

young socialist  
**the organizer**

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**CONVENTION REPORTS**



**NATIONAL  
ABORTION CONFERENCE**

**20 Cents**

## National Abortion Conference

The next major task in the campaign for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws will be building the second Women's National Abortion Conference, sponsored by WONAAC on February 11, 12, and 13 in Boston. We can expect that this conference will involve many of the women who were active in building the November 20 demonstrations to repeal anti-abortion laws, as well as new women who are just hearing about the abortion campaign and want to become active in it.

Because of the attacks on the liberalized New York abortion law, many women's groups and traditional abortion groups have united to respond to these challenges. The events in New York are already having national implications with the wide press coverage they are receiving and the number of women who are coming around the coalitions because of these attacks. Coalitions around the country will be able to make gains on a local scale and bring women to Boston by showing the need for a united response to the right-wing attacks on the New York abortion law.

All the work of local coalitions should be aimed at making this conference as broad and representative as possible. In order to do this, coalitions should try to involve members of the National Organization for Women, Women's Political Caucus supporters, and women from traditional abortion groups in building and participating in this conference. WONAAC speakers should go before NOW and Political Caucus meetings to obtain support, announce and discuss the conference, and distribute literature. These organizations have formal positions for abortion law repeal and we want the ranks of these groups to put pressure on their leadership by becoming actively involved in the local coalitions, building the conference, and the entire abortion campaign.

Key to the size of the conference will be the participation of campus and high school women. The campuses and the high schools have played a major role in building the abortion campaign and they will continue to be the most important base of support. Local coalitions

should publicize the conference on campuses and high schools throughout the region.

A national leaflet has been printed and can be ordered through the National Office of WONAAC. A national poster and other materials will be available shortly. Campus groups should try to get ads into campus newspapers and plan events which will help to build the conference such as debates, speak-outs, and films. In as many areas as possible, teams should be sent to campuses and high schools throughout the region to build the conference. Some areas, such as San Francisco, found this very important in the building of November 20.

Another very important area of activity will be fund raising. We should tap the resources on the campuses for funds to build the conference and subsidize the buses. Campus groups should send representatives to student government meetings to seek their endorsement and to obtain budgets. Campus groups should also approach sympathetic professors and ask them for money to send one or two people to the conference. We should explain the significance of the abortion law repeal struggle, especially in light of the recent attacks on the liberalized abortion laws.

Much of the money for building the conference and carrying out the coalitions' activities will come from the campuses, but fund raising should also include phone calling to lists of supporters of the abortion law repeal movement. The Twin Cities Women's Abortion Action Coalition was able to raise over \$1,000 this way to subsidize buses for the November 20 demonstration in Washington.

We can expect that some of the same questions that were raised at last July's conference will again be raised at this one. We want the many activists who will be attending this conference to be prepared for the political discussion and debate that will take place so that the conference will be an educational experience. Central to this will be the discussion that takes place prior to the conference with individuals, within groups, and through the discussion contributions in the

WONAAC Newsletter.

The National Office of WONAAC is already in the process of printing discussion contributions. The first is a contribution by the three national project directors, which is an evaluation of the November 20 demonstrations. Especially useful will be articles that deal with the experiences that local areas have had through the fall in building the campaign and projections that they have for the spring. Groups should write articles on their work with class action suits, referenda, and educational activities that they have carried out.

Campus women's liberation groups can contribute much to the political discussion by writing position papers, as was done for the abortion conference last July. Also, contributions can be written on the importance of the repeal movement and the significance of the abortion movement demanding the repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

Articles on some of the experiences that local coalitions have had with anti-abortion groups would also make positive contributions to the discussion and would give other coalitions around the country an idea of what can be done in dealing with these groups.

This conference will be an important step in bringing new women into the fight to repeal the abortion laws. Many new women will have an opportunity to participate in the discussion of the questions facing the women's movement. In addition, it will be through these discussions and active participation in the abortion law repeal movement that many of these women will come in contact with revolutionary socialist ideas, particularly through the SWP '72 Campaign. We want to take every opportunity to reach these activists with our campaign through the endorser drive and the YSJP. Through the building of the Women's National Abortion Conference we can win new support for our campaign and win activists to our ranks.

**DELFFINE WELCH**  
YSA Women's Liberation Director

## Organization Report

*Editor's Note: We are reprinting in this issue edited copies of the Organization Report, Financial Report, and YSJP Report which were approved at the recent national convention of the YSA, held in Houston, Texas, December 28-January 1. Outlined in these reports are some of the major campaigns that the YSA is undertaking this spring.*

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For four days, in workshops and in the plenary sessions, we have discussed and mapped out a course of action to build the YSA. In this report I want to focus on the central organizational tasks now confronting the YSA.

The central task before us in building the revolutionary socialist movement is the recruitment, education, and training of cadre—the indispensable prerequisite for constructing the mass revolutionary socialist party and youth organization in the future. A large revolutionary socialist weekly, which can go into depth on the central questions of U. S. and world politics, is the most important instrument for recruiting and developing such cadre.

As we enter this election period, when the bourgeois parties are making every attempt to derail the mass movements into the confines of the capitalist two-party system, our tasks remain primarily propagandistic.

In the Organization Report at the YSA Plenum in July, recruitment, propaganda, education, and regional work were thoroughly discussed and a concrete course of action and implementation was set forward which would best build the YSA. In this Organization Report, I want to focus on the sale of our press and how the dissemination of our ideas to the widest possible audience through sales of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* is an integral part of all of our activities.

### SWP '72 CAMPAIGN

Organizing Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley on the campuses and high schools this spring will be the major area of our work and will be aided by increasing sales of *The Militant* as the campaign newspaper. Reading about the candidates, what they are doing, and what they stand for will attract many activists to the YSJP.

Our election campaign and the sale of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* are closely related. The history of the Russian revolution is full of examples of the importance which Lenin and the Bolshevik Party placed on the press in relation to running an election campaign.

In 1912, for example, the Bolsheviks ran candidates for deputies to the third Duma. The initiation of the election campaign coincided with the publication of the first legal Bolshevik news-

paper, *Pravda*, a four-page newspaper that came out daily. The launching of *Pravda* was a major victory for the Bolshevik Party. It became the principal instrument for publicizing the election campaign and popularizing its program. Although some Bolshevik candidates were elected, very little coverage was given in the bourgeois press to the Bolshevik deputies. The only way that a revolutionary speech in the Duma could be widely circulated to the workers was by publishing it as a leaflet or printing it in *Pravda*. Since 40,000 copies of *Pravda* were sold every day in the working class districts of St. Petersburg, that was the principal way the speeches got out. The workers wanted to read what their deputies were saying in the Duma.

By reading the articles Lenin wrote at that time, one can see that he viewed the promotion of *Pravda* and the building of the election campaign as an interconnecting process. He followed the development of the paper very closely along with the development of the election campaign.

The SWP and YSA in 1972 face a different situation than the Bolsheviks in 1912, but we must still be conscious of the important role *The Militant* and the *ISR*, like *Pravda*, can play in our campaign.

*The Militant* will be the campaign newspaper and we want every supporter of the SWP campaign to be a reader of *The Militant* and the *ISR*. Conversely, new readers of *The Militant* and

continued on the following page

ISR will provide the most promising arena for winning campaign supporters. We will help build the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley by selling our press while we will be able to involve more people in selling *The Militant* and *ISR* through the YSJP.

Because of the opportunities that confront us during this election campaign, our contact and recruitment work must be highly organized. If the weight of the whole YSA is thrown into building this campaign, we will be able to significantly expand the membership of the YSA.

#### ROLE OF OUR PRESS

Our ability to obtain 32,580 new readers of *The Militant* this fall is an index of the depth of this radicalization. It is an index of the dissatisfaction of thousands of young people who are looking for an alternative to this rotten capitalist system.

Revolutionary socialists have always understood that our press is a vital weapon in reaching out with our ideas and building the revolutionary movement.

In "Where to Begin," Lenin states, "The role of a newspaper is not limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education, and to the enlistment of political allies. A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer. If we join forces to produce a common newspaper, this work will train and bring into the foreground, not only the most skillful propagandists, but the most capable organizers, the most talented political party leaders, capable, at the right moment, of releasing the slogan for the decisive struggle and of taking the lead in that struggle."

