

young socialist
the organizer
10·14·70

**Build October 31 Mass Actions!
Build Middle East Teach-Ins!**

**No U.S. Troops In Southeast Asia
Or the Middle East**

10 Cents

National Campaign for Middle East Teach-Ins

YSA NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE STATEMENT

"Hands Off the Middle East! No U.S. Intervention!" This must be the answer of American young people to Nixon's threatened military intervention against the Palestinian people.

The struggle of the Palestinians to regain their homeland usurped by Zionist Israel is a just struggle for self-determination. The Palestinians are now engaged in a struggle for their very existence. As men, women and children face the relentless bombardment of refugee camps and the indiscriminate slaughter of thousands by Hussein's army, revolutionary youth throughout the world must demonstrate their unconditional solidarity with the Palestinian people.

American students must take the lead in saying "No GIs to the Mideast." Millions of Americans who are opposed to U.S. aggression in Vietnam have learned what the government means by the "protection of American interests." They can be convinced that the U.S. government has no right whatsoever to intervene against the Arab revolution.

The YSA calls on student activists from the antiwar, women's liberation, and Third World liberation movements to unite in initiating and organizing the broadest possible emergency teach-ins which can get out the truth about what is happening in Jordan and help mobilize opposition to the threatened U.S. invasion.

These meetings can explain the dynamics of the Arab revolution, the aims of the Palestinian liberation movement, and the reasons for Nixon's threat to begin a new American war of aggression.

We must respond quickly and boldly.

"No U.S. Intervention!" must be the demand of hundreds of emergency teach-ins around the country!

Throughout the country the YSA has launched an emergency campaign in defense of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. Protest meetings and teach-ins have occurred and are planned on scores of campuses, demanding "No U.S. Troops to the Middle East!"

We must continue to take the initiative in defense of the Arab revolution. Teach-ins, organized with the widest possible support, should be taking place in every local and at-large area. These meetings, planned and organized with Arab students and a broad spectrum of groups, should focus on the central concept that the U.S. has no right to intervene in the Middle East.

The SMCs, women's liberation groups and Third World liberation organizations should be involved in building, publicizing and speaking at the protest meetings. In particular, the student antiwar movement must be prepared to respond to Nixon's threat of sending American GIs to die in Jordan—or anywhere else in the world. In addition, student governments, professors, college departments, and other campus groups should all be asked to endorse these teach-ins.

By building massive meetings we can help educate thousands of students on the dynamics of the Arab revolution. These teach-ins can also display the greatest expression of opposition to a threatened U.S. intervention. Our work this fall in defense of the Arab revolution will provide a forceful addition to our ongoing work in all the mass movements and, in particular, in the antiwar movement.

The current crisis has brought the struggle of the Palestinians into the forefront of world politics and the possibility of U.S. intervention has thrust the situation in the Middle East before hundreds of thousands of students. We have the responsibility to begin mobilizing wide layers of opposition to U.S. imperialist interference in the Mideast.

We now have a tremendous opportunity to explain to thousands of students why the Palestinian struggle for self-determination should be supported. We must take our support of the Arab revolution to the entire student movement.

Our own educational work on the history of the Zionist colonization of Palestine, the nature of the Israeli state, the aims of the Palestinian movement, and the relationship between the different Arab states must be intensified. We must

view work in defense of the Arab revolution as one of our highest priorities and as an area of work to which we must devote more attention. Locals and at-large YSAers should immediately send in reports to the National Office on the emergency teach-ins that have already occurred and continue writing regular reports on the day-to-day developments in this important area of work.

* * *

One extremely significant part of our increasing work in defense of the Arab revolution will be Peter Buch's extensive tour this fall and winter. Peter Buch, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, is a well-known and respected spokesman for the Palestinian and Arab revolutions. Through his tour we will be able to reach thousands of additional students and working people who have not yet seen through the constant barrage of myths and distortions laid down by the U.S. government and the Zionist propaganda machine.

We are printing below the proposed schedule of Buch's tour and the necessary tour quotas. Locals and at-largers within each region should consult and determine the exact scheduling of Buch's time in each area. Honorariums should be applied for immediately at the different campuses in each area. Comrades should also begin right away to arrange for interviews with the local news media. The locals and areas listed below in bold type will be responsible for the arrangements of the tour in their area and for ensuring that the tour quota is raised.

The recent events in Jordan underscore the stress that was placed on increasing our efforts in defense of the Arab revolution at the YSA's recent plenum. Every local and at-large area should be devoting major resources to building the emergency teach-ins and publicizing and organizing Peter Buch's tour.

RICH FINKEL
YSA National Office

PETER BUCH TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY/REGION	DATES	QUOTA	CITY/REGION	DATES	QUOTA	CITY/REGION	DATES	QUOTA
DENVER, BOULDER (REST)	Oct. 6-8 9-14	\$35	TAMPA, ORLANDO, GAINESVILLE, TALLAHASSEE (TRAVEL)	27-Dec. 3 4	\$55	BUFFALO (N.Y. REGION) (TRAVEL)	30 31	
SEATTLE, VANCOUVER	15-19	\$60	ATLANTA, KNOXVILLE, NASHVILLE, TUSCALOOSA (TRAVEL)	5-11 12	\$60	CLEVELAND, YELLOW SPRINGS, OBERLIN, COLUMBUS, KENT, OXFORD, CINCINNATI (TRAVEL)	Feb. 1-8 9	\$115
PORTLAND (TRAVEL)	20-21 22	\$35	NEW YORK CITY AND REGION (SCHOOL VACATION)	13-18	\$95	DETROIT, ANN ARBOR, YPSILANTI, FLINT	10-15	\$125
SAN FRANCISCO, BERKELEY, HAYWARD, SAN JOAQUIN (TRAVEL)	23-28 29	\$165	NEW YORK REGION, CON'D.	19-Jan. 3 4-8		CHICAGO, DEKALB, BLOOMINGTON, FT WAYNE (TRAVEL)	17-23 24	\$125
LOS ANGELES, RIVERSIDE, SAN DIEGO, FULLERTON (REST)	30-Nov. 5 6-11	\$125	LONG ISLAND, PATERSON, RED HOOK, BINGHAMTON, NEWARK (TRAVEL)	9		MADISON, MILWAUKEE, LACROSSE, OSHKOSH (TRAVEL)	25-March 1 2	\$60
PHOENIX (TRAVEL)	12-13 14	\$45	PHILADELPHIA, MANSFIELD, PITTSBURGH	10-13	\$60	TWIN CITIES (TRAVEL)	3-6 7	\$65
EL PASO	15-16	\$25	WASHINGTON, D.C. (TRAVEL)	14-18 19	\$55	KANSAS CITY	8	\$20
AUSTIN, DALLAS, HOUSTON (TRAVEL)	17-23 24	\$60	BOSTON, PROVIDENCE, WORCESTER (TRAVEL)	20-26 27	\$95	ST LOUIS	9-10	\$25
NEW ORLEANS (TRAVEL)	25 26	\$15	MONTREAL	28	\$25			
			TORONTO	29	\$25			

Boston YSA Urges 'Get Involved'

Editor's Note: Reprinted below is the text of a leaflet distributed by Boston YSA during its campus registration blitz. The 8 1/2" x 14" leaflet was titled "Join the Movement—Get Involved." It was mimeographed from an electronic stencil so that illustrations could be used.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance are visiting thousands of people to get them to participate in the movement. We feel it is not enough simply to be for women's liberation or against the war in Vietnam. We must *act* in order for us to succeed in building the kinds of mass movements that can create a society based on human needs and human rights rather than one built on private property and profits.

The YSA itself participates in the antiwar movement, struggles of Third World people for self-determination, the women's liberation movement and other mass movements, as well as educating and organizing a socialist movement in the U. S.

