS doing mainly antiwar work. The student body seems to have shifted to the left since the last trailblazers were on campus. There was no anti-YSA attitude to speak of, and the SDSers were quite friendly. They sponsored a literature table for us Sunday. They plan to send a large contingent to Washington. They do most of their work through the Dayton Area Antiwar Committee, and usually demonstrate in Dayton, since Yellow Springs is so small.

The students seem to be "movement" oriented and fairly serious. There are many unorganized radicals on campus and the faculty is not to be left out of the movement - the President castigated profs for not being more active in antiwar work.

V. Dayton

Catholic school with "Committee for a Free Cuba" and a JFK Memorial Student Union. We didn't bother to try to do anything.

VI. Earlham

There is an antiwar committee; most of the students are pacifists to one degree or another, many of whom read <u>Liberation</u>;

there were 3 or 4 SDS members-at-large. We spoke at the Quaker Meeting House on campus.

VII. Muncie

The YPSL chapter formed there a year ago was getting nowhere, so they have formed an SDS instead. Some kids are planning to attend the convention. The local press's red-baiting has scared a lot of the students, and has demoralized many more. There are a few healthy kids, some interest in Fidel, and curiosity about us.

In general, the students who tend to be radical do not read much; they were impressed by the quantity and quality of our literature. There is a general demoralized state in Muncie; they want to do something but don't know how to.

VIII. General Comments

We saw almost no literature put out by any of the other radical tendencies. The most usual question was "How do you differ from PL, or YPSL, or the pacifists?" We met vastly different political climates, but in most places the atmosphere is very open, reflecting the Berkeley incidents. We talked mainly about Vietnam, the Student Movement, YSA, and Trotskyism. Many people were glad to see real live revolutionary socialists. Political opponents are extremely weak or nonexistent. Contradictions between daily events and previous learning are causing many students to reevaluate this society and theorize about its future. There are excellent opportunities for YSA to help educate them correctly.

Bruce H.

MISCELLANEOUS

Communication Between Areas

In a letter to the N.O. Kipp of San Francisco sent in the following request:

"I hope you'll comment in a convention report about the increased communication among locals. A couple of months ago we began sending out copies of all our leaflets to all of the other locals. They began to respond right away, most notably Chicago, Berkeley, and sometimes Detroit and Cleveland. These leaflets are great to post at local meetings and often prove "inspirational" to leaflet makers here. I hope this practice will be encouraged."

Anything which indicates to people that we are an active national organization is good. Too often YSA meetings go unadvertised in the Militant. Militant advertisements are worthwhile even if they do not play the role of bringing additional people to a meeting because they are a way of showing others in different areas what meetings we are holding and on what subjects, etc. Special functions such as conferences should be advertised with box ads and short articles.