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# INTERNAL INFORMATION BULLETIN

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NOTE: The Organization Report to the 23rd National SWP convention contains references to several documents contained in the delegates' kits pertaining to 1969 and 1970 SWP election campaigns. These documents, together with reports on several of the key 1969 and 1970 SWP election campaigns are available in Internal Bulletin No. 1 in 1970, entitled: REPORTS AND DISCUSSION: 1969 and 1970 SWP ELECTION CAMPAIGNS. Price: 40 cents

ORGANIZATION REPORT

[23rd National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party]

by Jack Barnes

One of the key points comrade Shaw made in the last organization report was that the 1967 convention clearly marked a new stage in the regeneration of the party. Previously the party branches in essence had subordinated other tasks to the direct construction of the YSA. The actual membership of the party had not increased very much, but there had been an almost qualitative change in the party's age composition. For the first time in over a decade recruitment had outdistanced attrition of all kinds, and this recruitment was mainly of young forces. In addition, there were growing signs of a rejuvenation -- within materialist limits of course -- of older forces.

One statistic was used by comrade Shaw to illustrate this trend in a graphic manner. At the time of the 1967 convention nine of the branch organizers were members of the YSA, while only four were not. This was an exact reversal of the statistics for 1965, which showed that only four of the branch organizers were members of the YSA. A new and young layer of revolutionists had been developed in the last half-decade of party and YSA activity and was assuming responsibility at all levels in the branches.

Drawing implications for the future from these statistics, we had to assume that this trend would continue and accelerate. Based upon this, our perspective was bold and optimistic, especially in the launching of the Halstead-Boutelle election campaign.

At this convention I have to report another reversal of the same statistics. As I said, in 1965 only four organizers were YSAers, while nine were not. In 1967 that had been reversed. And in 1969 it has reversed again, and drastically. At the time of this convention eleven of the branch organizers are not members of the YSA, and only three are. Of these three at least two will not be after the YSA convention.

Although these statistics are similar to those of 1965, the content shows another giant leap forward in the trend that we noted at the 1967 convention. Most of these eleven organizers who are not YSAers are younger than the organizers at the last convention who were YSAers! This symbolizes the central change in the structure and the composition of the party since the last convention: that is, the coming into activity of an entire layer of young party comrades, whose perspective for political activity is in the Socialist Workers Party and who are through with their work in the YSA. We assume that

this layer will get larger as the YSA grows and as the party carries out the perspectives laid out at this convention. And it is very fortunate that this change is occurring, because it maximizes our ability to take advantage of the opportunities and openings which exist in every part of the country, as the convention discussion has indicated.

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The perspective we have agreed upon here was based on one central fact: we think that American imperialism faces a permanent crisis. It faces a permanent crisis because the role that it must assume at home and abroad to defend capitalist property relations and prerogatives can only lead to increasing class struggle and radicalization in the United States. We already see the beginning of this.

What this means for us organizationally is that we place a heavy premium on taking advantage of those institutions, organs and activities of the party which utilize the relatively small forces we have to propagandize our ideas to a growing audience, an audience which is growing much more rapidly than our activities can grow to meet them.

Secondly, it means planning ahead for the organizational changes in the structure of the party -- in the branches and the national departments -- that are necessary to undertake seriously the political perspective that we have agreed to. All our previous discussions at this convention would be for naught if we did not carry out the organizational implications which will allow them to come to fruition.

What we emphasize is that we are in the process of concretizing organizationally the gains that we are making politically. We note especially that in so doing, we are taking the concrete steps in the struggle for hegemony against our opponents, in particular the Stalinists. What will take us ahead of our opponents is the organizational expansion, the gelling in permanent form of the gains that we have made and the assimilation of our traditions of organization by the new members as they assimilate the politics of Trotskyism. We can be certain that we have a better political line than our opponents. We can intervene, agitate, and even to some degree propagandize better than they. But if it doesn't result in permanent, concrete advances at all levels of the party's organization, the battle is far from won.

One of the points made in the youth report to this convention is well worth noting. One of the attributes of the young radicals is the fact that they don't take anyone's word for anything. A group may say it is politically most correct and that it has the best traditions, but this in itself is not sufficient. The young radicals do not take it for granted that an organization is the correct organization even if they decide that its theories are correct. What they look for before deciding whether an organization is really revolutionary is concrete experience and practice, concrete evidence that reflects these politics, as it is practiced in all the different ways.

Now this isn't just an attribute, or even primarily an attribute of the student radicals that are coming around today. It is one of the most basic attributes of the working class in a period of radicalization. What we see in the student radicals today is a mild form of what we will see as the masses begin radicalizing and we struggle and contend for leadership of this movement. They will take a hard look at what we are accomplishing in practice; they will look for physical evidence of our accomplishments. This conservative approach embodies within it a lot of wisdom from the point of view of Marxism, which says that practice is the ultimate test of theory. This approach will be held even more deeply by the young workers that come toward our movement in the coming period.

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Thus, looking at it most generally, the main job for us organizationally is to turn the gains that we are already making and will make, into permanent gains by institutionalizing them, by gelling them into concrete organizational advancement. We have already stated that for the first time in fifty years of American communism it is not pre-ordained that in a mass radicalization the Stalinists will take big leaps forward at our expense. We must note the meaning of this changed perspective from an organizational point of view. In the thirties and forties, when the Stalinists did have a big edge, their whole organizational structure expanded. The physical existence of American Stalinism was organizationally concretized in its party, in its public meetings, in its press, in its literature, in its organizations in the mass movement, in its branches and units in all parts of the country. This -- not program! -- was the big advantage they had over us. And this is the concrete change in the relationship of forces we can make.

We have been left oppositionists for so long that it is sometimes hard to adjust to a changed way of thinking. For a long time we were officially the Left

Opposition, and afterwards we were unofficially the left opposition in relation to Stalinist hegemony in the radical movement. Even in the early years of the YSA the way it functioned, the way it saw itself -- the way it had to function -- was as a left opposition, not an alternative. Now we have begun to reverse this. We do not pretend that the issue has already been decided. What we say at this convention is that we are no longer the left opposition. We are vying on equal terms with all the other tendencies for leadership.

An illustration of this change may be noted in casual observation. The places where there are the fewest hangovers, hesitations or feelings about ourselves as an oppositionist group in relation to some other formation is in the newest branches. If there are any places, which in their activity in the last few months functioned in a way that assumed that they were the party on the way to becoming the leadership of the radical movement and then of the working masses, it has been Austin and Atlanta. They don't even know what it means to be a left opposition. They don't consider it. This must be one aspect of uneven and combined development. (In fact, in private discussions some comrades from Austin and Atlanta suggested that we might reverse the trend very soon and start colonizing out of Austin and Atlanta to bring this attribute back to the larger branches.)

