socialist 12.10.71

ELECTING THE NA-EADE

The National Committee (NC) shall be the highest body of the YSA between conventions and shall have jurisdiction over all YSA bodies and publications. The NC shall be elected by the National Convention. The National Convention shall also elect alternates to fill vacancies in the NC in the order decided upon by the convention.

YSA Constitution, Article VI, Paragraph 1

One of the most important tasks that will face the YSA National Convention is the election of a new National Committee. The democratic election of the National Committee is as vital to the functioning of the YSA as a democratic-centralist youth organization as democratically voting on our political positions, because the NC is responsible for leading the work of the YSA in carrying out the decisions of the convention.

The NC is the highest decision-making body of the YSA between national conventions, and it acts with the full authority of the convention behind it. The NC usually meets at least once a vear between conventions to discuss and evaluate new political developments and experiences since the last convention. The centralism of the YSA is based on and grows out of the democracy of the YSA: for the National Committee to function effectively as the centralized leadership of the YSA with the full authority of the convention, it must be democratically elected in such a way as to ensure that it accurately represents the real leadership of the YSA and that it has the full confidence of the entire YSA.

The use of the nominating commission—a body elected by the convention delegates to discuss

all the nominations made by the locals and out of them prepare a slate to be presented to the convention—is the most democratic method our movement has found to arrive at a slate of nominations

The method of the nominating commission was devised by the Socialist Workers Party after careful consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of the two main alternatives used by other leftwing organizations: 1) having "no slates" at all (used by the Social Democrats to cover up the behind-the-scenes maneuvering and trading for positions on the NC); or 2) having the outgoing NC present a slate for the new National Committee (used by the bureaucratically-centralized Communist Party). The article by James P. Cannon reprinted below details the reasons the nominating commission is a more democratic method, as well as going into some of the considerations involved in making the nominations to the NC.

Prior to the convention, each local should schedule a discussion of the function of the National Committee and the nominating commission, based on Cannon's article. This discussion will aid the delegations in determining which delegates should serve on the nominating commission, and which comrades from each area should be nominated to the National Committee.

Since its founding the YSA has also used the method of the nominating commission. Up until the Tenth National Convention, held in New York City last year, the nominating commission was composed of one delegate from each local. Each local delegation met prior to the convention

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to decide which delegate would serve on the commission and which comrades would be nominated to the NC. With the growth of the YSA and the increased number of locals, this procedure began to make the nominating commission so large that it was difficult for it to function as a real working body.

At our last convention, the size of the nominating commission was limited to 28, and the delegates to serve on the commission were chosen on the basis of areas rather than locals. The representation from various areas of the country was weighted according to the number of locals and the total number of comrades. For example, last year the New England region had three representatives, the Ohio region had two, and the Pennsylvania region had one. (The number of delegates from each area was proposed by the National Executive Committee and voted on and approved by the convention itself, since the commission is a body elected by the convention and responsible to it.) All the delegations from locals in each area met together before the convention to collectively decide who their representatives on the nominating commission would be and what nominations to the NC those representatives would make.

This change ensured that the commission would be small enough to be a workable body that could carry out the lengthy and detailed discussions necessary to arrive at the best possible slate. At the same time it ensured that the commission would be representative of the convention as a whole.

The NEC's proposal for the regional make-up of this year's nominating commission will be printed in a later issue of *The YS Organizer*. The exact number of delegates from each region may not be the same as last year, because of changes in the size and composition of the

regions, but the general principle of having representation from areas of the country rather than one delegate from each local will be retained.

In deciding who should be nominated to the National Committee, delegations should keep several general considerations in mind. Comrades nominated to the NC should be those who have functioned as leaders of the YSA, both internally and externally. Those comrades who have demonstrated through their experience and work that they are political and organizational leaders of the YSA, in both a local and national sense, should be considered to be nominated to the national team of leaders that makes up the National Committee.

These are the same considerations taken into account by the nominating commission in its own deliberations. The National Committee must above all represent the political leadership of the YSA. Within this framework, the commission tries to draw up a slate that is balanced and representative in a geographical sense and that is representative of all the various areas of work being carried out by the YSA. Through many hours of discussion, the commission goes over all the nominations made by the areas, comparing the qualifications of all the nominees, to finally arrive at a slate.

Although every local will not have a representative on the nominating commission, every delegate has the right to come before the nominating commission to present additional nominations or to argue for or against any nomination.

The commission reports back to the National Convention with a proposal for the size of the NC as well as the slate of nominees. In the past there have been 30 full members of the NC, but the commission can recommend to the convention a change in this figure.

The commission will present both a slate for the full National Committee and a ranked slate of alternates. The authoritative body is the full

National Committee. However, as specified by the YSA Constitution, the convention also elects alternates so that if a vacancy occurs on the NC the first alternate will automatically become a full NC member and the size of the NC will remain constant. It is the YSA's tradition that alternate NC members attend National Committee plenums, with voice and consultative vote.

In discussing their nominations, local delegations should decide which YSAers they wish to nominate as full NC members and which as alternates. In general those nominated as alternates should be comrades who are developing rapidly as leaders of the YSA, but do not yet function as national leaders to the extent that they should be on the full NC.

Of course, the actual election of the National Committee is a function of the National Convention. The final decision is up to the National Convention, and any delegate is free to propose any sort of changes in the nominating commission's slate, up to and including proposing an entire new slate. The proposal of the nominating commission will carry a great deal of weight because of the hours of deliberations upon which it is based, but any delegate who feels that a change should be made is free to try to convince the other delegates.

Immediately following the National Convention, the NC will meet to elect the National Executive Committee, which is the highest body between National Committee plenums, and which functions on a week-to-week basis to supervise the National Office, national publications, and all other aspects of the YSA's work. The NC will also elect the National Officers of the YSA.

ANDY ROSE
YSA National Office

Cannon on Leadership Selection

Editor's Note: Printed below are excerpts from the book, Letters From Prison, by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. These letters were written during October and November of 1944 as the SWP was preparing for a national convention.

In our opinion the most important reason for stretching the convention out for another day is to give adequate time for a *free* and *well-deliberated* selection by the delegates of the new National Committee. This is one of the strongest guarantees of the democracy of the party. Our party has always been more democratic, ten times more democratic, in this respect than any other party. But there is room for improvement, and we should consciously seek out the necessary methods.

We never went in for any of the rigging, wangling, vote-trading and leadership-pressure devices by which, in practically all other parties (strike out the word "practically") the convention delegates are usually defrauded of a large part of their democratic freedom of choice. If one has a self-sufficient revolutionary party in mind, all such methods are self-defeating. A revolutionary party needs a leadership that really represents the party, that is really one with the party.

Without this democratic corrective, freely brought into play at every convention, centralization and discipline inevitably become caricatures and forms of abuse which injure the organization every time they are exercised. A revolutionary leadership must feel free at all times to act boldly and confidently in the name of the party. For that, it needs to be sure that there is no flaw in its mandate.

No rules exist to guide us in the technical execution of this difficult and delicate task to the best advantage of the party. The democratic selection of the primary and secondary leaders is a sufficiently important question—nobody knows how much damage can be done by bungl-

ing it—but, as far as I know, nobody has ever written anything about it. Nobody has taught us anything. We are obliged to think and experiment for ourselves.

The democratic impulses of the rank and file incline them to react unfavorably to "slates," as they feel, not without reason, that they narrow down for all practical purposes the freedom of choice. The Social-Democratic politicians, who are as undemocratic a collection of rascals as one can ever expect to meet, have always exploited this sentiment by announcing their firm, democratic opposition to slates. Of course, there was a little catch to their virtuous slogan of "no slates." They meant no openly avowed slates which would possibly be open to discussion and amendment. Instead of that, the noble Social-Democrats rig up secret slates by means of horse trades and petty bribes to ensure their control. A good 50 percent of Social-Democratic convention "politics" is always devoted to this kind of business.