THE MILITANT

Central to our campaign is getting readers for our weekly newspaper *The Militant*. The YSA urges you to subscribe now to keep informed on what's happening in the movement here and throughout the world and to get involved in one or more of the activities listed below:

ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

This fall the people of Massachusetts will vote on the war in Vietnam. The Student Mobilization Committee and other antiwar groups have united in the Vietnam Referendum '70 Committee to win the largest possible vote for immediate withdrawal. The entire world will be watching the results.

The SMC is also uniting with other antiwar groups to organize a mass demonstration on October 31st for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Southeast Asia. It will tie into national and international demonstrations on this day.

Join the SMC chapter on your campus. For details call SMC at 491-3070 or visit the city office at 19 Brookline St., Cambridge.

ELECTORAL ACTION

As well as supporting the antiwar referendum the YSA supports the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party who are running against the Democratic and Republican Parties. The Socialist candidates, Peter Camejo for U. S. Senate, Michael Kelly for Governor, Toba Leah Singer for Attorney General and Joe Miles for U. S.

Congress (9th District) are all activists in the movement. The Socialist Campaign Committee will be leafleting factories, holding street rallies, using radio and TV, and going door to door with educational material exposing the Democrats and Republicans. The SCC will be building the antiwar, Third World, women's liberation and other movements. The SCC meets every Monday at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, and can be contacted at 536-6981. (Meetings every Monday at 7 P. M.)

WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The women's liberation movement is becoming one of the most important parts of the radical movement. Orientation meetings for all women interested in working on projects and issues important to women are being held every Tuesday at 8 P. M. at the office of Female Liberation, 1126 Boylston St., Boston. An activist conference for all women is being sponsored by Female Liberation in mid-October to discuss and organize projects around such issues as abortion, child-care and self-defense. For further information on activities and classes call Female Liberation at 445-3987. As one of its activities the Socialist Campaign Committee will sponsor weekly classes for women on the History of Females from pre-class society up to the current women's liberation movement. They will be held at the SCC headquarters, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, on Mondays at 8 P. M., beginning October 12.

THIRD WORLD LIBERATION

The Socialist Campaign Committee, in building the Congressional campaign of Black antiwar activist Joe Miles, will be actively winning support for the demands of the Black nationalist movement. At rallies, meetings, and in door to door canvassing they will be explaining the right of Blacks and Puerto Ricans to control their communities and publicizing the need for an independent Black political party. To help work on the Joe Miles campaign, call SCC at 536-6981 or come to SCC meetings Monday nights at 7 P. M. at the SCC headquarters.

FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM

Every Friday night the YSA sponsors a public forum on important events or topics given by a prominent movement speaker. Forums are held at the YSA headquarters at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, starting at 8 P. M. Admission is 75¢.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM

The YSA holds classes on the basic ideas of

the revolutionary movement every Sunday at 7:30 at its headquarters.

PALESTINE LIBERATION

The YSA is working with Arab, Israeli, and other Mid-Eastern students to publicize the justice of the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs. If you are interested in helping on teach-ins and other forms of general educational work, call Louis at 354-6687.

REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

A complete stock of literature on women's liberation, Black, Chicano and other Third World struggles, Cuba, Vietnam, Malcolm X, Che, Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, etc., is available at the Militant Bookstore in the YSA headquarters. Open Monday through Friday, 11 A. M. to 7:30 P. M., and Saturday, 11 A. M. to 6 P. M.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM OF THE AIR

As well as the weekly Friday night forum, *The Militant* sponsors an hour radio program each week on WTBS, 88.1 FM on Tuesday nights from 6 to 7, which features excellent discussions, debates, and information on events within the movement.

This is only a partial list of the activities going on. For more information on any aspect or other activities, or if you would like to join the YSA, call the YSA city office at 536-6981 or drop into our headquarters.

IF YOU GO TO A CAMPUS YOU CAN CALL:

Univ. of Mass., Boston	— Mike, 288-2854
Northeastern Univ.	— Terry, 492-1718
Emmanuel	— Pat, 536-6329
Harvard	— Jeff, 864-9311
Mass. Col. of Art	— Cathy, 492-6913
Simmons	— Claudette, 566-6893
Boston Univ.	— Lisa, 492-6913
M. I. T.	— Bob, 547-8557
Wheelock	— Cheryl, 442-1461
Brandeis	— Naomi, 894-6567
Lasalle	— Cathy, 731-1226

Send coupon to: YSA, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. [Coupon lists choices "I would like to join the YSA." "Please send me more information about the YSA and its activities." "I would like to help work with the Socialist Campaign Committee," with space for name, address, and telephone.]

JOIN THE YSA!

ISR Subs: One Out Of Six

The *International Socialist Review* drive to sell 2,500 subscriptions by November 15 will double the current subscription base of the magazine. When the subscriptions to the old *Young Socialist* and the former *ISR* expired during May and June, the magazine lost 2,000 readers. The consequence is a temporarily reduced audience for a qualitatively improved *International Socialist Review*, one of the primary voices of our movement and our ideas. The subscription drive now being carried out in conjunction with *The Militant* drive for 15,000 new readers is the first step toward building up a new, broader subscription base, establishing the *ISR* as a relevant and important contributor to the theory of the revolutionary movement.

The contents of the October issue will make it easy to sell both single issues and subscriptions. Featured in this issue is the talk given by George Breitman in Oberlin, analyzing the three major radicalizations of this century. Also included are an article by Caroline Lund on the role of the family (a polemic against the CP and PLP positions); an article by Tony Thomas on Leninism and Black nationalism (a critique of the self-styled Marxism of Harold Cruse); and a speech by Eugene V. Debs on the role of the working class in revolutionary struggle.

The initial response to the sub drive has been good. By the end of the first week, the weekly quota had been surpassed by 80 subs. The "general" category (areas where there are no comrades) has already exceeded its total quota by 67! New York, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Austin, Houston, and Kansas City went over their weekly quotas, and several other areas were right on schedule. The fact that so many

subs were received from the "general" category (areas like Mission, Kansas; Raleigh, North Carolina; and Woodbury Forest, Virginia) indicates the tremendous potential for expanding our audience in those areas where we do have comrades. YSA locals and at-largers should therefore make use of every opportunity to sell subs. If only one person in six who subscribes to *The Militant* also buys an *ISR* sub, then all the quotas can easily be met by November.

A promotional poster will be sent out to all the locals shortly for use in their sales efforts. A brochure describing the *ISR* will also be issued this fall. Through these promotional efforts, as well as through national advertising in other radical periodicals, the sales potential of the *ISR* can be greatly increased. However, in order to take advantage of this potential, *it is essential that each area have regular and organized sales of the magazine!*

The *ISR* is the YSA's magazine, as well as the SWP's. As outlined at the YSA National Committee plenum, the popularization of our ideas through our publications is one of our most important priorities. It directly affects our ability to carry out all of our other work at maximum efficiency. The *ISR* is the only publication of our movement which provides in-depth analysis of topical issues and theoretical discussion of our positions in a format attractive to a wide audience. We want to get those ideas into the hands of radicals and activists all over the country. The way to do this is by *selling the ISR on the streets, at demonstrations, at literature tables, and at meetings*, as well as by placing it on newsstands and in bookstores.

Given the importance of this task, each local

and each comrade is expected to make every effort to meet the accepted sub drive quota. At-large members should fill out and return the form below, indicating a voluntary quota based on what they think they can do. And, of course, every comrade should have his or her own full-year subscription.

With the successful completion of the fall sub drive, we will be able to give at least 2,500 new readers a revolutionary analysis of capitalist society. This means introducing hundreds and hundreds of prospective YSAers to such an analysis. This is a goal worth winning!

MARTI RUDENSTEIN

Business Manager
International Socialist Review

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW
AT-LARGE QUOTAS

Name _____
Address _____
Quota 5 10 15

Fund Drive Moves Out

The first scoreboard for the fall fund drive shows us lagging slightly behind. As of September 25 we should have received 12% of the total national quota, but in fact we have received only 8.5%.

