the organizer



March 8
Women's
Liberation
Actions

Regional Perspectives

April 2-4 Antiwar Actions

Defense of the Student Movement

the organizer

Campaign Against the IRS Guidelines

As a result of the unprecedented student upsurge last May, the Nixon administration launched an intensive campaign aimed at isolating and eventually destroying the student movement.

The threat of revoking the tax-exempt status of universities and colleges by the Internal Revenue Service has been used by campus administrators this fall to attack the most basic political rights of students. It is thus important that we fully understand the nature of this attack and effectively respond to defeat it.

The American Council on Education, following meetings with the U.S. Justice Department and the Internal Revenue Service last May, issued a set of guidelines on June 19, 1970. The Council stated in effect that college administrators should clamp down on student activists and that universities and colleges would be liable to lose their tax exemptions if they allowed their facilities to be used for "partisan" political activity. The Internal Revenue Service also recommended that college and university administrators adopt new regulations on political activity with these restrictions as a guide.

The campaign at Columbia University is being waged as a national challenge to the IRS guidelines. We hope this campaign will set a precedent that can then be used in local campaigns against these guidelines.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

On September 17, 1970, Columbia University President William McGill announced the adoption of new guidelines on political activity that were based on the recommendations of the American Council on Education and the IRS. Over the summer these guidelines were applied when the Movement for a New Congress was thrown off campus.

Under these guidelines, campus organizations that used university facilities for "partisan" polit-

ical purposes would be required to pay for specific facilities. In addition, any organization that the administration felt was "taking advantage" of the use of university facilities would have to pay for the right to even meet on campus.

The Columbia guidelines were also aimed against the Black and Puerto Rican communities of Harlem which border the university. The guidelines explicitly stated that organizations which did not have campus recognition would be prohibited from using university facilities for any purpose.

These guidelines included an open assault on the right of free speech at Columbia. All university newspapers were prohibited from endorsing candidates for public office or taking a stand on legislation before congress.

INITIAL CAMPUS RESPONSE

The announcement of the adoption of these guidelines was met with outrage. The president of the campus Young Republicans Club condemned the guidelines. The Columbia College Today, a graduate student publication, editorially condemned the guidelines pointing out that "zealous calls for letter-perfect law-enforcement date back to the radical political activities that swept the campuses last May." The Faculty Peace Action Committee added their voice to the growing protests as did almost every other organization on campus.

The New York YSA, in consultation with the National Office, helped initiate an immediate response. The Columbia Young Socialist Campaign Committee widely publicized and held a meeting in direct violation of the guidelines, which we had hoped would give the YSCC an opportunity to initiate a legal suit. In the wake of the snowballing protests, the administration, however, decided that it would not attempt to enforce the guidelines at that time, and has not done so since.

CURRENT CAMPAIGN

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Despite the fact that these guidelines at Columbia University are not being enforced, the pose a direct threat to the student movement and must be exposed and thrown off the books. The YSA is playing a leading role in helping to build the campaign against the guidelines at Columbia University.

The first aspect of the campaign at Columbia is a well planned legal challenge to the constitutionality of the guidelines. Well-known professors and student leaders are being contacted to become plaintiffs in this suit.

The second prong of this campaign will be the formation of the broadest possible public committee to win support for the striking down of these restrictive Columbia regulations. The committee will be based on support for the democratic right of student political activity. It will attempt to assemble the broadest possible list of endorsers and, at the same time, publicize the suit and raise money for the court costs. One activity already being discussed is a symposium on the effects of the guidelines and the implications of the challenge.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

The fight against the restrictions on student political activity was adopted as a major perspective at the recent YSA national convention. It is particularly important that this campaign be waged with the fullest possible national consultation and coordination. Before a major campaign or any legal challenges are launched, the National Office should be consulted.

Local organizers and at-large members should immediately send to the National Office full reports on any new restrictions that are discovered. Any attempts to victimize student activists should also be immediately communicated to the N.O.

RICH FINKEL
YSA National Office

Militant Subs: How to Do It

Here is one approach to selling *Militant* subscriptions that has worked well in the past.

On entering a dorm room, you state your business right away: "I'm selling subscriptions to *The Militant*, a revolutionary socialist newspaper." If the student allows you to continue, get right down to what's in the paper, explaining the broad coverage given to the war, the antiwar movement, women's liberation, Third World struggles, Palestine, and so on.

Stress the idea that *The Militant* is a truthful paper with correspondents around the world. It is not a rhetoric filled sheet.

If people show a spark of interest they should be shown *The Militant*. Let them hold the paper and and leaf through it at their own pace. You can talk as they are looking.

It is often best *not* to state immediately that the sub is so cheap. This could be one of those final clinchers for the sale. Time should be taken to explain why it is to the person's advantage to have the paper delivered to the dorm every week.

Never memorize a sales pitch, and always look the person in the eye and respond to their particular questions and comments.

If a person is extremely hostile, it's best to terminate the conversation right there and move on. The more asked, the better.

Some objections you may run into and some excellent answers:

1. "I'm not very militant."

Answer: "By militant we don't mean breaking windows, etc., as The San Francisco Chronical would have you believe. We mean fighting against the war and for women's liberation. You support the antiwar movement, don't you?"

2. "No. I'm not active in politics."

Answer: "And yet you read The Chronical. Similarly, The Militant is an important news source. For example, last October thousands of people demonstrated against the war. If you only read The Chronical, you'd never know it happened. It's important to keep up with these movements and revolutionary events around the world, because they affect you even if you aren't an active participant."

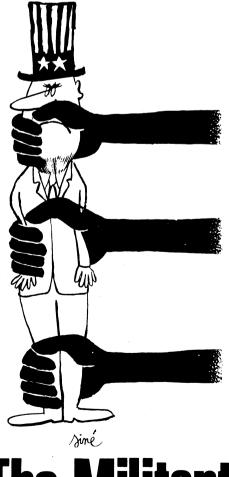
3. "I already subscribe to 53 magazines, I haven't had time to read."

Answer: "Then it's important for you to specialize. Only The Militant gives you inside accounts of these mass movements written by activists."

4. "I pick up *The Militant* occasionally."

Answer: "Then you know that *The Militant* often publishes articles in series form, and it would be frustrating not to be able to finish these."