From the first days of American communism, which also coincided with the first appearance on the scene of a new type of leaders with a new conception of "politics," we tried to break through the "no-slate" fraud and devise a more honest system by which the leaders would take open responsibility for their proposals and give reasons for their preferences in the makeup of the leading committee. It became rather common practice for the leading committees, in national as well as local conventions in the communist movement, to propose a slate of candidates for the new committee to be elected. We carried the practice with us in the independent movement of Trotskyism. (During factional struggles the slate-making arrangements were carried on in the separate caucuses of the factions.)

This method was, without doubt, far superior to the "no-slate" tricks of our socialist predecessors, being more honest, and in the essence of the matter, even more democratic.

But this system also was not free from negative

aspects, and even dangers. I perceived some of them long ago, have thought much about the matter, and from time to time have tried to devise corrective experiments. What impressed me most of all was the quite obvious fact that while the presentation of a slate of candidates by the leadership is the most "efficient" way to get through the business of the election of the NC—usually the last point on the agenda, carried through in a great hurry—it concentrates too much power in the leadership just at that very point—the convention—where the democratic corrective of rank-and-file control should be asserted most strongly.

It is not the election of the central, most prominent and influential leaders themselves. That problem solves itself almost automatically in the interplay of party work and internal strife. The problem arises over the selection of the secondary leaders, the new committee members, the potential leaders of the future. As a rule this part of the slate if presented by the most authoritative central leaders, is accepted, whether enthusiastically or not, by the convention; many delegates are reluctant to oppose them.

It is senseless, of course, to speak of a revolutionary combat party without recognizing the necessity of a centralized, fully empowered leadership. But this states only one half of the problem. Leninist centralism is democratic centralism, a profoundly dialectical concept. The other half of the Leninist formula recognizes no less the necessity of subordinating the leadership, really as well as formally, to the party; keeping it under the control of the party. The party constitution does everything that can be done in a formal sense to provide for the interaction of centralism and democracy.

The structure of the party is strictly hierarchical. Higher committees command the lower. Full authority over all is vested in the National Committee. But the NC, like all other committees, is

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required to render accounts and surrender its mandate at stated intervals to the party convention to which it is subordinated. This is the formal, constitutional guarantee both for centralization and the ultimate control of the leadership.

But it is also necessary to think about the spirit as well as the letter of the party constitution. A farsighted leadership should concern itself with the elusive, intangible factors which can play such a great role in determining the actual relationship between the NC and the ranks.

Some of these factors arise from the composition of the NC and the division of functions within it. Nominally, this body consists of twentyfive members, and they all have equal rights. In addition there are fifteen alternates. But the majority come to the center only for meetings of the plenum which are not held very often. Between plenums the power is delegated to the Political Committee. From this it is quite clear that one section of the National Committee is in a position to exert far more influence on the day-to-day work and interpretation of party policy than the other.

Again, some are older, more experienced and more prominent than others, and consequently wield greater authority in the committee as well as in the party as a whole. On the other side, the committee members from the districts and the younger members of the committee generally, who are active in local work, are closer to the rank and file than the central leaders of the party are, and represent them more directly and intimately. This gives them a special function in the NC of extraordinary importance.

Their presence represents a form of continuing rank-and-file control and supervision over the central leaders. They can fulfill this function, however, only insofar as they are people of independent influence and popularity in their own localities; only insofar as they are freely elected on their own merits, not handpicked.

To be sure, the central leaders cannot be indifferent to the selection of the secondary leadership. In this, as in everything else, leaders must lead. In a certain sense, the central party leaders "select" their collaborators and eventual successors. The question is, how to go about it? It is often easy for politically experienced leaders to convince themselves that they are better judges of the qualifications and potentialities of certain candidates than the rank-and-file delegates. And, as a rule, it is not too difficult to force their selections through by means of the "slate." This may appear to be the most "efficient" way. But in my opinion, there is a better way.

Wisdom lies in "selecting" people who have popularity and influence in their own right, and whose promotion coincides with the wishes of the party members who know them best. That means to select people who are advancing under their

I came to this conclusion a long time ago, and as far as I have been able to influence the course of things it has been the party method of selecting the NC. Extensive and varied experience, with every imaginable kind of experiment, has convinced me that this method, even at the cost of incidental mistakes, works out best in the long

The central leaders of the party, who work from day to day without close contact with the internal life of the branches, need such a constitution of the NC if they are to lead the party confidently; lead it with the assurance that they know the moods and sentiments of the ranks and are in step with them. When doubt arises, or when some new important step is under consideration, it is only necessary to consult the out-of-town members of the NC by mail, or to call a plenum, in order to get a reliable sounding of the party. Approval of a given course by the plenum is a pretty certain forecast of similar action by the party.

Conversely, when the plenum finds it necessary to overrule the Political Committee — and this has happened more than once, notably in 1938-39 it is a sign that the Political Committee is out of line with the party and requires a change in its composition. The 1938-39 National Committee rebuked the PC several times and finally reorganized it, and later tests showed that the full plenum most accurately reflected the sentiment of the party.

A serious and conscientious party leadership should deliberately aim at a National Committee so composed as to be, in effect, a microcosm of the party. When the full plenum of such a National Committee meets between conventions, to all intents and purposes the party is there in the room. That is far more useful to responsible supporters without independent influence and authority. Bureaucrats who have special interests of their own to defend against the rank and file need to surround themselves with dependent henchmen; but revolutionary political leaders need support of an entirely different kind, the support of people who really represent the rank and file of the party.

There is another, and even more important, reason the rank-and-file convention delegates should take over the election of the National Committee and be free from undue pressure and influence on the part of the national political leadership in exercising this function. The free selection of the full membership of the National Committee is perhaps the most decisive way to strengthen and reinforce genuine party democracy. It puts the political leaders under the direct supervision and control of a second line of leaders who are in intimate daily contact with the local and district organizations and, in fact, represent them in the plenum.

This control doesn't have to be exercised every day to be effective. The fact that it is there, and can be demonstrated when necessary, is what counts. Strange to relate, the professional democrats have never once in the history of our party bothered their heads about the method of selecting the National Committee from the standpoint of reinforcing party democracy. This, in my opinion, is because they tend to think of democracy almost exclusively in terms of unlimited and unrestricted self-expression and forget that control of the central leadership, which in day-to-day practices is limited to a very small group, by a larger group standing closer to the rank and file, is the most important mechanism to assure the democratic half of the Leninist formula: democratic-centralism.

Throwing the floor open for nominations on the last day of the convention is not the only alternative to a slate presented by the outgoing NC. That only throws the delegate body into disorganized confusion and facilitates the manipulation of the election by means of secret slates and horse trades, the favorite method of Social-Democratic pseudo-democrats.

There is no infallible formula, but the results of our experiments over a period of many years argue most convincingly in favor of a slate prepared by a nominating commission. Of course, there are nominating commissions and nominating commissions. But the best, that is, the most democratic, is not the nominating commission appointed by the outgoing NC, nor the one elected at random from the floor of the convention. The most efficient, for the purposes set forth above, is the nominating commission selected by the branch or district delegations on a roughly proportional basis — each delegation selecting its own representative - and then ratified by the convention. The nominating commission, thus conceived, is a body actually representing the rank-andfile delegations from the districts.

It would be grossly improper for individual central leaders to intrude themselves upon the commission and seek to dominate its proceedings. That would amount to a circumvention of the democratic process aimed at in the proposal. It is the part of wisdom for the central leaders to leave the nominating commission to its own devices, respecting the essence of party democracy as well as the form.