This lag may be partly attributable to the fact that many locals which were dispersed over the summer have only recently assembled, held Tasks and Perspectives discussions, and begun normal functioning. Nevertheless, it is important for all locals and at-largers to send in their initial payments right away so that we can be on or ahead of schedule by the next scoreboard.

The locals which use a year-round sustainer system (as explained in the last fund drive report) all have good starts on the fund drive and are clearly leading at this time, as their payments since the conclusion of the spring fund drive have been credited to their fall quotas.

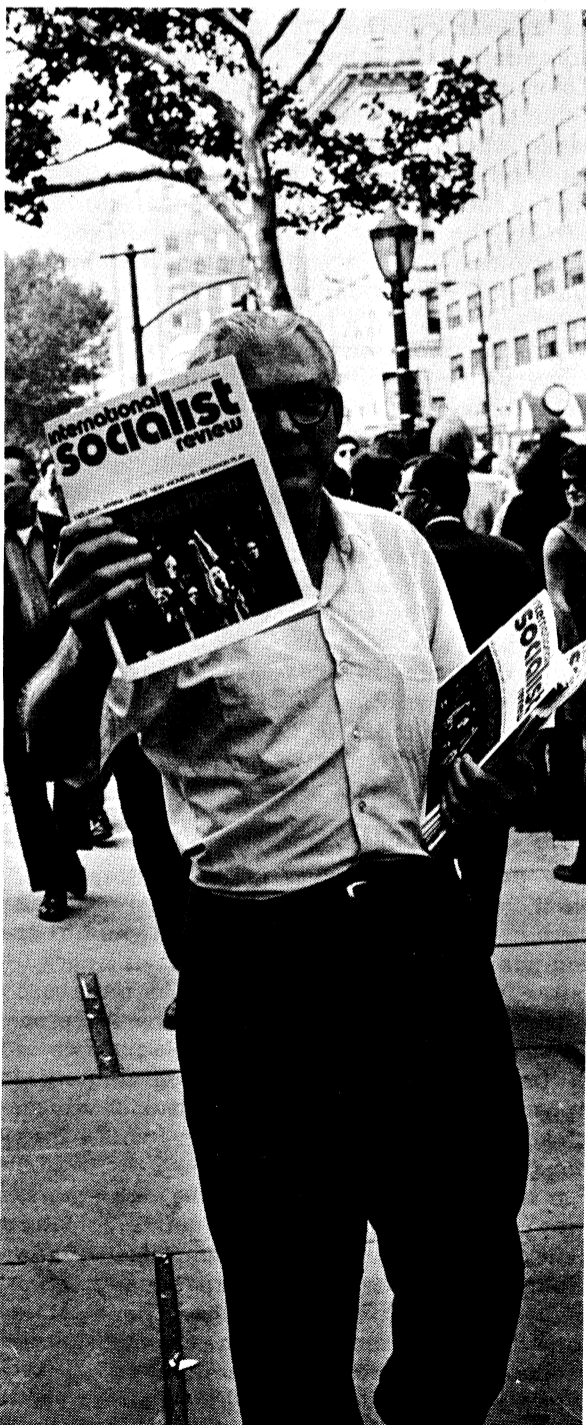
* * *

The fund drive scoreboards this fall will all be compiled on a regional basis. The fund drive is a regional responsibility and should be thoroughly discussed at regional committee meetings. The region as a whole has the task of educating new locals and at-largers about our financial norms and explaining to them how we organize our finances.

* * *

The total national quota still stands \$800 below the goal of \$36,000 which was approved at the YSA plenum. Locals and at-largers should seriously consider raising their quotas at this time if at all possible.

Many locals, as part of their general tooling-up for the fall, have undertaken a review and reorganization of their finances, often including plans for repayment of old outstanding debts to the National Office, to Pathfinder Press, etc. A few locals have indicated that because of these plans to liquidate old debts they will not be able to take fund drive quotas as high as they had originally planned.



The repayment of such debts is of course a high priority for any local which has incurred them, and should be part of its overall financial perspective. Our fund drive, however, has not and cannot be based on a local's debts. The fund drive reflects the needs of our movement today and must be seen as the most important financial obligation. For any local to lower its fund drive quota because of past debts or extraordinary expenses would mean asking other YSA locals to help subsidize these debts or expenses by making up the extra money needed for the fund drive.

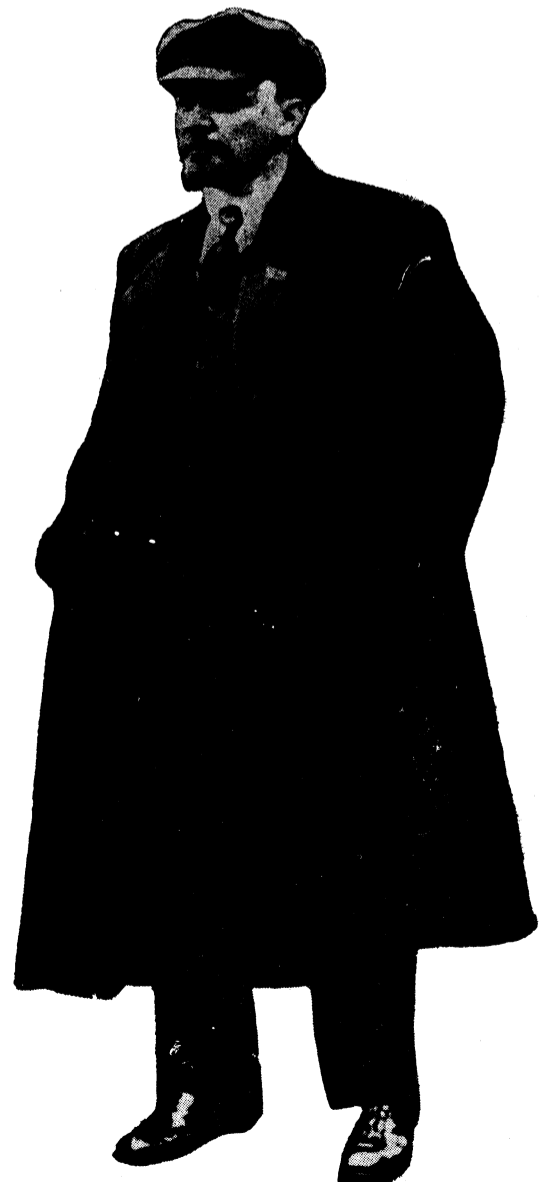
Careful attention to all aspects of financial organization — including schedules for repayment of debts, motivation of higher sustainers or fund drive pledges, and accurate budgeting — will be the key to successfully raising \$36,000 this fall.

RICH FINKEL
Fund Drive Director
YSA National Office

REGION AND LOCAL	QUOTA	PAID	%
SOUTHEAST	\$1575	\$467	30
ATLANTA	1000	467	47
TAMPA	200	0	0
GAINESVILLE	125	0	0
ORLANDO	125	0	0
TALLAHASSEE	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(21.53)	--
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	\$3225	\$700	22
LOS ANGELES	2400	650	27
PHOENIX	200*	50	25
SAN DIEGO	300	0	0
RIVERSIDE	200	0	0
FULLERTON	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(0)	--
NEW ENGLAND	\$3075	\$430	14
BOSTON	2500	400	16
WORCESTER	225	30	13
PROVIDENCE	350	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(.50)	--
ROCKY MOUNTAIN	\$325	\$35	11
DENVER	200	35	17
BOULDER	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(0)	--
MICHIGAN	\$2650	\$250	9
DETROIT	2200	250	11
ANN ARBOR	200	0	0
FLINT	125	0	0
YPSILANTI	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(0)	0
NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY	\$5000	\$400	8
NEW YORK CITY	4000	400	10
BINGHAMTON	250	0	0
NEWARK	200*	0	0
PATERSON	150	0	0
RED HOOK	150	0	0
ALBANY	125+	0	0
LONG ISLAND	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(0)	--
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA	\$4375	\$300	7
BERKELEY	2000	300	15
SAN FRANCISCO	2000	0	0
HAYWARD	250	0	0
SAN JOAQUIN	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(15)	--
MIDWEST	\$3725	\$200	5
CHICAGO	2900	200	7
DEKALB	200	0	0
KANSAS CITY	200	0	0
BLOOMINGTON	150	0	0
ST LOUIS	150*	0	0
FT WAYNE	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(14.50)	--