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The basic cell of the organization of the party is the party branch. This is the basic cell of the collective combat instrument that we are building. And we emphasize that we are building a collective instrument, not a large group of individuals. It is also important to note and to think about the special role that the revolutionary party plays in the socialist revolution. We don't have some of the advantages that the bourgeoisie had in its rising revolution -- the rise of the universities and the rise, in essence, of bourgeois governmental forms right within the old structure for extended periods of time. It is the revolutionary party itself that must be the university, the educator, the newspaper, the organizer of the coming working class radicalization. We are not a narrow party. It is the party and its institutions which will have to substitute in one way or another, on all these levels, for what does not exist, and for what the bourgeoisie does not allow to grow inside its society.

Possibly the best way to examine these functions would be to look at three areas:

- 1) To examine some of the ways in which the branches have turned to the expansion of their institutions and acti-

vities in the last time period: how they are moving ahead to regularize and concretize the political gains that they are making. In doing this the branches are doing two basic things: a.) They are putting forth an example for emulation. We may only have a few small new branches now, but in the coming period we are going to have tens and then hundreds. These new branches will learn how to function not just from reading about it in the books and not just from discussing it with people -- not any more than we really do; they are going to do as the established branches do. The entire organizational functioning of the branches, as should always be kept in the back of our minds, is setting the example and pattern. Anyone from that branch is going to emulate the norm and carry it out as he goes to new areas, and as new party branches develop around him.

b.) The second thing that is happening as this goes on in all the branches is that the comrades are reproducing themselves politically. And it is to the degree that the organization of the party moves forward and assimilates new comrades who come into the active leadership of the branches that we lay the groundwork for the most rapid training of comrades for other assignments.

2) We should glance at the election campaign picture briefly, as one of the central tools we use to take advantage of this period

3) And, finally we should look at the expansion of new branches and the national expansion of the various departments and organs of the party.

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On our election campaigns. Certainly one of the turning points in the last period of the party was the character and accomplishments of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. From this we drew a whole set of lessons for future utilization of election campaigns.

We see three elements to election campaigns that are especially important. First, they are one of the central ways of using the leverage that a small party has. We are always asking ourselves the question: what type of activities can we pursue that will enable us to take our forces and utilize them to give us the broadest impact? Election campaigns, with all the openings for our ideas that they present, are one of the key tools to do this.

Second, we are always asking: how can the Socialist Workers Party, which is striving to become the leadership of the mass movement in this country, involve itself in and relate to the real politics of the city, the state, and the country in

which it is located? How can we actually intervene, with our small numbers at this stage, and become a factor, to one degree or another, in the real political issues, the central concerns in the areas?

And third, how do we show concretely what revolutionary socialism is, what its ideas are? (not just talk about them, SLP-style, through rudimentary propaganda) One of the best ways is through the utilization of our transitional program, which applies to the real issues people are thinking about in election campaigns, and shows in practice what we mean.

We draw several conclusions from the Halstead-Boutelle campaign which have been applied to some degree in the recent mayoralty campaigns. Most important of all, these lessons can be applied in the big statewide campaigns coming up in 1970.

One, we projected a campaign aimed at recruiting young people to the revolutionary movement -- that was the central gain we anticipated getting from the campaign. We did so not by developing a program aimed solely at them, but a program aimed at the key issues facing the working masses in the United States at the time, and offering them a picture of a party that is intervening and having an effect on the real politics of the country, not just talking about them. This now seems to be so simple it is taken for granted, but it is something which most of the rest of the radical movement is totally blind to. And it is something that we had to discuss out prior to the Halstead-Boutelle campaign.

Second, we projected and carried out a campaign as a party which is involved deeply where the action is. We went where the action was, we spoke about the events that were occurring, and we picked candidates who were actual participants in and representatives of the best elements involved in action in this radicalization -- action against the ruling class and its government. Because of this, our candidates were capable of appealing directly to the very forces we were trying to reach. They projected, in their own persons, the kind of party we try to be.

We learned some very important organizational lessons from the campaign. First, and most important, we discovered that it is crucial in this period to begin organizing our election campaigns much earlier than we had ever done before. The truth of the matter is that elections are practically year-round affairs in the United States. If the comrades remember, we had actually launched the Halstead-Boutelle campaign for the November 1968 presidential election before our 1967 convention.

Secondly, we discovered, much to our surprise, that some of the biggest gains from the campaign came in its early period, when the initiative of the campaign caught the imagination of different sectors.

Thirdly, we discovered that we had to plan ahead for the financial and personnel resources that are necessary to mount these kinds of campaigns. This was so for both the branches and the party as a whole.

Finally, we learned the importance of tying all the contacts of the campaigns into some sort of permanent relationship with the party, over and above the campaign. Many forms were used, but the main way it was done in the Halstead-Boutelle campaign was to give an introductory Militant subscription to everyone who had signed an endorser's card at any time in the campaign. We gave out thousands of subscriptions, and this was one of the keys to the expansion of the circulation of the Militant. And we propose continuing this practice in the 1970 state campaigns. The supporter groups for the campaigns, Afro-Americans, Young Socialists and the others can be tied in to the party through the Militant, the way we did with the Halstead-Boutelle campaign.

Comrades noticed that the kits contain a description of the Atlanta mayoralty campaign. We think that that campaign, at least in 1969, has best carried out this entire perspective and reaped the greatest gains from it. Comrades are familiar with most of the report on the Atlanta campaign by simply reading the paper, but we also put it in the kits for another reason.

There has been a lot of discussion about the uniqueness of the Atlanta campaign and the unique opportunities that the comrades in Atlanta have. But if you look carefully at the report written by the Atlanta comrades, you notice that the first page outlines the unique features of the campaign -- and these were actually very few. The second page outlines the implementation in Atlanta of the lessons learned from the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. And it was this, not the unique circumstances in Atlanta, that allowed them to run the kind of campaign they did. (And I also suspect it was because, to some degree or another, of this other factor I mentioned previously -- that it would never occur to a new branch to run a campaign in any other way, because this was the only experience in running election campaigns that most of them ever had.)

Also included in the kits is an outline of information on the 1970 senatorial and gubernatorial campaigns.

It is important that we put the same sort of advance planning and effort into launching these campaigns as we did in the presidential campaign. Time is fleeing already. At least one set of branches, the California branches, are even thinking about launching their campaign before November 15 or very soon afterwards.

When I looked over the list of bourgeois candidates running it just made my mouth water.

The other thing to notice is that not only are we organizing ourselves and preparing to launch these kinds of campaigns in 1970, but we are also carrying out the legal struggles that we hope will put us on the ballot in more states in 1972 than ever before. The national office will try to coordinate with all the states that are launching legal fights -- like California is going to, like Michigan has already done, like Atlanta has begun doing -- to try to wipe out the distribution requirements as much as possible, the requirements for excessive numbers of signatures, and the excessive filing fee requirements, etc. Our goal is to open up the maximum number of states to ballot status for the Socialist Workers Party in 1972.

If this sounds like we are thinking a little bit too far ahead, remember that we won't have another convention before the 1970 campaigns are carried out. And even before the next convention we will have already established the central guidelines for the 1972 presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party.