#### HISTORY OF THE MILITANT

The history of *The Militant* is a central part of the history of the American Trotskyist movement. *The Militant* was launched in November, 1928, in opposition to the Stalinist faction in command of the Communist Party. It was the only newspaper that was able to explain the rise of Stalinism and the developments in the Soviet Union.

The aim of *The Militant* for the first five years was primarily to bring the views of the International Left Opposition, and particularly its leader, Leon Trotsky, to the attention of the members of the Communist Party in hope of breaking the grip of the Stalinist faction and returning the party to the revolutionary socialist program on which it had been founded. This meant defending the Soviet Union as a workers state, but opposing the Stalinist decay and Stalinist politics. This job, of course, is not yet finished.

In 1933, when the policies of the Communist Party in Germany permitted Hitler to walk into power without a fight, *The Militant* was the only paper in this country that understood, analyzed, and provided a program for combating fascism.

When it became clear in the light of the events in Germany that the Communist International and its sections were beyond hope of reform, *The Militant* changed its orientation. Instead of addressing itself mainly to the members of the Communist Party, it turned directly to the broad layers of the American working class. It sought a more popular appeal. Strike struggles, union problems, and activities of the mass organizations became of primary concern. *The Militant* reported on, projected a program for, and helped to organize various sectors of the labor movement.

The role of *The Militant* in exposing U. S. imperialist aims in World War II and the Korean War are well known. It supported the Black struggle during World War II, for example, when the Stalinists, social democrats, and labor bureaucrats were all whooping it up for the war and telling Black people to subordinate their struggles to the war aims of Washington. *The Militant* has consistently stood on the side of the oppressed.

*The Militant* has always been particularly attentive to the struggles in the colonial world and has a proud record in this respect. This is clearly shown by the way it reported and defended the Chinese revolution, the Algerian revolution, and above all the Cuban revolution, with its special meaning for the United States as the first socialist revolution in the Western hemisphere.

The role *The Militant* played as an organizer of the Fair Play for Cuba Committees and a defender of the Cuban revolution marked a new stage in receptivity to its ideas. It was in this period, the beginning stages of the current rad-

icalization, that *The Militant* began to expand.

I think most comrades are familiar with the role *The Militant* has played in the recent period as the most consistent defender of the Vietnamese revolution, the nationalism of oppressed nationalities, feminism, the colonial revolution, and the interests of the working class as a whole.

The May-June, 1968, events in France, the May, 1970, events in this country, the postal strike, the wage freeze, the rebellion of the Attica prisoners against their oppression—these are just a few examples of times when *The Militant* went on a campaign footing to reach the largest numbers of people possible with news and our analysis of what was really happening.

The May upsurge provides a clear example of the role *The Militant* plays as an organizer of various struggles in this country. During the first two weeks of the May events, five issues of *The Militant* were published. It served as a nationwide strike organizing tool by getting out the latest information and helped to organize various demonstrations and strike activities. The pages of *The Militant* were full of valuable experiences which aided the process of building the antiwar university. *The Militant* proved to be an indispensable weapon in the hands of many activists during May.

Another striking example of how *The Militant* has been out in front was its responsiveness to the rise of Black nationalism. At a time when many organizations on the left called Black nationalism racism in reverse, *The Militant* understood and embraced the revolutionary dynamic of this struggle for self-determination. Again, when the voice of Malcolm X was first heard in this country, *The Militant* welcomed it while every other paper on the left responded to him adversely. The Communist Party paper, for instance, called Malcolm a black fascist.

*The Militant* is the paper of a growing revolutionary party and youth organization that gives analyses arrived at through the experience and knowledge of thousands of socialists active in struggles, together with a rich history of revolutionary theory and practice. This combination gives *The Militant* its strength and value.

Due in part to the ability of the SWP and YSA to utilize our press to get out revolutionary ideas, we have had a real impact on the current radicalization. This is borne out by the expansion of *The Militant*. We have progressed from a four-pager in 1960, with a circulation of 3,700, to a 12-pager in 1968, with a circulation of 10,000, and now in 1971, we have a 24-page *Militant* with a circulation at the peak of the sub drive of over 40,000. *The Militant* is going to continue to expand.

As Malcolm X once said, "*The Militant* newspaper is one of the best anywhere you go today . . . because everywhere I go I see it. I saw it in Paris . . . I saw it in Africa. I don't know how it gets there. But if you put the right things in it, what you put in it will see that it gets around."

#### RENEWAL CAMPAIGN

*The Militant* is at a historic point in its development. Today its circulation is larger than it has been since the 1945 labor upsurge. Our objective is to build *The Militant* into a mass circulation socialist weekly. This is the direction in which *The Militant* is going.

James P. Cannon once said, "The art of politics consists in knowing what to do next." What we propose to do next is to have a renewal campaign this spring which will aim at increasing steady bundle sales and obtaining as permanent subscribers as many of the 32,580 new readers as we can. This is important in making solid steps forward in *The Militant's* circulation, and will help lay the basis for a truly massive subscription campaign next fall as part of the wind-up of the 1972 socialist election campaign.

#### RENEWAL DRIVE—WHAT IT IS

For the last couple of sub drives, we have found that approximately 10 percent of the people who got introductory subs renewed them when their subs ran out. This compares favorably to the early 1960s when *The Militant* had a renewal rate of one to two percent. We want to further increase the renewal rate. In a certain sense, we are conducting an experiment. We want to find out how much over 10 percent the renewal rate will go with consistent direction and leadership.

#### IMPLEMENTATION

First of all, *The Militant* Business Office has put out three printed brochures. There is also a

printed brochure for the *ISR*. These will be sent to each subscriber asking him or her to resubscribe. These brochures also include a special offer for any one of a number of books and pamphlets from Pathfinder which will be sent to every person who buys a one-year sub.

For the locals, the central feature of this renewal campaign will be to visit all the people who got introductory subs to *The Militant* this fall and get them to renew. The 32,000 subs will be divided into three batches. About 10,000 will expire in January, 10,000 will expire in mid-February, and 10,000 will expire in mid-March. The lists of the fall *Militant* subscribers to be visited will also be sent to each local in three batches.

Comrades should be conscious of the implications of the renewal campaign. That is, we will be doing recruitment work with a specific audience that has been in touch with our ideas for 10 weeks. We will be calling on these people as representatives of *The Militant* and the *ISR*. This alone will help impress these readers with the seriousness of our publications.

We want to talk to as many of these people as possible. Each local will have to experiment to see what the most effective way is of reaching our subscribers. In some places we may want to make telephone appointments as a kind of weeding out process for those people who are not really interested. In some dorms where we may have 30 to 40 subscribers, we may find that it is more practical to go through the dorms. Different techniques will be effective for different types of subscribers. This is something that each local will have to work out for itself.

As we talk to these subscribers, we will be able to achieve many things. For instance, we approach a subscriber of *The Militant* who wants to resubscribe but she or he has questions about our position on the Mideast. We explain our position to them, pointing out that the *ISR* carries articles on the Mideast giving more of an in-depth analysis than *The Militant* can. In this way, many of *The Militant* subscribers will not only renew their subs to *The Militant* but also get a sub to the *ISR* if they don't already have one. Most *ISR* subscribers are also subscribers to *The Militant*, but everyone we talk to on this renewal drive should be asked to subscribe or resubscribe to the *ISR*. Building up our *ISR* circulation will be an important aspect of the renewal campaign.

As we talk to the subscribers, we should invite them to our forums, our educationals, and our meetings. The renewal campaign will also be closely linked with our election campaign. After reading the campaign newspaper for 10 weeks, many of these people will be ready to endorse the Jenness-Pulley campaign and become active YSJPers. We should be armed with campaign literature whenever we go to visit any of the subscribers. Through the sub drive and sub teams we were able to obtain hundreds of endorsers this fall. The renewal campaign will be the easiest way to get thousands of endorsers. Every person we see about *The Militant* and the *ISR* should also be asked to endorse the campaign. We may also find that a certain number will be interested in joining the YSA. Every single subscriber should be looked upon as a potential YSJP or YSAer. Through this renewal drive, we will be able to keep in contact with *The Militant* and *ISR* subscribers in a much more direct way than ever before.