The nominating commission should be selected on the first day of the convention; it should begin its sessions at once and meet at least once a day thereafter to consider the various nominations until a slate is decided upon for presentation to the convention when the election of the NC comes up on the agenda.

In my opinion, the first step of the commission at the 1944 convention should be to discard formally the ruling which paralyzed the work of the nominating commission at the 1942 convention—the utterly stupid and reactionary principle that every member of the outgoing NC was, as a matter of course, to be reelected unless good cause was shown to remove him. That turns things upside down. Nobody can be "frozen" in any position in a revolutionary party. He must stand for election at each convention, and the election must be free and open.

Room must be left for competition and rivalry and differences of opinion to operate without artificial restraints. Members of the outgoing NC should be placed in exactly the same status as new aspirants—as candidates for election. The nominating commission should adopt a rule to this effect at its first session.

The most practical next step is to take a preliminary poll to ascertain how many candidates

political leaders than a roomful of handpicked are generally favored for election as national leaders who are not counted as representatives of any special district of the party. This will clear the road for the apportionment of the remaining places on the slate for local and district representatives. Here, again, there should be no "freezing" of old representation and no automatic closing of the door to new candidates from districts previously not represented.

The object should be to provide the fairest possible representation of the districts in the new NC; but the principle of proportional representation should be modified by other considerations: the relative importance of the district; the quality of the candidates; the special role played by certain candidates, etc.

The commission should announce the time and place of its daily sessions, and invite any delegate who wishes to argue for or against any candidate to appear and take the floor. The slate finally decided upon, either by agreement or majority vote, should be presented to the convention as the nominations of the commission. That leaves the floor open for other nominations and free discussion before the ballot is taken.

Naturally, one would have to have some good arguments for another candidate to hope to amend the slate of the nominating commission. But if he thinks he has a strong case, there is no reason why he shouldn't make the attempt. Adequate time and patience must be accorded for the presentation of any such proposed amendments. The heavens will not fall if a slate is amended once in a while.

One word more. The convention should not shunt the election of the new NC off till the last hurried half-hour of the convention, when impatience of departing delegations would tend to discourage full discussion and ample consideration of the various nominations. The best procedure would be to fix a definite hour and day to take up the election of the NC whether the rest of the agenda is finished or not at that time. This decision should be made demonstratively in order to call sharp attention to the vital importance of full and careful deliberation in selecting the party leadership. And even more important, the convention will thus give itself time to do the job right.

All of these measures will not guarantee the election of an ideal National Committee. But they should help to provide us with the best committee that a free party can select from the material at hand by the method of party democracy. If the returning delegates go home with the feeling that this has been accomplished, the new NC will be able to begin its work with a strong authority. On the other hand, the leadership, precisely because of the care and deliberation taken in the selection of the personnel of the NC, will feel itself to be more than ever under the watchful supervision and control of the party.

How to Get Media Coverage for the Convention

The potential for getting publicity for the YSA convention in every conceivable kind of news media is almost unlimited this year. The fact that the Eleventh Young Socialist National Convention will be held in Houston, Texas, and that young socialists from all over the country will participate in it makes this event newsworthy from almost any kind of media's standpoint.

There are several aspects of the convention that should be emphasized in our attempts to secure media coverage prior to the convention: first, that it will be the radical convention of the year with an expected 2,000 activists from all the mass movements in attendance; second, that it will be held for the first time in the South in the midst of a campaign to defend the movement from right-wing attacks; and third, that this convention will discuss and decide what radical youth will be doing in the '72 elections.

While the Houston Convention Center has two staff members working full-time on obtaining national media coverage for the convention, the work which local areas do prior to the convention will be crucial in determining not only the attendance at the convention but also the seriousness with which the media view the YSA and its activities in the future.

RADIO AND TV TALK SHOWS

Talk shows are a form of publicity that is opening up more and more to our movement, primarily as a result of SWP election campaigns. Prior to the convention local areas should concentrate on the FM rock stations because they are relatively easy to get on and because the audiences they attract are predominately youth.

We should not, however, neglect any of the talk shows. Initially we should call them to request that they have a YSAer or YSJPer on their show to talk about the YSA convention. If they refuse or give us the run-around, we should try again using a different angle.

With this, as with all the convention publicity, we should take advantage of the previous publicity that the SWP candidates have received in local campaigns. In many areas the media are more familiar with the SWP candidates than with the YSA, and will be more open to having someone on their shows to talk about the convention if we tie it in with the SWP campaigns.

One angle local areas might try, if the talk shows ignore our initial requests, is to suggest a round table type discussion of the convention or the draft NEC resolutions.

In addition to the regular talk shows, we should attempt to arrange for a series of programs of about 15 minutes each a couple of times a week from now until the convention. In some areas SWP candidates or the YSA and the SWP have regular programs, and arranging a series of programs before the convention is not out of the question. The programs could be pegged around the YSA's activities or specifically around the six NEC draft resolutions.

UNDERGROUND, CAMPUS, AND HIGH SCHOOL PRESS

Packets containing information on the convention should be immediately prepared and sent to local underground, campus, and high school press. These packets should include a cover letter explaining the contents, a sample news article on the convention, a fact sheet with all the details on the convention, and a sample ad.

Local areas should request free ads in all of these papers. If this is not possible, locals should consider paying for a 1/4-page ad in major campus and underground papers.

In addition to ads and news articles, we should approach these newspapers about special coverage. We should request a column on the convention written by the newspaper or ourselves, or a guest editorial by the YSA which could be answered by anyone who disagrees in future issues of the paper. In all of these articles convention dates, location, transportation information, and a phone number to call for more information should be included.

Meetings with as many campus editors as possible should also be arranged. This can be done by sending them the convention resolutions and convention-building materials along with an invitation to meet with YSAers. At these informal meetings we should explain the politics of the YSA, what the convention is all about, and encourage them to attend the convention. If they

The potential for getting publicity for the YSA are not interested personally, we should ask them onvention in every conceivable kind of news to send reporters to cover the convention.

BLACK, RAZA, AND WOMEN'S PRESS

Similar press packets should be sent to all local Black, Raza, and women's newspapers, along with a cover letter highlighting the document that relates to their struggle and explaining that Black, Raza, and women activists will be attending the convention. We should ask them to run ads and to publicize the convention in any way possible.

ORGANIZATIONS

Any organization that could conceivably be interested in the convention should be sent information on it. This list should include Black student unions, Raza organizations, feminist groups, international student organizations (especially Arab student organizations), left caucuses in unions, and Young Democrats, Young Republicans, Youth for McGovern, etc. We should send them general information on the convention, invite them to attend, and ask them to run ads or articles in their newsletters.

PRESS CONFERENCES

The second national press conference on the convention will be held in mid-December in Washington D. C. Speaking at the conference will be Linda Jenness, one of the national YSJP coordinators, an active duty GI campaign supporter who will be attending the convention, and representatives from the YSA.

Local areas should plan press conferences before schools close for vacation. Local SWP candidates, YSAers on national tour, YSAers active in the mass movements, and independent activists who plan to attend the convention should be included among the speakers at these conferences.

MAJOR MEDIA

In many areas the YSA has developed friendly relations with reporters through our activities and through the SWP campaigns. Even if this is not the case, there are certain reporters in any area who are consistently assigned to cover radical or youth politics. We should contact these reporters, send them packets including the draft NEC resolutions, and invite them to our head-quarters for discussions. They should also be encouraged to attend the convention, and just prior to the time when the buses will be leaving for Houston, the major media should be invited to send camera and sound crews to see the buses off, and even to come on the buses to Houston.

In addition to regular news coverage, we should attempt to arrange special interviews for young socialists planning to attend the convention. These kind of articles with a human interest angle are a frequent feature of many papers, and we want to take advantage of the publicity they can provide for the convention.