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Now I'd like to give some examples of the expansion and consolidation of the branches in the last time period.

First, on the Militant. I think the most important organizational gain from the point of view of the Militant has been the way we came out of the May-June 1968 French uprising with much higher bundles of the paper around the country. Following the May-June events, we consciously went forward in the branches to establish what was basically an entire new way of selling the paper for most branches. Drawing the conclusions of the sales campaign around the May-June events, we made regular sales of the paper to this increasing milieu of newly radicalizing forces a regular part of the weekly branch activity. It's hard to point out a single branch as an exception, because the overwhelming majority of the branches have carried this out. The present level of bundles of the paper is the highest in many years. This means the greatest ability to use the paper to get it into the hands of people, most of whom have never seen it before.

Paralleling the increased sales, in most places, has been the conscious attempt to see the use of the Militant as a collective branch responsibility, not an individual one. It sounds like a very small, subtle distinction, but it's not at all. The branches which have utilized the paper best are those which have approached sales of the paper like all other political work -- not as something which each individual does as an individual because they know they should, but a task which is organized, thought out and led by the elected branch leadership. That is the way we carry out all major political work. It would be very hard to imagine someone saying that the way we intervene in the antiwar movement is basically an individual matter, that comrades know it's important, they go to the meetings, they talk to people, they make their own decisions on when to go, when not to go, where it is good to go, where not. It would be laughable to act that way in relation to the antiwar movement, but it is easy to fall into that approach in the use of the paper. One of our biggest gains has been the consciousness of this and the reversal, in most branches, of this tendency.

Secondly, there has been the expansion in most branches of the use of our literature. As all comrades know from personal experience, the sale of literature has gone up tremendously. The best experience that we have had in expanding the use of our literature has been the ability in a couple of key branches to take the basic books and pamphlets of our movement, and in an organized way get them to bookstores, commercial dealers and distributors.

We were totally flabbergasted by the results achieved by the branches in New York and Boston by assigning one comrade who, as part of the literature work, placed our publications into a whole number of bookstores and dealers all around the area. This indicates that we are in a period where the market for our ideas is growing by leaps and bounds. Even with the general estimate of the openings for us our consciousness can always lag behind what we are capable of doing. I was totally surprised. We knew that we could do more, we knew that there was a growing market, we knew that this was a way to make a permanent impact with our literature. But the proof that it could be done on the scope that it was and as fast as it was, was unexpected.

The third area of branch work has been the utilization of the forums. This has been much more uneven. But the establishment of a weekly forum which fits right into the concrete political work as an organized part of the branch has improved.

The expansion of regional work has also been one of our major areas of expansion. We all know the reasons for it, how we came out of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign with clusters of contacts, YSA locals, members, or potential groupings around every party branch in the country, and how we began turning in an organized way to take advantage of this.

In this area Chicago has set the best example. The work that has been done in consolidating an entire group of locals of the YSA around the party center in Chicago, is the outstanding example of what can be done in this area. You know, we should think of all these things in terms of what they accomplish vis a vis our opponents. Have you ever seen a Stalinist regional organizer like Robin Maisel? Or an SDSer? Or a RYMer? They couldn't even find anyone like that. Just think of the advantage it gives us in the regional work to have an organized way of doing it.

Another example of expanding our work was the initiative taken by the Detroit comrades in trying to see what could be done with sales at some selected plant gates -- not as a major orientation, but selecting and picking the right kinds of plants to see what response they could get. A report on these sales is contained in another letter that has been circulated to the comrades. I think that part of this experience is one of the reasons why they took the lead over other branches in organized sales of the Transitional Program for Black Liberation. So far they have sold over a thousand, which puts them miles ahead of the rest of the country.

The educational structure has also expanded. We had more summer schools than ever before. The organizers and summer school directors have been asked to prepare reports on them, and one of the informational reports that will be published after the convention will summarize all the experiences of the summer schools.

There are a couple of points worth noting now. One is the degree to which the summer schools tied in to some of the central problems we are going to have to face in our fall work. Examples are the concentration on the transitional program, on studying ultraleftism, on the role and character of the multinational party. We also began using some of the summer schools in a combined public and private way to draw people around what is the only ongoing, socialist summer educational institution in the United States. We should continue doing this more and more.

Comrades always tend to think much too modestly about their accomplishments.

We talk about the summer schools so casually; but what they represent is the beginning of a nationwide network of summer universities on socialism. And they are something that we have and we are planning ahead to, that none of our opponents has. In different cities all over the United States, in every region of the country, we have the beginnings of a network of socialist universities, socialist colleges, socialist schools, that will expand in quality and quantity as the party expands. The structure is already being built and the experiences are already being drawn.

One of the most striking examples of expansion has already been discussed but should be mentioned here; it is the attempts to grapple organizationally with black and Third World work. That is, the actual establishment and maintenance of fractions in several of the key branches and the beginning of a set of organized activities, organized as part of the entire party structure.

A final area to note is defense work, especially when the responsibility arose during the Mexican events and in defense of the antiwar GIs. Our support to the efforts of the USIA and the GICLDC expanded that work.

These are some examples of the expansion of the work of the party, and represent a significant change from what could have been reported in 1967.

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What lies underneath this listing is a general political point. All these things that I have mentioned in a seemingly unconnected way as forms of expansion are not arbitrary examples picked from the blue. These are the basic components of the branch structure of the Socialist Workers Party. They are the accomplishments of the basic departments of the party. And it is through seeing them as a unified whole in a branch structure that the party can be built.

It is impossible to build the party and prepare for the next steps forward, regardless of other accomplishments, unless they are understood and planned as part of a unified structure of a branch, which is an instrument that has a much greater effect than the isolated activities of a set of individuals. It is this kind of work that, far from declining, taking a back seat and becoming less important, becomes the test of the party's ability as an organization, to move forward in a period of radicalization and expanding opportunities.

If the party ever allows itself to see the openings in outside mass work and the growing propaganda openings as a substitute or as counter to this,

then potential gains from these openings will be lost. And, for serious Marxists, it is this part of party work that must be on an equal plane with the other kinds of work. It must be viewed as such, organized as such, led as such in the branches. And, from the reports of the branches, it is being done so more and more. If we cannot take the gains we make from our expanding opportunities and make them permanent gains, then we are building on quicksand. And by permanent, I mean taking the form of an institution; expanding the departments: increased knowledge to prepare for further expansion. Some of the branches had the experience of explosive outside activity that was not consolidated. The imbalance made our gains only temporary.

The party has a growing number of young, active comrades who are no longer in the YSA, who step forward and take responsibility for the branch work. This raises some very important general points to keep in mind. There should be a premium in this period, not on hesitation about what comrades are capable of doing, not on caution about how experienced they are, not on analyses about whether the leadership thinks they have come far enough, etc. Rather, this is a period of time in which the branch must be organized so that the comrades who are active and assume responsibility can do so. The structure of the executive committees, the concept of the leadership team of the branch, must be an inclusive, not an exclusive concept. The most important thing is not to view it in a narrow, or one-sided way, or a small way.

