

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

September 27, 1966

ATTENTION ORGANIZERS

Dear Comrades,

A national tour is planned for October, November and December for Betsey Barnes. This will be an organizational tour. Each local should plan to have a membership meeting and a meeting of the local NCers and organizer when Betsey is in town. Each local should plan no more than one public meeting for Betsey.

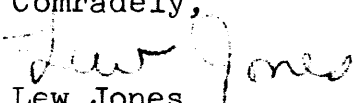
The title of Betsey's talk is the following:

"A SOCIALIST VIEW OF BLACK POWER
-Black Power as a Strategy for Struggle
-Black Nationalism and Black Power
-Black Power and the Vietnam War"

Betsey has prepared only one talk for the tour. Please do not ask her to give talks on other subjects, or to participate in panels, debates, etc.

Betsey may be advertized as National Secretary of the YSA.

Please write us if you cannot accept the proposed tour quotas. The money should be given to Betsey when she comes to the local.

Comradely,

Lew Jones
National Secretary

NATIONAL TOUR DATES AND QUOTAS

<u>AREA</u>	<u>DATES</u>	<u>QUOTAS</u>
Twin Cities	Oct. 19-21	35.00
Travel	Oct. 22	
Milwaukee	Oct. 23-24	25.00
Madison	Oct. 25-26	25.00
Travel	Oct. 27	
Chicago	Oct. 28-30	65.00
Travel	Oct. 31	
Detroit - Ann Arbor	Nov. 1-4	60.00
Travel	Nov. 5	
Cleveland	Nov. 6-9	40.00
Travel	Nov. 10	
Boston	Nov. 11-14	50.00
Travel	Nov. 15	
Washington D.C.	Nov. 16	15.00
Philadelphia	Nov. 17-18	35.00
New York	Nov. 19-20	
Travel	Nov. 21	
Philadelphia	Nov. 22	
Travel	Nov. 23	
Los Angeles - San Diego	Nov. 24-27	25.00
Travel	Nov. 28	
San Francisco	Nov. 29- Dec. 2	40.00
Berkeley	Dec. 3-5	55.00
Travel	Dec. 6	
Seattle	Dec. 7-9	15.00
Vancouver	Dec. 10-11	
New York	Dec. 12-15	65.00
Toronto	Dates to be decided	

Minutes of the National Committee Plenum

Young Socialist Alliance

New York, September 17-18, 1966

First Session, Saturday, September 17, 1966, convened at 10:20 AM

Present: Full: Betsey, Joel, John B., Janet, Kipp, Gus, Doug, Caroline, Lew, Marilyn, Paul, Derrel, Derrick, Danny R., Melissa, Syd, Dan S., Mary-Alice

Alternates: Robin M., Charlie, Linda B., Dick M., Irving, Eloise, John C., Joe, Larry S., Suzanne, Walter, Peer

Organizers and Fraternal: Leon, Dave, Duane, Dennis, Robin D., Wendy, Terrill, Carol L., Jon B., Karen, Ian, George N.,

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE PLENUM

Motions presented for the NEC by Betsey:

1. That the Presiding Committee be the NEC, plus Derrick who is giving one of the reports.

Carried.

2. That procedural questions be decided by majority vote with one speaker for and one against, each with one minute.

Carried.

3. To approve the agenda and schedule.

Carried.

4. To adopt the following rules:
 - a. Fraternal delegates have voice and consultative voice.
 - b. Discussion presentations be limited to ten minutes.
 - c. That in any discussion period no one may speak a second time before each person desiring the floor has had a chance to speak.

Carried.

5. That fraternal delegates be the following: local organizers, Dave W., Leon F., Wendy R., Carol L., Dennis S., Steve C., Duane W., Jon B., Robin D., representative from the Socialist Workers Party, George Novack, representatives from up North, Ian and Karen, Organizational Secretary of the SWP, Ed Shaw.

Carried.

6. That Irving and Robin M. be designated as plenum secretaries.

Carried.

7. That Peggy B. be asked to sit in the hall during the sessions in order to man the door.

Carried.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Eloise chair the first session.

Motion: to approve.

Carried.

II. POLITICAL REPORT

Reporter - Lew J.

Discussion: Robin D., Kipp, Peer, Syd, Irving, Robin M., Eloise, Melissa, Dan S., Derrel, Gus, Marilyn, Joe, John B.

Recess for lunch 1:10 PM; Reconvened 2:20 PM

Summary on Political Report - Lew J.

Motion from Presiding Committee: to approve the general line of the report.

Vote on motion:

Full NC: 18 for, none opposed, no abstentions
Alternates: 12 for, none opposed, no abstentions
Fraternal: 11 for, none opposed, no abstentions

Carried.

First Session Adjourned at 2:35 PM.

Second Session, Saturday, September 17, 1966, convened at 2:40-PM

Recommendation from Presiding Committee that Charlie chair this session.

Motion: to approve.

Carried.

Motion from the Presiding Committee: to allow Jack B. and Fred H. of the SWP to sit in on this session.

Carried.

I. ANTIWAR REPORT

Reporter - Doug J.

Discussion: Gus, Robin D., Walter, Robin M., Peer, Joel, Dan R., Irving, Larry, Jon, Terril, Joe, Walter.

Recessed at 5:50 PM; reconvened at 6:05 PM

Discussion continued: Caroline.

Summary on Antiwar Report - Doug J.

Motion from Presiding Committee: to approve the general line of the report.

Vote on motion:

Full NC: 17 for, none opposed, no abstentions
Alternates: 12 for, none opposed, no abstentions
Fraternal: 11 for, none opposed, no abstentions

Carried.

Motion from the Presiding Committee to send the following message to the Fort Hood Three:

"Your courageous stand in refusing to go to Vietnam and fight in a war you consider unjust, illegal, and immoral has inspired all of us who are in the fight against this war. We believe that the attempts of the government to victimize the Fort Hood Three represent an attack not only on the opponents of the war in Vietnam, but also on the basic civil liberties of all GI's and all Americans. We pledge ourselves to do everything we can to win your freedom and to make the facts about your case known as widely as possible."

Carried.

Second Session Adjourned at 6:45 PM.

Third Session, Sunday, September 18, 1966, convened at 10:30 AM.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Derrel chair this session.

Motion: to approve.

Carried.

I. NEGRO STRUGGLE REPORT

Reporter - Derrick

Discussion: Paul, Robin M., John B., Derrel, Walter, Dan S., Joe, Dick, Joel.

Recess for lunch 1:00 PM; reconvened 2:15 PM

Summary on Negro Struggle Report - Derrick

Motion from Presiding Committee: to approve the general line of the report.

Vote on motion:

Full NC: 17 for, none opposed, no abstentions
Alternates: 10 for, none opposed, no abstentions
Fraternal: 10 for, none opposed, no abstentions

Carried.

Motion from the Presiding Committee to send the following telegram to SNCC:

"The YSA National Committee meeting in New York expresses its solidarity with you against the attacks made by the government. Your positions against the war and for black power have inspired many militants in the United States. The current attacks on SNCC are an attempt to prevent those positions from being carried to more and more people. We support and defend the ideas you have expressed and SNCC itself against these attacks from the white power structure."

Carried.

Third Session Adjourned at 2:25 PM

Fourth Session, Sunday, September 18, 1966, convened at 2:30 PM

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Marilyn chair this session.

Motion: to approve.

Carried.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that George Novack be given time to speak at this point.

Motion: to approve.

Carried.

Remarks by George Novack.

I. CANADIAN REPORT

Reporter - Ian

Questions and Summary.

II. BLOOMINGTON DEFENSE REPORT

Reporter - Janet D.

Motion from the Presiding Committee to send the following statement in defense of Hugo Blanco to the President of Peru:

"Having learned today that Hugo Blanco, a leader of peasant struggles for economic and social justice in your country, was sentenced by a military tribunal to 25 years imprisonment, we join with the National Pro-Amnesty Committee of Peru in appealing to you to grant an immediate amnesty for Hugo Blanco and his colleagues who have suffered a similar unjust reward for their labors to better the lot of their countrymen."

Carried.

Recessed at 4:00 PM; reconvened at 4:10 PM.

III. ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

Reporter - Mary-Alice

Motion from the Presiding Committee to send the following telegrams:

To Jan G.: "The 1966 Fall Plenum of the Young Socialist Alliance sends you warmest greetings. Your bravery in the face of physical attack has made us all the more determined in the struggle for a socialist world. We wish you were here with us today to plan our activity for the coming period. We look forward to you resuming a leading role in the YSA."

To Walter G.: "The YSA National Committee sends you its warmest greetings. Your courage in the last few months has been an inspiration to every YSAer. We look forward to your renewed activity in the near future."

To Garlene Boone Bernard: "The Fall 1966 plenum salutes your courage in the face of the tragedy you have experienced. Your example has inspired all of us in our work."

Carried.

Motion from the Presiding Committee that there be a five minute limit on discussion presentations on the Organizational Report.

Carried.

Discussion: Kipp, Robin D., Doug, Marilyn, Dave, Linda, Irving, Joel, Lew.

Recessed at 5:30 PM; reconvened at 5:40 PM.

Summary on Organizational Report - Mary-Alice

Motion from the Presiding Committee to approve a national fund drive with the goal of \$7,900 to run from October 1 to December 31, 1966.

Carried.

Motion from the Presiding Committee to approve a Young Socialist subscription drive to run from October 1 to November 30 with a

goal of 500 subscriptions.

Carried.

Motion from the Presiding Committee to approve the general line of the report.

Carried.

IV. CONVENTION CALL

Reporter - Lew

Motion from Presiding Committee that the National Committee call a convention of the YSA to be held in early spring of 1967, and that the NC empower the NEC to organize the convention and to decide on the place of the convention.

Carried.

V. ELECTION OF NEC

Reporter - Lew

Motion from the Presiding Committee that the NEC be Betsey, Daniels, Gus, Doug, Caroline, Lew, Melissa, and Mary-Alice.

Carried.

Singing of the Internationale

PLENUM ADJOURNED 6:00 PM.

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September 27, 1966

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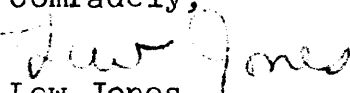
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Betsey has prepared only one talk for the tour. Please do not ask her to give talks on other subjects, or to participate in panels, debates, etc.