In addition to this renewal campaign, introductory subscriptions to *The Militant* and *ISR* will still be offered throughout the whole 1972 election campaign and we want to make sure that as many new people get subs as possible. The selling of subscriptions should be a regular part of all campaign activities. The YSJP teams, for example, will be selling thousands of introductory subscriptions.

Good organization of the renewal campaign, like any other campaign we undertake, is crucial. This task will not be difficult if organized properly. For instance, if during the fall sub drive a local obtained 900 subs, then the local will receive about 300 names on the first list, which is sent out in the beginning of January. Let's say there are 30 members in the local. This means that in the course of three weeks each member will visit 10 subscribers, or three to four people a week. We will also find that after weeding out those who are just not interested the number will be slightly smaller. It is important that leading comrades are assigned to head up this campaign. Locals have to begin working on this as soon as they return to their local areas from the convention because the first batch

of names will be sent out around January 3. Comrades will have around three weeks to contact these subscribers before the second batch of names is sent out. So it is important that we begin organizing this campaign immediately.

Also, the YSJP teams will be able to follow up on many of the subscribers that the sub teams contacted last fall.

This renewal campaign is an experiment for us. We will be able to find out just how much above 10 percent the renewal rate for *The Militant* will go given consistent direction, leadership, and organized effort. And, I think it will prove to be a very exciting campaign with the potential of not only putting *The Militant* on its way to becoming a mass socialist weekly, but also of recruiting many new people to the YSA.

#### RECRUITMENT

As socialists who are involved in building a cadre to lead the American socialist revolution, we take recruitment very seriously. In the course of our participation in the struggles of the day we aim to introduce revolutionary politics to as wide a layer of activists as possible, and recruit the best of them to our program of action. We view every person who comes into contact with us through one or another of our activities as a potential recruit, since our goal is to be strong enough and to have sufficiently large forces to gain political hegemony in the student movement. Every new recruit is an important step toward that goal.

One of the major tasks through the 1972 elections will be winning campus activists to support the SWP campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. Thousands of young people will be drawn into activity and into contact with us on the basis of support to the SWP election campaign. Not all of them will be willing to join the YSA right away, but our aim should be to recruit as many of them to the YSA itself as rapidly as possible.

#### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

There is a real opening in this country for a lively theoretical magazine of the revolutionary movement. Due to this radicalization, there is a new interest in Marxist ideas. Thousands of people are looking for socialist answers to the problems of capitalist society. We want to take the offensive in the field of ideas, theory, and politics. We want to be there to provide those answers. The *ISR*, as a Marxist theoretical journal, is able to link the current radicalization in the U. S. with an analysis of developments in the international revolutionary movement. The *ISR* plays a valuable role in the work of developing a serious program of struggle for today's mass movements and bringing to bear the experiences of revolutionary socialism.

We must begin using the *ISR* more as a vehicle for getting out our ideas. Also, the *ISR* is going to be orienting more toward the current issues of controversy and debate within the radical movement.

Special attention has to be paid toward integrating the sales of the *ISR* with those of *The Militant*. In this way we will be able to steadily increase the circulation of the *ISR*. We will also begin to take on other radical publications in the field of ideas.

#### SALES CAMPAIGN

We see the launching of a sales campaign to increase the sales of individual copies of both the *ISR* and *The Militant* as a necessary part of our expansion plan. When the wage freeze occurred and when the prisoners were massacred at Attica, both *The Militant* and the *ISR* responded. Our comrades responded by audaciously going out and selling our press. I want to stress that every sales intervention should be as highly organized as the wage freeze and Attica interventions—not necessarily on the same scale, but as highly organized.

Unlike some other areas of work, sales is one assignment that all members of the YSA can and should participate in. This is an area of work in which every single comrade is involved. An *ISR-Militant* sales committee should be set up in every local. Every single fraction should always discuss sales at their meetings so that we can be as effective as possible in getting out our press in all our areas of work.

A norm we would like to project for every local is that their *Militant* bundle size should just about equal 10 *Militants* for every comrade in the local. Every local should at least be able to sell this number and begin to increase it from there. If we begin organizing this sales cam-

aign now, we should be able to see a real increase in the size of the locals' bundles over the spring.

As well as centering our sales on the campuses, high schools, and in regional work, which I want to discuss in detail later, we should continue regular sales of *The Militant* at plant gates, unemployment offices, shopping centers, or other areas where workers congregate. *The Militant* will continue to play an important role in exposing the government's attacks on the living standard of the working class through the wage controls. The increased circulation of *The Militant* will give us more of an opportunity to reach thousands of people with our program for combating this attack. Therefore, it is essential to continue the sale of our press to workers where we can. We can expect to begin to recruit some young workers in the course of this effort, although most likely directly to the SWP.

#### PROPAGANDA ON THE CAMPUSES

A revolutionary socialist press helps give direction to the developing radicalization. By getting *The Militant* and the *ISR* into the hands of student activists this spring we will help to lay a political base for upcoming struggles on the campuses and in the high schools. Also, receptivity to our ideas is strongest on the campuses and this is where we can sell the most *Militants* and *ISRs*.

Our goal remains to gain political hegemony on the campuses. Selling *Militants* and *ISRs* at colleges and high schools where we have no YSAers is the best way of recruiting new campus locals and fractions. Sales of our press should be organized as part of the campus blitzes we will conduct this spring on every campus in the country. These sales should be continued on a regular basis.

Plans for the spring offensive should include reaching out to high school students on a larger scale than we have ever done before. It is not necessary that there be high school students in any particular local for that local to do high school work. Every member of the YSA can participate in selling our press outside high schools and junior high schools and we want to audaciously organize a campaign to do just that.

Another area of propaganda that is essential to strengthening our campus base is setting up literature tables on a regular basis. Setting up YSA and YSJP tables will give us an opportunity to get out our ideas through campaign and Pathfinder literature. Not only do we have to hit every single registration line this spring with *The Militant* and the *ISR*, but we also have to make sure that literature tables are up as soon as the campuses open.

The adoption of Pathfinder literature as course material for college campuses around the country is yet another indication of the deepening radicalization. Getting professors to utilize revolutionary literature as a text for their classes will bring many people into contact with our ideas.

We must also seriously look into the possibilities of getting *The Militant*, the *ISR*, and Pathfinder literature into bookstores and newsstands around every campus.

The sales of our press and literature on high school and college campuses is part of implementing our concept of the red university. The main thing for the YSA is to sink roots in the high school and college campuses so the revolutionary socialist youth organization will be prepared to lead the next student upsurge that takes place.

Our geographic expansion has been a significant factor in making us the strongest socialist youth group in the country. Regional expansion is one area of work in which *The Militant* and *ISR* can be of particular service. One of the limitations we face in this area of work at the present time is the amount of contact YSJP travelers are able to have with new areas and activists while doing regional work. The highest priority should be placed on making certain that the latest important news and analysis of the mass movements continues to reach these activists through the pages of our press. The sale of our press complements our regional work in helping to open up new areas and in maintaining regular contact with these new areas.

At-large YSAers in particular feel the necessity of attempting to reach out to activists in their area. This is due in great part to the obvious limitations on the amount of work which one or two comrades can accomplish. Here again, *The Militant* and *ISR* can be utilized to reach out to more people than is possible for an in-

dividual person or small local to do. Our press provides a basis for discussion of our perspectives and their application. Our press can be one of the most important tools for building a new local.

*The Militant* and the *ISR* will be the organizers of the entire spring offensive. They will be a tremendous help to us in drawing thousands of students to the activities we have discussed at this convention. To do this we have to launch this sales campaign in the right way from the start in every local and at-large area of the country.

#### EDUCATION

The *International Socialist Review* plays a very educational role for our movement. The organizers' report forms filled out for the convention indicate that although almost all YSA members read *The Militant*, the number of YSAers that regularly read the *ISR* is very low. This situation must be turned around. Articles in the *ISR* as well as *Intercontinental Press* can be utilized in providing excellent material for educationals in every local.

*Intercontinental Press* is a unique publication of our movement. It is an international guide to revolutionary Marxism that carries weekly reports on world developments and the activities of the international Trotskyist movement. According to the organizers' report forms which we have received, *IP* is a magazine too few YSAers read. I want to stress that the opposite should be the case. Every member of the YSA should read *IP* as well as *The Militant* and the *ISR*—the news in this publication is available from no other source. Every local should have a subscription to *IP*.