In a period of retrenchment the feeling may grow that only the comrades right on the exec are the ones who will take on very important tasks. But it is just the opposite now. Now is the time for opening up the party's institutions and leadership bodies and for openness to draw in the comrades that are carrying out major work and shouldering responsibilities. It would be a bad error at this time to hesitate in responding to initiative by comrades who want to carry out work actively and who want to shoulder responsibility. We are going through an accelerated renewal in the leadership of the branches, which means the incorporation into the leadership, not of a select circle of comrades on the current executive committee, but of the broadest number of comrades.

With the expansion of all areas of activity, the continual ability of branches to release and replace active comrades is the only way to build the party. It is false to think we can expand the party by releasing comrade A from San Francisco, only to have comrade B from Detroit go to San Francisco to fill the gap. The only way the party can grow is



by the accelerated and continual releasing of comrades A, B and C from San Francisco, not to be replaced by comrades coming in, but to be replaced by comrades being recruited, stepping forward, shouldering new responsibilities, and building the branch. To doubt this is to doubt the party, to doubt the quality of the people we are recruiting, and to surely doubt the ability of the much larger numbers we're going to recruit in the future when we become a mass party.

This point is most important. Now is a time when the party's confidence and the self-confidence of the branch and the branch comrades' knowledge that they're making the decisions and carrying out the work of the party is at a premium. And this is one of the single most important aspects of the party. Without this, without the comrades in the branches feeling this, there can be no party. Regardless of the articles, regardless of the theories, regardless of everything else we have. It is central to the very concept of a combat party. Political homogeneity that can make us such a party comes not only from a common program, but from a common experience in which comrades work together and make decisions together. Only thus can they understand and decide to be the kind of disciplined Marxists necessary to build a vanguard party.

There's no way to force that, there's no way to impose it. We are a voluntary organization. We're a unique organization. We project the most centralized structure and the most difficult combat task of any organization in the United States, and we do it with the full knowledge that the only way to do this is through the confidence of the comrades in themselves, by discovering through their own experience in making the decisions of the party on every level that it is correct. It is only from this that the authority of the leadership and discipline of the party can come. There is no way it can be imposed, there is no way it can be drawn from the outside. The authority and discipline of the party comes with respect, gained through common experience. So building the structure of the party branches and institutions, far from being secondary or less important than antiwar work, for example, is part of our central work.

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The final area of party expansion I want to mention is the expansion into new geographic areas of the country. We've basically expanded into two entirely new areas of this country: the South and the Southwest. This is very important for us in terms of making the Socialist Workers Party both a truly nationwide party and a multinational party.

After being a branch for only several

months, the Austin branch has now sent their organizer to Houston to build a YSA and start organizing a party branch there. And there are enough people in Austin at this stage to step forward and carry out the Austin work. And when we were surprised and kept asking them, "are you sure?" they looked at us, like we didn't know what expansion was all about. I hope that the comrades from Austin and Atlanta will take the floor and give their own views and experience of the rapidly growing new possibilities that have opened up for us.

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I want to mention briefly the expansion of the national departments of the party. This is outlined in the organization report from the last plenum that the comrades have in their delegates' kits, so I won't go into any detail. But some points should be noted. In passing, comrades might be interested to know that we have sold almost \$1400 worth of literature at this convention itself. I think that's by far the most literature that's been sold at a convention. Now if that much can be sold to this group of Trotskyists who already have a lot of literature, you can imagine what can be sold in other places. The main thing I want to point out about our publication program is that we have published up to this point in 1969 more than we ever published in any single year in the history of the Socialist Workers Party -- including the period of expansion in the middle 40's. And the year is far from ended. It is especially important to note the degree of shift in this initial period towards the sales of our published literature as compared to the percentage of literature from other publishers and the shift in sales towards the party branches and YSA locals as compared to other places.

As comrades know, the entire expansion of our press and national departments, especially all the propaganda work, revolves around a consciously thought-out expansion of the print shop. If it wasn't for this side of the work, we would never have been able to run the Halstead-Boutelle campaign the way we did. We never could have considered it or taken the steps in expansion of literature and our publications.

The entire process, just like the process of building new branches, all ties together. When we receive the weekly Militant, just as when we see something that has been accomplished in a branch, the tendency is to look around and try to find a person, an individual who did it, or a committee or exec who did it, and say, "they did this." But just take this issue of the Militant and sit back for a minute and try to think of how, from the time it was first conceived and written to

the point when it arrived in your hands, what went into it -- the size of the team that went into making it. And then you get a feel for the character of the team that produced it and the balance of elements in the party institutions that are necessary to carry out all our work.

Like everything else the key to the national department expansion, which must go on if the perspectives the comrades outlined will be carried out, does not depend simply on money, although money is certainly part of it. It depends, just like the expansion of new branches, on personnel. I want to repeat one point made at the last plenum. And that is, we must rid ourselves of any wishful thinking that there is some special type of person we can find in a branch who isn't doing the kind of job you want in the branch, but somehow is going to be super in a new branch, or a National Office department. It is a cold, hard fact that the same people who develop, come forward, carry out work and take on responsibilities in the branch are the very people that will have to staff the new branches, and will have to staff the expansion of the departments of the party. And it is these valuable cadre who will have to be released.

Comrades have all been asking about the plans for expansion in the size and quality of the paper. There are two key sides to this: one is resources and personnel, which we're making progress on; the other is circulation. Those are the two factors in going towards a 16 and then a 20-page Militant in the relatively near future. There are some specific projections we want to make for this fall in terms of utilization of the paper and increasing its circulation and subscriptions. When we leave this convention the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party are opening up a big fall offensive, cresting in the massive antiwar action in Washington November 15. Parallel to our antiwar work, we will utilize our press to maximize the impact of our ideas on newly radicalizing forces and to take our opponents on politically.

It's been a very strange summer -- we have to remember that in the summer things are supposed to go slow. But we have just seen the biggest crisis erupt in the American left since the new wave of radicalization began -- that was the splits and crisis of perspective within SDS and within the organizations connected to, affiliated with, SDS. That division, and the breakup of the SDS convention into total ideological confusion and conflict has opened up the door for the most significant possible gains that we can make in expansion of our press. That raises the question what is the best way of utilizing the paper, utilizing the weekly polemics against our opponents and the arguments for our line to get to this

milieu. Rest assured that our opponents are trying to figure out what we're going to do in the fall, and they don't look forward to it with keen anticipation.