Interviews are usually more easily obtained if we attempt to arrange them for out-of-town YSAers—someone on national tour or one of the regional exchange tour speakers.

Another idea that local areas might try is to invite camera and radio crews to the convention-

building headquarters or to some conventionbuilding activities. We also might ask them to follow a YSAer on a convention-building tour for a few days and make sure that part of it includes a visit to the headquarters. Seeing a busy office with convention posters, staff, etc., can help to generate enthusiasm about the convention.

PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS

One form of publicity that virtually every area can carry out is public service announcements. These should be prepared and submitted immediately since most stations require that they be in about 10 days in advance. The announcements should be brief, including details on housing, transportation, and a number people can call for more information.

REGIONAL PUBLICITY

Much of the responsibility for media work that center locals will have for their regions will be advance publicity for the convention-building blitz tours in the last few weeks before the convention. Convention packets should be sent in advance to all TV and radio stations and newspapers in the areas that the tours will hit. These packets should include a brief biography of the speaker, his or her tour schedule, and the phone number of the regional center (and if possible, a local number they can call—an at-large YSAer, a local campaign supporter, etc.).

If the blitz tours hit areas where there has been no advance publicity done, the travelers should go directly to the newspapers and TV and radio stations to arrange an interview.

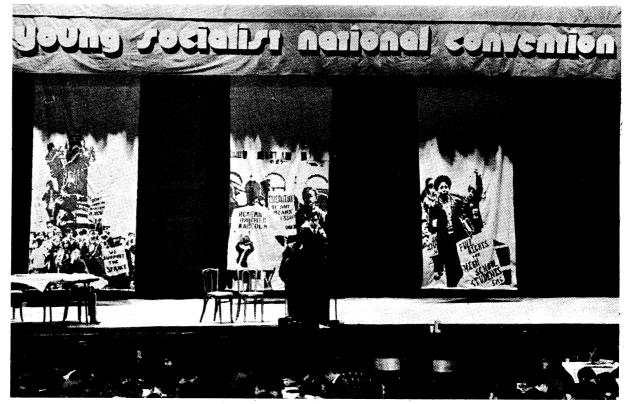
For convention publicity in major cities and campuses outside the regional centers where there are no YSAers and where there will be no tours, regional centers should obtain the names of TV and radio stations and newspapers from the yellow pages and send press releases and public service announcements to them.

All press releases for the convention should be short, neat, triple-spaced, and should include all the logistical information on the convention plus a phone number for more information. They should be sent to the city desks for newspapers and to the newsrooms for radio stations.

The National Office has requested lists of all local underground papers; friendly campus press; women's publications; Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, or Asian American newspapers; prisoner newspapers; G. I. press; and international student organizations. This does not mean that local press releases should not also be sent to these publications and organizations in addition to any releases the Houston Convention Center may send.

After the convention local areas should do similar media work to publicize the results of the convention. The scale of this work will depend on the pre-convention publicity and the enthusiasm and interest generated before the convention.

CATHY PERKUS
Media Coordinator
Houston Convention Center



Fund Drive Report and Scoreboard

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE

(PULLMAN)

OREGON

PORTLAND

(HARTFORD/NEW HAVEN/

(VERNON CENTER, N.Y.)

NEW LONDON, CONN.)

(80)

(32)

(19)

EUGENE

1,000

1,000

650

500

150

625

625

403

350

53

(2.50)

62

70

Another local hit the top this week. Providence fulfilled its quota of \$400, making two locals that have met their fall fund drive quotas ahead of schedule.

Milwaukee also jumped ahead this week with 80 percent of the fund drive in. Boulder has raised its quota for the second time.

All locals should seriously survey their financial situations and begin to discuss the possibility of exceeding their quotas, following the examples of Boulder, Austin, and San Diego. This is necessary because as the deadline—December 18—approaches, various locals may find it difficult to meet their full quotas because their finances were not organized early enough in the fall. So that the YSA does not fall short of its national quota, each local should plan not only to meet its quota but to surpass it by as much as possible.

We are seriously behind schedule. More payments were received this week than last week, but still not enough to begin to catch up. With only three weeks left in the fund drive, we must take in approximately \$7,000 a week. In order to get back on schedule, it is essential that locals send money for the fund drive into the National Office as soon as it is collected rather than sending it all at once at the end of the fund drive.

The central tasks facing the YSA are 1) recruitment and consolidation—making all the gains possible out of the high level of activity this fall; 2) building the YSA convention in Houston; and 3) making the fund drive. The whole local and executive committee must be geared into these campaigns. In some locals this will mean adding leading YSAers to the financial committee to ensure that every local makes its fund drive quota. Every conceivable fund-raising possibility must be pursued. If additional personnel will help locals meet their quota, then it should be assigned.

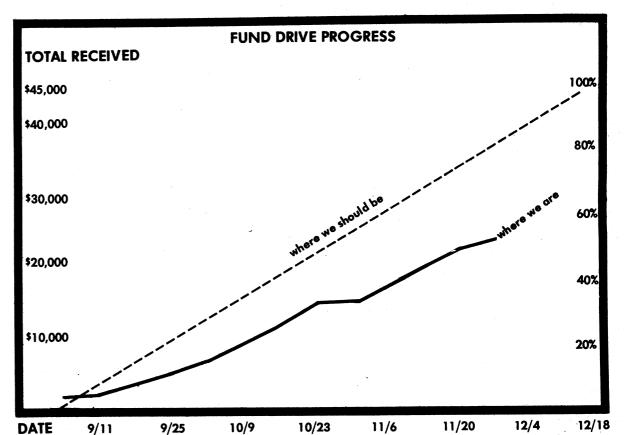
The amount of payments received from atlarge YSAers fell off a little this week. An average of \$150 a week must be sent in to receive the \$450 still needed to meet the \$1,200 at-large quota. Every at-large YSAer should review her or his financial situation and on that basis make the largest contribution possible to the fund drive.

Having successfully organized YSA participation in November 6 and November 20, we want to extend this success to the fund drive, enabling us to have the resources necessary to continue to expand the activity of the YSA on an even larger scale. Meeting the fall fund drive will provide the necessary resources to do so.

TERRY HARDY YSA Financial Director

FALL FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD

REGION AND LOCAL	QUOTA	PAID	%
NEW ENGLAND	4,580	3,626.95	79
PROVIDENCE	400	400	100
BOSTON	1,750	1,508.33	86
CAMBRIDGE	1,750	1,328.62	76
WORCESTER	600	390	65
AMHERST	50	0	0
KINGSTON	30	0	0
(PORTLAND, MAINE)	(50)	(50)	
(DURHAM, N.H.)	(30)	(40)	
(N. ANDOVER, MASS.)		(20.98)	
(PLYMOUTH, MASS.)		(7)	
(MANCHESTER, N.H.)	(30)	(30)	
(W. BRATTLEBORO, VT.)		(5)	
TEXAS/LA./OKLAHOMA	2,750	2,100	76
AUSTIN	1,300	1,300	100
HOUSTON	1,300	750	58
SAN ANTONIO	150	50	33
(DENTON, TEXAS)		(20)	
(EL PASO, TEXAS)		(1)	
ROCKY MOUNTAIN	1,550	1,174	76
BOULDER	400	350	88
DENVER	1,000	724	72
LOGAN	150	100	67
MARYLAND/VIRGINIA	1,800	1,232.14	69
WASHINGTON D.C.	1,800	1,232.14	69
(CRISFIELD, MD.)		(81)	
(COLUMBIA, MD.)		(7)	
(RICHMOND, VA.)		(4.13)	
(CHAPEL HILL, N.C.)		(1)	



62 (WEBSTER, N.Y.)

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

(NEWARK, N.J.)

(ALBANY, N.Y.)

(MANCHESTER, CONN.)

(GARDEN CITY, N.Y.)