Education in the locals, and YSAers' own personal reading have to be planned out so as to develop well-rounded revolutionaries in the YSA. We have to understand that regular classes and educational programs are key elements of our work, just like building YSJs, the women's liberation movement, or nationalist struggles. Education complements our work in the mass movements and cannot be put off because of our intense activity.

#### GAY LIBERATION

In the remainder of the organization report I want to take up a couple of aspects of our internal organization. First is a motion from the National Executive Committee on gay liberation.

The first part of the motion is to reaffirm the YSA's position of unconditional support to the struggles of homosexuals for full democratic rights, including full civil and human rights, and against all the forms of discrimination and oppression gays suffer under capitalism. Thus, the YSA takes a clear political position in support of the rights of gay people.

The second part of the motion is to end the information gathering probe of the gay liberation movement.

The third part is to empower the incoming National Committee to determine the best procedure for the YSA to decide the tactical question of what our relationship to the gay liberation movement is. We want to determine the tactical approach that will best implement our political position of support to the gay liberation movement.

The YSA should continue working on gay contingents for the April 22 antiwar demonstrations and abortion law repeal demonstrations. The gay contingent in the November 6 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco was the largest contingent, an indication of the potential for the contingents this spring.

We also want to continue our defense of the democratic rights of gays. The defense work done in Minneapolis around the struggle to rehire Mike McConnell at the University of Minnesota is an example of struggles for civil liberties which we want to support.

We also want to use our national, local, and student government election campaigns to support struggles around the civil liberties and democratic rights of gay people. Meetings should be arranged for our candidates to address gay liberation organizations and the YSJP should engage in activities such as hearings and demonstrations in support of the civil and human rights of gay people.

#### SECURITY POLICY ON ILLEGAL DRUGS

I also want to discuss the YSA's position on

continued on the following page

illegal drugs. The YSA does everything in its power to make the legal or extralegal victimization of our organization as difficult as possible. It is precisely for this reason that we will not make any changes whatsoever in our current security policy that forbids the use of any illegal drugs by YSA members.

The YSA's policy is that no members of our organization can use illegal drugs or place themselves in jeopardy on this question, for example, by attending parties where illegal drugs are used. This is a basic stipulation for membership in our organization. This policy must be carefully explained to every person who wishes to join the YSA. If a YSAer is unwilling to carry out this security policy, then he or she is jeopardizing the entire organization and has no place in the YSA.

The fact that others in certain areas—like on some campuses—seemingly are not victimized by the use of drugs has no bearing whatever. The police selectively enforce the drug laws and use them to victimize radicals and their organizations.

To emphasize the eagerness of the police to use such cases to victimize the radical movement, and therefore the seriousness with which we view this policy, I want to cite the example of Lee Otis Johnson, one of the leaders of the Black student movement at Texas State University in Houston. In order to crush to Black student movement, Johnson was framed up on drug charges, convicted, and sentenced to 30 years in prison. He was charged with simply passing a marijuana cigarette from one police agent to another!

The entire YSA must be absolutely clear that there are no exceptions made in carrying out this policy and in strictly enforcing it.

#### ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

One indication of the growth and increased activity of the YSA is that within the last two years the size of the National Office staff has nearly doubled. Strengthening and expanding the national center is a vital part of tooling up the YSA to meet the challenges and opportunities we face. Prior to this convention, there were 16 YSAers able to work on a full-time volunteer basis in the center—the largest staff in the history of the YSA.

This growth has necessitated a change in the relationship between the National Office and the National Executive Committee. Until September, the National Office—as a body appointed by, under the direction of, and responsible to the National Executive Committee—has, in addition to its other tasks, taken on the responsibility of organizing and preparing meetings of the NEC. Most reports presented to the NEC were discussed and prepared first in meetings of the YSA National Office in order to present the best possible reports and facilitate the deliberations of the NEC. However, as the National Office staff grew this procedure became inefficient.

With a large staff, just organizing meetings at a time suitable for the entire National Office became difficult. This tended to lead to a situation where fewer meetings of the National Office took place than were actually necessary. Because of the size of the staff, N. O. meetings usually were quite lengthy. Since it is in the National Office that the initial discussion around the var-

ious reports to be presented to the National Executive Committee took place, long meetings that the entire staff attended were a hindrance to the efficient functioning of the office. This was clearly demonstrated last summer in the preparation for the plenum reports to be presented to the NEC. With the YSA Convention and the necessity of preparing resolutions and reports, we recognized that this problem would have become even more acute.

In order to facilitate the functioning of the National Office, two steps were taken. First, the tradition of National Office meetings to prepare and organize National Executive Committee meetings was ended. National Office meetings now are only held for the purpose of organizing the internal functioning of the office.

Second, in order to carry out the necessary function of organizing and preparing NEC meetings, a subcommittee of the NEC was established that could take on these responsibilities. This subcommittee, called the Organization Committee, was constituted by the NEC at its September 2 meeting. The Organization Committee is appointed by the NEC and is responsible to it. It is a small working body which can meet regularly and frequently.

Ending the tradition of National Office meetings and establishing the Organization Committee of the National Executive Committee was a major step forward in the organization of the national center to better fit our growth. This has greatly facilitated the functioning of the National Office.

**TERRY HARDY**  
YSA National Office

## Financial Report

All the preceding reports and discussion have clearly outlined the unprecedented opportunities before the YSA in the next year. The Organization Report mapped out how we can go about reaching hundreds of thousands of young people with our politics and recruit many of them to the YSA. The SWP '72 Campaign has already had, and will continue to have, a far-reaching effect on radicalizing youth from coast to coast. Tens of thousands of students in colleges and high schools who never knew we existed are now reading and talking about *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*. There are Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley on high school and college campuses across the country. YSAers spoke and received honoraria on more campuses this year than ever before. YSAers representing the antiwar, women's liberation, and revolutionary socialist movements are speaking to more young people who are interested in these issues. In short, more youth not only know what the YSA is and what we stand for, but also are becoming more and more interested in joining our ranks.

The expansion of the YSA's influence has been evidenced in many ways this year. Our aim of reaching an ever-increasing number of youth with our politics presents us with an organizational as well as a political challenge. There is a direct relationship between our politics and our finances. To actively carry out the political tasks we set for ourselves, an organized fund-raising effort is necessary.

When a person joins the YSA, she or he makes a commitment to build the YSA. Part of that commitment should be a voluntary decision to contribute money, as well as time, toward the building of our organization. Financing the YSA is as much a part of YSA work as building the antiwar movement or selling our press.

Locals are the basic unit of the YSA. Collectively, the local maps out the implementation of the YSA's politics in each area of work. Included in this process is the organization of fund raising. In conjunction with the tasks and perspectives reports given in each local, projections for raising the funds necessary to carry out our work should be presented, discussed, and approved. In order to implement the tasks voted on by the local it is necessary to assign experienced comrades to the area of finances, establish strong financial committees, give serious thought to external and internal fund raising, and report frequently to the local and the executive committee. Finances is given the same weight as any other major area of work because it is through ensuring a strong financial base that a local's work can be most effectively carried out.

#### ASSESSING THE FIRST YEAR'S CAMPAIGN

Because the entire YSA recognizes the basic importance of finances, last year's convention launched, for the first time in our history, a national campaign on finances. The campaign had three major focuses: first, to begin to tap the resources on the campuses; second, to organize local finances on a regular and professional basis; and third, to have the greatest number of locals begin to send in regular and budgeted payments to the National Office throughout the entire year.

What has been the result of this three-pronged campaign? What has the YSA gained out of this year's experience?

Before going into the many gains we have made in the last year, we should view this campaign in the context of all our other work. The financial campaign was one of several major campaigns that we devoted a great deal of time and attention to this year. We also took on a huge subscription drive, built participation in the November 6 antiwar demonstration, and helped launch the SWP '72 Campaign. Many of these activities, and others, were carried out at the same time and required us to organize on a higher level with much more advance planning.

It is clear that we have gained much knowledge and experience in the course of carrying out these campaigns. I think we can say that our understanding of the role of, and how best to organize finances has been one of the major gains made during this time. This understanding and education will be of prime importance to us as the YSA's activities expand in 1972.