Betsey may be advertized as National Secretary of the YSA.

Please write us if you cannot accept the proposed tour quotas. The money should be given to Betsey when she comes to the local.

Comradely,

Lew Jones
National Secretary

NATIONAL TOUR DATES AND QUOTAS

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Travel	Dec. 6	
Seattle	Dec. 7-9	15.00
Vancouver	Dec. 10-11	
New York	Dec. 12-15	65.00
Toronto	Dates to be decided	

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, N.Y., 10003

To All YSAers

Dear Comrades,

At its recent plenum, the National Committee of the YSA projected a subscription drive for the Young Socialist aimed at obtaining 500 new readers in a two month time period. At this time, when our activity centers around anti-war work, the importance of presenting our ideas to as many young activists as possible can not be overestimated. We want to get our magazine into the hands of as many "new radicals" as possible. The sub drive should not cut across other areas of work, but rather will compliment these tasks.

There are many ways to obtain subs. Many ideas have been tried in past drives and new ideas will probably be tried during this one. Whenever a local has a successful idea, it should let the N.O. know so that we can pass the suggestion along to the rest of the country. The main thing to be aware of is that each YSAer should always be seeking ways to sell subs. Subs can often be easily sold to a student who buys a single copy at a campus literature table. You can also charge a slightly higher price for a forum and give a sub with the admission. Besides these more organized methods, however, comrades should be on the alert to sell YS subs in their anti-war committees, on campus and in their general day-to-day work.

The sub drive will begin October 1 and will run to December 1. For one dollar, the new subscriber will receive the YS for one year -- 6 issues.

When filling out the sub-blank, be sure to indicate on the portion sent to the N.O. whether or not a copy of the current YS was given to the new reader. At the end of the drive (after Dec. 1) we will total up the number of YS's given by each local to sub-buyers and credit your YS bill with this amount. Sub blanks were sent out to each local last spring. Please indicate on the attached form whether or not you need more sub-blanks.

Please choose a sub-drive director and send in the enclosed blank as soon as possible.

Comradely,

Melissa Singler

Melissa Singler
Sub Drive Director

PROPOSED QUOTAS
FALL SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

Berkeley	55
Boston	50
Chicago	50
Cleveland	45
Detroit	45
Los Angeles	15
Philadelphia	35
Madison	30
Milwaukee	20
New York	60
San Francisco	40
Seattle	15
Twin Cities	25
Washington	15
	<hr/>
	500

Please fill this in and send it back as soon as possible.

Local _____

Accepted Quota _____

Sub Drive Director _____

Address _____

Remarks:

Box 471
Cooper Station
New York, N.Y., 10003

To All YSAers

Dear Comrades,

The National Committee of the YSA has approved a fall fund drive of \$7,900. The drive is to run from October 1 to December 31. Our last fund drive was \$6,700, but the N.C. felt that due to our increased activities the additional funds were needed. The organizational report at the plenum outlined many of the important tasks we are involved in and a fund drive of \$7,900 is needed if we are to keep up our present high level of functioning.

As in the past, sustainers which have been sent in since the last fund drive and through the period of this drive may be applied to the local's total quota.

The proposed quotas are enclosed. Please send in the attached form indicating your accepted quota as soon as possible. Since the quotas were discussed with the organizers at the plenum, we are asking that the locals begin paying immediately (even before the accepted quota is sent in) so that the fund drive can begin October 1 as scheduled. At-large YSAers should return the form indicating the amount they can give.

Please make all fund drive checks payable to the YSA (initials can be used).

Let's aim not only to make the quota, but go over the top!

Comradely,

Melissa Singler
Melissa Singler
Fund Drive Director

PROPOSED QUOTAS
FALL 1966 NATIONAL FUND DRIVE

Berkeley	650
Boston	800
Chicago	1000
Cleveland	700
Detroit	750
Los Angeles	150
Madison	300
New York	1400
Philadelphia	425
San Francisco	500
Seattle	150
Twin Cities	600
Milwaukee	250
Washington	225
	<u>7900</u>

Please fill in the blank and send it back to the National Office as soon as possible.

Local _____

Accepted Quota _____

Fund Drive Director _____

Address _____

Remarks :

PO Box 471 Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

September 29, 1966

To All Organizers:

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is a statement made by the YSA national office in response to the firebombing of the national office of the Socialist Workers Party. Also enclosed is the statement of the SWP. All the known information on the bombing is included in these news releases.

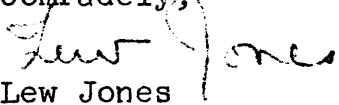
The bombing of socialist and antiwar organizations has developed all too clearly into a pattern in the last year. It is important that we use the political conclusions of this bombing to educate the antiwar movement, to deepen its commitment to fight against the war, and to spread the unity in the movement.

The SWP plans no protest meetings. However, in already scheduled meetings an announcement of the bombing should be made, including quotes from Judy White's statement and the YSA statement.

The next issue of the Militant and the Young Socialist will have coverage of the event. The Militant will include statements of solidarity from locals, prominent figures, and socialist and antiwar organizations. All locals should attempt to obtain statements and then rush them to the Militant. YSAers can be particularly effective in getting statements of solidarity from antiwar committees. YSAers should try to obtain statements from every antiwar committee and/or at least one officer of these committees.

Attempts should be made to get the YSA statement into campus and student newspapers.

Comradely,


Lew Jones
National Chairman

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

P. O. BOX 471 COOPER STATION
NEW YORK, N. Y., 10003 YU9-7570

Thursday, September 29, 1966

BOMBING ATTACK ON SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS

The following statement was issued by the national office of the Young Socialist Alliance on September 29, 1966:

At approximately 5:40 AM four unidentified men threw two to four Molotov cocktails into the national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in New York. No one was injured, although there was considerable damage done to one office in the headquarters.

Such a terroristic act is neither an isolated nor an accidental event. An all too clear pattern of terroristic violence against socialist and antiwar organizations has been established in the past year. In just the last six months the national headquarters of the Communist Party were wrecked by bombs in New York, the national headquarters of the WEB DuBois Clubs in San Francisco were bombed, the headquarters of the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley were bombed, and in Detroit Socialist Workers Party member Leo Bernard was murdered and two YSA members were seriously injured.

Encouraged by the daily escalation of the war in Vietnam, right-wing terrorists evidently feel they have license to randomly terrorize groups which dissent from the official war policy. These demented individuals and groups are influenced by the government itself which every day indiscriminately bombs thousands of helpless civilians in Vietnam.

However, terrorists are mistaken if they think their insane acts will stop or deter the antiwar movement or the socialist movement. Such acts only deepen our commitment to fight for an end to the war which fans these terroristic acts. Our answer will always be that we will close ranks and fight all the harder.

We agree with the statement made by Judy White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, and former national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Miss White stated, "We appeal to all opponents of the war in Vietnam to rally with expressions of solidarity against the pattern of violence being used in the hope of silencing opposition to Johnson's drive toward a war with China and a possible nuclear catastrophe. Answer the terrorists by closing ranks."

The Young Socialist Alliance expresses its total solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party. We pledge ourselves to fight along side it and all other groups to bring an end to the war in Vietnam and to establish a society of social justice and equality - socialist America.

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee

873 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003 • 982-6054

JUDITH WHITE

FOR GOVERNOR

RICHARD GARZA

FOR LT. GOVERNOR

PAUL BOUTELLE

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL

RALPH LEVITT

FOR COMPTROLLER

HEDDA GARZA

FOR CONGRESS - 17TH C.D.

For Immediate Release

Thursday, September 29, 1966

FIRE BOMBING OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS

The national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party at 873 Broadway was fire-bombed this morning at approximately 5:40. Between two and four Molotov cocktails were thrown at the windows by four unidentified men. A witness said that he saw the men lighting the bottles in the street below the headquarters which are on the second floor.

The bombs failed to break the windows but the flaming gasoline set fire to the building. By the time the fire department arrived, one of the offices was seriously damaged. No one was injured although workers were already coming into the building.

Judy White, New York gubernatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, declared that the bombing was obviously in the same pattern as the bombing that wrecked the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York September 4, the national headquarters of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs in San Francisco on March 6 and the headquarters of the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley on April 9.

(more)

"Possibly a single right-wing or fascist-type organization is responsible for all these outrages," she said. "The commandos evidently hope by violent means like this to intimidate organizations that oppose the war in Vietnam.

"It is part of the general climate of violence in the United States that is being given continual impetus by the Johnson administration's escalation of the war.

"This atmosphere inspires the hatemongers to imitate the murderous actions being committed by the Pentagon on a huge scale in Vietnam.

"In Detroit, for instance, a political assassin walked into the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party last May 16, lined up two members of the party and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and shot them, killing Leo Bernard, a Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in 1964, and seriously wounding Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

"If the right-wing terrorists think they can intimidate us by such tactics, however, they are mistaken. We intend to continue our opposition to American intervention in the war in Vietnam and our opposition to Johnson's escalation of the war. We will continue to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

"We appeal to all opponents of the war in Vietnam to rally with expressions of solidarity against the pattern of violence being used in hope of silencing opposition to Johnson's drive toward a war with China and a possible nuclear catastrophe. Answer the terrorists by closing ranks."

For further information contact Rita Shaw, 982-6054.

NEC: Dan, Doug, Lew, Mary-Alice, Melissa, Daniels, Betsey

NC: Gus, Derrick

NEC Excused: Caroline

Chairman: Lew

- Agenda:
1. Organization of Plenum
 2. Convention Call
 3. Election of NEC
 4. Antiwar Plenum Report
 5. Negro Struggle Plenum Report

1. Organization of Plenum - Betsey

Presentation of procedural motions to be presented at the plenum.

1. That the presiding committee be the NEC plus Derrick who is giving one of the reports.
2. That procedural questions be decided by majority vote with one speaker for and one against, each with one minute.
3. That the agenda be approved.
4. That the schedule be approved.
5. That the following rules be adopted:
 - a. Fraternal delegates have voice and consultative vote.
 - b. Discussion presentations be limited to ten minutes.
 - c. That in any discussion period no one may speak a second time before each person desiring the floor has had a chance to speak.
6. That the fraternal delegates be the following organizers, Dave W., Dennis S., Duane W., Jon B., Robin D., Leon F., Wendy R. and representatives from the Socialist Workers Party, George Novack and Ed Shaw and John and Karen from the north.
7. That two comrades be designated as plenum secretaries.
8. That Peggy B. be asked to sit in the hall during the sessions in order to man the door.