How can we maximize the effect of our ideas on them, and at the same time, how can we tie it in realistically with the rhythm of the election campaigns and the efforts that the comrades are going to make to build to November 15? We thought that it would be criminal to pass up this opportunity to expand the circulation of the paper and to increase its subscriptions -- especially since the subscriptions will be for at least four or five months, so the person who gets one will be reading the paper each week, trying to come to grips with and being won over to our ideas. But we want to do it in a way that is not impossible organizationally, keeping in mind the increasing activity that we know will occur when we get close to November 15. And the proposal that was initiated by the comrades in the YSA and discussed with the business office of the paper and then again at the panel last night, is the proposal for a central part of the fall offensive to be the September-October sub campaign.

The YSA and the SWP have the greatest opportunity to be right there the first two or three weeks of the school year, when students are coming back to campus, when they are open to all ideas, when the arguments and fights are beginning on fall perspectives, where the attempts to find out where they stand and try to come to grips with SDS -- that is the time to be there, and have the Militant on every campus, and organize to get subscriptions. We think it would have been wrong to propose to the party a lengthy three-month subscription campaign, or even a two-month campaign that is basically a week-by-week, routine thing. That would be an unwise task to put before the party as we got into the weeks leading to November 15.

What is much more possible and sensible is to try to utilize the first few weeks of school to break the back of the sub campaign that was mentioned in the Youth report. There's only one way this can be done. And that is to go back after the convention, collaborate and organize it properly. If it not started off right the first few weeks of the school year, it will be very, very difficult. If it is done, it will not be difficult and we will probably be adding more than 4,000 new people reading the paper every week as debate about November 15 and the further political struggles of the year unfolds. That's the proposal outlined in the Youth report and that's the proposal that we make to the comrades -- for a goal of 4,000 new subscribers to the Militant this fall. In the opening weeks of school

it must be organized as the single major campaign of the YSA and SWP in preparation for the fall offensive.

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Unlike the Stalinists or the Social Democrats, we have no state power, no financial support from foundations, no friendly social-democratic-leaning friends in Solidarity House, or anyone else to help pay our expenses. We have a problem. And that is, we're organizing for a revolution that will not only overturn the capitalist class, but also its bosom buddies who are standing on the backs of the workers in the workers' states and the bureaucratic organizations. It's a hard fact of life in capitalist society that no one pays you to overthrow them. That is a unique problem of the revolutionary party. From that point of view, there is no major source of outside funds available to the party, as long as it remains a revolutionary party.

There is another unique side to our finances. And that is, the type of system we have set up to finance the functioning of the party -- the sustainer system. This was projected in the organization report at the last convention. It was concretized at the following plenum and then actually brought into being through the Militant 40th anniversary fund campaign. Now every branch is on the sustainer system. In the kits is a report of how well the branches are doing. The weekly sustainer system is uniquely fitted to a party that is growing, that anticipates increased growth, and has the kind of organization that can maintain a regular sustainer fund. This is not only unique in the radical movement generally, I think this is also the first time in the history of our party that this form of regular financing has actually been established and maintained. It's one of the keys to the growth of the party. As our numbers grow, it should be one of the built-in mechanisms that will be applied in the branches to increase the financial resources of the party.

As comrades can see from the charts,

there is a variation in the degree to which the branches have met the \$15 per capita goal. But the branches have continued to move forward on this -- I already know that the comrades in Boston and Minneapolis have budgeted an increase in their sustainer, and I hear rumors that Los Angeles is determined to be the first branch to try to set an example that \$15 monthly per capita is a norm, and not a ceiling. Some will be above, and some will be a little bit below -- it is very important to understand that \$15 is the norm, and not the ceiling.

I want to end by returning to a theme that has marked this convention, the theme of continuity, and the assimilation of our ideas and traditions by the comrades who are coming into the party in increasing numbers. As we can see by this discussion, the assimilation of the heritage of acquisitions of the Trotskyist movement is not limited to the political program. It includes the organizational concepts of the party. Our heritage of organizational concepts of the party goes back to the contributions of the Bolsheviks, the development of the early Communist Party, and the entire history of the Socialist Workers Party, which has the richest written heritage on the organizational question of any party at any time in the world.

The key will be the rapidity and degree of assimilation by the comrades coming into the party of the traditions, politics and norms of our kind of party. But it must be learned like other things by on-the-job training. There must be no concept that comrades will join, assimilate the norms and traditions of the party, and then later begin carrying them out. At the same time that the new forces joining the party are stepping forward and shouldering responsibilities in running their branches, they are simultaneously assimilating the traditions, norms and politics of the party to guarantee and assure their capacity to build the party. This is the key to the future.

SUMMARY OF MILITANT SUBSCRIPTIONS AND SALES PANEL

(23rd National SWP Convention, 1969)

By Bev Scott

[Editor's note: this panel was divided into two sections, first a discussion of subscription work, and then of sales.]

Bev Scott (Militant business manager): As you can see from the report in your convention kits, the results of the one-sub-per-member-per-month effort that we initiated in February were not very good. Over the six-month period, we only got 29 percent of the quota we had set for ourselves. However, several cities did very well on their local quotas.

Last month we wrote to all the branches asking for their evaluation of the one-sub-per-member-per-month effort. Most of the branches responded that they had not been able to organize the work immediately after it was proposed at the plenum. But once they got started, they felt there was real potential for meeting this type of goal in each city. They outlined the various techniques they had used to spur the effort, such as having regular reports in the branch meetings, organizing subscription work at forums and campus meetings, setting up literature tables, assigning quotas to the various fractions, etc. The reaction on the whole was that we should continue this approach.

However, in discussing the whole concept in the national office, we felt that it was in order to have a real subscription drive during the fall, and then consider returning to the one-sub-per-member-per-month effort afterward.

[The subsequent discussion dealt largely with the fall sub "blitz." The following remarks have a more general application.]

Seth W. (Twin Cities): In Minneapolis we found that trailblazing was a tremendous source of subs. When trailblazing was at its peak, we were getting a third to a half of our quota from this source. When organizing a trailblazing team, we should make sure that comrades who go traveling are conscious of selling subs. Make sure there are current Militants and YS's for them to take with them, as well as plenty of sub blanks. In this work, you should remember that you are selling in an area which you might not be back to for a couple of months. But if you sell a subscription, that's several months of The Militant and YS going to that person in Nebraska or North Dakota.

In Minneapolis during sub drives, we took a weekly quota from comrades --

every week we asked comrades to volunteer for one, two, three subs. We found that worked out well. Weekly reports, of course, are essential to a sub drive, and they should be lively, colorful reports. One comrade made up a chart: for the first five subs, you got a big red star, the next five, a red hammer and sickle. Comrades enjoyed this, and were more enthusiastic about selling subs.

As comrades have said, routinism is our worst enemy. This holds true for sub drives more than anything else.

Forums are a very good area to get subs. If you are going to do it seriously, you can't just say, "Well, comrades, don't forget to get subs after forums." We assign different comrades every week to approach every new person at that forum and make sure they have subs.

Merry S. (San Francisco): I think all the branches and locals have thought of all kinds of ways to sell subs over the years, and we have discovered in the long run that there's really only one gimmick, and that is to have perfect confidence in the fact that The Militant's the best paper in the whole universe. If you are convinced that The Militant is the best paper -- the paper that everyone needs -- then you're on the way.