#### LOCAL FINANCES

YSA locals have laid the basis for professionalizing their finances to a degree that could only be a projection at last year's convention. The assignment of one comrade as the local "treasurer," who merely collects and disperses money, no longer exists. Almost every local now has a financial director assigned to oversee the books, give reports to the local and executive committee, and head up the financial committee. The increased leadership attention given to finances is reflected by the fact that 88 percent of the local financial directors are on their local executive committees. All but five locals began the fall with budgets. In almost every local at least a bi-weekly financial report was given. In a large majority of locals reports were given on a weekly basis.

Two other figures are of significance in that they reflect both our advance in the area of finances and the need for future attention. Last year there were almost as many comrades as-

signed to finances as there were locals. Each local had its own financial "specialist," the local treasurer, who was just about the only person who knew anything about the finances of the local. This year there are over 100 comrades assigned to some area of YSA finances. This figure clearly indicates the added consciousness of the majority of locals toward finances. But more importantly, it shows the level of organization as well as the personnel required to go about obtaining funds from the variety of sources now open to us. We will discuss both of these in more detail later in the report. In short, we have begun the process of professionalizing local finances and we have laid the organizational basis for continuing this process to a much higher degree.

#### REGIONAL FINANCES

The area of regional finances is one we are still in the process of exploring. Here again we have made great strides forward. At this time last year, many areas of the country were not able to carry out regional work because they simply could not afford it. This fall all 15 regional centers carried out regional work with one or more YSAers assigned to full-time work at some point. This has been possible in part because many locals in the regions have begun to share the financial responsibility for regional work. Also, for the first time many at-large YSAers are beginning to make regular payments to sustain regional functioning. Large amounts raised through honoraria added significantly to what locals were able to raise for regional and national expenses. We will want to pay particular attention to increased fund raising in the regions in order to make this entire area of work begin to pay for itself. If we are able to do this we will also be able to increase the amount of full-time personnel on regional work.

#### NATIONAL FINANCES

The YSA nationally has given increased attention, direction, and leadership to finances during the last year. Two comrades in the National Office have been assigned to finances and this spring we plan to add still another. During the last year, the first national financial tours were organized and they proved to be of tremendous value. Through these tours the National Office has been able to communicate much of the experience gained by locals in how to set up books, draw up budgets, and map out ways to meet fund drive quotas. Also, these tours provided the National Office with information on the pro-

continued on the following page.

gress and needs of the entire YSA regarding finances.

Through *The Young Socialist Organizer* we were able to get out large numbers of articles evaluating the progress of the fund drive, while previously this had been done mostly through limited mailings. These articles, which focused on utilizing the experiences other locals have had raising funds from such projects as film showings, book sales, and regional exchange tours, served an important purpose in spreading information on how to carry out these various activities. The main step taken by the National Office is the increasing ability to coordinate and give direction to the vast area of outside fund raising which we are just beginning to tap.

Our achievements in the area of finances in the last year must be assessed in the context of the history of YSA finances. The first national fund drive in 1960 was projected at \$1,000. Each subsequent drive increased by about \$1,000 per year until 1969. As a result of the large recruitment during the 1968 SWP Campaign and a broader receptivity to our ideas, we were able to increase the national fund drive by \$10,000. Last spring we successfully completed a fund drive of \$43,000, which represented another huge increase. We should fully expect a similar result from the SWP '72 Campaign as our membership and influence expand to an even greater degree. The deepening radicalization and our ability to build the YSA indicate that we can set our sights on gaining even larger sums of money.

The YSA is going through a transitional period in finances. We are now able to obtain more and more money from outside our own movement. This transition reflects in dollars and cents the influence we have gained. Schools pay to hear our speakers and allot us money from their budgets. We have also been able to use campus facilities, obtain donations from professors, etc. In light of the SWP campaign we can expect to make many more financial gains as more and more people recognize the validity of our politics.

Sustainer payments from individual comrades remain the backbone of our income. As revolutionary socialists we have the best understanding of the financial needs of a revolutionary youth organization and should be the most conscious of contributing financially to the building of the YSA through regular sustainer payments. Sustainers provide an essential working base from which to expand our finances.

The continued deepening of the radicalization and our expanding base on the campuses are putting us in the situation of having even greater political influence among a larger number of people. This growth in influence will result in greater possibilities for the expansion of our financial base. This expansion of the YSA emphasizes the need to be aggressive in looking beyond our membership for money.

This year has netted us valuable lessons in how to go about organizing the income from outside sources that is there for the taking. We have gone from an organization almost totally reliant on sustainers to one that this fall took in an average of 50 percent of our total income from outside sources. This indicates that our political orientation toward the campus is being organizationally carried through in finances. As the best builders and spokespeople for the movements students are interested in and involved in, we should have no qualms about asking that student governments allocate a large budget to the campus YSA. We should apply for these funds on every campus where there are YSAers and defend our right to receive them. Fund raising should be discussed and organized by every campus fraction.

The other major source of campus funds is from honoraria for speaking engagements. Our objective is to combine fund raising with getting out our politics. The speakers bureaus now established to some degree in each one of the 15 regions provide us with an apparatus through which we can get revolutionary socialist speakers onto every campus in the nation, and at the same time net tens of thousands of dollars to build the YSA. The speakers bureau is without a doubt the most important and most promising innovation of the last year for YSA finances. As *The New York Times* reported in a recent article: "Riding the waves of confrontations and crises that have swept the country in the last years, the lecture circuit has become big business, with millions of dollars worth of annual bookings . . . The campus demand for speakers on the issues preoccupying the nation has seemed almost in-

satiable."

I don't know if comrades are fully aware of the implications of our experiences with the speakers bureaus. We have not always been able to obtain honoraria from school administrations for YSA speakers. In fact, we have not always been allowed to even speak on campuses on a consistent basis. By looking back to the Bloomington defense case we can get a feel for the changing climate in this country and the opportunities before us. In 1963, three YSAers were indicted for speaking and organizing in defense of the Cuban revolution at Indiana University in Bloomington. The entire national organization had to mobilize support for their right to speak. In comparison, this year over \$13,000 was obtained through honoraria for 95 speaking engagements by revolutionary socialists.

The speakers bureaus represent an organizational advance in the process of professionalizing finances. Our speakers bureaus make available revolutionaries from other countries, SWP candidates, women's liberation, Chicano, Black, antiwar, and national YSA spokespeople. Through the speakers bureaus we are able to tap the most systematic means of gaining wide audiences for our ideas and significant sums of money for our expansion. Publishing professional brochures, distributing them to every campus in the area, and following up with phone calls and visits from representatives of the speakers bureaus are all necessary steps that have been carried out by YSAers across the country this fall.

The success with which honoraria can be obtained has been demonstrated by the Twin Cities local. As the fall fund drive was nearing the final month, it became apparent that additional outside fund raising would be necessary if their quota was to be met. Consequently, three comrades were assigned to do follow-up work on the brochures sent out earlier in the fall. Phone calls were made to every campus in a three-state area. As a result of consistent work, over \$1,300 was obtained from 10 different schools. All this was accomplished in a little over two weeks.

This success indicates the tremendous gains which can be made and the thousands of dollars which can be obtained through speakers bureaus. Our approach now is to professionalize the speakers bureau apparatus by adding personnel to financial committees, keeping accurate records, doing consistent follow-up work, and exploring the best approach in making a pitch for our speakers. In short, we want to incorporate our experiences while we establish the speakers bureau as a permanent feature of the YSA.

By looking toward new ways of raising funds beyond our own membership this fall, locals have come up with a long list of creative ideas. Yesterday, in the finances workshop we began the process of sharing these experiences. During the spring months we want to continue communicating these ideas for fund raising so that each local has at its fingertips a full list of projects to implement. Film showings, book sales, donations from our periphery, rummage sales, dinners, and socials were among the most profitable projects carried out this fall. We should utilize *The Young Socialist Organizer* to continue discussions on the feasibility and organization of various means of fund raising.

#### FALL FUND DRIVE

The most outstanding gain of our financial experience this fall is the rapidly developing knowledge of how to organize a crucial aspect of our work—finances. As I have mentioned, more comrades were involved in YSA finances this year than ever before. Financial committees were established in almost every local to solidify local finances. We found that these committees are an important and necessary advance without which locals cannot begin organizing finances on the level we foresee. Speakers bureaus could not have been established and could not have been as lucrative if personnel had not been assigned specifically to this area of fund raising. Other members of the financial committees were charged with the tasks of organizing films, rummage sales, dinner parties, fund-raising visits, etc. Without such a basic organizational tool as the financial committee local fund raising will be severely limited.