Motion: To approve the motions.

Discussion: Daniels, Mary-Alice, Lew, Betsey

Motion Passed

2. Convention Call - Lew

Motion: That the NC call a convention of the Young Socialist Alliance to be held in early spring of 1967, and that the NC empower the NEC to organize the convention and to decide on the place of the convention.

Motion Passed

3. Election of NEC - Lew

Motion: That the following be nominated for the NEC:
Doug, Lew, Mary-Alice, Melissa, Daniels, Betsey, Caroline
and Gus.

Motion Passed

4. Antiwar Plenum Report - Doug

Presentation of the report.

Motion: To approve the general line of the report.

Discussion: Gus, Mary-Alice, Dan, Doug, Betsey, Dan,
Lew, Mary-Alice, Doug, Dan, Lew, Dan

Motion Passed

5. Negro Struggle Plenum Report - Derrick

Presentation of the report.

Motion: To approve the general line of the report.

Discussion: Dan, Derrick, Betsey, Derrick, Dan, Derrick,
Betsey, Derrick, Melissa, Derrick, Betsey, Derrick, Betsey,
Derrick, Lew, Betsey, Derrick, Betsey, Doug, Dan, Melissa

Motion Passed

NEC Minutes September 14, 1966 No. 20

NEC: Melissa, Betsey, Doug, Daniels, Mary-Alice, Caroline,
Lew, Dan

NC: Gus

NEC Excused: Caroline

Chairman: Doug

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Bloomington Defense
3. West Coast Vacation School
4. Cleveland Antiwar Meeting
5. DuBois Club National Action
6. SDS Convention
7. Organizational Report
8. Political Report

1. National Office Report - Lew

A. Linda B. requests a transfer to Detroit to continue her studies.

Motion: To approve the transfer.

Motion Passed

B. Dan S. is transferring to Chicago.

Motion: To approve the transfer.

Motion Passed

C. The Jeune Garde Socialiste has called an antiwar demonstration to be held in Liege, Belgium, on October 15, 1966. Participants will be coming from many different countries and 4,000 demonstrators are expected to turn out. We have been asked to send a representative.

Motion: That the YSA send a representative to the demonstration.

Discussion: Daniels

Motion Passed

D. The New York local has recommended that the YSA give critical support to the Herbert Aptheker campaign in Brooklyn.

Motion: To give critical support to Aptheker.

Motion Passed

2. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

The long awaited dates for the hearing on our request for an injunction have been set. September 23 there will be a pre-trial conference in Indianapolis, and November 4 the hearing itself will take place there.

Both Hoadley and the defendants agree that the constitutionality of the law is the basic question and it is upon this issue that the three judge panel is being asked to rule.

A report on the tasks before the YSA at this stage in the case will be given at the plenum.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Daniels, Lew

Motion Passed

3. West Coast Vacation School - Betsey

The West Coast Vacation School was a great success with a record attendance of 230! The school was held for ten days in the Santa Cruz mountains outside of San Francisco. There were three lectures each day with very good attendance. Among the speakers were James P. Cannon, Rose Karsner, Farrell Dobbs, Marvel Dobbs, and Franz Lee. Betsey spoke and attended the school representing the YSA national office. The main themes of the school were independent political action and building the revolutionary party.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

4. Cleveland Antiwar Conference - Doug

A report will be sent out by the joint YSA-SWP antiwar frantion soon.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Doug, Dan, Gus, Lew, Dan, Lew

Motion Passed

5. DuBois Club Convention - Gus

A total of 250 people took part in the DuBois Club "March on Washington" over the Labor Day weekend which included picketing and work shops. The YSA intervened with literature sales. Most of the participants in the action were demoralized over the poor turnout, which constituted a defeat for the DuBois Club.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

6. SDS Convention - Lew

Report to be sent out.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Mary-Alice, Dan, Lew, Dan, Daniels

Motion Passed

7. Organizational Report - Mary-Alice

Presentation of the organizational report to be given at the plenum including the following recommendations to be voted on at the plenum:

Motion: To approve a national fund drive with the goal of \$7900 to run from October 1 to December 31.

Motion: To approve a Young Socialist subscription drive to ~~run~~ from October 1 to December 31 with a goal of 500.

Motion: To approve the general line of the report.

Motions Passed

9. Political Report - Lew

Presentation of the political report to be given at the plenum.

Motion: To approve the general line of the report.

Discussion: Dan, Lew, Gus, Lew, Daniels, Doug, Dan, Lew, Betsey, Lew, Dan, Melissa

Motion Passed

YSA January-August, 1966

Income		Expenditures	
Dues	\$1606.00	Edit	\$3280.00
Bundles	1766.58	YS	4288.87
Fund Drive	6535.50	Mil. Subs	251.00
Vietnam Pamphlet	649.67	Antiwar	264.03
Malcolm X Pamphlet	553.13	Clearance	2365.64
Sustaining Fund	1570.78	Tours	640.00
Initiation Fee	51.00	Convention	1368.72
Congo Pamphlet	60.43	Travel	980.16
Introducing YSA	43.00	Introducing YSA	327.60
Convention Bulletins	609.80	FALN Film	106.10
Subs	433.58	Rent	400.00
Miscellaneous Bulletins	168.38	Telephone	504.95
Tour Quotas	382.00	Stamps	982.07
Clearance	1826.90	Mimeo Ink, Paper	565.83
Convention Assessments	458.00	Tape Recorder	157.50
Convention Bus	1067.00	Office Supplies	139.61
Donations	152.25	Petty Cash	232.97
Miscellaneous	130.91	Lumber	40.43
<u>Total</u>	<u>18064.91</u>	Letterheads	32.55
		Open Letter	201.60
		<u>Miscellaneous</u>	<u>153.76</u>
		<u>Total</u>	<u>17283.39</u>

YS - May - August 1966

Income		Expenditures	
Subs	137.00	Postage	342.10
Bundles	655.33	Clearance	200.00
Bound Volunes	32.25	Office Supplies	2.70
Miscellaneous	202.75	Photos	57.25
Subsidy	2000.00	Printing	1774.50
<u>Total</u>	<u>3027.33</u>	Miscellaneous	21.50
		(Delivery)	
Total Income	3027.33	YS Distribution	25.00
Total Expend.	2430.05	Service Charge	1.53
In Check Book	597.28	Debit	5.47
		<u>Total</u>	<u>2430.05</u>

Outstanding Debts - None
 Bills Outstanding - 978.25
 (Bundle Bills 8/29)
 Total (potential) - 1575.53

Without subsidy:

Income - 1027.33
 Expenditures - 2430.05
 Loss - 1402.72
 Bills Outstanding - 978.25
 Potential Loss - 424.47

YS May - June - July Issue

Expenditures		Income	
Photos	41.50	Subs	177.00
Postage	186.00	Bundles	
Supplies	2.70	(If paid)	411.00
Printing	1039.50	Bd. Volunes	32.25
Delivery	46.50	<u>Total</u>	<u>620.25</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>1316.20</u>		

Total Income 620.25
 Total Expend. 1316.20
 Loss 695.95

Cost per magazine (without postage) - 21.7

YS August - September Issue

Expenditures		Income	
Photos	15.75	Subs (est.)	96.00
Postage	156.10	Bundles	
Printing	735.00	(If paid)	400.00
Delivery	50.00	Back copies	2.75
<u>Total</u>	<u>956.85</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>498.75</u>

Total Income 498.75
 Total Expend. 956.85
 Loss 458.10

Cost per magazine (without postage) - 18.3

Average Loss - 577.03

This means a yearly subsidy of 3462.18

PLENUM SEPTEMBER 17-18
1966

AGENDA

1. Political Report
2. Antiwar Report
3. Negro Struggle Report
4. Canadian Report
5. Bloomington Defense Report
6. Organizational Report
7. Convention Call
8. Election of NEC

SCHEDULE

SATURDAY

- 10:00 Organization of Plenum
- 10:15 Political Report
- 11:15 Discussion
- 1:15 Lunch
- 2:15 Summary
- 2:45 Antiwar Report
- 3:45 Discussion
- 5:45 Break
- 6:00 Summary

SUNDAY

- 10:00 Negro Struggle Report
- 11:00 Discussion
- 1:00 Lunch
- 2:00 Summary
- 2:30 Canadian Report
- 3:00 Bloomington Defense Report
- 3:15 Organizational Report
- 4:15 Discussion
- 5:15 Summary
- 5:30 Convention Call
- 5:40 Election of NEC

There will be a party on Saturday night from 9:30 until 1:00.

NEC Minutes September 14, 1966 No. 20

NEC: Melissa, Betsey, Doug, Daniels, Mary-Alice, Caroline,
Lew, Dan

NC: Gus

NEC Excused: Caroline

Chairman: Doug

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Bloomington Defense
3. West Coast Vacation School
4. Cleveland Antiwar Meeting
5. DuBois Club National Action
6. SDS Convention
7. Organizational Report
8. Political Report

1. National Office Report - Lew

A. Linda B. requests a transfer to Detroit to continue her studies.

Motion: To approve the transfer.

Motion Passed

B. Dan S. is transferring to Chicago.

Motion: To approve the transfer.

Motion Passed

C. The Jeune Garde Socialiste has called an antiwar demonstration to be held in Liege, Belgium, on October 15, 1966. Participants will be coming from many different countries and 4,000 demonstrators are expected to turn out. We have been asked to send a representative.

Motion: That the YSA send a representative to the demonstration.

Discussion: Daniels

Motion Passed

D. The New York local has recommended that the YSA give critical support to the Herbert Aptheker campaign in Brooklyn.

Motion: To give critical support to Aptheker.

Motion Passed

2. Bloomington Defense - Daniels

The long awaited dates for the hearing on our request for an injunction have been set. September 23 there will be a pre-trial conference in Indianapolis, and November 4 the hearing itself will take place there.

Both Hoadley and the defendants agree that the constitutionality of the law is the basic question and it is upon this issue that the three judge panel is being asked to rule.