MIKE SCHREIBER San Francisco YSA



The Militant

Indispensable coverage of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American liberation struggles.

Ideas for March 8 Women's Liberation Actions

March 8, International Women's Day, is becoming a focus for feminist activity all over the country, and particularly on the campuses. Plans are already underway in a number of areas for teach-ins, demonstrations, and rallies which have the potential for drawing new women into the movement, especially Third World women and high school women. Reports indicate that campus women's liberation groups have taken the lead in initiating actions for March 8.

The following reports from Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, and New York give a preliminary picture of the possibilities opening up for March 8 activities. YSAers should continue to send in articles to *The YS Organizer* and *The Militant* on developments around International Women's Day in local areas.

CHICAGO—A teach-in is projected in Chicago for March 7, to be followed by activities on the campuses the next day. The March 8 Committee, initiated by women from the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, is seeking to involve all women and women's organizations in the Chicago area in plans and preparations for the teach-in.

The program for the teach-in will include prominent feminist speakers, a broad range of workshops dealing with various aspects of women's oppression, a feminist art show, and a performance of Myrna Lamb's play "What Have You Done for Me Lately?"

DETROIT—A meeting of women from all over Michigan on January 30 voted to call a demonstration at the state capitol in Lansing for March 13. The central demand is "Free and legal abortion on demand, no forced sterilization. Repeal all existing abortion laws!"

The state-wide meeting that called the action was sponsored by the Wayne State Women's Liberation Organization, and included representatives from the YWCA, NOW, Welfare Rights Organization, Welfare Employees Union, the Unitarian Church, Society of Friends, and campus and high school women's liberation groups.

On March 8, abortion testimonials are planned on the campuses, where women will testify about illegal abortions they have been forced to get due to the reactionary legislation in Michigan. The March 8 actions will serve to dramatize the abortion issue in order to bring the largest number of women to Lansing on March 13.

LOS ANGELES— The Association of Women Students at Cal. State L.A. will sponsor a Woman's Day on March 4. The program includes a panel on perspectives for the women's liberation movement, featuring representatives from feminist groups around the city; workshops on such issues as abortion, child care, and birth control; a guerrilla theater performance by Asian-American women; and films.

NEW YORK—A Women's Liberation Conference sponsored by the New York Strike Coalition will be held at Barnard College and Columbia Univ. on March 6-7. Organized by the

Barnard Women's Liberation and Columbia Women's Liberation, the conference is expected to draw women from the campuses and high schools all over New York State.

The conference will zero in on plans for building two upcoming demonstrations in New York. On March 20 there will be a march on Harlem Hospital called by the Third World Women's Caucus of the coalition. Third World women will be demanding free abortion on demand, no forced sterilization, and child care centers for patients and staff.

This action will be followed by a state-wide demonstration in Albany on March 27 to answer the reactionary attempts of the state legislature to impose new restrictions on the current abortion laws. Called by the coalition, the demonstration has already received wide sponsorship from women's groups in New York City and around the state.

A broad range of topics will be discussed in the conference workshops, including Third World feminism, abortion and contraception, child care centers, junior high school and high school organizing, women and the war, consciousness-raising, and women and the professions.

CINDY JAQUITH
YSA Women's Liberation Director

Classes on Women's Liberation

The following classes on women's liberation are based on a series currently being run in New York City for members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. Each class focuses on concrete issues and questions that are now under debate in the feminist movement. They are intended to arm comrades with the knowledge and theoretical background necessary for us to continue to play a leading role in these discussions.

Because it is a principle of the feminist movement that women have the right to their own meetings where they can develop their own ideas and leadership free from the often inhibiting presence of men, the YSA generally excludes men from attending our public classes on women's liberation. Internal classes such as these, however, should be open to male comrades. It is essential that all YSA members become confident defenders of the revolutionary potential of feminism, and are informed about where the movement is going.

Many of these classes pose questions that are totally new to revolutionaries, and can only be viewed as beginning attempts to work out our perspective. To deal with the newness of these questions, in New York we have found it helpful to make the presentations a team effort. A small meeting is set up with the teacher of each class and other comrades who have done extensive reading in the area or have ideas about what the class should cover, and the presentation is worked out collectively.

Because of the length of this series, other areas considering running a similar series may want to cut it down, either by eliminating certain topics or by combining several into one class.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION CLASS SERIES

1. ORIGINS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSIONAND THE RISE OF CLASS SOCIETY. Were women always oppressed? Is male supremacy older than class society? The subjugation of women and the development of the family pinpointed

to the rise of private property and the establishment of patriarchal class society.

Reed, Problems of Women's Liberation Engels, Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State

2. WHY SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL: THE REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF FEMINISM. How do the demands of the women's liberation movement challenge the family? What role does consciousness-raising play in strengthening the women's liberation movement?

Stone, Sisterhood is Powerful

Densmore, Sex Roles and Female Oppression Radical Feminists, Notes From the Second Year 3. FEMINISM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. What has the impact of feminism and sisterhood been on our movement? How does a combat party weld together the struggles of all oppressed groups? How can male comrades support women's liberation? Is there a contradiction between feminism and socialism?; between being a feminist and being in an organization with men?

Education for Socialists (July 1970), Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party.

SWP Disc. Bulletin (V. 27, No. 3), "The Multinational Leninist Party—Chicago Branch Discussion"

Vernon, Why White Radicals Are Incapable of Understanding Black Nationalism (to be mimeged)

4. CHARACTER OF THE WOMAN'S SUF-FRAGE MOVEMENT. Why did the movement die out in 1920? Was it middle-class, singleissue and reformist, as some feminists today have claimed? Specific attention to the sectarian attitude of the Socialist Party, the anarchists and labor towards feminism and the demand for women's suffrage.

Woodroofe, "First Round in the Struggle for Women's Liberation," ISR (March 1971)

5. WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION. How the Russian Revolution moved to implement a program for women's liberation, the problems faced, and Stalin's reversal of the Bolshevik program. Does this mean a socialist revolution will not liberate women?
Trotsky, Women and the Family
Reich, Sexual Revolution (part 2)

6. THE COMMUNIST PARTY: OPPONENT OF FEMINISM. What is it about Stalinism that leads the CP to hate feminism? How have they intervened in the women's liberation movement, and where would they like to see it go? Colon, Enter Fighting: Today's Woman

Ristorucci, "Sexual Politics," Political Affairs (January 1971)

Lund, "The Family: Oppressor of Women or Revolutionary Force?", ISR (October 1970)

7. FEMINISM AND THIRD WORLD NATION-ALISM. Triple oppression of Third World Women. Impact of feminism on the Third World struggle and the response of the various nationalist groupings to it. What are the similarities between these two struggles, and where do the parallels end?