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This fall the national fund drive quota was projected at \$45,000, \$2,000 higher than last spring's fund drive. One point that was taken

into consideration in approving the fund drive at this summer's plenum was the high level of activity we were about to undertake in all our other areas of work. We found that, due in part to this large amount of activity, we did not turn sufficient attention toward finances until late in the fall. Organizing fund-raising projects and speakers bureaus got off to a slow start. The fact that sufficient personnel was not assigned to the initial organization of fund raising led to a situation that was not remedied until late in the fall.

This fall's experiences reemphasized the necessity of budgeting personal finances to cover the costs of attending various conferences and conventions as well as making regular payments on dues, sustainers, and fund-drive pledges. Along these same lines, it should be made very clear that comrades who work full or part time for the various mass movements are to be paid regularly and in full. No comrade or local should be put in the position of falling behind in sustainers and dues because comrades have not been paid. The potential for obtaining funds from student governments, professors, and sympathizers was not fully explored.

The collective result was that we were unable to obtain the total \$45,000 by the closing date of the fund drive. However, we should understand clearly that the experience gained in our attempt to meet the national quota is the overriding gain we have made. It is this experience that we will take into 1972. The YSA has incorporated into its collective experience two valuable things: first, a basic understanding of the major role finances plays in our organization; and second, the know-how to tap the vast resources available to us.

Although we got off to a late start this fall, we raised an amazingly large amount of money in a short period of time. This fact indicates what is now possible for the YSA. With this experience, and with the initial organizing already in progress, there are no roadblocks in the way of our going after potential funds and successfully meeting and surpassing our spring fund-drive quota.

The figure being proposed by the outgoing National Committee is \$46,000. This figure is proposed for several reasons. This spring we want to stabilize local finances, increase regional work, concentrate on the organization of fund raising, keep current on bills, and begin to pay off back debts. To accomplish these goals, each local should begin immediately upon returning from the convention to draw up a six month's budget and establish a financial committee to carry out the budget. But the major and most immediate task is the planning of extensive outside fund raising.

This spring we will continue the transition toward an expanded use of the campuses for obtaining funds through further implementing our concept of the red university. This can be done most successfully, as we have learned, only if we start well ahead of time to organize our finances professionally. Keeping on schedule is an integral part of professional finances.

We know that we have learned many valuable political lessons about finances and just as many organizing techniques. Now we have only to use what we have gained and to continue to educate ourselves on how to proceed.

**CAROLINE FOWLKES**  
YSA National Office

## young socialist the organizer

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

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# YSJP Report

The central road to expansion in size and influence of the YSA between now and November, 1972, lies through building the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. While we will continue to expand our work and recruit from the mass movements in which we have been active, the bulk of our recruitment in the next year will come from campaign work in general and from the YSJP in particular. In the 1968 campaign, through the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, the YSA doubled in size, the most rapid rate of growth we had ever experienced. It was a growth not just in numbers but a significant geographic expansion as well. Our goal is to repeat the gains of 1968 in 1972. We intend to recruit and consolidate YSA locals in parts of the country we couldn't even reach in 1968.

When we launched this campaign we recognized the tremendous opportunities for support for our ideas from many sectors of society. At the same time, we realize that the majority of active campaign supporters will be young people, especially those on the high school and college campuses. It is here that the radicalization is deepest, the willingness to support socialists in the elections is greatest, and the readiness to become active in a socialist campaign is most prevalent.

The fact that the bulk of our active supporters will come from the campuses and high schools in no way means that our campaign is of interest only to students. We will attract students to our campaign not by focusing primarily on campus issues, nor by using the language and style of the student milieu, but rather by presenting students with a strategy for building an effective movement for changing society that is a serious and realistic alternative to the politics of the Democrats and Republicans.

Our campaign is an *activist* campaign. This is one of the keys to our ability to capture the imagination and allegiance of radicalizing youth. Our candidates are activists in the struggles that more Americans, and especially young people, are beginning to consider their own. Both candidates are experienced activists in the antiwar movement. Our vice-presidential candidate is an activist in the Black liberation movement and has led struggles in two of the most oppressive institutions in this society—the army and the high schools. Our presidential candidate is a well-known feminist and activist in the abortion law repeal movement. The fact that we are running active fighters for the mass movements is something that will be attractive to activists in the antiwar, women's liberation, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and student movements. Many of them will be won to support of the campaign on this basis.

Since a theme of our campaign is that this will be the biggest socialist campaign since Debs, many people have asked how many votes we expect to receive next November. The answer is that we do not expect a large vote for the SWP next fall. This expectation is based on a number of factors. We will not get on the ballot in all states, and where we do we have no assurance that all our votes will be counted. Also, the voting population is not a representative cross-section of the population as a whole. Even with the passage of the 26th Amendment, which extended the franchise to 18 year olds, the age of the average voter, 44, remains significantly higher than the median age of the whole population. Many of our most active supporters will not be able to vote because they are not yet 18 or because they are college students who will not be allowed to vote where they attend school.

A consideration that lies beyond all of these factors is the illusion that most Americans still have about the Democratic and Republican parties. In 1972, most of the antiwar vote, the nationalist vote, the feminist vote, and the civil liberties vote will be expressed through support to one or another of the bourgeois candidates. Although we can see a beginning of a break with the capitalist parties in the growth of La Raza Unida Parties in the Southwest, the illusions that the majority of Americans have with bourgeois politics will not be shattered in 1972.

The success of our campaign will not be measured by the number of votes that we get, but rather by the number of people that we can involve in socialist activity, by the number of people who come into contact with our ideas for the first time, by the extent to which we force other candidates to relate to our campaign, and by the number of people we can recruit to our movement. The de-

cisive measure of the success of our support to the SWP campaign will be the numerical and geographical expansion of the YSA over the next year.

## THE YSJP

When the YSA began to discuss the plans for its support to the Jenness-Pulley ticket, we considered several organizational forms for this support.

For example, we could have tried to channel all youth campaign support activity directly through the YSA. This would have made it difficult, if not impossible, for those young people not yet ready to join the YSA to actively support the campaign. It would have narrowed our base of support to those ready to join a disciplined revolutionary socialist youth organization. Given the present size of the YSA, this would have prevented us from building a broad base of support for the campaign, and would have limited our ability to recruit through the campaign.

Another alternative would have been "Students for Jenness and Pulley" or "Youth for Jenness and Pulley."

But the advantage of the "Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley" is that, by clearly identifying campaign supporters as socialists, it makes clear the distinction between our campaign and the reformism of the People's Party type campaigns, and it brings all campaign supporters closer to the YSA. It also gives us a way to approach our opponents, especially the Young Workers Liberation League, by appealing to them as socialists, to support the socialist campaign against the capitalist candidates that the Communist Party is going to be telling them to support.

The YSJP does not have the strictly defined membership, norms, and requirements of the YSA. Although we want the YSA to be the organization of masses of students, the organization which every student who considers herself or himself a socialist should join, there are certain requirements for membership in the organization. When someone joins the YSA she or he already agrees with the political program of the YSA, agrees to accept the discipline of the YSA, the responsibilities of membership in the YSA, and agrees to make a consistent contribution to maintaining the organization through the payment of dues and sustainer. To model the YSJP after the YSA, to try to make it a sort of junior YSA, would be to erect barriers between ourselves and thousands of potential campaign supporters.

Our central task as YSAers is to build the YSA. We want to make it as easy as possible for young people to join the YSA. The YSJP is a way to bring thousands of potential members into contact with the YSA. We do not want to impose any membership requirements on YSJPer. They do not have to make financial or time commitments. We want it to be as easy as possible for people interested in the campaign to become active through the YSJP.

Because we want people to identify with and support the Jenness-Pulley campaign at whatever level they feel comfortable, we do not want the YSJP to hold regular business meetings, elect officers, or to assume any rigid form that would restrict anyone's feeling of involvement with the campaign. If a YSJPer is in general agreement with our program and is willing to come to meetings, to take on organizational responsibilities, and to make a regular financial contribution, then he or she should be recruited to the YSA.