A report on the tasks before the YSA at this stage in the case will be given at the plenum.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Melissa, Daniels, Lew

Motion Passed

3. West Coast Vacation School - Betsey

The West Coast Vacation School was a great success with a record attendance of 230. The school was held for ten days in the Santa Cruz mountains outside of San Francisco. There were three lectures each day with very good attendance. Among the speakers were James P. Cannon, Rose Karsner, Farrell Dobbs, Marvel Dobbs, and Franz Lee. Betsey spoke and attended the school representing the YSA national office. The main themes of the school were independent political action and building the revolutionary party.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

4. Cleveland Antiwar Conference - Doug

A report will be sent out by the joint YSA-SWP antiwar fraction soon,

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Doug, Dan, Gus, Lew, Dan, Lew

Motion Passed

5. DuBois Club Convention - Gus

A total of 250 people took part in the DuBois Club "March on Washington" over the Labor Day weekend which included picketing and work shops. The YSA intervened with literature sales. Most of the participants in the action were demoralized over the poor turnout, which constituted a defeat for the DuBois Club.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

6. SDS Convention - Lew

Report to be sent out.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Mary-Alice, Dan, Lew, Dan, Daniels

Motion Passed

7. Organizational Report - Mary-Alice

Presentation of the organizational report to be given at the plenum including the following recommendations to be voted on at the plenum:

Motion: To approve a national fund drive with the goal of \$7900 to run from October 1 to December 31.

Motion: To approve a Young Socialist subscription drive to ~~run~~ from October 1 to December 31 with a goal of 500.

Motion: To approve the general line of the report.

Motions Passed

9. Political Report - Lew

Presentation of the political report to be given at the plenum.

Motion: To approve the general line of the report.

Discussion: Dan, Lew, Gus, Lew, Daniels, Doug, Dan, Lew, Betsey, Lew, Dan, Melissa

Motion Passed

NEC: Dan, Doug, Lew, Mary-Alice, Melissa, Daniels, Betsey

NC: Gus, Derrick

NEC Excused: Caroline

Chairman: Lew

- Agenda:
1. Organization of Plenum
 2. Convention Call
 3. Election of NEC
 4. Antiwar Plenum Report
 5. Negro Struggle Plenum Report

1. Organization of Plenum - Betsey

Presentation of procedural motions to be presented at the plenum.

1. That the presiding committee be the NEC plus Derrick who is giving one of the reports.
2. That procedural questions be decided by majority vote with one speaker for and one against, each with one minute.
3. That the agenda be approved.
4. That the schedule be approved.
5. That the following rules be adopted:
 - a. Fraternal delegates have voice and consultative vote.
 - b. Discussion presentations be limited to ten minutes.
 - c. That in any discussion period no one may speak a second time before each person desiring the floor has had a chance to speak.
6. That the fraternal delegates be the following organizers, Dave W., Dennis S., Duane W., Jon B., Robin D., Leon F., Wendy R. and representatives from the Socialist Workers Party, George Novack and Ed Shaw and John and Karen from the north.
7. That two comrades be designated as plenum secretaries.
8. That Peggy B. be asked to sit in the hall during the sessions in order to man the door.

Motion: To approve the motions.

Discussion: Daniels, Mary-Alice, Lew, Betsey

Motion Passed

2. Convention Call - Lew

Motion: That the NC call a convention of the Young Socialist Alliance to be held in early spring of 1967, and that the NC empower the NEC to organize the convention and to decide on the place of the convention.

Motion Passed

3. Election of NEC - Lew

Motion: That the following be nominated for the NEC:
Doug, Lew, Mary-Alice, Melissa, Daniels, Betsey, Caroline
and Gus.

Motion Passed

4. Antiwar Plenum Report - Doug

Presentation of the report.

Motion: To approve the general line of the report.

Discussion: Gus, Mary-Alice, Dan, Doug, Betsey, Dan,
Lew, Mary-Alice, Doug, Dan, Lew, Dan

Motion Passed

5. Negro Struggle Plenum Report - Derrick

Presentation of the report.

Motion: To approve the general line of the report.

Discussion: Dan, Derrick, Betsey, Derrick, Dan, Derrick,
Betsey, Derrick, Melissa, Derrick, Betsey, Derrick, Betsey,
Derrick, Lew, Betsey, Derrick, Betsey, Doug, Dan, Melissa

Motion Passed

YS - May - August 1966

Income		Expenditures	
Subs	137.00	Postage	342.10
Bundles	655.33	Clearance	200.00
Bound Volunes	32.25	Office Supplies	2.70
Miscellaneous	202.75	Photos	57.25
Subsidy	2000.00	Printing	1774.50
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<u>Total</u>	<u>1316.20</u>		

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Total Income 498.75
 Total Expend. 956.85
 Loss 458.10

Cost per magazine (without postage) - 18.3

Average Loss - 577.03

This means a yearly subsidy of 3462.18

YSA January-August, 1966

Income		Expenditures	
Dues	\$1606.00	Edit	\$3280.00
Bundles	1766.58	YS	4288.87
Fund Drive	6535.50	Mil. Subs	251.00
Vietnam Pamphlet	649.67	Antiwar	264.03
Malcolm X Pamphlet	553.13	Clearance	2365.64
Sustaining Fund	1570.78	Tours	640.00
Initiation Fee	51.00	Convention	1368.72
Congo Pamphlet	60.43	Travel	980.16
Introducing YSA	43.00	Introducing YSA	327.60
Convention Bulletins	609.80	FALN Film	106.10
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<u>Total</u>	<u>18064.91</u>	Letterheads	32.55
		Open Letter	201.60
		<u>Miscellaneous</u>	<u>153.76</u>
		<u>Total</u>	<u>17283.39</u>

YOUNG SOCIALIST RECORD

ISSUE	RUN	BUNDLES	SUBS
October 1964	5500		
Jan-Feb 1965	4000		
March-April 1965	6425		
May-June 1965	7400	(March on Washington issue)	
July-Aug 1965	4700		
Sept-Oct 1965	6105		
Nov-Dec 1965	6500	3445	1500
Jan-Feb 1966	5350	2760	1922
March-April 1966	5400	2985	1610
May-June-July 1966	5000	2055	934
Aug-Sept 1966	4100	2225	540

PUBLICATIONS REPORT
September 1966

- 1. Books Published Since August, 1965**
- 2. Bestsellers**
- 3. Sales Analysis: Comparing Jan thru July 1964, 65, 66**

PUBLISHED SINCE AUGUST 1965

<u>Title</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Number Printed</u>	<u>Number Sold to Date</u>
The Black Panther Party	Hullett, Benson Carmichael	June 66	7,000	3,864
Malcolm X Speaks	Breitman (Ed.)	Oct. 65	5,000	2,973
Watts and Harlem	Vernon, Novack	Oct. 65	3,000	1,970
Socialism on Trial	Cannon	Nov. 65	3,000	710
The Origins of Materialism	Novack	Aug 65	1,000	640
Their Morals and Ours	Trotsky, Dewey Novack	Aug 66	3,000	176
Marxist Essays in American History	Himmel (Ed.)	March 66	1,000	339
1966 Catalog			17,000	13,000

The Origins of Materialism-paperback

Will be released mid-September.

BESTSELLERSTOTAL SOLD
AUG. 1965 THRU
JUNE 1966

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	
Two Speeches by Malcolm X*	Malcolm X	2929
Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas*	Breitman	2711
Malcolm X Speaks*	Malcolm X	2683
Watts and Harlem*	Vernon, Novack	1557
Black Ghetto*	Vernon	764
How the U.S. Got Into Vietnam	Scheer	647
Socialism on Trial*	Cannon	602
The Origins of Materialism*	Novack	588
The Black Panther Party*	Hullett, Benson Carmichael	550
Unity, Road to Freedom in South Africa	Tabata	494
In Defense of Marxism, paper *	Trotsky	426
Americas Road to Socialism *	Cannon	387
How A Minority Can Change Society	Breitman	387
The Revolution Betrayed, paper*	Trotsky	369
The Permanent Revolution, paper *	Trotsky	342
An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*	Warde	330
Why Watts Exploded	Rossa	315
Marxist Essays in American History *	Himmel (Ed.)	297
Marxism and the Negro Struggle*	Breitman, Cruse, DeBerry	294
Che Guevara on Africa		290
Death Agony of Capitalism-Transitional Program*	Trotsky	286
Fascism, What It Is, How to Fight It *	Trotsky	271
SWP, What It Is, What It Stands For*	Hansen	225
Dynamics of World Revolution Today	4th Int.	219
Labor's Giant Step*	Preis	218
Uneven and Combined Development in History*	Warde	205
The Communist Manifesto	Marx and Engels	190
The Long View of History*	Warde	188
Vietnam Primer (Ramparts)		183
Imperialism	Lenin	178
Stalinism and Bolshevism*	Trotsky	175

The Age of Permanent Revolution	Deutscher	169
American Atrocities in Vietnam	Norden	167
Wage Labor and Capital	Marx	167
Fidel Castro on Vietnam	Castro	164
Inside the Cuban Revolution	Gilly	159
Immediate Withdrawal vs Negotiations	Jenness	157
How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination*	Ring	153
Theory of the Cuban Revolution*	Hansen	153
The 3rd International After Lenin*	Trotsky	150
The Revolution Must Be A School of Unfettered Thought *	Castro	145
Chinese Revolution:Problems and Perspectives*	Trotsky	142
Socialism: Utopian and Scientific	Engles	136
Existentialism vs Marxism	Novack	134
Revolution and Counter Revolution in Spain	Morrow	133
Freedom Now-New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation *	SWP	132
Stalin School of Falsification *	Trotsky	124
Germ Warfare Research for Vietnam	Philly CEWV	112
Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism*	Castro	108
In Defense of Socialism *	Goldman	107
In Defense of Marxism, Cloth *	Trotsky	106
Socialism and Man	Guevara	105
Who Will Change the World?	Novack	105
Che Charges the UN Meet Challenge of Imperialism		96
Wages, Price and Profit	Marx	89
Second Declaration of Havana*	Castro	87
Vietnam	Gettleman	85
Malcolm X Autobiography-Cloth		81
(over 200 paper copies sold after June 1966)		
The Revolutinn Betrayed, Cloth *	Trotsky	77
Mass Strikes, The Political Party and Trade Unions	Luxemburg	77
Role of the Individual in History	Plekhanov	73
Black Nationalism	Eissen-Udom	70