Williams and Newman, Black Women's Liberation

Oliver, "The Triple Oppression of Black Women," ISR (February 1971)

Morrison, "Combined Character of the Coming American Revolution," ISR (November 1970) 8. WHERE IS THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT GOING? Focus on current debates in the movement—an anti-imperialist women's movement?; how best to counter red-baiting attacks and the principles of non-exclusion; mass action vs. counter-institutions; how to decide which demands to mobilize around.

Waters, Politics of Women's Liberation Today Trotsky, The Transitional Program

1970 YSA Convention resolution on women's liberation

Mimeoed selections from the feminist newspapers

DEBBY WOODROOFE New York YSA

April 2-4 Antiwar Actions

In the recent period, we have seen possibilities opening up for massive involvement of Blacks and Latinos in the antiwar movement. In the past, the tremendous sentiment against the Vietnam war in Black and Brown communities was not organized because of the crisis of leadership in the national liberation movements and because the YSA could only carry out limited interventions.

The development of the Chicano Moratorium Committee, however, was a tremendous step forward. Not only did the Chicano Moratorium show that the sentiment against the war in the Brown community could be organized, but it also showed *how* it could be mobilized.

Lessons of the Chicano Moratoriums

The Chicano Moratorium demonstrations pointed out the necessity of independent mass action and non-exclusion in building actions which can effectively mobilize Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans, or Native Americans against the war. These actions were above all important because they were *independent* of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Because Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans are oppressed as nationalities, they must organize to meet their needs as a people. Nationalist antiwar organizations, like the Chicano Moratorium, help link the struggle against the war to the struggle against national oppression.

Afro-Americans and the Fight Against the War

Since the May events, and particularly since the murders in Augusta and at Jackson State, the participation of Afro-Americans in both the organized antiwar movement and its actions has increased significantly. During May, Black students were active in strike activities in Detroit, San Jose, Riverside, Houston and other cities. Many forces in the Black community endorsed the December NPAC conference—ranging from Rev. Charles Koen of the Cairo Black United Front to Carl Stokes, mayor of Cleveland. An even broader range of Black endorsement is now being obtained for the NPAC spring calendar.

The most recent development linking Black liberation and antiwar struggles was the Black Moratorium in Riverside, California. Although relatively small, this action was the first of its kind and has helped bring the lessons of the Chicano Moratorium to the Black liberation movement.

One of the prime tasks of YSAers, as leading activists in the Black liberation and antiwar movements, is to use this example to educate others in the movement, and begin drawing together the forces through which masses of Black people will be organized and mobilized against the war in Southeast Asia.

April 2-4

The first date of antiwar activity in the NPAC spring calendar is April 2-4. The call is for local activities such as rallies, meetings, and marches centered around the question of the war and in commemoration of the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King. This action is also endorsed by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, formerly called the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, and therefore provides a basis for united action on the part of the entire antiwar movement.

Above all, the April 2-4 actions give us an opportunity to build independent nationalist antiwar formations on the campuses and high schools. Black YSAers should be in the lead in initiating the building of such organizations wherever possible.

The struggle for high school rights and in

defense of Black GIs will also be an important aspect of developing Black antiwar campus and high school organizations.

In Detroit, for example, a growing Black Moratorium Committee has been formed at Highland Park Community College, and SCLC and NAACP have endorsed the action on April 3.

In areas where we cannot begin building nationalist antiwar formations, the April 2-4 actions will provide the opportunity for establishing contacts with various Black student and community organizations.

It is important that wherever possible the April 2-4 actions be independent Black antiwar actions. In this way the maximum number of Black people will be drawn into action. The April 2-4 antiwar demonstrations and rallies will also then set into motion the organizing of Black participation in the April 24 actions.

The building of the April 2-4 actions will be an important step in the process of constructing a leadership in the Black community which will be capable of mobilizing masses of Afro-Americans against the war.

As with the other actions this spring, the April 2-4 action will be discussed at the SMC conference in Washington D. C. For this reason, all efforts should be made to bring as many forces from the Black community as possible to the conference to participate in the decision-making.

NORMAN OLIVER
YSA Third World Work Director

U. of III. Circle Campus Defense

The Nixon-Hoover campaign against the student movement has been waged in a consistent and serious way by the administration at the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle Campus.

On August 12, 1970, a statement was issued by the U. of I. Board of Trustees concerning "disruptive and coercive action." Designed to intimidate the student body, a copy was mailed to the home of every enrolled student in the university.

In early November, SDS was put on probation by the Committee on Student Affairs (a faculty-student advisory disciplinary body) for allegedly pasting up posters on the ROTC building. Further charges were later brought against SDS, and the entire student movement at U. of I. suffered a serious setback when the administration finally banned SDS from campus on January 21, 1971.

In late November, charges were brought against the SMC for a "Free the Kent 25" leaf-let found in an "unauthorized area." After a successful SMC defense campaign, charges were dropped.

In December, the *Chicago Illini*, the student newspaper, was denied the use of university facilities by the administration for obvious political reasons.

SDS

The initial charges that were brought against SDS were the same charges that were later brought against the SMC. Because of their total lack of an understanding of how to defend themselves, SDS was placed on probation. The SMC, in contrast, by enlisting broad support for its right to function freely on campus, was able to apply a significant amount of pressure on the university administration, and, as a result, the charges against SMC were dropped.

The SDS defense was mainly aimed at trying to draw students to Committee on Student Affairs meetings by distributing leaflets focusing on the need to "Smash Racist Unemployment." Needless to say, not many independents were drawn to the CSA meetings, although ten to fifteen PL and SDS members from around the city were brought on campus for their intervention into these meetings.

At Committee on Student Affairs meetings, SDS members simply ignored the political questions involved in the administration's attempt to victimize SDS. Their intervention generally consisted of a series of five minute "raps" about the plight of the American working class.