Steve B. (Los Angeles): I want to relate an incident which occurred a couple of quarters ago at Cal State in Los Angeles. Many comrades seem to have the feeling that selling subs to The Militant is something that you can do if you don't have any other work to do. I think that's the wrong attitude. Selling subs ties in with all the other work we have. Just to illustrate this, we had a small upsurge around Cal State concerning the firing of two professors. Our comrades there were pretty much in the leadership of the thing. During the week the action lasted, we were able to speak at mass meetings. The week afterward was the week the sub drive was ending, and we were far short of our quota in Los Angeles. We decided we would go on a campaign to sell a lot of subs at Cal State. In two days, four comrades sold between 15 and 20 subs to people who had been in the action, who had heard us speak, and had been interested in our ideas.

Bev Scott: Someone commented tonight on the practice of giving a free sub to someone who pays their admission to a meeting, such as a forum. I know this is frequently done in some branches.

The way it works is that someone comes to the forum, pays the dollar contribution, and then is offered a free sub. Frankly, I don't think this is a good practice for several reasons. First, it's a financial drain on the branch. That dollar that you're going to use to pay for the subscription could be used instead to supplement your branch treasury. Secondly, I don't think that asking anyone to buy a subscription for a dollar is asking for a real sacrifice, except maybe for some high school kids, or unemployed, and even they can get together a dollar in a few weeks. So you're not asking the person for much. On the other hand, I think it's both a psychological and political advantage if you get them to pay for their own sub, because in doing so they are expressing their serious interest in reading the paper.

We ask that you send in subs just as soon as you get them, rather than waiting until you have collected a whole batch. We process the subs the week they arrive. So if a sub comes in by Thursday, that person will receive his first copy early the next week.

When you get a complaint that someone is not getting a sub, please send us the specific information: the name, address, what kind of sub it was, and approximately when it was purchased. It doesn't help us solve the problem to receive a general complaint, "Lots of people aren't getting their subs." In order to trace it, we have to have the specifics.

[The remainder of the discussion dealt with single-copy sales.]

Seth W. (Twin Cities): In Minneapolis we had a very bad situation with our sales around the end of the year. We had cut our bundle to 100 copies, and sales had dropped to nothing. Now our bundle is up to 225, which is the largest it's been since the French events. We're very enthusiastic about it, and have plans to push it much higher.

I want to summarize some of the things we did and the lessons we learned from our work. We reorganized the sales work. Instead of one person being assigned to handle sales and subs, we established a Militant sales committee, with comrades from the YSA as well, to help coordinate YS sales. This made a complete difference in our ability to handle Militant sales. For one thing, it impressed the branch and local with the seriousness with which we took our sales work. That, in and of itself, was a tremendous shot in the arm for our sales. With that committee we were able to affect a real division of labor, assigning comrades to various aspects of Militant sales. It's obvious that if you have one

person trying to do everything, a lot of things don't get done. If you get five or six working together, then it can become an easy job.

In the past period we were taking huge losses on the Militant bundle, which had become a serious deficit in branch finances. Last month we turned in a \$25 profit. \$25 isn't very much money when you think about a paycheck, but when you think about the 4½ cent profit you make on each Militant sold, that's a lot of money.

We made a big point of establishing regular sales areas. Rather than just selling at the political meetings, we recognized that we had good sales potential in a student area, and we started selling there every Saturday, from 10 to 2. As a result, we'd get some repeat customers the next week. We also established regular sales in a black shopping center and began to build up sales as more people recognized our paper from the previous week.

We've developed a whole new consciousness about Militant sales now, and comrades are volunteering to make their sale each week. Well over half of the YSA and party members are selling an hour each week.

The Militant committee meets each week, and surprisingly enough the meetings are lively. Comrades have a number of ideas about where we can sell, how we can motivate comrades to sell, etc. And since the Militant committee itself is lively, this is reflected in the branch, which has helped build enthusiasm.

We decided to have weekly Militant reports in the branch which can be difficult because such reports can be very dry. This means that comrades have to give thought to the reports beforehand, thinking about what points will make them interesting and arouse enthusiasm.

One thing we've discovered is that there is an incredibly high correlation between the political level of consciousness in an area and your sales results. We had a defense struggle around the black students who had been occupying a building, and as the building of the culminating action rose, so did our sales, week after week. On the week of the final thing, when they held meetings during the day, and a big march -- the biggest political demonstration the city's seen recently -- we ordered a special bundle of 500 Militants, and could have sold many more.

There's a lesson to be learned from this: never take the attitude that when a big action comes up, and we throw all our comrades into it, we must put off

sales for that week. That is dead wrong. Your sales are highest during that time, and that's when you have to approach as many people as possible with our ideas.

Comrades have probably noticed that it's very helpful to have articles on your local area in The Militant which you are selling. Those articles don't just happen. The only way those articles can appear is if the Militant committee assigns a comrade specifically to write them, and to do this as often as possible. Not only will comrades get experience in writing articles, but your sales will benefit appreciably.

We've done some preliminary work in writing up a list of pointers for salesmen. Our figures tell us which comrades are selling badly. That doesn't mean that the comrade is incompetent. It could be lack of experience, the wrong technique, etc. So we're planning to work with individual comrades, as well as giving an educational on sales. We are treating the question very seriously. Comrades don't like to stand on a corner for an hour and sell only three Militants while someone else sells 10 or 15. That's very demoralizing. It's our duty, if we're in charge of Militant sales, not to let that situation continue. You have to think about how you can change that situation by helping the comrade improve his sales.

Jacqueline R. (Detroit): I'd like to report on the fortunate situation we have in Detroit, the opportunity for comrades to sell at plant gates. We have our regular sales at the campuses, and other places, but we also have choice sales at the auto plants. We often take a bundle of 50 Militants to sell at the plant gates, and usually can sell 45 in one shift, from about 5:30 a.m. to 7:00. One day we sold 82 Militants in 20 minutes.

When I was at the Dodge main plant one day, selling Militants, a guy came up to me, and said, "I really like that paper. I like it so much I'm going to help you sell it." So he stood there and helped me sell. He'd say, "Buy The Militant; I buy it."

The best response we had in Detroit was among the young black workers in the auto plants. This is partly because many of the guys are around the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

At our headquarters we have a bulletin board just for Militant sales, where we list the places we want to sell each week. We have regular salesmen assigned to certain plants. The workers are familiar with us, so that we don't even have to say, "Buy The Militant." They already have their 15 cents out. To

top it off, one day a guy came to the hall and said he wanted to join The Militant.

Bruce M. (Philadelphia): I'd like to report on how we happen to be listed at the top of the sales chart. The key thing we've found in Philadelphia is that the number of Militants you sell is directly dependent on the number of people you stop and show The Militant to. The key task is getting the maximum number of salesmen on the streets to sell our paper.