***Merit or Pioneer publication**

SALES ANALYSIS

COMPARISON

JANUARY THRU JULY 1964, 65, 66

	<u>Jan 1964</u>	<u>Jan 1965</u>	<u>Jan 1966</u>
Cash Sales	194.40	190.75	506.26
Branches	452.66	39.48	630.32
Foreign	69.11	-	601.57
Individuals with accounts	74.61	7.70	60.08
Dealers	60.58	31.20	1,568.83
Libraries	42.25	33.00	299.32
Organizations	80.99	30.56	227.13
	<u>974.60</u>	<u>332.69</u> (moved)	<u>3,893.81</u>
	<u>Feb 1964</u>	<u>Feb 1965</u>	<u>Feb 1966</u>
Cash Sales	149.68	201.83	274.79
Branches	523.16	1008.25	599.21
Foreign	117.36	267.23	278.43
Individuals with Accounts	23.00	55.20	7.50
Dealers	34.03	254.55	801.23
Libraries	15.65	82.00	169.70
Organizations	2.90	24.74	311.70
	<u>865.78</u>	<u>1,893.80</u>	<u>2,442.56</u>
	<u>March 1964</u>	<u>March 1965</u>	<u>March 1966</u>
Cash Sales	171.56	243.11	311.57
Branches	246.04	1467.62	807.23
Foreign	86.34	143.59	115.63
Individuals with Accounts	.03cr.	81.64	43.23
Dealers	57.77	255.45	1729.58
Libraries	28.40	38.85	251.04
Organizations	97.56	128.04	341.29
	<u>687.64</u>	<u>2,358.30</u>	<u>3,599.57</u>
	<u>April 1964</u>	<u>April 1965</u>	<u>April 1966</u>
Cash Sales	115.45	113.01	235.43
Branches	225.89	764.10	1131.62
Foreign	45.60	185.34	298.76
Individuals with Accounts	35.37	-	11.90
Dealers	90.84	153.07	978.85
Libraries	25.75	20.85	411.98
Organizations	74.90	53.85	438.16
	<u>613.80</u>	<u>1,290.22</u>	<u>3,506.70</u>

	<u>May 1964</u>	<u>May 1965</u>	<u>May 1966</u>
Cash Sales	60.47	252.38	483.56
Branches	175.02	869.91	1232.10
Foreign	162.82	182.58	317.98
Individuals with Accounts	-	7.19	52.86
Dealers	79.65	132.80	666.10
Libraries	3.15	325.63	182.40
Organizations	<u>19.65cr.</u>	<u>171.32</u>	<u>145.78</u>
	461.46	1,941.81	3,029.78

	<u>June 1964</u>	<u>June 1965</u>	<u>June 1966</u>
Cash Sales	103.95	256.34	324.18
Branches	354.34	1201.30	1023.01
Foreign	102.66	119.64	247.16
Individuals with Accounts	20.55	125.94	49.13
Dealers	36.05	243.67	624.21
Libraries	12.50	65.60	82.40
Organizations	<u>10.44</u>	<u>94.69</u>	<u>470.93</u>
	645.49	2,112.18	2,824.07

	<u>July 1964</u>	<u>July 1965</u>	<u>July 1966</u>
Cash Sales	96.30	313.75	472.12
Branches	70.32	1037.20	1462.40
Foreign	289.42	263.34	252.43
Individuals with Accounts	-	19.71	-
Dealers	106.21	352.57	672.77
Libraries	-	54.10	189.40
Organizations	<u>27.57</u>	<u>66.30</u>	<u>247.34</u>
	589.82	2,106.97	3,297.46

* * *

Total 1964 - Jan Thru July	4,838.59
Total 1965 - Jan Thru July	12,035.97
Total 1966 - Jan Thru July	22,593.95

NEC: Melissa, Betsey, Doug, Daniels, Mary-Alice, Caroline, Lew
NC: Gus

NEC Excused: Dan

Chairman: Caroline

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Young Socialist
3. Bloomington
4. DuBois Club National Action
5. Antiwar Report
6. SDS National Convention

1. National Office Report - Betsey

A. Some of the YSAers serving sentences in the Bay Area have been released early on parole. Efforts are being made in the Bay Area for the release of the others.

B. Plenum

Motion to invite non-NC organizers to attend with voice and no vote.

Motion Passed

C. Pre-plenum NEC's

Motion to hold NEC's on September 6 and 7.

Discussion: Doug, Lew, Betsey

Motion Passed

Motion to approve the report.

Motion Passed

2. Young Socialist - Mary-Alice

The next issue will include articles on China, antiwar sentiment and the armed forces, independent political action, and an interview with Franz J.T. Lee.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Daniels, Mary-Alice

Motion Passed

3. Bloomington - Daniels

Monroe County Prosecutor Hoadley has withdrawn from the elections this fall, and will be moving to Florida for another job. His

term expires in January, 1967. Inquiries to be made to see what effect this will have on the case.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Betsey, Daniels, Lew, Daniels

Motion Passed

4. DuBois Club National Action - Lew

The DuBois Club will conduct their "national action" in Washington, August 27-28. At this time it appears that the action will be small and isolated. SDS has publically stated that it is not sponsoring the events. SNCC, also, is not a sponsor, even though they and the SDS have been listed as such by the DBC. Washington, Philadelphia, and New York YSAers will participate.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Mary-Alice, Lew

Motion Passed

5. Antiwar Report - Doug

A. HUAC

B. Fort Hood Three

Doug is now working in the Fort Hood Three office. The defense committee is discussing possible projects and campaigns.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Betsey, Doug, Lew, Mary-Alice, Daniels, Lew, Doug

Motion Passed

6. SDS National Convention - Lew

SDS will hold its national convention in Clear Lake, Iowa, August 27 - September 1. From all indications this will be a very important convention for them, with many political questions being considered. YSAers from Chicago, Milwaukee, Madison, and Minneapolis will attend.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Betsey, Lew, Doug, Lew, Doug, Caroline, Lew, Daniels, Doug, Mary-Alice, Caroline, Betsey, Lew, Gus, Lew, Mary-Alice, Lew.

Motion Passed

Report on the NCC Pittsburgh Conference by Doug J.

On the weekend of July 30 and 31 a conference was held in Pittsburgh as a result of a call issued by nine dissident supporters of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The letter announcing the meeting was signed by Morton Rieber, Houston; Dennie Blouin, Syracuse; Frank Goldsmith, Pittsburgh; Don Raskin, Boston; Sherry Meyers, Nashville; Morris Starskey, Phoenix; Hank Weiner, Milwaukee; Dena Clemage, Detroit; Amy Kesselman, New York City, and was sent to a carefully selected list of people.

The stated purpose of the gathering was; "The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam which was set up to work with constituency organizations, even though it has made a sincere attempt, has not been able to represent us effectively. We have not been able to have meaningful discussions of these matters and therefore feel the need for a meeting at which tactics and strategy are discussed in a meaningful way."

About 40 people were present at the conference including Joan Levinson, Frank Emspak and Vickie Campbell from the Madison staff.

Peter B. from the Newsletter editorial staff, along with a Newsletter supporter from New York attempted to participate in the parley.

Dena Clemage, who chaired the conference, told the two Newsletter supporters that they must leave the room. Peter asked if this decision could be put to a vote and if he could speak to the question. She agreed to put it to a vote but refused to let him speak. He then asked if his right to speak could be put to a vote. A vote was taken and he overwhelmingly won the right to speak to the question of his right to remain in the meeting. He spoke for about five minutes explaining why he was present at the conference, urging unity in the antiwar movement, and stressing the defense of the Fort Hood three. A vote was taken and except for 6 or 7 people, everyone voted to expell the two from the meeting.

For the rest of the conference, the Newsletter participants were forced to talk to other participants informally between sessions.

A number of people, including people who were not present during the expulsion, came up to them and told them that they had received a raw deal. A representative from the Houston CEWV paid \$130 for transportation to the conference. She was very irritated when she realized that she had paid that much to get to a conference that was not only tiny, but which expelled a couple of sincere antiwar fighters.

Several political supporters of the NCC came up to the Newsletter people and told them that they liked the Newsletter. About 25 Newsletters were sold at the conference, as well as a few Fort Hood Three buttons.

It was very apparent that the NCC has some internal conflicts

which it does not want Newsletter people to know about. The exact nature of these conflicts are not known but a few scattered comments to the Newsletter supporters are indicative of the mood among NCC'ers: A fellow from Detroit said "Let's face it. The NCC is dead."; another person indicated that "the NCC needs new leadership"; and a third person felt "a new national organization of independent committees is needed."

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The Cleveland meeting tossed around ideas for the next national mobilization, but coming to no definite conclusions called another meeting for Cleveland to be held on August 20-21.

The NCC seems to be eager to participate in this Cleveland meeting and is likely to propose some form of national mobilization for October 15 and 16.

In summary, the Pittsburgh gathering points up the real crisis that is facing the NCC. At present the NCC is virtually impotent and incapable of playing a significant or influential role in the movement.

NEC Minutes August 19, 1966 No. 19

NEC: Melissa, Betsey, Doug, Daniels, Mary-Alice, Caroline, Lew
NC: Gus

NEC Excused: Dan

Chairman: Caroline

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Young Socialist
3. Bloomington
4. DuBois Club National Action
5. Antiwar Report
6. SDS National Convention

1. National Office Report - Betsey

A. Some of the YSAers serving sentences in the Bay Area have been released early on parole. Efforts are being made in the Bay Area for the release of the others.

B. Plenum
Motion to invite non-NC organizers to attend with voice and no vote.

Motion Passed

C. Pre-plenum NEC's
Motion to hold NEC's on September 6 and 7.

Discussion: Doug, Lew, Betsey

Motion Passed

Motion to approve the report.