Defensive formulations were not a strong point in the SDS defense. The SDSers referred to the student and faculty members of CSA as "lackeys" and "scabs," and expressed their intense desire to throw the Dean of Student Affairs into the Chicago River.

After SDS was placed on probation, they continued to defy Circle Center regulations with very little student support. At one point SDS called a rally which was "illegal" because of their probationary status. Scuffles broke out with university police and nine SDS members were arrested.

The administration then had an opening to apply its finishing touches on SDS. More charges were brought against SDS, and at the next meeting of the Committee on Student Affairs, SDS was banned from Campus.

CHARGES AGAINST THE YSA

After May, a subcommittee was set up by the Illinois State Legislature to investigate "campus unrest." The subcommittee, headed by State Senator William Horsley, has been traveling from campus to campus throughout the state, playing the role of a mini-HUAC.

On December 8, 1970, the Horsley Commission was in Chicago to investigate radical activity at the U. of I.-Circle Campus. When Chancellor Parker testified, Horsley asked him why the YSA was able to use university facilities to hold a regional educational conference on campus. To this, Parker replied that it was a mistake

During the same week charges were brought against the YSA for technical errors that we made in filling out the registration forms for the conference. Presently these charges are being investigated by the CSA.

Also, as a result of the appearance of the Horsley Commision in Chicago, on January 1, 1971, the Chancellor arbitrarily issued a policy statement declaring that all city-wide, regional,

and national meetings or conferences which involve non-UICC students and are not deemed "in the educational interests" of the student body by the chancellor, will not be allowed the use of university facilities.

YSA DEFENSE

A mass movement of students and faculty must be built on campus in defense of democratic rights. Although this is clearly a necessity, at this point large numbers of students are not aware of the meaning of these attacks or the intentions of the university administration.

The YSA U. of I. campus fraction is now in the process of carrying out a massive campus educational campaign to explain these issues—the connection between the Horsley Commission and the university administration's attacks, and the scope of the national campaign against the student movement.

The thrust of the YSA defense campaign is to enlist broad student, faculty, and community support on the basis of supporting student civil liberties and to force the administration to drop the charges against the YSA. We are distributing a three page position paper called "Attacks on the Student Movement and Civil Liberties" to educate the students on campus. It explains the history of the administration's offensive and calls for every student and faculty member to support the defense of the YSA.

Statements have already been gathered, signed by the president of the student government, campus leaders, and faculty members demanding that the Administration drop the charges against the YSA. We are also planning to call a press conference in the near future.

Through the campaign in defense of the YSA, we hope to lay the educational groundwork for the initiation of a broad united-front defense committee that will build a mass campus movement to extend the democratic rights of the students around the question of free and open access to university facilities by all student organizations and publications.

MARK UGOLINI Chicago YSA

Michigan Regional Perspectives

Editor's Note: The following is a Tasks and Perspectives report presented by Terry Hillman to the first Michigan regional meeting after the YSA convention. The report itself was prepared after extensive consultation with the local organizers and leading comrades in Michigan.

The YSA has just completed its tenth national convention which placed us on the map as the largest and strongest revolutionary socialist youth group in the country. This is recognized not only by ourselves, but by the bourgeois news media, some radical press, and the ruling class.

Three or four years ago, organizational reports at YSA conventions would usually state that although we had not grown in quantity, we had developed in quality. This convention clearly showed that we have grown both in quality and quantity. Whereas previously we had locals in only some of the major cities, we now have locals in nearly every major city and on campuses in many smaller cities and towns across the country.

In the past, radical activity by and large was limited to the major cities—there was hesitation to do political work outside the cities. The depth of the radicalization, however, has totally changed this.

The Vietnam Moratorium on October 15, 1969, made apparent for the first time that deep antiwar sentiment had reached every corner of the nation and every campus in the country. This was reaffirmed during the May events when the overwhelming majority of campuses went on strike and almost every campus had some form of protest activity.

These two events, and most recently the August 26 women's liberation demonstrations, have charted a clear course for the YSA—to reach every one of these campuses with our ideas and build locals on as many campuses as possible. When the next upsurge takes place, the YSA must be in the leadership of the struggle. In essence, we are now preparing ourselves to gain hegemony in the student movement.

At the August plenum, it was projected that regional meetings be called, a regional organizer be elected, and the process of regional coordination and consolidation be begun. In Michigan, we could not really begin this work until the end of November, although two regional meetings took place before then. At this time a comrade was elected as regional organizer. A limited amount of work was begun, primarily organizing for the December NPAC convention, the YSA convention, and national tours.

Now we are at a stage when we can continue this regional work in a serious and consistent fashion. Coordinating our work regionally will not only strengthen the state-wide work of the YSA, but it will also help the work of the individual YSA locals and at-large areas.

If a major event occurs in Ann Arbor, for example, and the comrades there have limited forces, the regional organizer should be contacted. Comrades from around the state would be consulted, and a decision would be made as to the relative importance of the event to our overall work and allocation of forces. We could then shift resources to Ann Arbor from other YSA locals if we thought significant gains would be made.

Consistent regional organizing helps strengthen all our work, and we can take advantage of many more situations. Although our developing regional coordination may be a little rough around the edges at first, with more experience the Michigan YSA can be running like a well-oiled machine.

Concretely, we have many tasks before us. First of all we must organize our work in the mass movements.

ANTIWAR

Our major activity in antiwar work is building April 24. There are a number of things which are included in building the Washington demonstration. The first is building the SMC.

The SMC will be much more effective if it is organized on a regional basis. In this way, SMCs around the state can be developed and new SMC chapters established. In addition, we can build much larger participation in the April 24th demonstration, the SMC national conference, and Michigan regional antiwar conferences.

The Detroit Coalition to End the War and the Detroit SMC will most likely call a Michigan regional antiwar conference soon. By building it, we will help consolidate SMC chapters throughout the state.

The central focus of our antiwar work in the immediate period is the SMC conference. This conference will have special significance since it will be in the nation's capital. It will be the first national gathering of the student antiwar movement since the May upsurge. Most importantly, a large and successful SMC conference will be essential in drawing hundreds of activists into the building of the April 24th demonstrations.