We've been extremely successful in Philadelphia in organizing Saturday sales in a central location in the city. There we reach a large number of high school students who come into the city on weekends. We found a regular crowd who are interested in the paper, and look for our salesmen. We've found that shopping areas are good places for sales, and also parks where young people congregate. In addition, comrades who work downtown can take Militants with them and go out on their lunch hour or rush hours to various parts of the city we're particularly interested in hitting to sell papers.

Fred F. (Twin Cities): We have learned that the particular issue of The Militant you have should determine how you divide your sales forces. For example, if there's an issue that isn't going to sell especially well in the black community, we send a minimum number of people into that neighborhood with that issue, and take the maximum number to the university. Likewise, if an issue, for example, has a front-page story about a black action, with a good picture, then we concentrate people in the black community.

We've developed a few sales tips that are pretty universal:

- (1) Hold your paper so your customer can see it.
- (2) Don't get into a debate with a political opponent when selling. If they get you into a debate over Pabloite revisionism, or some such thing, your opponent is happy. He can't sell his rag anyway, and he wants to keep you from selling your paper.
- (3) Don't try to sell a Militant until you've read it, because The Militant has such a diversity of articles that no matter what someone is interested in you can say, "Yes, we have that," and open the paper to that article.
- (4) Be sure you have change when going on a sale. The first guy coming along -- I'll guarantee it -- will want change for a dollar bill.

Bitsy M. (Berkeley): We're planning an attractive poster for The Militant, with quotes from Malcolm X, several pictures, maybe a collage of articles from The Militant. It'll say something like "Read The Militant, the best radical paper in the U.S.," and will list the places where it's available. We're going to paste this up all over Berkeley. I think comrades in other areas might want to try this, because it really draws attention to our paper.

We find it effective in Berkeley to ask comrades to commit themselves to one day for selling, not a particular sale, but one day when they sell regularly. After a while, they get into the habit of going out on that day, though they might need to be reminded for a few weeks.

Joel B. (Los Angeles): We've done poorly on sales in Los Angeles in the last months. It doesn't show up on the reports, because we have just been absorbing the loss, but it got to the point where we were only selling a quarter of our bundle a month. So we've radically reorganized the work, putting a fulltime comrade who is on the party and YSA executive committees in charge of a reorganization of our sales.

We want to emulate a pattern that has been established in Phoenix, Arizona. They have made it a principle that not only virtually everyone sells every week, but that they sell out the bundle every week. If it is the end of the week, and they have half the bundle left, they organize extra sales such as going to a midnight underground movie to sell the remainder of the bundle.

One of the themes of this convention, along with the 50 years of American communism and the fall offensive, is that we're getting into a bit of a campaign against routinism. This is extremely important because the whole party, from the center to the field, has had a very routine approach in the past toward building our press. This goes for both subs and sales. It shows up in the statistics that come out. These statistics are nowhere near where sales and subs figures for The Militant should be, and the local leadership and comrades in the center have to really give it some thought and take concrete organizational steps to deal with the problem.

Jean F. (Philadelphia): An idea occurred to me when someone was discussing publicity ideas. In our last sub drive, in order to boost morale and increase enthusiasm about sub work, we got some old magazines, and went through them for ads which we could use to make posters. We put these sub posters all over campus, and people liked them. We tacked five or

six sub blanks on the poster so that a person wouldn't have to hunt us up for a sub, they could just tear a sub blank off and mail it themselves.

Kendall (Atlanta): In Atlanta we've been doing a good job of writing an article a week on our election campaign. This helps sell The Militant, because, especially in Atlanta, radicals feel very isolated, and feel that the national radical press like the Guardian doesn't pay any attention to them.

The audacious articles attacking SDS and the unvarnished PL history have been good, because they really make you want to go out and smash the opponents by selling The Militant to everyone. Since The Militant has adopted more of this audacious strike-back attitude it's been much easier to sell.

Next speaker (name not known to editor; from Philadelphia): In Philadelphia we found that sales at the high schools where we didn't have people are among the most effective sales we've had. There is a tremendous interest in The Militant among high school students, and having regular sales at the schools, especially black schools, is an effective way to intervene and draw new kids around us.

Harry Ring (editor The Militant): All of us have a great deal we can say about the content of the paper. But here I want to stress the importance of getting into the paper itself the kind of discussion we have been having tonight. This itself would go a long way in helping build the paper. We're trying to do two different things with the paper at the same time -- to make it broader in it's appeal, and at the same time, in the proper sense, more "sectarian." That is, we carry many more political, polemical articles against our opponents than we used to, many articles that are intended to help educate new members of the YSA and SWP, and sympathizers, and also to help begin educating the radical public.

At the same time, we want to try to make the paper as broad and popular, within the framework of revolutionary socialism, as we are able to. To the degree that we can, we want people not yet within our own movement to identify with The Militant, that is, people who are not yet ready to become members of the SWP or YSA but who are ready, so to speak, to "join" The Militant. We want to get them involved in the sale and promotion of the paper, to make them feel that they are associated with something that is not simply a newspaper, but something with a point of view that's fighting for a particular goal, so that they will be as concerned as we are with promoting the paper. If we can get

into the paper some of the reports of the activity that has been discussed here, I think this will help tremendously in building the paper.

Bev Scott: To back up what Harry has said, you may remember that in June we made several appeals in The Militant for funds for the paper. We wanted to get those sympathizers who are around us to contribute to the paper on a regular basis now that we are no longer announcing

semi-annual fund drives as we did before. We were amazed at the number of small contributions we received from relatively new subscribers. Some of these people had just bought a combination subscription and had been reading our paper only a few weeks, but they'd send in \$3 or \$5. In effect, they were saying, "This is my paper and I want to help support it." We want to expand this concept to make a broader readership feel that they are a part of our paper, and that they will want to support it and help promote it.



1969 SUMMER SCHOOL REPORT

By Joyce deGroot

The scope and size of the summer schools in 1969 reflect the growth of the party and YSA throughout the country. Schools or intensive study classes were held in 23 areas, in eight of which there is no party branch. These areas were: New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Austin, Albany, Binghamton, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Twin Cities, Logan (Utah), Lawrence (Kansas), Phoenix, San Diego, Los Angeles, Berkeley, San Francisco, Washington D.C., Seattle, St. Louis, Hayward, and Portland. The schools have become a regular part of YSA and SWP summer activity.

The most common areas of study were: class nature of the state, the national question, the character of the revolutionary party, theory of the permanent revolution, Stalinism, American labor movement, the transitional program, basic economics, history of the Socialist Workers Party, the Chinese Revolution and Maoism. The organizational form varied in each area, depending on the needs of the local and the manner in which the subject was being studied. Austin centered their entire school on basic Trotskyist theory, reading such material as Permanent Revolution, Revolution Betrayed, Results and Prospects, with everyone in the local participating in this intensive series. New York focused their school on the history of the SWP, drawing the political and organizational lessons from each period of party history. Other locals, like Detroit and Chicago, divided the entire school into three or four areas of study. Some locals, like Atlanta, used a combination of the two forms -- one class for everyone, and study classes for those who had the time.