(3.05)

(1.50)

(0.50)

26

27

81

63

(1)

(1)

715

695

2,300

2,600

,					DEIKOII	2,000	073	LI
5	MIDWEST	5,350	3,158	59	ANN ARBOR	200	20	10
•	MILWAUKEE	300	240	80	(GRAND RAPIDS)		(21.75)	
t	MADISON	500	375	75	(EAST LANSING)		(15)	
	KANSAS CITY	200	130	65	(FLINT)		(0.50)	
•	BLOOMINGTON	375	228	61				
	CHICAGO	3,600	2,135	59	OHIO/KENTUCKY	2,700	545	20
2	DEKALB	375	50	14	CLEVELAND	2,250	530	24
aty)	"(KENOSHA/RACINE, WISC.)	(100)	(117)		EDINBORO	150	10	7 -
9	(ST. LOUIS, MO.)		(63)		OXFORD .	150	5	3
	(PITTSBURG, KANSAS)	(45)	(46)		COLUMBUS	150	0	0
•	(FT. WAYNE, IND.)		(2)		(MARIETTA, OHIO)		(20)	
t					(LOUISA, KY.)		(1.50)	
5	SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	3,850	2,242.50	58				
3	SAN DIEGO	750	562.50	75	TOTAL AT-LARGE	1,200	<i>7</i> 53.91	63
1 .	SANTA BARBARA	150	105	70				
•	TUCSON	150	100	67	SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS		(8.50)	
	LOS ANGELES	2,550	1,375	54		44.000		
	CLAREMONT	150	80	53	TOTAL	46,370	23,466.25	52
	PHOENIX	100	20	20			04.000	00
	(ORANGE)		(1)		SHOULD BE		36,000	80
	UPPER MIDWEST	2,300	1,250	54	SCOREBOARD COMPILED N	NOVEMBE	R 27, 1971	
6	TWIN CITIES (MADISON, S.D.)	2,300	1,250 (4)	54	PERCENT PAID NUMBER OF LOC			CALS
	(MADISO14, 3.D.)				LAST SCO			10M
, 1	NORTHERN CALIFORNIA	5,600	2,230	40				
	OAKLAND/BERKELEY	3,600	1,590	44	76% OR MORE	4		6
	SAN FRANCISCO	2,000	640	32	51%—75%	16		17
•	(MODESTO)	(14)	(8)		26 %— 50 %	15		14
,	(SAN MATEO)		(2.50)		1%—25%	10		9
)	PENNSYLVANIA	1,800	709	39	0	4		4
	PHILADELPHIA	1,800	709	39				
	(STATE COLLEGE)	1,000	(122.50)	•	TOP TEN	LOCALS		
	(SIATE COLLEGE)		(122.00)		LOCAL	QUOTA	PAID	%
	SOUTHEAST	2,450	869.50	35	AUSTIN	1,300	1,300	100
	KNOXVILLE	200	100	50	PROVIDENCE	400	400	100
	ATLANTA	1,400	555	40	BOULDER	400	350	88
	NASHVILLE	150	60	40	BOSTON	1,750	1,508.33	86
5	TAMPA	300	100	33	MILWAUKEE	300	240	80
)	TALLAHASSEE	250	50	20	CAMBRIDGE	1,750	1,328.62	76
3	GAINESVILLE	150	4.50	3	SAN DIEGO	<i>7</i> 50	562.50	75
3	(JACKSONVILLE, FLA.)	(150)	(1)		MADISON	500	375	75
	(MOBILE, ALA.)		(0.50)		DENVER	1,000	724	72
	(ATHENS, GA.)	(40)			PORTLAND	500	350	70
	(BRISTOL, TENN.)	(25)			SANTA BARBARA	150	105	70
5	NIEW VODY/NIEW IEDCEV	5,990	1 922 75	31	#11 LOCALS ARE LISTED !	DECALISE	2 ADE TIEN	EOP
5	NEW YORK/NEW JERSEY LOWER MANHATTAN	1,700	1,823.75 776.50	31 46	*11 LOCALS ARE LISTED	DECAU3E	Z ARE HED	FUK
۷.		1,700	776.30 74.50	39	TENTH PLACE. TOP FIVE AT-I	ARGE AP	EAS	
,	BINGHAMTON	350	100	29	ior iiit Ai-i	- WOL AN		
	LONG ISLAND BROOKLYN	1,800	486.75	27	AREA		AMOUNT	PAID
/	UPPER WEST SIDE	1,800	386	21				122
1	PATERSON	1,000	0	0				117
	I ATEROOF ATEM HAVENIA	150	Y	•	CDICEIED AD	-		01

CRISFIELD, MD.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

PORTLAND, MAINE

Organizing a Campaign Meeting

One of the most important activities of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley is the organization of public meetings for the candidates and other campaign spokespersons. Through public meetings and forums on the campuses and in the high schools we will be able to gain a broad hearing for our program and enlist many active supporters of the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

A variety of campaign meetings can be organized by every YSJP group. Meetings for the national and local SWP candidates; for the national, regional, and local representatives of the YSJP; and open discussions and debates with opponent candidates and representatives of their youth support groups can all be arranged. All campaign meetings should be built with the aim of enlarging our base of support. In order to accomplish this it is essential that all meetings be well thought out and professionally organized and that ample time be allowed for planning and publicizing them in advance.

ADVANCE PUBLICITY

Professionally organized publicity work is essential in building large meetings for the candidates and other representatives of the campaign. Meetings on campus should be publicized in the same way that major antiwar demonstrations, teach-ins, etc., are publicized.

Articles and advertisements in campus newspapers and announcements on campus radio stations are a good way of getting out the word that a campaign speaker will be on campus. Interviews with a campus campaign spokesperson before the speaking engagement are also useful in publicizing campaign meetings as well as getting out the ideas of the campaign.

From the press coverage that the Jenness and Pulley tours have received so far — as much as we received during the whole '68 campaign it is clear that we will be able to get publicity for campaign meetings from local newspapers and radio stations. Although placing advertisements in local newspapers and on local radio stations is generally out of the question due to the expense, we should not overlook possibilities for getting announcements on the "community calendars" carried by many radio stations, free advertisements from underground radio stations and newspapers, as well as interviews on radio programs and with newspaper reporters. An example of the publicity that is possible was the announcement of Linda Jenness's tour in the Cleveland area (along with the address and phone number of the headquarters for more information) in a column of one of the major local newspapers.

The major means of publicizing the campaign meetings in most areas will be through leaflets and posters distributed on the campuses. Like all other campaign materials, leaflets and pos-

ters announcing a meeting should be professionally prepared. Distribution should be organized carefully with the aim of getting at least one leaflet into the hands of every student on campus and posters in all heavily frequented locations. Distribution of leaflets and other materials should be organized from the YSJP literature tables, which should be set up daily at least several days in advance of the meeting.

If we build the campaign meetings with massive publicity, they will be seen as major events on campus and on that basis alone will attract a large audience. It is important that YSJPers be involved in all phases of building and planning the meetings, from distributing leaflets and posters to writing copy for ads and sitting at literature tables.

ORGANIZING THE MEETINGS

The character of the meetings is as important as publicizing them. The organization of all meetings should be well thought out and prepared in advance.

The chairpersons for campaign meetings should have a prepared introduction for the candidates and campaign spokespersons. The introduction should be used to build interest in the speaker and the topic to be discussed. It is especially important to establish the speaker's credentials as an active supporter and organizer of the mass movements. It is also important that a pitch be made for subscriptions to The Militant and the ISR and for campaign endorsers. These announcements should be made after the speech and after the question and answer period.

The meetings will convince many of those in attendance to endorse the campaign and to become active supporters. After the discussion period everyone should be encouraged to stay around for informal discussion at which YSJPers should be organized to approach people for endorsement and YSJP activities.