Regional antiwar work must be seen as a primary political task for the YSA. We must answer the escalation of the war in Vietnam with the most massive turnout possible for the SMC conference and the April 24th demonstration. Moreover, if a major political event occurs suddenly, the contacts and apparatus will already be there to allow for the immediate organization of actions, whether on individual campuses or state-wide.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

A great part of the women's liberation movement in Michigan has not yet become publicly visible, and many groups throughout the state have no idea what is going on in other cities and campuses. The main reason for this is that there has never been a mass women's liberation demonstration either on a local or state-wide basis.

In the next month or two, abortion legislation will be coming up in the state legislature. The bill may either be for the reform or repeal of existing abortion legislation. In either case, this gives the women's liberation movement in Michigan the opportunity to move into action.

There will be a demonstration to repeal all abortion laws in Lansing on March 13. This action will give us a tremendous opportunity to help coordinate and build the women's liberation movement throughout Michigan. In addition it will give us a chance to speak to women's liberation groups on campuses all over the state, and through this work we will also be able to meet and recruit feminists to the YSA.

March 8—International Women's Day—provides us with a national focus that will fit right into building March 13. In Detroit, there will most likely be an open meeting where testimonials will be given by women who have had illegal abortions. This would be a good activity for other women's liberation groups, as it would inspire women to join the demonstration for the repeal of abortion laws.

The March 13 demonstration has already won significant support, including the active endorsement of Lorraine Beebe, Michigan NOW, and women's groups from all over the state. There will be an important state-wide planning meeting on January 30 which we want to build on a mobilization footing throughout the state.

THIRD WORLD

Third World liberation work is probably our weakest area of work in Michigan. This is due to the fact that we have only one Third World comrade outside of Detroit. For this reason, our work in this area will have a different character than our work in the antiwar and women's liberation movements.

For the most part, we will have to concentrate on getting to know the Third World groups on individual campuses, and letting them know about the April 2-4 Martin Luther King antiwar actions. We want to form united fronts wherever possible and organize forums on Third World Liberation, speaking tours by Third World comrades, and educationals on nationalism and other topics related to this struggle.

At Central Michigan University, the YSA, in its short history, has become known as the most experienced radical group on campus. As a result, a group of Chicanos who wanted to start an organization on campus came to our comrades to ask them how to become officially recognized.

One of our prime goals is, of course, recruitment of Third World comrades. This is a realistic perspective if we carry out the tasks I mentioned. Every local should consider Third World work as a key area of work and should assign comrades to Third World work fractions.

ARAB REVOLUTION

Our defense of the Arab revolution and our education on the nature of Zionism is becoming even more important as the threat of U.S. intervention in the Middle East becomes greater. We have a great deal of work to do in this area, since many students know very little about what is actually occuring in the Middle East.

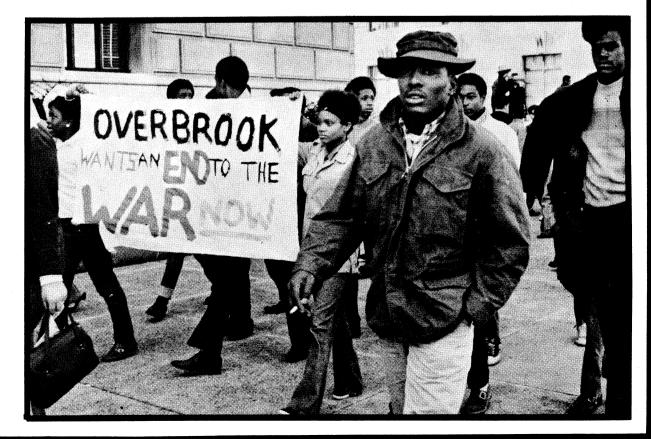
If we, along with the SMC and the antiwar movement, can help win over large numbers of campus activists to an understanding that the U.S. has no right whatsoever to interfere in the Middle East, we will then be able to mobilize significant forces against a threatened U.S. invasion.

The YSA has an additional responsibility to educate campus activists about the dynamics of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. The Peter Buch tour is one extremely important way that we will be carrying out this work in the immediate period.

HIGH SCHOOL

All locals should be carrying out high school work. Comrades can leaflet high schools for antiwar, women's liberation, and YSA activities. In Detroit we have found it very successful to leaflet high schools in the mornings to build the SMC.

continued on the following page



SUB DRIVE

The sub drive will be one of our best tools in building the YSA regionally. Getting subscriptions on all the major campuses throughout Michigan means that there will be people at every campus regularly reading our press and being consistently educated to our ideas. Through *The Militant* students will also be informed of the YSA's activity all over the country.

Following up on subscribers will also help us greatly in our perspective of building YSA locals on every campus in the state. In addition, in places where we already have comrades, getting a subscription base will establish a YSA periphery which will help recruit to the YSA and build the mass movements.

The character of this subscription drive is a short blitz, so comrades should immediately begin organizing regular subscription mobilizations.

FUND DRIVE

The most ambitious campaign within the YSA is the campaign to make our \$43,000 national fund drive. The scope of this fund drive gives us one of the best indications of the rapid growth and development of the YSA and the important tasks that lie before us.

In this field, the YSA shows itself to be the most serious group of young revolutionaries. No other youth organization in the country comes near the YSA in its understanding of the importance of building a strong, independent revolutionary socialist youth group and how to go about doing it.

A real test of the strength of an organization is to examine its financial state, and a real test of the commitment of its members is to see whether or not they are building the organization financially as well as through their other activities. An organization may have all the right ideas, but without money, there's no way to implement them.

This fund drive is by far the largest we've ever had. In order to make it, we will have to assign leading comrades to finances and the fund drive. Each local will have to organize its books so there is no doubt where the money is coming from and where it's going. Well organized finances will also make comrades and sympathizers more willing to contribute, particularly when they see the seriousness with which we approach our finances.

All locals will also have to begin to reassess their fund-raising activity. We have to look at ourselves in relation to all other organizations on campus. We should be able to get the same benefits as any other group: an office, honorariums, a budget, the use of facilities, etc.

If we have this attitude, there's no reason why we can't breeze through this fund drive. The YSA's National Financial Director, Andy Rose, is now on a tour around the country to help with the reorganization of our finances. He will be in Michigan on February 16-17, and we'll want to schedule a regional meeting on one of these days.