WISCONSIN	\$900	\$43.16	5
MADISON	350	35.40	10
MILWAUKEE	300	7.76	3
LACROSSE	125	0	0
OSHKOSH	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(.50)	--
PACIFIC NORTHWEST	\$950	\$45	5
PORTLAND	250	45	18
SEATTLE	700	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(0)	--
TEXAS-LOUISIANA	\$1150	\$20	2
AUSTIN	600	20	3
HOUSTON	300	0	0
DALLAS-FT WORTH	125+	0	0
EL PASO	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(0)	--
OHIO-KENTUCKY	\$3100	\$0	0
CLEVELAND	2200	0	0
CINCINNATI	125+	0	0
YELLOW SPRINGS	200	0	0
COLUMBUS	150	0	0
KENT	150	0	0
OBERLIN	150	0	0
OXFORD	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(22)	--
PENNSYLVANIA	\$2125	\$0	0
PHILADELPHIA	2000	0	0
MANSFIELD	125	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(0)	0
MARYLAND-VIRGINIA	\$1000	\$0	0
WASHINGTON, DC	1000	0	0
(AR-LARGE)	--	(19)	--
UPPER MIDWEST	\$1000	\$0	0
TWIN CITIES	1000	0	0
(AT-LARGE)	--	(0)	--
TOTAL AT-LARGE	\$1000	\$93.03	9
TOTAL	\$35,175.00	\$2,983.19	8
SHOULD BE	\$35,175.00	\$4,221.00	12

KEY: * LOWERED PROPOSED QUOTA
RAISED PROPOSED QUOTA
+ PROPOSED QUOTA FOR NEW LOCAL



New York T&P: Build the Campus Base!

Editor's Note: The following is taken from the Tasks and Perspectives report given to the New York City local on September 6 by local organizer Peter Seidman. The report is valuable reading for all YSAers, not only because of the relationship of New York City politics to national politics, mentioned in the report, but also because it deals with the YSA's campus orientation in a way that can be generalized to apply to the situation of many of the YSA locals around the country.

* * *

The May events open up unprecedented opportunities for the revolutionary socialist movement. The explosion of mass action against the Cambodian invasion and the murders at Kent, Augusta and Jackson represented a giant step forward for the consciousness of millions of people.

The almost spontaneous conversion of campus after campus into centers for antiwar organizing opened new links between the student movement and the population as a whole.

Although so great in scope and intensity that no tendency could claim to have led them, the May events clearly proved the critical necessity for a mass democratic centralist revolutionary socialist youth organization and party.

MAY 1970 AND THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM

But what we must now realize is that the events of last May were not isolated incidents. The contradictions facing American capitalism are very deep and seem to be piling up on each other at an ever-accelerating pace. Let me give a few examples to show what I mean.

Consider the crisis of imperialism in Southeast Asia. The Khmer Rouge forces have expanded their mass support among the people of Cambodia dramatically over the summer. They control territory within five miles of Phnom Penh, the capital city. Will the American imperialists really let Cambodia fall into the hands of its own people? The rulers of this country face the prospect of having to either renege on their pledge to de-escalate the Southeast Asian war or permit the loss of Cambodia. What would the response of the American people be to the sending in of troops again to that land? I believe we could expect an outpouring that would dwarf even the events of last spring. And we should not forget that this time there may be a strike of the largest industrial union in this country, the UAW, going on at the same time. This is not a remote possibility, comrades, but a realistic proposition that we must prepare to deal with in a relatively short period of time.

Or consider the Middle East crisis. The 90-day cease-fire seems to have propelled a sharpening of the divisions between the *fedayeen* freedom fighters and the bourgeois Arab governments. The Israeli ruling class is split over what its orientation should be toward this cease-fire. And the American ruling class has already indicated through its increased arms shipments to Israel that it is preparing for an intensification of the attack on the Arab revolution. What would happen if the rulers of America decided they had to send troops into the Middle East to intervene against a revolution there? What if this happened during a general escalation of the war in Indochina? This is another concrete possibility we must deal with.

THE LESSONS OF MAY

One thing we all saw in May was that mass mobilizations of the population can develop extremely rapidly in situations where the mass antiwar sentiment that exists on every campus, in every ghetto and barrio, in every nook and corner of this country, and in the factories of this country explodes. We must be ready for this. This Tasks and Perspectives report is aimed at one central thing — gearing up the New York YSA for being prepared to intervene in the next May upsurge.

The central importance of our campus orientation was dramatically confirmed by May. It was in those areas where we had a strong campus base and were known on campus for our consistent previous work that we succeeded the best. Although it was possible to intervene from the outside on a number of campuses, this work

was most fruitful—the whole local was best geared in—where we had a strong, functioning fraction right on the campus.

THREE CONCEPTS

There were three concepts guiding our successful interventions in the May events which I would like to review.

First is the kind of demands we put forward in these struggles—*transitional* demands. These are demands on the bourgeois state which are acceptable to and rooted in the democratic consciousness of masses of people—demands like *Open the university for the antiwar movement! Free 24-hour child-care centers! Black Control of the Black Community!*—but demands which are unacceptable to the ruling class and which capitalism is incapable of fulfilling consistently or in their entirety. In struggling for these demands, people see the inability and unwillingness of the capitalist rulers to respond to their needs.

Second, we did not make the sectarian mistake of many of our opponents—PL was probably the most extreme example—of viewing the building of these movements as something in conflict with the building of our own organization. We supported these movements for their own demands and loyally built them, recognizing that as more and more people were involved in these struggles, more and more people would be open to our ideas and to joining the YSA.

We also recognized that only through the recruitment and assimilation of the best activists in these mass movements would the YSA be able to provide the leadership necessary to guarantee the continued growth of these movements. As far as we are concerned, there is no contradiction between building the mass movement and building the YSA. Each one builds the other.

The third thing I would like to comment on was the successful use of our election campaigns to intervene in the May mobilizations. We must prepare to use our New York State 1970 Election Campaign as a real weapon in future mobilizations.

The YSA had the first large and rapid growth during the 1968 election campaigns when, after three years of hard work in building the antiwar movement, we were successfully able to combine our work in the antiwar movement with the SWP Presidential Campaign for Halstead and Boutelle.

The consistent work we have been doing on campus, in the high schools, in the women's liberation movement and the Third World liberation movements will, when combined with our New York 1970 SWP Election Campaign, begin to produce even greater results for us than did the 1968 YSHB efforts. Ruthann Miller's speech to 40,000 people on August 26 is the shape of things to come. (*Ruthann Miller is the SWP candidate for Comptroller in New York—Ed.*)

Our election campaign must be a central part of our work in every other movement in which we function. We must view Young Socialist Campaigner groups on the campuses and in the high schools as vehicles for the organization of all the revolutionary forces within the mass movements in which we work.

The SWP election campaign and the YSA are our answers for those radicals seeking multi-issue organizations, our answers to the ultraleft abstentionism of Progressive Labor, to the reformism of the Communist Party and to the empty cynicism of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

WHAT WILL HEGEMONY MEAN?

What will it mean for us to become the leadership of the current radicalization? What will we have to do in order to achieve hegemony in the radical movement? We will have to have such *organizational strength* in relation to our opponents that it is *our political line* which directs the thinking and actions of the masses of this country's people who are seeking solutions to the intolerable conditions produced by the death agony of capitalism. It must be our organization and our political line which first confront someone looking for a revolutionary alternative to the dead-end system of lies and death governing this society. It must be our organization and ideas which every one of our opponents must relate to and deal with as a central fact of their existence.