One of the most important aspects of every campaign meeting is fund raising. Anyone who comes to the meeting and finds her or himself in basic agreement with the campaign should be willing to help defray the expenses of the speaking engagement. A collection should be taken at every meeting immediately following the speech. The collection pitch should be thought out in advance and should explain the cost of the tour, the projects the campaign is undertaking, and the scope of the SWP '72 campaign as the largest socialist election campaign since Eugene Debs ran in 1920. The collection speech given at the campaign rally in Cleveland during the conference at Oberlin last August serves as a good model, in which contributions were solicited of a given amount and then gradually decreased. Of course, on most campuses we will not be able to get contributions of \$1,000 or \$100; but \$20, \$10, and \$5 contributions are

not at all out of the question. Efforts should be made to arrange several sizable contributions in advance in order to start the collection off on the right foot.

Physical arrangements for the meetings should also receive special attention. The meeting room should be attractively decorated with campaign posters and banners. At every meeting a prominent display of campaign materials is essential. These materials, as well as Pathfinder literature. should be on a literature table along with a mailing list and sign-up sheet for the YSJP. Everyone who attends the meetings should be given an endorser card and campaign brochures, either at the door as they walk in or on their seats. When possible, refreshments should be made available for the informal discussion period.

Besides using the bourgeois and campus media to publicize the meetings, we want to encourage coverage of the meetings and interviews with the campaign representatives. News releases should be sent to the press a few days beforehand to let them know that the candidates and campaign representatives are available for interviews after the meetings. These releases should be followed up with phone calls on the day of the meeting.

REGIONAL WORK

Regional work is important to maximize the gains we are able to make out of campaign meetings. Locals outside the regional centers generally do not have the experience of several years of successful campaign work. Nor, in many cases, do they have the equipment necessary to produce professionally done leaflets and posters.

The regional centers should make sure that attractive leaflets and posters are available for all locals in the area, either through prepared stencils or lay-outs, or by supplying bulk leaflet orders. It is also important that the regional centers see to it that each local has an adequate supply of campaign literature available for these meetings.

The regional travelers and organizers are also important in this process. By going to an area several days in advance of a campaign speaker, the regional traveler or organizer can take care of any last minute details that must be attended to in order to make the meeting a success.

By building all the campaign meetings as major events we can establish the YSJP as a significant part of the political life on the campuses and can win many supporters to the campaign and recruits to the YSA.

JOHN HAWKINS **YSJP** National Coordinator

Midwest Socialist Educational Conference

The Midwest Socialist Educational Conference, held over the weekend of November 26-28 in Chicago, was attended by over 100 people. Of these, 40-50 were Chicago YSAers, 15-20 were YSAers from the region outside Chicago, and 30-40 were independent activists.

The conference included a talk by Fred Halstead on the war, the wage freeze, and the working class on Friday night; talks Saturday on the feminist movement, the Chicano movement, and the Black struggle; an SWP campaign banquet Saturday night at which the Illinois slate of candidates for '72 was announced; and a talk by Peter Camejo Sunday morning on a strategy for the left in '72.

The education committee drew up the initial plans for the conference. Others helped organize specific aspects of the conference. For example, the campaign committee took responsibility for organizing the Saturday evening campaign banquet. The profit from the banquet went to the campaign. The campaign committee also had a table set up throughout the conference and got at least 10 new Jenness-Pulley endorsers.

An important part of our plans was the order of activities. The antiwar, feminist, Chicano, and Black movement talks all posed the question of Sunday morning clearly demonstrated to everyone how our electoral strategy flows from our analysis of the mass movements.

Immediately following Camejo's talk Sunday morning, a "Join the YSA" meeting was held. Two people decided then to join the YSA.

A special press release was sent to all campus papers on the conference. A folded leaflet was printed for distribution around the region and a special leaflet was also pasted up and passed out on campuses in Chicago.

A Young Socialist National Convention table was set up during the entire conference. Announcements about the convention were made at the beginning of each conference session. The convention was the first point on the agenda of the regional meeting held at the conclusion of the conference. Regional convention building and transportation were discussed.

The conference registration fee covered a free three month introductory subscription to the ISR which gave a boost to our ISR sub quota.

Two general organizational lessons we learned from organizing the conference were the need for preplanning and attention to detail. Smooth func-

independent political action. Saturday night's tioning is especially important at a function where campaign banquet and the speech by Camejo large numbers of people interested in our movement are in attendance. Planning well in advance is essential in order to adequately publicize the event and to line up the speakers. Being sure that details such as a chairperson for each session, backup people for assignments, and transportation to the conference site for out-of-town speakers are taken care of can mean the difference between a conference that is well organized and one that seems thrown together at the last

> PETER ARCHER Chicago YSA

New York High School SMC

In the building of the fall offensive the junior and senior high school movement has undergone amazing growth. The increasing power of the high school movement is especially evident in the antiwar movement.

A very good example of the current situation with the high school movement is the activity around this year's fall antiwar offensive. In the New York region junior and senior high school students organized and helped build the October 13 moratorium, the November 3 student strike. and the November 6 regional demonstration. These activities clearly established the SMC as a major force within the high school movement.

High school students organized through our own formation—the HSSMC. There were several separate high school steering committee meetings held during the fall that planned out high school activities for the November 3 high school strike. High school SMCers also participated in weekly SMC steering committee meetings, citywide SMC meetings, unity meetings of the antiwar movement involving NPAC, PCPJ, and other antiwar forces, as well as being represented on the Joint November 6 Coordinating Committee which grew out of the unity meetings.

To help direct this work four high school coordinators were proposed by the high school steering committee and approved at a citywide SMC meeting. Four main areas of work were organized - marshals, media and endorsements, publicity, and organizing SMCs and high school

The October 13 moratorium was an important building block for high school SMC chapters. Many people did not attend classes so that they could take part in rallies, leafleting brigades, and other moratorium activities. In a number of cases, such as at New York University, campus rallies were attended by large numbers of high school students. There were teach-ins and assemblies at a number of high schools. The activities on the day of the moratorium were varied. One example is that of Cardinal Farley Military Academy, which went out on strike in solidarity with activities taking place throughout the city.

The building of the October 13 moratorium helped immensely in the broadening of the HS-SMC so that by the end of the fall offensive there were SMCers on approximately 60 junior and senior high school campuses.

The November 3 student strike was an important action for high school students. Over 250,000 high school strike leaflets with information on November 6 were distributed in most of the city's public high schools and at least 12 junior high schools. A proposal for a high school rally in Central Park at noon on the day of the student strike was made in a high school workshop and later passed in a general citywide SMC meeting. The action served two purposes. First, it was a significant expression of the widespread sentiment in the high schools against the war and for immediate withdrawal. Second, it was an important vehicle for massing together the most consistent builders of the antiwar movement and kicking off a two-day campaign to build the November 6 mass demonstration.

In addition to the central rally, each school was to organize morning activities in the form

in borough rallies and feeder marches.

The HSSMC held two press conferences. The first was designed to deal primarily with the November 3 student strike and was held at the Board of Education building. Previously we had demanded to meet with the superintendent of high schools, but the Board of Education had consistently refused to talk with us. We responded by calling a press conference at which we planned to present the Board of Education with a proposal signed by many high school SMC and GO (student government) leaders requesting that students who wished to participate in the November 3 student strike be allowed to do so without penalty. Our plan was to rally outside in front of the building and hold our press conference there, after which we would present the petition to the Board of Education.