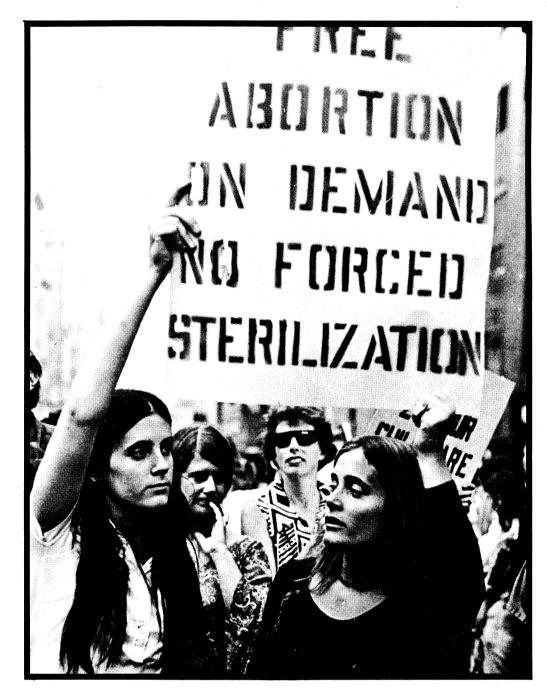
EDUCATION

Internal education is an important aspect of building the YSA. It provides us with the understanding necessary to go out and build the mass movements, talk to activists, and recruit them to the YSA. Our ability to explain and carry out our ideas is one of the key factors that has built the YSA from a small group of socialist youth just ten years ago to the dynamic and rapidly growing organization we are today.

A successful regional educational program will be of major importance in consolidating the region. Along these lines, a meeting of organizers and at-largers from Michigan has drawn up the following educational program.

It would consist of a series of four classes on the basic ideas of our movement, including the Marxist theory of the state, the history of Trotskyism in the U.S., the nature of Stalinism, and the transitional program or the theory of permanent revolution. These classes would each run approximately four weeks. Each local and the Mt. Pleasant at-large area would take a complete series of the classes, which would be rotated from one area to the next. We will also be setting up an educational program for atlarge comrades in other parts of the state.

During the summer the most important activity for all YSAers will be the socialist summer



school which will be held in Detroit. In addition to these classes, there will be speaking engagements, internal educationals, and tapes.

SPRING EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

This spring the tentative regional committee is recommending that we have a socialist educational conference on the weekend of May 8. This should be built fairly soon with as much publicity as possible. All contacts should be invited, and of course all comrades should attend. Since the conference will be after the major antiwar and women's liberation actions, we should make every effort to get the activists who helped build these activities to come.

REGIONAL

Opening up new areas for the YSA is an important part of regional work. The sub drive and the state-wide women's liberation demonstration, as well as building for April 24, will play an important role in opening up new areas.

If possible, each local should do "shoot-out" work. This can mean putting one comrade in charge of the work or rotating comrades to go out one or two days a week to nearby campuses to begin developing contacts. We have to understand that every local can be doing regional work in new areas to one extent or another.

Up until now, we have had no formal regional committee, and the tentative committee would like to make the following proposal: that a regional committee consist of the organizers from each local in Michigan, a representative from each at-large area, the regional organizer, and the regional secretary.

At meetings of the regional committee, which will be held every three weeks, heads of major areas of work under discussion at that particular meeting will be invited. The purpose of the committee is not to make formal decisions as an executive committee does, but to better coordinate the work around the region and to make recommendations to the locals along these lines.

In order to organize our regional work in the most effective way, it is necessary to have a regional secretary who is stationed in the regional center to answer correspondence, organize regional tours, put out a regular regional newsletter, and plan our regional finances, along with the regional organizer and the regional committee. The Detroit YSA is recommending Carol Mezo as regional secretary.

As part of coordinating our regional work, it is important that all locals and at-large areas send in their minutes to the regional center as well as to the National Office. Reports should be written about what is happening and sent to the regional center and the N.O.

FINANCES

In order to strengthen our regional work, it is necessary to have this work finance itself and set up its own bank account and books. The money would support a full-time organizer, finance a regional newsletter, build up a regional tape library, rent films, put out mailings, and so on.

Last night at a regional fund-raising party, we raised \$60.00 to get us started. As of right now, the region will not be able to do all these things. But in order to have a minimum steady income to the region, we are recommending a levy of \$1.00 per month per member to the regional work.

Each local or at-large area would be responsible for sending in this amount of money every month. Although this is very minimal, it will lay the basis for well functioning regional finances.

We should also be extremely conscious about getting honorariums for regional speakers. Locals should also set aside funds for regional expenses from film showings, parties, and sales of revolutionary T-shirts or flags.

NEWSLETTER

The regional newsletter can be an important tool in helping to coordinate the work in the region as well as raising the consciousness of comrades that they are part of a region, not just a local. Locals should contribute to the newsletter articles on events that are taking place in their areas and the work we are involved in, such as the AFSCME strike in Ann Arbor. We want to make the regional newsletter more professional—with a masthead and with more information from all over Michigan.

This report has mapped out an ambitious program for the spring. Nevertheless, it is realistic. Carrying out these projections will be a tremendous step forward in placing the YSA in the center of the youth radicalization in Michigan.

TERRY HILLMAN Detroit YSA

Spring Fund Drive Begins!

After six days of the spring fund drive, the Tampa YSA leads the field with 33 per cent of its quota already paid. The recently formed Nashville local is second, with 23 per cent paid. The largest amounts so far, as opposed to percentages, have come from the New York YSA, with \$504 paid, and the Los Angeles YSA, with \$400 paid.

The at-large category is already slightly ahead of schedule. This scoreboard shows only the total at-large figure, and future scoreboards will break down the at-large payments by regions.

While a number of locals are setting an excellent pace in the fund drive, we have not, looking at the total figures, started out the fund drive as rapidly as we should. The majority of locals have not yet sent in their first payments, and overall we have only reached 4 per cent of the quota, while we should be at 6 per cent.

One reason for this initial lag was that many locals worked out their projections for meeting their fund drive quotas in consultation with the national YSA Financial Director during the current financial tour and have only now actually begun the concrete organization of the spring fund drive campaign. Although this lag may have been unavoidable, it is important for us to get back on schedule quickly, and then stay on or ahead of schedule for the rest of the drive.

Every local should be sure to send in at least one payment by the next scoreboard!