Motion Passed

2. Young Socialist - Mary-Alice

The next issue will include articles on China, antiwar sentiment and the armed forces, independent political action, and an interview with Franz J.T. Lee.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Daniels, Mary-Alice

Motion Passed

3. Bloomington - Daniels

Monroe County Prosecutor Hoadley has withdrawn from the elections this fall, and will be moving to Florida for another job. His

term expires in January, 1967. Inquiries to be made to see what effect this will have on the case.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Betsey, Daniels, Lew, Daniels

Motion Passed

4. DuBois Club National Action - Lew

The DuBois Club will conduct their "national action" in Washington, August 27-28. At this time it appears that the action will be small and isolated. SDS has publically stated that it is not sponsoring the events. SNCC, also, is not a sponsor, even though they and the SDS have been listed as such by the DBC. Washington, Philadelphia, and New York YSAers will participate.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Mary-Alice, Lew

Motion Passed

5. Antiwar Report - Doug

A. HUAC

B. Fort Hood Three

Doug is now working in the Fort Hood Three office. The defense committee is discussing possible projects and campaigns.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Betsey, Doug, Lew, Mary-Alice, Daniels, Lew, Doug

Motion Passed

6. SDS National Convention - Lew

SDS will hold its national convention in Clear Lake, Iowa, August 27 - September 1. From all indications this will be a very important convention for them, with many political questions being considered. YSAers from Chicago, Milwaukee, Madison, and Minneapolis will attend.

Motion to approve the report.

Discussion: Betsey, Lew, Doug, Lew, Doug, Caroline, Lew, Daniels, Doug, Mary-Alice, Caroline, Betsey, Lew, Gus, Lew, Mary-Alice, Lew.

Motion Passed

Box 471 Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003
August 24, 1966

To All Organizers & NCers:

Dear Comrades,

In some cases in the past information that has been sent out from the national office has not been reported to YSA locals. On the other hand, we have received inquiries on just what should be reported to locals. Below we have tried to outline this information.

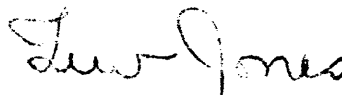
Basically the YSA NO puts out three types of information or communications:

1. NEC minutes. These are for the information of the National Committee members and alternates, and should not be read to locals.
2. Reports attached to the NEC minutes, other reports and letters. These are usually on our opponents, campaigns, fund drives, tours, pamphlets, demonstrations, the Young Socialist, the antiwar movement, etc. These should be communicated to the local either by being read or summarized.
3. Confidential letters and reports. Such items are for the information of the person to whom they are mailed.

Often several reports are sent at the same time or along with the NEC minutes. In such cases, local organizers should be careful not to overlook any of the items.

If there is any doubt as to what should be read, all communications - with the exception of reports - are titled, such as To All Organizers, or To All YSAers, or To All NCers.

Comradely,


Lew Jones
National Chairman

Report on the NCC Pittsburgh Conference by Doug J.

On the weekend of July 30 and 31 a conference was held in Pittsburgh as a result of a call issued by nine dissident supporters of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The letter announcing the meeting was signed by Morton Rieber, Houston; Dennie Blouin, Syracuse; Frank Goldsmith, Pittsburgh; Don Raskin, Boston; Sherry Meyers, Nashville; Morris Starskey, Phoenix; Hank Weiner, Milwaukee; Dena Clemage, Detroit; Amy Kesselman, New York City, and was sent to a carefully selected list of people.

The stated purpose of the gathering was; "The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam which was set up to work with constituency organizations, even though it has made a sincere attempt, has not been able to represent us effectively. We have not been able to have meaningful discussions of these matters and therefore feel the need for a meeting at which tactics and strategy are discussed in a meaningful way."

About 40 people were present at the conference including Joan Levinson, Frank Emspak and Vickie Campbell from the Madison staff.

Peter B. from the Newsletter editorial staff, along with a Newsletter supporter from New York attempted to participate in the parley.

Dena Clemage, who chaired the conference, told the two Newsletter supporters that they must leave the room. Peter asked if this decision could be put to a vote and if he could speak to the question. She agreed to put it to a vote but refused to let him speak. He then asked if his right to speak could be put to a vote. A vote was taken and he overwhelmingly won the right to speak to the question of his right to remain in the meeting. He spoke for about five minutes explaining why he was present at the conference, urging unity in the antiwar movement, and stressing the defense of the Fort Hood three. A vote was taken and except for 6 or 7 people, everyone voted to expell the two from the meeting.

For the rest of the conference, the Newsletter participants were forced to talk to other participants informally between sessions.

A number of people, including people who were not present during the expulsion, came up to them and told them that they had received a raw deal. A representative from the Houston CEWV paid \$130 for transportation to the conference. She was very irritated when she realized that she had paid that much to get to a conference that was not only tiny, but which expelled a couple of sincere antiwar fighters.

Several political supporters of the NCC came up to the Newsletter people and told them that they liked the Newsletter. About 25 Newsletters were sold at the conference, as well as a few Fort Hood Three buttons.

It was very apparent that the NCC has some internal conflicts

which it does not want Newsletter people to know about. The exact nature of these conflicts are not known but a few scattered comments to the Newsletter supporters are indicative of the mood among NCC'ers: A fellow from Detroit said "Let's face it. The NCC is dead."; another person indicated that "the NCC needs new leadership"; and a third person felt "a new national organization of independent committees is needed."

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The NCC seems to be eager to participate in this Cleveland meeting and is likely to propose some form of national mobilization for October 15 and 16.

In summary, the Pittsburgh gathering points up the real crisis that is facing the NCC. At present the NCC is virtually impotent and incapable of playing a significant or influential role in the movement.

873 Broadway
2nd floor south
New York, N.Y. 10003
August 11, 1966

TO ALL BRANCH ORGANIZERS:

Dear Comrades,

It has been brought to our attention that certain members of SNCC have been trying to raise a behind-the-scenes scandal involving our support of the Black Panther Party. We have heard that these people most often refer to the pamphlet on the BPP.

It should be clear that the source of the "criticism" lies in the political differences between ourselves and many SNCC leaders over what constitutes "independent" political action and what constitutes "coalitionism." We do not intend to get caught in the trap of public protests as long as the slanders are only rumors and on the level of gossip. And we can safely predict that there will always be a new "criticism" to replace the old when it has been answered. The resourcefulness of types that resort to gossip and slander mongering is almost unlimited in that field.

However, the comrades should be clear on some facts which relate to specific charges being circulated: (1) SNCC was not asked for approval on the pamphlet, nor was their approval required; but their New York office was informed of the pamphlet and Hulett gave permission to print his speech. His organization is very pleased with the pamphlet. (2) Merit Publishers who brought out the 32-page pamphlet for 25 cents is not getting rich, as alleged; they will be lucky to break even. (3) The youth are not making money at the expense of Lowndes County by selling Black Panther buttons; an honorable and mutually arrived at agreement exists, whereby the BPP benefits more than anyone else from the button.

Comradely,



Ed Shaw
Organizational Secretary

NEC Minutes for July 15, 1966 No. 18

Present: NEC: Dan, Lew, Betsey, Daniels, Doug, Caroline, Mary-Alice,
Melissa
NC Full: Derrick

Chairman: Mary-Alice

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Plenum
3. Summer Educationals
4. Antiwar Report
5. Report on Southern Trip

1. National Office Report - Lew

a. Transfers

With New York becoming the national center of the antiwar movement, the NEWSLETTER will be moving here. Gus H. will be moving to New York to continue his work on the NEWSLETTER.

John B. was asked to go to Philadelphia to help strengthen the Philadelphia YSA. He has been there for about two months.

Derrel and Bitsy M. have moved to Berkeley from Los Angeles.

Syd S. has been asked to go to Seattle to help rebuild the seattle YSA.

Motion: To approve the transfers of NC members Gus H. to New York, John B. to Philadelphia, Derrel M. to Berkeley, and Syd S. to Seattle.

Motion Passed

b. Announcement that 6-12 YSAers who were arrested in a civil rights demonstration in Berkeley and San Francisco in the spring of 1964 face jail sentences from 30 days to 3 months. The legal appeals are still being investigated, but it appears that all those arrested will have to serve the sentences.

2. Plenum - Lew

The replies received in the poll of the NC members indicate unanimous approval for a plenum September 10-11 in New York.

Motion: That the YSA hold a two day plenum September 10-11 in New York with the following tentative agenda:

1. Political Report
2. Negro Struggle Report
3. Antiwar Report
4. Organizational Report

Discussion: Daniels, Lew

Motion Passed

3. Summer Educationals - Daniels

Summer schools are being held in nine areas with thirteen locals participating in the schools. Some of the at-large YSAers and comrades in locals not holding a school have transferred to larger locals for the summer in order to take part. Some of the smaller locals are taking part in a school near them.

The school in the Bay Area will culminate in the West Coast Vacation School August 27 to September 5 which YSAers will attend. Detroit is planning to hold an educational weekend the last weekend in July at which Barry Sheppard will speak.

The main general areas which are being studied include Stalinism, party history, and the colonial revolution. In addition many of the locals are studying specific topics, such as the Chinese Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the Cuban Revolution. The use of tapes has been increasing, particularly the tapes on Malcolm X and those by Farrell Dobbs on the Minneapolis strikes.

Speakers from New York have been speaking at the schools. Farrell Dobbs, Fred Halstead, and Betsey Barnes will be speaking at the West Coast Vacation School. Farrell Dobbs, Tom Kerry, and Harry Ring have been speaking in locals on the East Coast and in the Midwest. George Novack will be teaching in the Midwest in August.

Attendance varies according to the size of the local, but the average is around 20 to 25 comrades and contacts actively participating. One of the most outstanding features of the schools is the seriousness and regular participation of those attending.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Caroline, Daniels

Motion Passed

4. Antiwar Report - Doug

Report on the Fort Hood Three, August 6 developments, and the NEWSLETTER. Information on the Fort Hood Three enclosed.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Dan, Caroline, Doug, Lew

Motion Passed

5. Report on Southern Trip - Betsey

Three YSAers, Betsey, Dan, and Derrick, participated in the Mississippi March and visited Lowndes County.

The most significant aspect of the Mississippi march was the role it played as a forum for the militants in SNCC to put forward the concept of black power. Everywhere there were signs saying "black power" along the route of the march. The term black power was a slogan, and a way of greeting fellow militants. At the rallies people kept interjecting "black power" into the verses of the songs. Although the slogan was instinctively picked up by militants on the march, few people had a definite idea of what was meant by it. Discussions very rarely related the concept to the Black Panther Party -- although Lowndes was held up as an example at one mass rally by Cordell Reagon.

Along with the emphasis on black power went the deep split between the SNCC militants and the SCLC forces. All along the route the leaders of the different forces negotiated and argued with each other over what policies to follow on the march. The ranks were not included in these negotiations, and often they were not even informed about what was happening.