We should understand why it is so important for our organization to achieve this hegemony. It is because our organization is a reflection of our political line. As masses of people begin to radicalize and build movements of tremendous social power, it is only the YSA and SWP who seek to keep these movements independent and to lead them to a subjective consciousness of the objectively anticapitalist role they play. Every other organization on the left seeks to blunt and to divert the anticapitalist thrust of these movements or else to weaken their ability to win over masses of people. Only if we are organizationally strong enough to win the masses of people to our political perspective, strong enough to defeat the reformist and ultraleft ideas of our opponents before the masses, only then will we be able to lead a successful revolutionary struggle.

NEW YORK SETS THE EXAMPLE

The New York YSA has special responsibilities in learning the lessons of May and gearing up for the next opportunity so that, as soon as possible, we can win the leadership of the student movement. (This is not projected for the next six months, but we can move a long way toward achieving that goal in the next six months.)

New York is the capital of world imperialism. It is also the political center of the U. S. radical movement. This presents us with great opportunities and at the same time poses a great challenge to us.

The radicalization process is uneven. Different sectors of the population radicalize at different rates. In order to win over the masses who will inevitably follow the most advanced sectors, we must first of all gain dominance among the most advanced sectors. I will return to this idea in a moment in the discussion on the student movement. The importance of this unevenness for us in New York is obvious. New York, the center of the radical movement in the United States, leads the rest of the country. What happens here sets an example for the whole radical movement and for the American people as a whole. One example of this fact is the role the Parade Committee played in the early days of the antiwar movement as a model for how to organize a local antiwar coalition. (The Parade Committee was a model coalition at that time, although this may sound strange to new comrades who have only known it in its present degenerated form.) Another example is the impact of the giant women's liberation demonstration here on August 26; that action affected the consciousness of the entire nation. This means that a key step in our movement's advance toward hegemony on a national scale is our ability to gain hegemony here in New York City.

Every one of our opponents has its greatest strength here in New York. Once we have organizationally and politically overwhelmed and isolated our opponents here, we will be well on our way to doing so throughout the country.

Thus, the activists of the New York YSA have a task of national and international significance to perform—because what we do determines whether and at what pace the revolutionary movement will gain hegemony, not just here but everywhere. In this sense, taking off from Jack Barnes' remark about May being the 1905 of the student movement, we can say that New York is the Petrograd of the American revolution.

THE NEED FOR A CAMPUS BASE

In preparing ourselves for the next upsurge, we must recognize that the biggest shortcoming we had in the last one was the weakness of our campus base. The YSA has had a campus orientation for a long time, and comrades have been asked to go onto the campuses many times before. This fall, however, our concrete experiences of last spring and our deepening theoretical appreciation of the role of the student movement make the task of beefing up our campus fractions more imperative than ever.

It is on the campuses and in the high schools that we have the greatest opportunities to intervene in and recruit from the radicalization now taking place. It is on the campuses and in the high schools that we have the best opportunities to shape the outcome of the mass mobilizations of the antiwar, women's liberation and Third World liberation movements. I have already discussed some of the experiences we had during

May which underscore the need for us to build our campus base. Now I want to review briefly the theoretical basis for this campus orientation.

The radicalization process, as I said earlier, develops unevenly. It was on the Black campuses in the South that the current wave of radicalization began. Since that time it has been the student movement which has supplied the bulk of the footsoldiers and the political initiative not only for the Third World liberation struggle, but for the antiwar movement as well. It has been largely on the campuses and in the student movement where the key political questions have been hammered out and an orientation toward independent mass action most consistently developed.

This is not to say that the student movement does not suffer definite limitations—it is prone to deep reformist illusions and grotesque ultra-left adventures—but it is to say that if we seek to gain hegemony over the entire radicalization, including the weightier social forces yet to enter the arena of combat, then we must win over now this most advanced sector, the students.

Not only in the antiwar movement, but in all the areas of radicalization, key discussions and actions which will shape the whole development of these mass movements are taking place on the campuses. We must intervene in these discussions and win over these advanced militants to our political perspective; in this way we can help to hasten the rate at which other social forces are drawn into the struggle—and we can influence the form of that struggle as well.

Our understanding of the key role of the student movement in this radicalization has developed over a period of time. It is an analysis of the student movement based on both a theoretical evaluation and an historical approach.

In the beginning of the antiwar movement, we recognized the importance of the campus antiwar committees, but there was a tendency for us to view the campuses as almost a hostile milieu. Doug Jenness, in his September, 1965, antiwar report to the YSA Plenum had to explain:

"The YSA should not be afraid of getting over-involved in this movement. The last thing I'm worried about is that YSAers will get carried away with the movement and become disillusioned if it should suddenly collapse . . . While this movement is on the ascendency, we should err on the side of too much involvement, rather than too little—if we must err at all."

During the period from 1965 through May-June, 1968, one of the central debates in the campus antiwar movement rotated around the question of "student power" versus mass antiwar actions. The SDSers who argued that the antiwar movement was irrelevant to students because it did not deal with issues that directly affected them were, of course, incorrect. But we at first failed to see how the student power demands could be successfully integrated with the antiwar struggle in many cases. It was the impact of the May-June events in France which led us to develop the concept of the antiwar university which could link up the legitimate desire of students to control their schools with the need for the student movement to go beyond itself if its goals were to be achieved.

On the eve of the Night of the Barricades, Ernest Mandel gave a speech in Paris, outlining the character of the student movement and explaining the role of the campuses in neo-capitalist society. Rather than being islands of privilege for the training and social grooming of the children of the ruling class, campuses have become the giant training barracks for the vast numbers of highly-skilled workers and technicians needed to run the complex tools of production in neo-capitalist society.

A profound contradiction develops within the student body between its education and training—presumably in order to participate in solving social problems and to increase the control of men and women over their lives—and its actual role—of alienated functioning in keeping this monstrous capitalist system going. The conditions of intellectual labor have become proletarianized while the strategic role of this labor within society has increased.

This development has led to the explosive radicalization on the campuses and is the material basis for our campus orientation. In its actions, as proven both in the American antiwar movement and in the French student movement, students can play a key role in bringing the working class into independent mass action. In addition, more and more students influenced by the radicalization while they are in the colleges

and high schools enter the working class and transmit into working-class struggles the lessons learned in the student movement.

But for this process to take place in the best way, we must be leading this movement—urging the formation of bonds between the campuses and the rest of society, bonds forged in struggles around issues which affect the whole population, such as the war, national oppression, and women's oppression.

Our successful interventions in the May events confirmed this strategy in action. Our preparations for the next May and our campaign through the SMC to keep the universities open for antiwar activity to build October 31 during the two-week moratorium period will be tests of our ability to better carry out that strategy here.

At the Oberlin conference, one of the older comrades approached me and confessed that George Brietman's talk was quite a revelation to him because of its assertion of the deep and legitimate character of the current radicalization and the implications of the student movement for the future American revolution. (*George Breitman's talk appears as the featured article in the October issue of the International Socialist Review—Ed.*) Breitman pointed out:

" . . . when we think of the previous radicalizations we tend to think first of all about the role of the workers and their organizations and struggles. This is because they put such a heavy stamp on the period as a whole . . . But the reality is often more complex than the way we remember or picture it . . . The radicalization of the thirties did not begin with the working class. The workers came into it in large numbers only after other sectors had done so . . . The workers in the plants did not begin to move in an unusual way until around 1934, and not in large numbers until even later. But by 1934 the process of radicalization was already a number of years old. It was well-advanced among intellectuals and among students. Many thousands of farmers were engaged in militant action by 1931. The veterans staged a bonus march in Washington in 1932. The unemployed began to demonstrate—under the leadership of radicals, not of the organized labor movement—as early as 1930."

I hope that all these points—the vanguard role of the students in the uneven development of the radicalization, the influence of the politics of the student vanguard on the overall development of the radicalization, the changing social role and social weight of the student movement in neo-capitalist society, and the correct perspective on the historical place of the student movement in this radicalization as compared to the radicalization of the 1930s—underscore the importance of our establishing a solid base on the campuses and struggling for the leadership of the student movement.