One initial conclusion we can draw from the financial tour and from the local budgets that have been prepared is that obtaining honoraria for YSA speakers in a systematic way will be a vital part of the spring campaign. Several locals and regions have already taken the initiative in having local speakers apply for honoraria

Locals should send in reports as soon as possible on their experiences in applying for honoraria and other fund-raising projects, so that the lessons of these experiences can be utilized by YSAers all over the country in the spring fund drive.

FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD				NEW ENGLAND	4700	23	0
				CAMBRIDGE	1100	17	2
REGION AND LOCAL	QUOTA	PAID	%	NORTH BOSTON	1100	3	0
				SOUTH BOSTON	1100	3	0
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	3600	403.25	11	PROVIDENCE	500	0	0
LOS ANGELES	2500	400	16	WORCESTER	500	0	0
SAN DIEGO	500	3.25	1	AMHERST	250	0	0
PHOENIX	300	0	0	PITTSFIELD	150	0	0
RIVERSIDE	300	0	0				
				PACIFIC NORTHWEST	1000	4	0
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ANN ARBOR	300	0	0			_	
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MURFREESBORO	150	0	0		1400	0	0
TALLAHASSEE*	150	0	0	WASHINGTON DC	1400	U	U
TALLAHASSEE	150	U	U	ROCKY MOUNTAIN	600	0	0
UPPER MIDWEST	1500	58.50	4	DENVER	250	0	ŏ
TWIN CITIES	1500	58.50	4	BOULDER	200	Ö	Ö
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MIDWEST	4600	26.25	1				
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OHIO-KENTUCKY	2650	15	1				
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CLEVELAND	2100	0	0				
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ANDY ROSE

YSA Financial Director

U. of Minn. Young Socialist Campaign

CINCINNATI

COLUMBUS

The Twin Cities local is planning an ambitious campus election campaign at the University of Minnesota this spring. The elections for next fall's student government will be held on March 10-12. In this article I want to report what our current plans for the elections are.

The campus campaign will be one of our major activities this spring and presents us with tremendous opportunities. The local is planning to field a Young Socialist slate and hopes to have as many as twelve YSAers qualify. We will be running for president and vice-president of the University of Minnesota Student Assembly, for the University Senate, and possibly for other offices.

The present student government leaders lack confidence in both themselves and the student body. Last year's elections were also typical of the personality contests that usually dominate student government elections. The University of Minnesota has 47,000 students, and yet the president of the Student Association was elected with only 900 votes out of a total of 2500 that were cast in the election.

We feel that our participation in these elections will change the entire character of the campaign. We will be able to force the other candidates to discuss the issues facing the student movement and will be able at the same time to present socialist ideas to thousands of students.

Our Young Socialist program will be our main piece of literature, but we plan to supplement it with the YSA Program for the Student Revolt, position papers, campus newspaper articles, posters, and *The Militant*.

250

We want to project our program as a guide for action that the Student Association could carry out. If we were elected, we would begin to implement it immediately. The demands we are raising are both reasonable and relevant to thousands of students on campus. The demand to end police spying on campus is particularly important, as there is currently an uproar at the U. of M. over revelations of university police ties to military intelligence.

One key point that we want to make is that the University must be controled democratically by the students and faculty. We also want to point out that mass student actions will above all be necessary to carry out our program.

Right now, we are contacting the Latin Liberation Front, the Afro-American Action Committee, and activists in the antiwar and women's liberation movement to discuss the possibilities of a united campaign. If possible we would like to build a coalition around our Young Socialist program for the elections. We also want to seek out suggestions for improving our program from leading campus activists.

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YOUNG SOCIALIST PROGRAM

The University of Minnesota is hardly an "ivory tower." It is a fundamental part of capitalist society, devoted to training thousands of young people to take their place in this alienating and destructive society.

The Young Socialist Campaign demands that the university play a central role in struggles to end the hypocrisy, racism, sexism, and exploitation that dominate every aspect of American society.

We put forward the following demands and goals which we feel should be the top priorities of the Minnesota Student Association and the student movement on campus:

END POLICE SPYING ON CAMPUS!

The University must end all ties with military surveillance. The role of the University Police Department as a secret political police must stop! The Student Assembly has the right to examine the files on the University police to ensure that police surveillance has ended.

continued on the following page

END CAMPUS COMPLICITY WITH THE WAR IN VIETNAM!

End ROTC and all campus ties with the war machine. The University must play a leading role in the building of April 24. University funds and facilities should be made available so that every student can participate in the March on Washington! The University of Minnesota must demand: End the Draft! Bring All the GIs Home Now!

FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION!

The University must provide free 24-hour child care centers for children of students, faculty and campus workers. All discrimination against women in the University must end! More women professors must be hired, and a special women's studies department must be established. The University should support the struggle for free abortion on demand and provide free birth control information and contraceptives to all female students.

FOR THIRD WORLD LIBERATION!

Third World students and faculty members must control all Third World studies programs! A campaign must be launched to open the U. of M. to all Third World students by providing full scholarships to Third World students. The University must support the campaign to free Angela Davis and other victims of political frame-ups.

STUDENT-FACULTY CONTROL OF THE U. OF M.!

Proportional representation on the University Senate of students, faculty, and campus workers. Democratic student control of the Minnesota Daily. Student and faculty control of all financial decisions. No tuition hikes! Free university education should be guaranteed to everyone who wants it! Student and faculty control over all disciplinary procedures. Abolish the Board of Regents!

DAVID KEIL
Twin Cities YSA

THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI NEWS RECORD

January 8, 1971

YSA — Strategy for 1971

The National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was held in New York City from December 27 through December 31. The 10th annual convention of the YSA, held to map out a strategy for organizing the American socialist revolution, registered the growth of the organization on a national scale. The presence of Trotskyist co-thinkers from Western Europe, Canada, and South America testified

An assessment was made of the role that YSA has played in its 10 year history as a component of the youth radicalization.

to the solid base of internationalism

upon which the YSA is built.

YSA was launched at a time when a witch-hunt atmosphere still hung over the country. Students were busy with their studies so that they could "make it" in the bourgeois sense of the word, and radicals were extremely isolated. This was a period when the young Cuban revolution was under harsh attack from the center of world capitalism. At a time when very few Americans were willing to support the Cuban revolution, the YSA helped to organize "Fair Play for Cuba" committees and to defend it against imperialism.