The march reflected the change in the relation of forces in the movement. For the first time at the big televised rallies, the militants in the movement had an equal chance to have their say. The discussions that went on among the ranks reflected the new militant mood. Most people, including the whites from the North, favored self-defense. Everyone seemed glad that the Deacons were there. The notion that the struggle should be controlled and led by blacks was generally accepted, and only on the last day of the march were there white marshalls.

A report by Derrick on Lowndes County is enclosed.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Dan, Caroline, Melissa, Lew, Melissa, Derrick, Dan, Doug, Derrick, Dan, Derrick, Lew

Motion Passed

Report on Lowndes County by Derrick M.

The big factor in the success of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization has been the leadership. Other Black Panther Parties that were started in Wilcox, Dallas, and Green counties in Alabama have failed because the leadership could not put up with the pressures and responsibilities brought to bear in such an endeavor.

John Hulett is the key figure in the Lowndes County leadership. He undergoes a lot of strain as the only person on full-time. This situation will probably be remedied in the future when some of the candidates take on the tasks of building community meetings, registering people to vote, and getting out the ideas of the Panther party.

Hulett has read parts of the book, Malcolm X Speaks, and is passing the book around to other people who would like to read it. Mrs. Alice Moore, secretary of the Panther party and candidate for tax assessor, has read parts of the pamphlet, "How a Minority Can Change Society", by Breitman. Hulett used some of the analogies from Malcolm X Speaks in his explanation of some of the ideas of the Panther party.

In the future we will be sending down more of our literature on the Afro-American struggle. This could help to raise the political understanding of the leadership and consequently that of the Freedom Organization as a whole. It should harden their view on the national Democratic party, teach them about the ideas of Malcolm X, and explain the colonial revolution. Most of the Negroes in Lowndes had never heard of Malcolm X until after he was assassinated and most of them know little about the colonial revolution.

When I was riding around with Hulett, we got into a discussion of the differences between the CP and the SWP. He thought that we were Communists since the terms "communist" and "black nationalist" were hurled at them by the press and the power structure. He figured that such terms denoted people who were militant.

Hulett praised the Militant as the only publication in the country that gives clear support to the Freedom Organization. At the community meetings that Betsey, Dan, and I attended, he introduced us as Militant reporters. When we were in the community visiting people, he would also introduce us as reporters for the Militant. The people in the community and at the meetings responded in a very friendly way.

Although some people have reservations about driving whites around the county, Hulett has no objection and says that they will go wherever he goes. In explaining the Freedom Organization to the community people, he would say that the party was not limited only to blacks and that whites would be accepted if they want to join.

Hulett said at one time that he would let Sheriff Ryles (the present sheriff) run for sheriff under the Panther Party if

he would agree to carry out the program. This was used to point out that the leadership depends on a strong organization that will make sure the candidates keep to the program after they are elected. He characterizes a strong organization as one where the rank and file members have the final decision over program and policy. Hulett learned the opposite of this rule when he participated with Shuttlesworth and SCLC in a voter registration project in 1966 in Birmingham, Alabama.

Before I went to Lowndes, I thought that SNCC was providing most of the leadership in the County. However, I found out that the Black Panther party is very independent of SNCC. It has developed its own ideas, and in some instances, has taught SNCC a few things, especially in the area of self-defense. The leadership knows that the community must rely on itself, and its own leadership, because SNCC will not be in Lowndes forever. Hulett told me that in order to foster this independence, everyone should go out in the community for three hours a week just to talk to people. There are only a few SNCC workers in the county, and their role is mainly canvassing the community under the direction of the Black Panther party.

While in Lowndes, one of the SNCC workers gave Hulett a pamphlet from the Philadelphia Freedom Organization. Its general theme was how Negroes should use their vote for themselves, and it attacked the Democratic party in a vague way. Because of the differences between South and North, the application of the Lowndes experience to the Northern ghettos will be extremely difficult. The big obstacles to a movement on the scale of Lowndes will be the Democratic party machines and the black middle class. Because the people in Lowndes just got the vote, they were never in the Democratic party. Because the middle class is so small and reactionary (identifying with the white racist power structure which employs it) and because the working class leadership in the Freedom Organization has had experience with a middle class type leadership, an extreme militancy has taken hold in the party.

Right now any attempt to apply the Lowndes experience in the North would have to take the shape of a small vanguard of black militants with a long range perspective. This will probably not be forthcoming from CORE or SNCC. In their application of the black power idea, they may run "independent" Democratic party candidates. Carmichael does not point to the Lowndes County Freedom Organization as the only concrete expression of black power. It is our job to relate the connection.

We should try to get out the Black Panther Party pamphlet to as many people as possible. The Chicago local sold hundreds of pamphlets at the King-Meredith rally in Soldiers Field a couple of weeks ago. This pamphlet and the Militant are the only publications in the North informing people about the ideas and activities of the Black Panther Party.

In light of the new ferment in SNCC and CORE, each local

Report on Lowndes County 3

should become acquainted with civil rights and Negro groups active in their area. Besides work on the Black Panther, efforts can be made to tie Negro groups into antiwar work.

We can raise money for the Freedom Organization. Thus far a number of locals have collected money at forums where there has been a speaker on the Black Panther Party. We can work with SNCC and CORE chapters or on an ad hoc basis to try to raise larger sums. All money should be sent to: John Hulett, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Route # 1, Box 125, Hayneville, Ala.

Carbons of all correspondence with Lowndes should be sent to the N.O. In most cases it is important to consult with the N.O. before contacting Lowndes, except in matters such as donations.

July 15, 1966

FORT HOOD 3 DEFENSE COMMITTEE

5 BEEKMAN STREET 10th floor N.Y., N.Y. 10038 TEL: 227-8891

CO-CHAIRMEN: A.J. MUSTE, STAUGHTON LYND
SECRETARY: DAVE DELLINGER

July 19, 1966

Dear Friends:

Enclosed is a fact sheet on the case of the Fort Hood Three, the case of the three G.I.'s who have refused to go to Vietnam because of their belief that the war in Vietnam is illegal, immoral and unjust. Also enclosed is a copy of the speech written by Pvt. David Samas, one of the three soldiers, as delivered by his 17-year old bride, Marlene to a meeting at Community Church here in New York on July 7. The three soldiers themselves had been arrested one-half hour before they were scheduled to speak at that meeting.

The soldiers were taken after their arrest to Fort Dix, New Jersey, where a week later they were ordered to board a plane for Vietnam. As they had previously announced, they refused to board the plane and refused to go to Vietnam. They were immediately put in the stockade and charged with refusing to obey a direct order. Courts Martials are now being prepared against them. Their attorney, Stanley Faulkner, plans to subpoena as part of their defense the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of Defense.

The case, then, has come to a head. The men have put their bodies on the line. It is up to the anti-war movement to back them up. It must gain support for it. It must gain that support not only in the movement, but in the public at large. It must get the facts on the case to other soldiers, wherever they can be found.

The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and the New Jersey and Philadelphia anti-war groups have demonstrated at Fort Dix and have passed out fact sheets (copy enclosed) on the case to G.I.'s both at the base and at bus terminals in cities nearby. They have found a remarkably friendly response. Everybody is watching to see whether the anti-war movement will stand solidly behind these three courageous G.I.'s and succeed in mounting an effective campaign in their defense. The importance of this case can hardly be overestimated.

We urge that the following activities be undertaken wherever they are possible:

1. Obtain statements of support for the three G.I.'s from prominent people in your area, including trade unionists, professors, politicians and peace candidates, civil rights leaders, and of course persons in the anti-war movement. Ask them to become sponsors of the defense committee.

2. Conduct demonstrations and meetings in support of the three G.I.'s. Include their case in other anti-war demonstrations being planned in your area. Members of the families of all three of the G.I.'s are willing to speak on their behalf.

3. Pass out fact sheets on the case to G.I.'s wherever you can find them--at nearby military bases, service clubs, USO's bus terminals, etc. This activity is completely legal, the response has been inspiring, and it is one of the most effective ways of maintaining pressure on the authorities connected with the case. The slogans which have been carried on the Fort Dix demonstrations are:

FREE THE FORT HOOD THREE
FREE SPEECH FOR G.I.'s
SUPPORT G.I.'s RIGHT NOT TO BE IN VIETNAM
SOLDIERS ARE CITIZENS
FREE PFC. JOHNSON, PVT. MORA, PVT SAMAS

4. Write or wire Congressmen, Senators, the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Army, and President Johnson urging that the three G.I.'s not be prosecuted.

5. Send telegrams of support to the three men themselves. Letters will not reach them but telegrams will. They are under tremendous pressure and the anti-war movement must let them know it is backing them up. Telegrams should be addressed individually to Pfc. James Johnson, 51581277, Bldg. 6769, Fort Dix, N.J. or Pvt. Dennis Mora, 51581308, Bldg. 6769, Fort Dix, N.J., or Pvt. David Samas, 56408577, Bldg. 6769, Fort Dix, N.J.

6. Send contributions to the Defense Committee to pay for the legal fees, and the costs of publicizing the case. Solicit contributions from other people in your area who might be willing to support the case. Send the contributions to:

Fort Hood Three Defense Committee
5 Beekman Street, 10th Floor
New York, New York 10038

7. A pamphlet containing documents on the case and other literature is available from the committee.

Sincerely yours,

The Fort Hood Three
Defense Committee

TEXT OF SPEECH PREPARED BY PVT. DAVID SAMAS - AS READ BY MARLENE SAMAS TO JULY 7 PUBLIC MEETING SPONSORED BY FIFTH AVENUE VIETNAM PEACE PARADE COMMITTEE - PVT. SAMAS WAS ARRESTED WITH THE TWO OTHER SOLDIERS ONE-HALF HOUR BEFORE THEY WERE TO SPEAK AT THIS MEETING

"Thank you, I was asked to read my husband's speech tonight, since I guess you already know he is unable to be here. This is a rough draft actually because he intended to proofread it on the way down here but circumstances have prevented that so bear with me."

TEXT:

I've been in the army since December of 1965 and my feelings about the Vietnam situation have always been as they are now. I've been opposed to American participation in Vietnam from the very beginning but have never until a few days ago made my feelings public. Last Thursday afternoon we held a press conference in this same church and announced our refusal to participate in any way in the Vietnam war. Since that time we have been plagued by federal agents and what can only be called hired thugs.