On the other hand we do not want to treat the YSJP as just a mailing list. The key to building the YSJP is viewing campaign endorsers as potential campaign activists who can be involved in all of our campaign support activities. Our job is to reach out to potential supporters of the Jenness-Pulley campaign and to involve them in activities that will maximize the impact of our campaign in the '72 elections.

In order to accomplish this the YSJP cannot be simply an apparatus for the coordination of campaign speaking tours, but must become a viable political organization on as many high school and college campuses as possible. In addition to organizing meetings for the candidates and other campaign spokespersons, YSJPer should be involved in a number of campaign activities such as staffing regular campaign tables on the campuses, selling *The Militant*, intervening in opponent candidates' meetings, setting up de-

bates with student supporters of other candidates, writing articles for the campus press, and running campus election campaigns.

In other words, YSJPer should become campaign activists carrying out all the day-to-day tasks that are required to take the SWP campaign to a larger audience than ever before.

## CAMPAIGN ENDORSER DRIVE

The first step that most individuals will take toward becoming active campaign supporters is signing an endorser card. A person who signs up as a YSJPer makes a political commitment that she or he rejects the Democratic and Republican parties as solutions to the problems of this society and recognizes the need for a socialist alternative.

For most, the act of signing an endorser card will be their first participation in socialist activity. This act represents their rejection of capitalist politics and as such is extremely important in their own political development. We want as many people as possible to have the opportunity to take that step in our direction in the next year.

The endorser drive also provides us with the form in which we can organize campaign support most effectively. The endorser files give us the names and addresses of thousands of campaign supporters. We regard each of these endorsers as a potential campaign organizer. While only some of the campaign endorsers will become active supporters, they all contribute to the campaign as a whole. Whatever percentage are activists, the way to maximize the number of active campaign supporters is to maximize the total number of endorsers and make the greatest effort to involve them in all areas of campaign activity.

Between now and November, these endorsers will receive regular mailings from the National Campaign Office, including the *YSJP Newsletter*, sample issues of *The Militant*, and mailings from local campaign and regional offices. Many of them will also be called or visited about specific campaign projects.

Through this process, and through their experiences, all of them will be brought closer to us and many will join the YSA.

Just like *The Militant's* massive subscription drive, the endorser drive provides a form for mobilizing our movement to make contact with the maximum number of people and putting them into regular contact with our activities, organization, and ideas.

In addition to everything else, the endorser list is a public indication of the support that exists for Jenness and Pulley and we can use it as such within the movement and with the press.

We can apply the experience that we gained in the fall endorser drive to getting endorsers for the campaign throughout the coming year. Where locals actually organized the endorser drive as a major campaign for our movement, the returns were well worth the effort. In several states, including Pennsylvania, California, Massachusetts, and Texas, we already have 200 or more endorsers. We found that the reception to our campaign was serious and friendly, and that getting endorsers was not at all difficult.

We had originally projected getting 5,000 endorsers by the time of the YSA convention. The final figure as of December 24, was a little over 2,000. The primary reason we didn't reach 5,000 was that most locals did not organize the endorser drive until very late. If signed endorser cards had come into the National Campaign Office during the entire endorser drive at the rate they did in the last three weeks, we would have gone over the goal of 5,000 easily.

The number of endorsers we already have is a good indication of the potential for enlisting supporters for the SWP '72 Campaign. Already we have four times as many endorsers as we had for Halstead and Boutelle at the February, 1968, YSA Convention.

We want to launch an endorser drive at this convention that is much more ambitious than the one we have just completed. With the experience we have already gained, we can expect to get tens of thousands of endorsers before the campaign is over. Although a national quota is not yet being projected, every area should immediately

continued on the following page

begin taking organizational steps to obtain large numbers of endorsers during the first few weeks of school this winter so that we can begin right away to involve YSJPers in campaign activities.

#### CAMPAIGN FUND RAISING

The ability of our campaign to raise the money we need to carry out our plans will be decisive. The tremendous expenses of the campaign cannot be paid for out of the operating budget of the national offices of the SWP or YSA. The money simply is not there to do it, nor is there any huge reserve fund available for the campaign. From the beginning, we have projected the necessity of a self-financing campaign. This means that fund-raising activities, both for the national campaign and for local campaign committees, are absolutely vital.

There are many fund-raising opportunities open to us, including honoraria, student government allocations to YSJP groups, selling buttons, posters, and other items. But I want to concentrate on one pivotal source of income: collecting money, in coins, dollar bills, fives, tens, twenties, and up, from every single person who comes to a campaign meeting, who takes a piece of literature from a table, who buys a button, who signs an endorser card, or who otherwise indicates an interest in our campaign.

We have to revolutionize our thinking about fund raising. We have to learn to take advantage of the fact that in this society, it is the norm for candidates—especially presidential candidates—to spend a good deal of the time and energy of their campaign on fund raising. People in the U.S. expect to give money to the candidates they support, and they do not find it awkward or offensive when they are asked for money for Jenness and Pulley. If we can get it ingrained in our regular functioning, from now until November, to ask everyone for a contribution, we will collect a sizeable amount of money. Most of it will be in small amounts, but we will also unearth some substantial sources of funds. This means collections should be taken at every single campaign meeting—well-organized collections, no matter how large or how small the meeting. This means placing collection cannisters on every literature table, and it means asking everyone who endorses the campaign to make a contribution.

Local areas should send the name and address of every person who contributes financially to the campaign to the National Campaign Office. We will be asking every campaign supporter to pledge a monthly sum to the SWP '72 Campaign. People who have already given money will be the most likely to respond to this appeal.

#### GETTING ON THE BALLOT

In 1964, the SWP was on the ballot in 11 states; in 1968, it was on in 19 states. For 1972, the SWP has projected being on the ballot in 35 states. These 35 states include 20 where we have never before achieved ballot status.

Getting on the ballot in all of these states will be easier this year than it would have been in the past for several reasons. First, the SWP has won a number of law suits that have eliminated some serious restrictions on our right to be on the ballot, such as distribution requirements for petitions. Second, our movement has expanded into parts of the country where we have never before had established YSA locals and party branches. Third, as the radicalization continues to deepen and broaden, more and more people are willing to support our right to be on the ballot. This makes the process of petitioning much easier.

We have to get 500,000 signatures on petitions in order to place our national candidates on the ballot in these 35 states. This means that every local can expect to spend a substantial amount of time next spring and summer on petitioning activities. During the 1972 Campaign we want petitioning to be a part of our general campaign activity. We especially want to involve campaign supporters in this task. Petitioning for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley is an important contribution that YSJPers can make to the SWP campaign. It is this kind of activity that can bring campaign activists into close contact with our movement and give them a concrete picture of who we are and how we function.

In several of the states where we will be petitioning we will be filing suits to challenge the restrictive ballot laws of these states. Our support to the Committee for Democratic Election Laws

(CoDEL) will be important in making these suits a success. CoDEL is already looked to as a legitimate and authoritative national organization defending the rights of independent parties and candidates to be on the ballot. We will intensify our work over the next year in helping CoDEL get endorsers and raise money.

Defending the democratic rights of independent parties and candidates to be on the ballot and working to end restrictions placed on socialist and so-called minority parties is an integral part of the 1972 SWP Campaign, and is an integral part of our work in support of the campaign.

#### TOURS

Probably the area of greatest success this fall was the tours of the candidates and YSJP coordinators. The candidates have covered three-fifths of the nation's states. They have spoken to over 95,000 people including the November 6 and November 20 demonstrations. Approximately 14,500 people came to meetings to hear our candidates speak. The candidates and YSJP representatives were featured speakers at several rallies November 3 and 6. In addition, their tours included campaign activities at plant gates, welfare offices, military bases, prisons, street rallies, confrontations with capitalist politicians, interventions in meetings of the National Women's Political Caucus, and an intervention in the New Voters Conference in Chicago earlier this month.

Coverage of the national campaign speakers by the media thus far bodes well for what we can expect in the year ahead. Already, our campaign has been the subject of more than 250 newspaper articles. This compares quite favorably with the 329 newspaper articles which the entire 1968 campaign received. Approximately 70 articles, over and above the 250 mentioned, have appeared in campus papers. The total circulation of the newspapers which have covered our campaign is over 21,500,000. This includes all of the 25 major urban centers of this country with the exception of Buffalo and Pittsburgh. The two most extensively covered events of the campaign have been the August 12 campaign kick-off rally in Cleveland, and the refusal of Democratic aspirant George McGovern to debate Linda Jenness.