GO representatives, SMC leaders, and others were there to picket at 10 am as scheduled. By coincidence, on that same day a demonstration involving walk-outs by five or six predominantly Black and Puerto Rican high schools protesting the revoking of transit passes was scheduled to take place at approximately the same time at the Board of Education. As the SMC rally was in progress, the high school students demanding bus passes started to arrive at the rally site. At its peak the crowd numbered 2,000. The HS-SMC helped organize the demonstration into a rally on the steps of the Board of Education. Within minutes thousands of November 3 and November 6 leaflets and buttons were distributed along with SMC "Out Now" placards. Slogans related to the war, high school rights, and the November 3 strike became intermixed with slogans dealing with transit passes.

A Puerto Rican SMCer, who is vice-president of Central Commerical High School, gave a speech that connected the transit pass situation and general deterioration of the schools with the war in Southeast Asia. He further explained how students are being asked to sacrifice because of the war.

During the course of the rally the November 3 student strike was announced four times, each time followed by massive cheering and clapping. The effect of the SMC on the rally was most clearly picked up by the press with headlines such as "Bus-Pass, Peace Rally at Bd. of Ed." Through the rally the SMC was able to involve a number of these students in actively building for the November 3 student strike as well as November 6. In addition, the HSSMC established contacts in the major Black and Puerto Rican high schools as demonstrated by the fact that. 70 percent of the students who attended the November 3 rally were Black and Puerto Rican. Two banners at the rally read "End the War, Not Transit Passes!"

The second press conference was held the day before the November 3 student strike and was specifically focused around high school rights. Due to the momentum of the antiwar activities many HSSMCers were running into conflict with their administrations over their right to leaflet. Many teachers scheduled major tests on the day of the strike, and in some schools report card day was changed to November 3. The SMC decided to take these attempts to cut across the

of rallies, teach-ins, assemblies, and participation strike head on. The purpose of the press conference was to express our outrage with these tactics and get last minute coverage for the Central Park rally. The press conference was attended by junior and senior high school representatives from schools where violations of the right to leaflet were most blatant. Media coverage of this press conference and the strike itself helped to give us the first significant coverage for the November 6 demonstration.

In addition, this press conference, coupled with letters of complaint about specific principals who were denying students the right to leaflet, brought pressure to bear and resulted in a number of principals backing down. In one instance SMCers at Franklin D. Roosevelt High School who were previously denied the right to leaflet were given a table to use in the school hallways to distribute literature for the November 6 demonstration.

Despite the fact that it rained all day, the student strike was a success. Several reports from major high schools stated that 75-90 percent of the students were on strike. Some schools had assemblies and teach-ins; others held their own rallies or had joint rallies with other schools. At least six schools had feeder marches to Central Park for the noon high school rally. The rally was attended by 500-600 students who stood in the rain for close to two hours listening to speakers and entertainment. Approximately 300,-000 November 6 leaflets were taken at the rally for later distribution.

The November 6 demonstration brought massive high school participation. The student contingent, mainly composed of high school students, filled the streets for two blocks. Thousands more showed up at Sheeps Meadow where the rally was held. Hundreds of HSSMCers were marshals, while others sold buttons and leafleted. As during the entire fall offensive, the HSSMC was a large force in building the action and was represented with two speakers at the rally.

The YSA made important gains from the fall offensive. YSAers received the respect of the independent activists for the role we play as the best builders of the antiwar movement. The Militant and ISR were consistently sold and many independents bought subs. Campaign materials were also distributed both at large SMC meetings and at the SMC city office. YSA pre-convention discussion bulletins were sold and helped to educate on our positions on the various mass movements. Already eight HSSMC activists have joined the YSA.

This fall's activities encouraged HSSMCers to continue organizing against the war on a yearround basis. We are now in the process of projecting activities such as high school teach-ins during the winter months to lay the groundwork for the spring actions against the war.

PETER EMBER Upper West Side YSA

Third World Solidarity Day Rally

The formation of a Black Moratorium Committee at City College of San Francisco has led to the first independent antiwar actions by Black students on campus.

The Black Moratorium Committee, as an independent Black antiwar organization, attracted its first members through the Black Task Force of the SMC. In building for the November 3 student strike the Black Task Force decided that the involvement of Blacks in antiwar activity would be facilitated by establishing an independent BMC. With the agreement of the activists in the Black Task Force, three weeks before the strike the Task Force began promoting itself as the Black Moratorium Committee.

The first task of the newly formed BMC was to launch an educational campaign designed to raise the issue of the war and how it relates to Blacks with the perspective of involving large numbers of Blacks on campus in antiwar activity. Mass leafleting and posting on the campus as well as consistently setting up BMC literature tables aided in this process.

As well as cosponsoring the November 3 student strike with the SMC, the Black Moratorium Committee initiated a call for a Third World Solidarity Day against the war on November 1 which was to culminate in a mass campus rally. The BMC immediately sought the broadest possible support and endorsement from various Black, Raza, and Asian-American student groups on campus. Due to the general state of disorganization of the Black Student Union, it became apparent that the BMC, as the only functioning Black organization on campus, would play the primary role in building Black participation in the Third World Solidarity Day rally. We also received support from organizations such as the Asian Student Association, La Raza Unida, the Philipino Club, and the Arab Student Organization. All of these groups played a role in the building of the rally and were represented with

Over 250 Black, Raza, Asian, and Arab students attended the rally which represented one of the most successful antiwar activities ever held on campus.

The Third World Solidarity Day rally proved to be a successful building action for the November 3 campus strike activities (which 800 students participated in), as well as for the Black contingent in the November 6 march. Through the rally and our consistent work building Black participation in the entire fall offensive we were also able to establish the BMC as an ongoing organization with increasing authority and respect on campus.

LLOYD KENNEY San Francisco YSA

ISR Sub Drive Scoreboard

At the time of this writing, we are 96 percent of the way through the sub drive while only 48 percent of the *ISR* subs needed to fulfill the national quota have been sent in. However, several areas have jumped considerably ahead since the last scoreboard two weeks ago—Seattle has gone from 28 to 65 percent, Lower Manhattan from 41 to 62 percent, and Los Angeles from 34 to 59 percent.

Although we are behind in the ISR drive, we have already surpassed the total of 2,231 subs obtained in the fall 1970 drive.

We expect that the *ISR* drive will receive a last minute boost from the socialist educational conferences being held over Thanksgiving weekend. Since many of the conferences are sponsored by the *ISR* and free subs will be given to conference participants, the number of *ISR* subs should be increased considerably in the last leg of the drive.

The final ISR scoreboard will be printed in the special convention issue of The Young Socialist Organizer.

While the fall sub drive is drawing to a close, locals should be conscious of continuing the sales campaign. The momentum of the sub drive and the lessons we have learned from it should now be applied to the campaign to increase sales of the *ISR*.