THE LOCAL'S TASKS

Because of the key importance of the struggle for hegemony here in New York, the YSA nationally has taken steps to strengthen our ability to build a campus base in this city. The central leadership of the local has been reinforced and a number of experienced campus activists from around the country have been transferred to New York specifically to go on campus and help build strong fractions. But we must continue this process in microcosm right within the local. Every comrade must think out how he or she can get a job on campus or return to school. We must concretely figure out how non-campus comrades can be involved in the work of the campus fractions—being assigned to meetings, sales, teaching classes on the campus, etc. Reports from our first week of sub-blitzing indicate the tremendous potential within our grasp if we have the forces on the spot to intervene. People are eager to receive our ideas and find out about our organization and its activity—but we must be there if this is to happen.

HIGH SCHOOLS

The impact of the high school rights fight and the May events provide us with excellent openings in the high school movement. The SMC and the SWP election campaign will be major areas of work for our high school fraction. At the same time, we must be prepared for a new upsurge around the fight for the High School Bill of Rights. The SMC should play a major role in this struggle as a step in its extension to broader and broader numbers of students and schools.

The high school fraction is just beginning a

series of discussions on the possibilities of running election campaigns for the advisory councils or GOs this fall. The comrades are also looking into what high school women's liberation groups exist and how we can intervene in these.

CAMPUSES

Each campus fraction will be carrying out activity in all our areas of work, but I would like to raise four general points about our campus fractions.

The first is that none of them is as strong as we would like. We currently have comrades at Columbia, Queens, Manhattan Community, CCNY, Hunter and Brooklyn College. The largest fraction is at Columbia, and there two out of five comrades in the fraction work full-time. At Queens, all four comrades are students. The rest of the fractions are weaker than these two. While the local has grown by nearly 50 per cent since 1968, the number of comrades on campus has remained about the same. Although we have transferred, dropped and graduated some campus comrades, this still indicates that we have not been doing the recruiting we should from our central arena of work. Any comrade who feels that he or she might be able to get a job on campus or go back to school now or next semester should talk to me or to the assistant organizer as soon as possible.

The second point is that our fractions must be clear that none of our campus activities is accomplishing its revolutionary task if it is not producing recruits. Every aspect of campus work, from sales to SMC work, must be thought out from the point of view of how it leads to recruitment.

Third, every campus fraction must research whether or not student government elections will be held on its campus this fall. Many elections were put off until October because of the May strike. We can make tremendous gains in campaigns for these offices if we know about them early enough to prepare properly for them. Not only are these elections terrific propaganda forums, but they are also elections we can win! Winning office means tremendous opportunities to obtain recruits, publicity and resources for the antiwar, women's liberation, Third World liberation and revolutionary socialist movements.

The fourth point has to do with this question of resources. In order to carry out the kind of ambitious program of socialist expansion we project for this fall, we will need vast amounts of money. The campuses are potentially tremendous sources for this substance. Not only are students and professors generally able to afford our literature and to make contributions, but we can provide speakers and programs worthy of honorariums and money from student government budgets.

The campus fractions must stay alert to all opportunities for raising money. They should be self-sufficient financially in terms of providing their own leaflets and other such day-to-day necessities. But more than that, they should be able to raise money beyond their own needs for the New York local.

Our campus fractions are the representatives of the YSA in the key arena of our work. They are responsible to the local as a whole for the political work they do. The local as a whole, however, has at the same time a responsibility to back up its fractions with the entire resources and comrade-power of the organization. Such back-up power cannot be a substitute for strong campus fractions, but it is only by our taking this attitude that we will be able to recruit and develop the new comrades who will build the kind of campus-based powerhouse we want to become.

PETER SEIDMAN
New York YSA

Organizing Local Literature Sales

Editor's Note: The following article is taken from a presentation at the Branch Bookstore and Pathfinder Press Promotion Panel at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference.

As students return to the campuses this fall one of the first contacts they will have with the revolutionary movement will be stopping by a YSA literature table. They will immediately get a feel for the professionalism and seriousness of the YSA because of the attractive literature display—the type, variety, and professional appearance of our books and pamphlets. We will be there with exactly the material students are looking for, with more and better radical literature than they can find anywhere else.

There are two points about literature tables that I want to mention before going on to discuss how small locals can best organize literature sales and how they should relate to Pathfinder Press. These are *appearance* and *regularity*.

We want the YSA literature table to stand out, to be as eye-catching as possible. This means first of all selecting a good location. Depending on the habits of the students on a particular campus, the best location may be in front of the library, inside the student union, near the cafeteria or someplace else. What is important is to be conscious of picking a location where a lot of students will pass by the table, but not where the press of traffic is so great that people don't feel that they can stop and browse. If at all possible we want to set up the table where it's possible to decorate the area behind it with YSA posters. We should maximize the use of our posters both in order to sell more of them and also so that anybody walking by can see that this is a radical literature table. Posters advertising *The Militant* should be prominently displayed. Banners reading "Revolutionary Literature Sold Here . . . Che, Malcolm X, Trotsky," or variations on that, can be ordered from the National Office for about \$18.00.

During the first week or so of school we of course want to have literature tables up just as much of the time as possible. Every day, if the local has the personnel to do it. But as we get on into the semester it won't be possible or necessary to have tables up that often. The local should figure out just how often it can have a table up—whether once or twice a week or whatever—and then be sure that the table is up regularly on the days selected, without fail. Students will know just when and where they can find the literature, and a regular clientele will be built up. This dependability is important to develop and maintain. Obviously if this is to be done the table can't be staffed in just a haphazard way—whenever somebody feels like it and has a little time. The schedule for staffing the table should be worked out in advance and held to.

Before going on to the questions of ordering literature from Pathfinder and of the local's financial relations with Pathfinder, I want to mention two things that are indispensable for the literature table. First, a sign-up sheet for people who want to know more about the YSA. This should be as neat and professional looking as possible—that is, not just a page ripped out of somebody's notebook, but if possible a mimeographed sheet showing exactly where you want the name, address, etc.

Second, a mimeographed calendar of radical events for the coming week or two weeks, listing SMC meetings, women's liberation meetings, YSA forums or contact classes, and any other meetings we know about. We want students to have the idea that if they want to know what's

going on, what meetings or demonstrations are coming up, the natural place to find out is at the YSA literature table.

* * *

What makes it possible for us to have these literature tables that can become immediate poles of attraction and centers of activity for radicalizing students is, of course, the existence of Pathfinder Press, which publishes the best selection of revolutionary socialist literature. We want to begin to pay special attention to reversing the trend of locals building up huge debts to Pathfinder. What I want to do with the rest of this presentation is to offer some concrete guidelines for how this can be done. Here are some of the elementary steps that should be taken to organize a local's sales in a professional way that will enable it to continually expand its sales, expand its stock of literature, while at the same time *not* going in debt to Pathfinder Press.

● Carefully consider the post of Literature Sales Director in the local and assign a responsible leading comrade to this position. Our campus literature sales are a crucial part of our whole socialist propaganda offensive and to maximize the effectiveness of literature sales it is necessary to have this position in the local (unfortunately, not all locals do at this time) and to have a leader of the local assigned to be clearly responsible for overseeing this area of work.

● Make up the order to Pathfinder carefully, with an eye to getting the greatest possible assortment of literature—one that is balanced, that will sell—for the least possible money. There are a couple of traps to avoid. One is over-ordering on books that are very expensive and will be sold very infrequently. For example, you don't need five sets of *Capital* or of *Marxist Economic Theory*.

There is also the temptation to order lots of a small pamphlet just because it's cheap. When a pamphlet only costs 10 or 20 cents it is not automatically necessary to order ten copies—especially if it's a pamphlet with which you aren't familiar and of which you may end up selling two or three copies during the whole semester.