Attendance varied, depending on the size of the local, type of program and speaker. Some of the highest attendance reports came from Chicago (a peak attendance at the beginning of 71 and an average attendance of 52) and New York (average attendance of about 60). Average attendance in other areas varied from 7 in Hayward to 20 in Atlanta, 20 in Seattle, 27 in Los Angeles (a peak of 60 when George Novack spoke), 35 in San Francisco, and 32 in Austin.

A great deal of traveling was done by teachers this year. Ten comrades from New York spoke in different locals around the country. In addition, comrades Charlie Scheer in the Twin Cities, Lynn Henderson in Chicago, Art Sharon in San Francisco, and Frank Lovell in Detroit spoke in different locals throughout the summer, as well as taking part in the summer schools in their own areas.

A new element this year was the combination "speaking trip-vacation" which Les Evans and Kipp Dawson took. In their travel to and from the West Coast they were able to stop in Austin, Logan, San Diego, and St. Louis. For some of these YSA locals it was the only outside party spokesman they were able to have, and in addition to teaching classes Les and Kipp encouraged YSA comrades to attend the party convention.

Branches were able to assimilate contacts and comrades developed during regional work into the schools. The best example of this is Chicago which was able to draw in people from DeKalb, Bloomington and Champaign. Cleveland also used their regional work to build the summer school. In addition, established branches took responsibility for sending speakers to schools near them -- Los Angeles was able to give significant help to Phoenix and San Diego; New York sent speakers to Binghamton and Albany; Philadelphia provided teachers for Washington, D.C.; Berkeley and San Francisco helped Hayward.

The schools invariably became contact centers for the summer. Some locals, like the Twin Cities, conducted separate classes for contacts. However, the experience has been that contacts do attend the regular school, a few are seriously interested, and recruits to the YSA and the party result. The report from Hayward gives an example of this:

"Of the three sympathizers we had at the beginning of SSS [Socialist Summer School], one joined the YSA recently, another has just taken out candidacy, and the third appears to be on his way in. Through the entire summer period, only one member who was attending classes dropped out of the YSA. On the other hand, our organizer has joined the SWP over the summer, and two other comrades (including myself) are planning to join within the next few months."

The enthusiasm for the schools and their results can be summed up by a few sentences from the Austin summer school report:

"We had intended to cut back our work in other areas to give our comrades time to read. In practice, however, our members got so fired up as a result of the summer school that activity increased in GI work, Militant sales, and most other areas.

"...The summer school was a terrific success and has resulted in an

extremely politically homogeneous organization that should be able to move out in the fall and assimilate large numbers of new recruits."

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As we grow, the summer schools will present increasing opportunities for us; however, there are some specific needs which the party should meet if the schools are to function with maximum effectiveness.

1. Every party branch is now in effect a regional center for a number of YSA locals and at-large members. The branches must increase their help to the YSAers in their regions, both through drawing these comrades into the party summer schools, and through providing speakers, tapes, and other study aids to the schools and classes these YSA locals run.

2. There is a need for increased national material -- study guides, reading lists, tapes, supplementary material which can be made available from the national office. This would be particularly valuable to YSA locals or new party branches, and would help them organize their schools on the most effective and efficient basis.

3. There is a need to have more available teachers. As we become more diverse geographically, the need to free comrades to teach becomes even more pressing. Some comrades this year, such as Tony Thomas and George Novack, took almost "educational tours," and this will increase as we grow.

4. There is a need to make a careful evaluation as to the time within a local that can be allotted for the school, and then sticking to that schedule. This has to be done in the light of other activity, etc. In many locals there was much enthusiasm in the beginning, both for the school and for the reading, but the pressure of activity cut down the ability of the school to be really effective.

5. As we grow, we will have to deal with the problem of different levels of people which the schools will attract. Just the fact that we are offering a socialist school gives us a great deal of prestige and respect in some areas, and in future summer schools we will have expanded opportunities to attract many new young people to the schools and, through them, to the YSA and the party. We will want to think in terms of larger, more open, broader schools than is the norm now. At the same time, we will want to ensure the education of revolutionary cadres, which is now the chief function of the schools.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

[23rd National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party]

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1967</u>
A. Total attending convention:	660	367
Men	415	239
Women	245	128
Age Range (youngest and oldest)	14, 68	14, 79

B. Delegations:

There were 15 delegations as opposed to 13 in 1967; since the 1967 convention Newark was dropped, and Atlanta, Austin and Portland were added. The total number of fraternal, regular, and alternate delegates was 185.

1. Selected characteristics of delegations, 1969 and 1967

a. Fraternal Delegates

(At this convention the youth NEC were given fraternal delegate status, together with the Austin branch which was formed after the convention call. For purposes of comparison with previous years, these two categories are not included in the table below. The youth NEC had 10 fraternal delegates, and the Austin branch had 2.)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1967</u>
Number (excluding NEC and Austin)	50	48
Men	40	36
Women	10	12
Age		
Average	45	44.5
Range (youngest, oldest)	27, 68	23, 76
Number of years in movement		
Average	22	21
Range (least, greatest)	5, 37	4, 39

b. Regular Delegates

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1967</u>
Number	71	55
Men	44	40
Women	27	15
Age		
Average	27	30
Range (youngest, oldest)	18, 52	20, 62
Number of years in movement		
Average	6.2	7.3
Range (least, greatest)	1, 25	1.25, 37

c. Alternate Delegates

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1967</u>
Number	52	39
Men	35	23
Women	17	16
Age		
Average	25	29.4
Range (youngest, oldest)	19, 52	20, 57
Number of years in movement		
Average	4.1	7.3
Range (least, greatest)	1, 23	1, 30

C. Visitors	<u>1969</u>	<u>1967</u>
1. Number	475	225
Men	290	138
Women	185	87
2. Political Affiliation (note: this category is not completely accurate, since many YSAers and SWPers who are members of both organizations neglected to state their membership in the YSA)		
a. SWP only	164	
b. YSA only	156	
c. SWP-YSA	66	
d. Guests from abroad	41	

3. Selected Characteristics of Visitors

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1967</u>
Age		
Average	27	27
Range (youngest, oldest)	14, 62	14, 60
Trade Union Affiliation	92	56
Participation in mass organizations	231	135
[Out of the 231 participating in mass organizations in 1969, 212 were involved in antiwar groups.]		
Attended Previous Convention		
No	306	
Yes	166	

Occupation: While there were many different occupations listed by the visitors, the most significant representation was from students (150), teachers (28), and programmers (10).

D. Geographical Distribution of Visitors and the Convention as a Whole

	Visitors	Entire Convention (visitors, delegates)
1. Eastern States	215	295
2. Midwest States	133	178
3. Western States	43	94
4. Southern States	32	41
5. Foreign	41	41