NANCY COLE
YSA National Office

ISR SUB DRIVE SCOREBOARD				Worcester, Mass.	35	14	40
			v	Boston, Mass.	350	133	38
AREA	QUOTA	SUBS	%	Atlanta, Ga.	125	47	38
				Austin, Texas	60	21	35
Paterson, N.J.	10	1 <i>7</i>	170	Cleveland, Ohio	165	55	33
State College, Pa.	· 5	. 7	140	Knoxville, Tenn.	15	5	33
				Edinboro, Pa.	6	2	33
Bloomington, Ind.	25	22	88	Twin Cities, Minn.	200	63	32
Oakland/Berkeley, Calif.	165	144	77	Madison, Wis.	50	16	32
Providence, R.I.	35	27	77	Houston, Texas	100	27	27
Amherst, Mass.	15	11	73	Portland, Ore.	65	16	25
Boulder, Colo.	15	1-1	73	Long Island, N.Y.	35	7	20
Phoenix, Ariz.	10	7	70	Oxford, Ohio	10	2	20
Claremont, Calif.	6	4	67	Tampa, Fla.	25	4	16
San Antonio, Texas	6	4	67	DeKalb, III.	20	3	15
Jacksonville, Fla.	3	2	67	Tallahassee, Fla.	35	5	14
Seattle, Wash.	100	65	65	San Jose, Calif.	10	1	10
Nashville, Tenn.	8	5	63	Logan, Utah	20	1	5
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	210	130	62	Modesto, Calif.	5	0	0
Los Angeles, Calif.	260	152	59	Marietta, Ohio	2	0	0
Ann Arbor, Mich.	15	8	53	National Teams	1,000	403	40
Detroit, Mich.	200	103	52	Southwest		(123)	
Denver, Colo.	120	61	51	Western		(122)	
Philadelphia, Pa.	165	81	49	Mid-Atlantic		(85)	
Connecticut	35	17	49	Southern [®]		(73)	
Kansas City, Mo.	35	1 <i>7</i>	49	General	70	156	223
Washington D.C.	100	48	48				
San Diego, Calif.	55	26	47	TOTAL TO DATE		2,380	48
Binghamton, N.Y.	15	7	47				
Milwaukee, Wis.	13	6	46	SHOULD BE		4,775	96
Chicago, III.	330	147	45				
Upper West Side, N.Y.	210	91	43	GOAL		5,000	100
San Francisco, Calif.	220	92	42				
Brooklyn, N.Y.	210	87	41	SCOREBOARD COMPILED NOVEMBER 27, 1971			

Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition

As was obvious to anyone who attended the November 20 demonstrations, the abortion law repeal campaign is gaining strength and growing rapidly around the country.

The abortion campaign in the South, along with the antiwar movement here, has served to destroy a widely believed myth that the radicalization in the South is not as great as in the North. The November 20 demonstration in Washington reaffirmed the existence of a growing radicalization in the South, as activists from the Southeast region marched on Washington in the first nationally-coordinated women's march since the suffrage movement.

In Atlanta we can see the enormous potential that exists in the South as women begin to organize around the issues that concern their basic rights to control their own bodies and lives. This article describes the organizing tools we have found to be most effective in building abortion coalitions.

As is probably true throughout the country, the greatest support for the abortion campaign has come from the campuses, and the Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition (GWAC) devoted a great deal of effort to introducing the abortion issue to the local high schools and college campuses. Through speaking engagements sponsored by campus organizations or an already existing campus women's liberation group, GWAC was able to explain its demands and tactics.

In order to get the abortion groups on campuses off the ground, GWAC encouraged campus activists to hold referenda to determine the number of students who favored abortion law repeal. In all cases the responses from the referenda were overwhelmingly in favor of abortion law repeal. The referenda were conducted either through campus election ballots or by polling the student body from a literature table.

With results of the referenda supporting abortion law repeal, the campus groups would then approach their student governments to ask that resolutions be passed supporting WONAAC and the November 20 demonstration. These resolutions were used as leverage to obtain funds for the campus abortion organizations and to finance buses to Washington. Just as the SMCs have been successful in getting allocations from campus budgets, the coalitions, when submitting well thought out, detailed budgets, were successful in receiving funds. The budgets included honoraria,

postage, office supplies (pens. paper, etc.), telephone expenses, literature bills—every possible item that could be considered an expenditure.

Literature tables present an excellent opportunity to sell buttons, distribute leaflets, and get new contacts. At each table we had a mailing list for people interested in the abortion campaign to sign. Our follow up consisted of sending them our mailings and reminding them of our weekly coalition meetings. We kept file cards for each contact showing their name, address, phone number, and time and place we first met them. These were filed alphabetically and according to the campus or organization from which they came. It was through these contacts that we arranged meetings on all the campuses. As a result, at least two campuses established functioning abortion coalitions and a number of campus women's liberation groups began to focus on building November 20. Often we were able to supply them with literature or suggestions on campus organizing. One staff member of the GWAC worked exclusively on coordinating campus coalition activities.

The Georgia State University group conducted a petitioning drive in defense of Shirley Wheeler. GWAC sent out a press release to notify the media when and where the petitioners would be. As a result, Shirley Wheeler's case, the Georgia State University Abortion Coalition, GWAC, and WONAAC received excellent press coverage.

We also introduced campus women to GWAC through campus blitzes. We sent teams of women door-to-door through the dorms explaining the campaign and selling buttons, medallions, and bus tickets to Washington.

GWAC also launched a campaign to reach out to women off campus. We asked the Chamber of Commerce to send us a list of all the women's organizations in Atlanta and then sent mailings to each of their presidents requesting that they discuss GWAC at their next meeting. Often women from the community organizations would contribute money and sometimes come into the office to help. GWAC received one invitation to speak to a women's business and professional club.

No matter how much support the abortion campaign has, a considerable amount of effort in each local coalition must go into fund raising. Every day in the GWAC office one woman would spend all her time making fund-raising calls. Lists were made of possible supporters. We went

through the phone book and compiled a list of all the physicians and psychologists (who have been shown to be the group of professional people most in agreement with abortion law repeal). Lists of Unitarian congregations were also compiled.

Each potential contributor was called and his or her response noted. Follow-up calls were made to those people who had indicated that they would contribute, but whose checks we had not received within a week. We always sent literature and thank-you notes to contributors.

Coalition representatives spoke at churches and women's groups throughout the community making appeals for donations, and literature tables were set up on almost every campus, every day, at which buttons were sold and contributions accepted. Teams of men and women went out regularly to sell buttons and collect contributions at shopping centers, movies, film forums, and at Underground Atlanta (Atlanta's major tourist trap). We sold buttons for anywhere from 25 cents to one dollar a piece.

We found many local businesses would not contribute financially but would donate huge quantities of office supplies. We received contributions of pens, envelopes, and mimeograph paper, saving a good deal of money raised from other sources.

YSAers are seen as some of the best builders of the abortion campaign in Atlanta, and a number of women have become interested in the SWP '72 campaign and the ideas of the YSA because of this. We will now be concentrating on winning these activists to the politics of the YSA and recruiting many of them to our movement.

JANE FISHER
Atlanta YSA

San Francisco Recruitment Drive

During the Tasks and Perspectives discussion of the San Francisco YSA this September, we laid out plans for a recruitment drive this fall. Since the opening of school, eight people have joined the YSA, and we have a serious periphery of activists from which we expect to recruit more members before the YSA convention.

A member of the local executive committee was assigned to head up the recruitment drive in September. Our basic approach was to involve as many of the activists around us from the mass movements in YSJP activities and a regular "Introduction to Socialism" class series.

The classes were built by distributing leaflets on two campuses and to activists we met in our work in the antiwar movement and WONAAC. We also gave leaflets on the classes to young campaign endorsers and often called them a few days before the classes to encourage them to attend.

The leaflets outlined the five classes which were held at the same time and place each week. It raised a series of questions that the class would cover.

the organizer

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Generally the classes were attended by five to seven independent activists. The main theme of each class was the need for a revolutionary socialist youth organization and party and the relationship between the YSA and the mass movements.

Another aspect of the recruitment drive to which we paid careful attention was consolidation. Every new YSAer had a fairly lengthy discussion with the organizer before joining and was given a formal assignment at the meeting after joining. Also, most of the people who gave the contact classes were relatively new YSAers; more experienced YSAers usually attended to facilitate the discussion.

The executive committee emphasized that the whole local had to be conscious about bringing people to activities and making them feel at home in the headquarters. Many of this fall's business meetings had five to seven visitors in attendance and no one left without being talked to by several YSAers and being invited to our upcoming activities.

One area of the recruitment drive that we are going to concentrate on more is work in the high schools. The SWP ran a successful local election campaign with a full slate of mostly young candidates for board of supervisors, and we arranged for the candidates to speak to about six high school assemblies. We found it important to always send people with the candidates to such meetings who could concentrate on circulating mailing lists and talking to students about the YSA.

LAURA DERTZ San Francisco YSA