In Pathfinder's discount system, if the total order of pamphlets comes to 25 or more (5 or more for books) you get the full 40% discount on all of them. Locals shouldn't hesitate to order only one or two of a particular pamphlet until they are sure it is going to sell. This discount schedule applies only to books and pamphlets that are published by Pathfinder. Material from other publishers that is distributed through Pathfinder is discounted 20% regardless of the size of the order. So it is also important not to order too heavily on non-Pathfinder material, since the discount is smaller and the local's return is correspondingly smaller.

● The third key to successful campus literature sales is to keep the finances of the literature sales totally separate from the local's finances. On the one hand, the members of the local should not have to subsidize the literature tables. The operation should be run so as to pay for itself. On the other hand, the local shouldn't depend on literature sales to finance itself, to meet its national fund drive quota, etc. Any money taken in from literature sales should go straight back to Pathfinder, to pay for literature ordered previously and to expand the local's stock of literature. Locals may find themselves owing large amounts to Pathfinder and not knowing where to find the money if literature is ordered and sold and then the money is

thrown in with the dues, sustainers, and other income and spent on leaflets, for the fund drive, or for something else.

If you're not totally confident of your book-keeping abilities, it may even be necessary to set up a separate bank account for literature sales. But regardless of how the details are arranged, the important principle is to keep the money for literature completely separate from the local's finances—not depending on sales to support the local, and not letting sales be a financial drain on the local.

● The fourth point is to keep careful, accurate books and to do frequent inventories. In order to run the literature sales effectively and efficiently it is necessary to be able to look at the books and tell at a glance what the total owed to Pathfinder is, what the income from sales has been for each day and each week, what titles are selling best, how much literature is on hand, etc.

● Locals can order literature from Pathfinder on credit. This privilege is really essential for new locals to be able to get together a good assortment of literature, but it should be exercised very carefully. It's very dangerous to get the image of Pathfinder as a benevolent Santa Claus in New York to which you can just keep on sending orders and more orders and never any payments—and have the literature just keep coming in.

The credit limit which Pathfinder sets is flexible and varies depending on how familiar they are with a customer, how financially reliable they consider the customer to be, etc. The N.O.'s recommendation is that the absolute maximum a local should owe to Pathfinder is \$50 to \$75. Once a local has ordered \$50 or \$75 worth of literature, if it has ordered carefully, it should have a very impressive stock of literature, and, with careful management, should be able to continue expanding its stock and also make regular payments to Pathfinder solely from its sales income.

As soon as the stock is in and literature tables are being set up regularly, the money from each day's sales should be put in the literature account. Then every week (or two weeks at most) send in as large a check as possible to Pathfinder. Don't order any more literature until the debt has been reduced. If possible, send in payment in advance along with any new literature orders, but in any case, if the local owes Pathfinder \$70, don't order another \$20 worth until the debt has been reduced at least to \$50.

This fall the opportunities for getting our socialist propaganda in the form of literature sales out to hundreds of thousands of students—like our opportunities in virtually every sphere of activity—will be greater than ever before. If every local works to organize its sales in a professional way, we will be able to get our literature into the hands of these students.

ANDY ROSE
YSA National Office

Organizing the Fall Antiwar Offensive

Since the Cleveland antiwar conference, we have made great progress in establishing the October 31 action perspective and in developing the National Peace Action Coalition into a truly authoritative national antiwar coalition. In spite of the divisions within the antiwar movement and the pressure of the 1970 election campaigns, significant demonstrations are being organized in more than 30 cities.

LOCAL COALITIONS

We have been successful in building new antiwar coalitions or ad hoc October 31 Commit-

tees in the major metropolitan centers. As the date for the action approaches, these coalitions continue to solidify and expand, incorporating new forces from community, religious and labor organizations as well as important sectors of the traditional peace movement.

OUR OPPONENTS

While NPAC has proceeded to implement the decisions of the Cleveland conference and to organize the mass antiwar demonstrations on October 31, the New Mobilization Committee has all but closed up shop. Our opponents in

the old antiwar coalition—the Communist Party and the assorted ultralefts—have been unable to fashion a real alternative to mass actions called by NPAC. After the Milwaukee Strategy Action Conference, held in counterposition to NPAC, this grouping proceeded to put the New Mobe into organizational cold storage. Their attempt to forge a reformist multi-issue alliance has resulted recently in the National Coalition Against War, Racism, and Repression (NCAWRR). This organization has little breadth beyond the uneasy alliance between the CP and the ultralefts.

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The program of activity announced by NCAWRR calls for a month of action, beginning with multi-issue demonstrations on October 15 and culminating in a march to the United Nations on Sunday, November 15, to present the signatures collected in their anti-genocide campaign. The obvious intent of this schema is to present an apparent alternative to the NPAC call; this design is clearly *not* intended to be the basis for significant mass activity. October 15 activity is likely to be minimal and unable to cut across the mass actions on October 31. In areas where an October 15 action may have a primarily antiwar character, we should view it as a building block toward October 31.

The orientation of the Communist Party within the antiwar movement is directed toward the liberal politicians. They view the mass actions that will be scheduled for the spring as an important platform to launch a movement directed toward the 1972 election campaign. The motion passed at the last meeting of the NCAWRR grouping, calling for massive civil disobedience next May in Washington, D.C., is part of their effort to jockey for control over the spring action. However, their inability to organize any serious actions this fall should prove a major obstacle for them in accomplishing their objectives.

OCTOBER 31 ACTIONS

The October 31 demonstrations, on the other hand, promise to be significant manifestations of antiwar sentiment. While the elections have somewhat dampened the all-encompassing enthusiasm which characterized the Moratorium activities of last fall, the increasing tide of public sentiment for U.S. withdrawal makes the potential for mass action quite favorable. The success of these actions should enable NPAC to fill the vacuum left by the disintegration of New Mobe and become established as the authoritative antiwar coalition.

The weeks prior to the demonstrations will be critical to the consolidation of the local coalitions. We should make certain that the key forces in these coalitions become a part of the national coalition; in this regard, we should continue to solicit additions to the NPAC steering committee and refer them to the national headquarters in Cleveland.

NPAC STEERING COMMITTEE

The steering committee of NPAC has continued to expand since the Cleveland conference and now has about 75 members. It includes many of the key elements that were involved in the New Mobe, as well as some of the broader forces recently attracted to the antiwar movement.

Recent approaches to NPAC from the top leadership of the major trade union bureaucracies are a sign of the potential that exists for the new coalition. At the same time, we must remain alert to the rightward pressures which these forces will place upon the coalition. While we are willing and desirous to include them in the programs for October 31, we want to assure that these demonstrations maintain their mass action-immediate withdrawal character.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

NPAC has already decided to follow up the October 31 actions by hosting a national antiwar conference on December 5-7 in Detroit. This conference will serve to draw together the forces that have been involved in the October 31 actions and project the authoritative call to the next major national focus of antiwar action. Leaflets announcing the conference should be available before October 31 for distribution at the demonstrations.

The month of October must be one of tremendous antiwar activity for the entire YSA. In particular, it is on the campus where we will find the most ready resources and activists in the Student Mobilization Committee.

THE STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

This fall the SMC is in the center of radical politics on campus, having the allegiance of hundreds of thousands of college and high school youth. The first SMC meetings have reflected this reality, with hundreds of students attending meetings of SMC chapters across the country. The specific weight of the student left wing within the antiwar movement as a whole has been greatly increased by the development

of the SMC. And, of course, the SMC has been and will continue to be the single most important component of the antiwar coalition.

The overriding campaign of the SMC this fall is to reestablish the gains of the antiwar university in the course of mobilizing university resources to build the mass demonstrations on October 31. We want to put forward this perspective as the logical and necessary continuation of the May upsurge, utilizing the campus base and the mass action focus to reach out to other sections of the population and draw them into antiwar activity.