Well, the objective situation is quite different in this country today and the situation on the campuses in particular offers unlimited opportunities for revolutionary socialists.

The positions that were adopted by the convention after five full days of deliberation, reflect the revolutionary optimism that is valid under the present conditions.

We were able to look at the central place that the war in Vietnam occupies in the world revolution, the severe repression that this revolution is so courageously and effectively combatting, and the presence of the deepest anti-war sentiment ever felt in an imperialist country and conclude from this that it is our responsibility to defend this revolution in the best way that we know how.

This active and unrelenting anti-war sentiment makes it both necessary and possible for the YSA to put forward as the demand of the anti-war movement, "Immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. troops."

Our perspective for the Black movement flows from the concept that Black nationalism, which is at the core of the Black struggle, is a very revolutionary idea. We believe that Malcolm X was right when he

said that if you love revolution, you'll love Black nationalism. This perspective means that Black YSA'ers will participate in the Black movement with the concept that Black people constitute a nation, and as such have the right to self-determination.

We will put forward the demand of "Black control for the Black community" and the "Black University." As an effective tool by which to win these demands, we will agitate for a Black political party, a party only responsible to Black people, which speaks to their needs.

We drew lessons for our work in the Black movement from what has been accomplished in the Chicano movement. We had helped to initiate and will continue to build La Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano party, with a political program built on a base of Chicano nationalism.

The most outstanding aspect of the convention was discussion around YSA's involvement in the Women's Liberation movement. This was the first convention that we had ever considered this issue as a full-fledged movement in its own right. The discussion was sparked with enthusiasm and excitement, as women activists got up to enumerate the experiences they had had working in the movement and the methods that they felt had proved their validity. We were able to conclude, after much spirited discussion, that both consciousness-raising and mass actions were necessary to build the Women's movement into a decisive social force.

Feminist consciousness permeated every aspect of the convention. Both men and women wore Women's Liberation symbols and the women's workshops were extremely well attended. Under the impact of the movement, we decided that it was timely to change the wording of the International from "let each stand in his place" to "our place." We will continue to put forward the three demands that can most effectively unite all women around the oppression that is peculiar to them alone. These demands are "Free Abortion On Demand . . . No Forced Sterilization," "Free, 24-hour day care centers controlled by those who use them," and "Equal Job and Educational opportunities."

In discussion of the Arab revolution, we vowed to give continued support to the struggle of the Arab people, in particular the Palestinians.

A panel consisting of members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Organization of Arab Students, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Israeli Socialist Organization, and the American Committee Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East explained the role that Zionism plays in world imperialism and characterized the Arab revolution as an integral part of the international revolution.

As a means of organizing these various social struggles and linking them up with the fight against capitalism, certain organizational precepts were outlined.

We base our projections to continue focusing on the campuses upon the presumption that the campuses are the centers of the social struggles outlined above, and the most cadre can be recruited to the revolutionary movement from the campuses. Furthermore, students have many facilities at their finger-tips which can be used to build these movements and to draw in many other sectors of the population, using the campus as a base.

We realize that the biggest threat we can pose to the government is to move in a massive way around demands that directly affect thousands of radicalizing Americans. For this reason, we project building mass actions in these various movements around transitional demands, (demands that speak directly to people's desires, that they are moving around, and that, if realized, will do a great deal toward destroying the capitalist system.)

Another concept that we will bring into the mass movement is that they must retain their independence from

the Democratic and Republican parties. Independent movements are the only forces capable of creating radical social change and it doesn't take a Marxist education to realize that the politicians from the

capitalist parties are unequivicably opposed to the success of movements that seek to destroy the capitalist system

capitalist system.

This does not mean that we are opposed to capitalists building the anti-war movement or the Women's Liberation movement, for instance. When they do participate, it simply means that the social weight of these movements is too formidable for them to ignore. There is a basic

them to ignore. There is a basic difference between capitalists supporting a movement that is too dynamic for them to overlook and activists putting their own energies into helping these politicians win.

The entire convention was infused

with revolutionary optimism, and for good reason. The past year we have witnessed major economic strikes on the part of the working class, the largest student strike this country has ever seen, we characterized the May upsurge as the 1905 of the student movement, the emergence of the Raza Unida Party as a party that Chicanos are beginning to see as their own, and the revolutionary dynamics of the Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation movements.

We go into 1971 with a whole rich history of the radicalization of the '60's and the much higher level of struggle that we participated in during 1970. The YSA feels that it is ready to meet and carry the immense burden that the clash between the forces of world capitalism and world revolution have put on the order of the day.

the organizer

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

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LOCAL OR AT-LARGE AREA

NUMBER OF COPIES

TOTAL BUNDLE

The Column

The following article was reported in the East Texas-Louisiana YSA regional newsletter:

The State Bar Association of Oklahoma filed suit against the Oklahoma Univ. student government president for misappropriation of \$180,000, the entire student government budget. The Bar Association's main argument was that the students had brought radical speakers to O.U.

The YSA at O.U. began to lay out plans to fight any restriction on student control of student funds. The judge, however, threw the case out of court on the grounds that the Bar Association filed against the wrong party!

When Mike Maggi, regional YSA organizer spoke on campus, over 120 people attended the meeting. After his speech on "Why Socialism?" six more people asked to join the YSA.

All mail to the YSA National Office should be addressed to P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Mail for the N.O. addressed to 706 Broadway (the N.Y. local), 873 Broadway (Pathfinder Press), or 14 Charles Lane (*The Militant* and *IRS*) is often delayed or even lost.

The YSA convention voted to charge all YSA members 10 cents for each issue of *The YS Organizer*. This income is necessary to help finance the increasing expenses of *The Organizer* due to higher postage rates and the expansion of the publication.

The article reprinted on Page 7 is an example of the excellent publicity which the YSA was able to get in the campus press after the convention. All areas should be sure that the SMC conference is also widely covered in the campus press. Leading SMCers can simply write articles for the campus newspapers after the conference and help publicize the decisions which will be made at the national student antiwar conference.

At the first meeting of the YSA National Executive Committee following the convention, thirty-three people were voted into membership of the YSA in at-large areas! The N.E.C. also chartered three new YSA locals: Tallahassee, Florida; Nashville, Tennessee; and Oshkosh, Wisconsin,

- EDITOR