The fall tours also netted extensive coverage on radio and TV—41 radio interviews, for a total of 36 hours and 45 minutes and 10 TV shows, for a total of five and one-half hours.

Of particular note has been our success in obtaining campaign endorsers at the candidates' and YSJP coordinators' meetings. At every meeting where the collection of endorsers was consciously organized we were able to obtain a large number of endorsers, up to about 30 percent of those attending. For example, a campaign meeting of over 300 for Linda Jenness at the University of Rhode Island netted 78 endorsers.

Our aim now is to extend the tour successes we had in the fall through the vehicle of the scheduled spring tours of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley as well as the national coordinators of the YSJP.

As we have learned this fall, advance preparation and efficient organization of the tours is the key to their success. *The Young Socialist Organizer* has printed many valuable articles on tour organization this fall which provide a good basis for preparing the spring tours. This work, of course, has already begun. News conferences, radio and TV interviews, high school and campus meetings, fund-raising events such as breakfast meetings with professors and cocktail parties are all things we want to do with the campaign speakers as a matter of course. Particularly, we want to expand our work in the high schools by setting up more high school meetings for the speakers, interviews with the high school press, etc.

In addition, we want to devote special attention to the new areas of tour activity that we began in the fall. This includes meetings with prisoners, with GIs on military bases, and rallies at plant gates. All of these activities require considerable advance preparation, and several of these types of activities should be included in each tour stop agenda. Plant gate and union meetings for our candidates and campaign speakers is something we want to organize on a consistent basis this spring. We did not pay enough attention to these meetings this fall. Well planned meetings at plant gates and with union locals—for example,

AFSCME campus locals—give us our best opportunity to reach these constituencies with our ideas. Our increased propaganda work around the wage controls, for which the main vehicle is the SWP '72 Campaign, underscores the necessity of setting up these meetings.

Local and regional tours of our local candidates and YSJP travelers should be undertaken this spring along the lines of the national tours.

#### YSJP ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

The campus and local campaigns that YSJPers run in 1972 will be another major campaign activity. Running carefully planned campus campaigns will be especially important next spring because of the interest that will be focused on the 1972 elections. The YSJP and the campaigns that we run will be the only expression on the campuses of opposition to the politics of the Democratic and Republican parties. Our campaigns on high school and college campuses next spring will provide an axis for our campus work. They should be a top priority wherever we have campaign activists on campus.

By running for campus offices as YSJPers we will establish the YSJP as a campus organization that is seriously involved, not only in supporting candidates for public office, but also in the day-to-day life of the campus. We will be able to explain how campus struggles are linked with the broader struggle for basic social change in America. YSJP campaigns for campus office are the best way to build support for the campaign on the campus—giving students an example of the politics of the SWP campaign in practice. Because we want to run the campus campaigns as supporters of the SWP '72 election campaign, we want to run them in the name of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

#### CHOICE '72

The YSJP is initiating a special project this spring: Choice '72 mock campus and high school elections on the candidates and the issues. In 1968, a similar project, Choice '68, was sponsored by *Time* magazine, and these mock elections took place on campuses across the country. Choice '68 included Fred Halstead among the presidential candidates and also featured referenda on the war and the so-called "urban crisis." Although the YSJP and other student groups are in negotiations with *Time*, chances for getting *Time's* sponsorship for this project again look slim at this point. However, we want to utilize the geographic spread and influence of the YSJP to initiate broadly sponsored ballots on the candidates and issues on as many high schools and campuses as possible. We want to obtain the active endorsement of all campus student governments, Young Democrats, and Young Republicans, Students and Youth for McGovern, the YWLL, the SMC, women's liberation groups, BSUs, MECHAs, etc.

Choice '72 gives us an excellent opportunity to get the ideas of our campaign out to students and to provide a public forum for debate over issues with representatives of the capitalist campaigns. We want to include on each ballot questions on immediate withdrawal, repeal of the anti-abortion laws, Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano control of the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities and democratic rights for high school students.

By holding Choice '72 elections around the time of April 22, we will be able to use Choice '72 to build support for the spring antiwar actions. Plans for launching Choice '72 should be discussed in every local area right now.

#### YSJP TEAMS

One of the most exciting aspects of our spring campaign offensive is that we will be launching traveling teams of YSJPers. We will be taking the concept of *The Militant* sub teams and expanding it for use in building the YSJP. Our experience with the fall national sub teams, which obtained more than 20 percent of the total number of subs, was that we were able to extend our influence into areas of the country we had never reached before. Throughout the tour we found an extremely open reception to our ideas.

This spring we want to send out as many as 10 teams of three or four people each who would be on the road for two months visiting colleges and high schools to organize for the campaign. These teams would go onto the campuses, set up campaign tables, hold public meetings on the



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campaign. Team members will also meet with campaign supporters and help them to map out activity in support of the campaign. Out of these teams we will gain tens of thousands of endorsers, get more subscriptions to *The Militant* and *ISR*, raise money, and recruit to the YSA. These teams will be going to the places where we obtained large numbers of endorsers and subscribers through the sub teams with the aim of getting as many people as possible to resubscribe to our paper. Many of these subscribers will be willing to sign up for the YSJP and become active campaign supporters.

The comrades who participated in the fall sub teams have reported a very open attitude toward our campaign. In many places this will be the first time that students have ever been exposed to a socialist campaign. We can expect to form hundreds of YSJP groups just out of the work of these teams.

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Building the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley is our main task in supporting the 1972 SWP Campaign. Our ability to do this rests on the systematic organization of the many campaign activities we have laid out for the next year. We should immediately begin getting more endorsers for the Jenness-Pulley ticket, keeping in mind the potential we have for gaining the support of tens of thousands of young people in this country. Just as we have to give careful thought to planning out the endorser drive in local areas, we also want to give the same type of consideration to the financial campaign which is necessary to maximize the gains we can make out of this campaign. In particular we want to raise sufficient funds to finance the 10 national campaign teams we want to see on the road this spring.

The spring tours of the national candidates and YSJP coordinators will be another major aspect of YSJP work this spring. We want to tie these tours in with the local campaigns of the SWP and the election campaigns which the YSJP will be launching on campuses and in high schools across the country. Part of our campaign activity will include the initiation of Choice '72 elections in every school possible.

As with all areas of our work, our YSJP work necessitates the close attention of the local YSA leadership at all times. Local executive committees should make sure that adequate forces are as-

signed to carry out all the campaign tasks. Campaign support work should be well thought out with projections and plans made well in advance. In general, the executive committees should regularly discuss and give direction to YSJP work.

Educationals on our socialist electoral strategy should be a part of every local's ongoing educational series. In addition, all comrades should follow the developments in the campaigns of all the candidates over the next year. In this way we can familiarize ourselves with the records of the bourgeois candidates and keep on top of their efforts to win the support of young people.

The thousands of young people who will come into contact with the ideas of the YSA over the next year represent the biggest opportunity we have ever had to build the YSA. But we cannot simply assume that these campaign supporters will automatically join the YSA. Just as with every other area of our work, consistent organization of recruitment activities is a crucial part of our campaign work.

In the course of our work with YSJPers we want to explain what the YSA is and why we think that a revolutionary socialist youth organization is a necessary part of bringing about the socialist transformation of this society. We want to convince as many YSJPers as possible that the most effective way to build the SWP campaign is to join the YSA.

As we projected at the July YSA Plenum, every local should have a recruitment director and an adequate number of comrades assigned to the organization of recruitment work. This work includes getting YSJPers to forums, YSA classes, socialist educational conferences, and the summer schools we will be holding in regional centers. We want to encourage campaign supporters who are interested in learning about how a revolutionary socialist youth organization functions to attend YSA meetings.

The 25 million young people who will be eligible to vote in 1972 have only two courses open to them. The Democrats and Republicans are offering a strategy of working within this decadent system. This is a choice which more and more radicalizing youth are rejecting. Our opponents have no other alternative to present. The socialist campaign, on the other hand, offers a revolutionary strategy for 1972—a strategy of continuing to mobilize the American people in mass actions against the evils of capitalism and winning thousands of young people to the struggle for a socialist America.

**JOHN HAWKINS**  
YSJP National Coordinator