GIs AND THE SMC

The campus SMCs should provide the activists to tap the rapidly growing antiwar sentiment within the Armed Forces. Leafletting of GIs at bus terminals, airports, and off-base areas of GI concentration can become an ongoing part of SMC activity. Areas such as Atlanta, which is ringed with several large army bases, have already begun a systematic effort to involve GIs in the October 31 action.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE SMC

The SMC should also provide a lever for the involvement of key sections of the women's liberation movement in the fall antiwar actions. It is easy to demonstrate why the women's liberation movement should participate in actions against the war; in fact, the war was an important theme of spokeswomen during the rallies which were held on August 26. We should not hesitate to seek endorsement from the leaders of the women's liberation movement for the October 31 actions.

In cities such as Philadelphia, where the antiwar coalition includes Women's Strike for Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the YWCA, and the Women's Liberation Center, we can expect that "women against the war" will have a prominent place in the antiwar demonstration.

THIRD WORLD COMMUNITIES AND THE SMC

The SMC can also play an important role in mobilizing Black and Brown participation in the October 31 actions. The Chicano Moratorium is an indication of the tremendous potential that exists for mobilizing the power of the Chicano community against the war. With this example, we should expand our efforts to win Black and Brown students to the SMC. In the high schools, especially, we can involve hundreds of Third World activists in the SMC.

HIGH SCHOOLS AND THE SMC

One of the most important single areas of SMC activity this fall will be in the high schools. High school activists are becoming an increasingly important and vital base for SMC membership, and local SMCs should plan activities to involve and relate to high school students.

The SMC is the only national organization that has carried out national campaigns around the issue of high school rights. High school rights will be a major issue again this fall in many high schools. Already the SMC national office receives many letters each week on the question of the struggle for high school rights from activists around the country. We should investigate the possibility for campaigns around this issue. Although this is a broader civil liberties concern than the fight against the war, the high school rights struggle is bound up with high school students' ability to organize in their schools; this struggle can easily become an integral part of the entire fall antiwar offensive by high school SMCs.

THE SMC NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

The national SMC has readied some of the materials needed for the fall antiwar campaign. A new SMC brochure, button, and membership cards are available to local chapters.

The national membership drive by the SMC cannot be overemphasized. Now is the time to take advantage of the opportunities to recruit tens of thousands of students as national members of the SMC. Already over 500 membership cards have been received in the SMC N.O. A systematic effort should begin in local areas to build the national membership of the SMC. This drive has the potential for consolidating tens of thousands of key SMC activists, as well as aiding the financial resources of the SMC.

As the vanguard mass student organization in the United States, the SMC must be much

more than the student apparatus that helps to organize the periodic mass mobilizations of the antiwar movement. The SMC must be able to react swiftly to major national and international political developments. Two recent developments are the focus of additional campaigns that we want to encourage local SMCs to begin to organize.

THE UAW STRIKE

The strike of the United Auto Workers against the General Motors Corporation is a major political development in the United States. The strike is objectively an antiwar strike, since it represents a refusal on the part of the auto workers to accept the burden of war-aggravated inflation.

The SMC solidarizes itself with the UAW strikers, and we should take the lead in encouraging SMC chapters to conduct a campaign similar to the one carried out in support of the strike against GE last year. As of yet, there is not as broad interest in this strike on the campuses as there was in the GE strike, so this campaign should begin on a modest scale. But the nature of the campaign should be in the pattern of the GE strike campaign: contact local unions of the UAW to find out what kind of signs of solidarity they would like to see; invite UAW speakers to the campus to speak about their strike; find out if GM recruiters are to appear on campus, and discuss the feasibility of organizing a boycott; attempt to provide educational materials, scandalizing GM with the facts about their war-profiteering interests; discuss the possibility of a campaign to force the university to cease buying GM products for the duration of the strike.

THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

We think that the civil war in Jordan and the possibility of U.S. military intervention is an issue which the antiwar movement cannot ignore. The SMC, in particular, has the obligation to speak out against any U.S. involvement in the Middle East.

This position is in total accord with the primary orientation of the SMC, whose main concern—that is, its "single issue"—is opposition to U.S. military aggression in Vietnam. Vietnam, and now all of Indochina, has been the focus of American aggression; and when a new crisis threatens the expansion of U.S. military involvement in other countries—whether it be Jordan or Thailand or the Dominican Republic—the SMC should be the organization that can quickly point to the experience of Vietnam as a sound basis for mobilizing opposition to this threat.

Although the immediate threat of U.S. intervention in the Middle East appears to have receded, this concern will remain the subject of intense political discussion. On the campuses, SMCs should take an active role in the educational discussions, teach-ins, polemics, and debates organized by various student organizations, including the YSA.

Although the SMC cannot take a position on the entire Palestinian question, it can demand that U.S. government keep its hands off the Middle East. From this perspective, drawing the lessons of Vietnam, SMC leaders can play an important part in educating the campus population about the threat of U.S. aggression in the Middle East.

SMC FINANCES

YSAers also have the obligation of maintaining a high degree of consciousness in the local SMC chapters on the question of financing and funding the national SMC. The unanimity of antiwar sentiment on college campuses provides the basis for gaining the financial resources that can enable the national SMC to continue functioning on a high level. In the weeks before the October 31 action, when the pace of activity is greatest, the opportunity for financial contributions and fund-raising for the national SMC is also at its peak. We should be sure that local SMC chapters build fund-raising consciousness and take advantage of the opportunities inherent in the basic political tasks set out by the chapter.

CARL FRANK
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young socialist the organizer

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

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One important facet of the YSA's increased emphasis on defense of the Arab revolution will be expanded internal educational work. Forums and class series on the history of Zionism and the Palestinian resistance, the role of nationalism in the Middle East, the different Palestinian groups and their programs, etc., should be going on all over the country.

In addition, every YSAer should become familiar with the important literature on the subject so that each comrade can be a knowledgeable and articulate spokesman or spokeswoman for our position on the Arab revolution, just as for our position on the Vietnamese revolution.

Pathfinder Press publishes the following pamphlets on the Mideast: *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis* and *Zionism and the Arab Revolution*, by Peter Buch; *How Can the Jews Survive?*, by George Novack; *Israel and the Arabs*, a collection of letters to *The Militant*; *Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question*; and *The Truth About Israel and Zionism*, by Jon Rothschild and Nathan Weinstock. In addition, Pathfinder will soon reprint *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*, by Abram Leon. This book, which provides a Marxist analysis of the social role of the Jews in history, has long been out of print. The author was a Belgian Trotskyist who died in a German concentration camp at the age of twenty-six.

Other important books on the history of the Mideast include *Palestine and Israel: The Lethal Dilemma*, by Hishram B. Sharabi (Pegasus); *Whose Land? A History of the Peoples of Palestine*, by James Parkes (Penguin Books); and *Israel and the Arabs*, by Maxime Rodinson (Penguin Books).

* * *

Atlanta YSA recommends the following pro-

cedure for distributing *The YS Organizer*—

When the bundle of *Organizers* arrives, the *Organizer* correspondent writes the name of each member of the local across the top of one copy. These copies are available to be picked up at the YSA headquarters and at the next YSA business meeting. Any copies which haven't been picked up after the meeting are mailed out to the comrades.

* * *

Whenever the YSA receives coverage in the bourgeois press, campus or underground press, copies of the articles should be sent in to the YSA national Office. This material would often be of interest to YSAers around the country, and we may be able to reprint some of the articles in *The YS Organizer*.

All YSAers will want to get copies of the September 1970 issue of the magazine of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which includes an article of "The Red University: Goal of Trotskyist Communism in the U.S.," by J. Edgar Hoover.

Mr. Hoover notes that the "YSA is today the largest and best organized youth group in left-wing radicalism. Trotskyist influence is especially strong in the youth field, particularly on the college campus. . . . Today there are an estimated 50 YSA chapters on college campuses throughout the nation. They operate openly and effectively. . ." He discusses the YSA's support for the civil liberties of GIs, our role as leaders in the Student Mobilization Committee, our support to SWP election campaigns, and our concept of the "Red University."

In conclusion, he notes "You should be familiar with the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Student Mobilization Committee. The next time you see or hear about their activities, you will realize that they are not some distant, strange groups. . ."