I kept my whereabouts secret from the press and the police and only my parents and a very few people knew where I was living. The Modesto city police visited my parents in California saying they had been sent by some "higher authorities" but were not able to reveal those authorities. An officer who my father happened to know approached him in a friendly manner saying he came to help the family. My parents live three thousand miles away in California and it is not easy to remain in close and constant contact with them, so they don't realize the actual circumstances that exist here in New York. And they are not familiar with any of the peace groups either--here or on the West Coast. It didn't prove hard for the police to persuade my parents into believing I was being used as a tool of the Communists. They were told that I was in serious trouble and that the only way for them to help was to reveal my address to the police so that the authorities in New York might get in contact with me and try to help and protect me. My father became terribly upset, fearing for my safety, and gave the police my address in New York. He immediately sent me a telegram urging me to call home as soon as possible.

I called and found my parents very upset and they told me what the police had said to them. Although they have absolutely no authority the Modesto city police had offered me a deal. They had told my father that if I would retract my statement and withdraw completely from the civil action now in progress that I would receive a discharge from the army and no serious repercussions would result. In their concern for me my parents believed this fantastic story.

The next morning, when we left our apartment we were followed by three men in their early twenties who made no attempt to be discreet about tailing us. They remained within twenty feet of us all day long and when approached would deny any connection with us. Since then there have at all times been at least two men parked in front of our apartment. Undoubtedly they are present now. They have attempted to intimidate the three of us in one way or another and have approached all of our parents in different

ways.

But we have not been scared. We have not been in the least shaken from our paths. And we will not be, even if physical violence is used. We are not pacifists. We are not non-violent, and if the need arises we will fight back. I have never been involved with any of the peace groups before until a few weeks ago when we approached the Parade Committee for help. As a civilian I was interested and extremely concerned, but I neglected to show my concern. In a great way I too am responsible for the boys who already are in Vietnam.

But even as an unaffiliated civilian, I was closer to the peace movement than most soldiers are now. To me the peace movement always looked like concerned students and citizens trying to protect their country from war and nuclear devastation. To a soldier the movement appears very differently. The soldier is very far indeed from the outside world and the normal news media do not usually reach him. News of the free world reaches him through letters from home, or through his buddies. It often seems that the peace groups are united against the soldier, and that forces the soldiers to cling together and ignore the real issues made public by the peace movement. The stories that reach the soldiers usually show that the peace movement is backing their enemies, and is against the individual soldiers. Upon too many occasions groups have offered aid to the Viet Cong and too few times have they approached the G.I.'s with help.

The G.I. should be reached somehow. He doesn't want to fight. He has no reasons to risk his life. Yet he doesn't realize that the peace movement is dedicated to his safety. Give the G.I. something to believe in and he will fight for that belief. Let them know in Vietnam that you want them home, let them know that you are concerned about their lives also. Tell them you want them to live, not die. Bring home our men in Vietnam!

The three of us here, James, Dennis, and I came to the movement for help and we received help. We asked for support in our stand and we received that support. We asked for money for the case and have gotten some. The legal aspects of our case are numerous and complex, but we cannot depend alone upon our legal stand. The war in Vietnam cannot be stopped just by legal action. The war can only be stopped by the efforts of the movement with the sympathy of the public.

In the end we depend entirely upon the public. We have placed ourselves in the hands of the people of the United States, and all of our hopes lie with them. We win or lose depending upon how the people respond. We risk our futures and maybe our lives on the hopes of the American public. We need your help.

Prepared and distributed by:

FORT HOOD THREE DEFENSE COMMITTEE
5 Beekman Street, 10th floor, N.Y. N.Y.

THREE G.I.'S ARRESTED AND HELD AT FORT DIX TO PREVENT THEIR SPEAKING
ON THEIR LEGAL CASE AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR!

THEY NOW AWAIT COURT MARTIALS

Three G.I.'s, formerly stationed at Fort Hood Texas, and on leave in New York City were arrested July 7 just one half hour before they were to speak to a public meeting at Community Church to explain legal proceedings which they have instituted against the Vietnam war, which they consider "illegal, immoral and unjust." They were taken, two of them in handcuffs, to Fort Dix, New Jersey, held under tight restrictions for a week, and then ordered to Vietnam. They refused to go, as they had previously warned, and are now being held in the Ft. Dix stockade awaiting court -martial.

The three are PFC James Johnson, 20, Pvt. Dennis Mora, 25, and Pvt. David Samas, 20. They were drafted into the Army last December, took basic training at Fort Hood and signal training at Fort Gordon, Georgia. They became friends in training and found that they all felt the war in Vietnam was wrong. After completing the Signal School, they were assigned to the 142nd Signal Battalion, 2nd Armored Division, Fort Hood, Texas, where they found they were under orders to go to Vietnam.

"Now all we had discussed and thought about was real. It was time for us to quit talking and decide. Go to Vietnam and ignore the truth or stand and fight for what we know is right."

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On June 30 they held a news conference and announced that they were filing the injunction, that they would report to Oakland Army Terminal as ordered when their leave was up July 13, but they would not go to Vietnam. They said:

"We have been told that many times we may face a Vietnamese woman or child and that we will have to kill them. We will never go there--to do that--for Ky!...We have made our decision. We will not be a part of this unjust, immoral, and illegal war. We want no part of a war of extermination. We oppose the criminal waste of American lives and resources. We refuse to go to Vietnam!"

They have been supported in their stand by leaders of the civil rights and by the entire anti-war movement. Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) appeared with them at the press conference to give support of their organizations.

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(over)

A committee to aid the three soldiers in their case was formed called the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, with prominent people across the country as sponsors.

After their announcement, though they were still on leave, attempts were made to intimidate them and even to bribe them to drop the case. Pvt. Samas's parents were contacted by police and told that if their son would drop the case, he would be given an Army discharge. Then, only 30 minutes before they were to speak on their case before a public meeting they were arrested.

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of CORE, declared that the arrests "were made explicitly to prevent these young men from exercising their First Amendment right to freedom of speech and were reminiscent of 'police state tactics.' Recently in Baltimore at its national convention, CORE went on record as being opposed to the Vietnam war and pledged to aid and support those who would not serve in Vietnam."

The officers of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, Rev. A.J. Muste, Dave Dellinger and Norma Becker, sent a telegram to the U.S. Attorney General and the Secretary of Defense saying: "The peace movement will continue to aid in every possible lawful way anyone, civilian, soldier, sailor or Marine, who opposes this illegal, immoral war. The young men in the armed services are entitled to know the truth about the war and to engage in discussions about it. Citizens are likewise entitled to communicate the truth about the war to servicemen and the peace movement is determined to exercise that right."

The anti-war movement, with hundreds of thousands of active participants across the country is backing the three soldiers now being held at Fort Dix. We defend their right to free speech, their right to their day in court, and their right not to participate in a war which they consider immoral and unjust.

This leaflet issued by:

The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, 5 Beekman St. N.Y. 10038
and

The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman St. 10th Floor, N.Y.
A.J. Muste - Staughton Lynd, co-chairmen

* * * * *

The three soldiers involved are:

PFC James Johnson, 20. Born in East Harlem. Graduated from Rice Parochial High School. Attended Bronx Community College for a year before being drafted. He is Negro.

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THE FT. HOOD GIs: DENNIS MORA, DAVID SAMAS AND JAMES JOHNSON

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JULY 8, 1966.

Army Arrests 3 Soldiers Who Refused to Go to Vietnam



The New York Times (by Larry Morris)
 Marlene Sans, 17-year-old wife of one of three soldiers refusing Vietnam duty, holds sign given her by pickets when photographers arrived at protest march in Times Square. Arrested soldiers are Pfc. James A. Johnson and Pvts. Dennis Mora and David A. Samas.

By PETER ULLONES

Three Army privates who said two weeks ago that they would not report Wednesday for transfer to South Vietnam were arrested by the military police here last night. Their furloughs had been abruptly canceled by their commanding general. The sol-

diers, who were in civilian clothes, were seized about half an hour before they were to address a meeting at the Community Church, 40 East 35th Street. The meeting was sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. The arrests touched off an angry response

by the 500 persons crowded into the church's auditorium and most of the audience marched up Fifth Avenue at 10:30 P. M. to Times Square, where they demonstrated at the Armed Forces recruiting booth. The three soldiers—Pvt.

Continued on Page 5, Column 2

WON'T YOU HELP THE FORT HOOD 3 DEFENSE COMMITTEE

A.J. MUSTE, STAUGHTON LYND**CO-CHAIRMEN

DAVE DELLINGER**SECRETARY

THESE YOUNG DRAFTEES WHO HAVE BEEN ORDERED TO VIETNAM, WHILE ON FINAL LEAVE BEFORE EMBARKATION SOUGHT A COURT INJUNCTION AGAINST BEING SENT ON GROUNDS OF THE IMMORALITY AND ILLEGALITY OF THE WAR. THEY ARE WILLING TO STAND COURT MARTIAL IF NECESSARY. THEY WILL FACE THE MOST EXTREME PRESSURE AND IT IS VITAL THAT ALL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS OPPOSED TO THIS IMMORAL WAR DEMONSTRATE SYMPATHY FOR THEIR HEROIC STAND AND APPLY PRESSURE TO ASSURE THAT THEIR LEGAL RIGHTS ARE NOT VIOLATED.

WE NEED YOUR HELP! PLEASE CLIP AND MAIL TO: FORT HOOD 3DEFENSE/COMMITTEE
5 BEEKMAN ST. 10th FLOOR
N.Y., N.Y. 10038
TEMPORARY PHONE--264-0071

YOU CAN USE MY NAME AS A SPONSOR OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

ENCLOSED FIND _____ CONTRIBUTION TO THE FORT HOOD 3 DEFENSE COMMITTEE. MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO A.J. MUSTE, TREASURER PRO TEM.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____ CITY: _____

STATE: _____ ZIPCODE: _____ TELEPHONE NO: _____

ORGANIZATION (for identification purposes only): _____

July 12, 1966

TO BE READ TO LOCALS

Dear Comrades:

Attached is a leaflet that was distributed at Fort Dix on Saturday July 9 in conjunction with a demonstration of 250 people against the arrests of Dennis Mora, David Samas and James Johnson. This provides a brief but accurate summary of the facts in the case of the Fort Hood Three. The Fifth Ave. Peace Parade Committee urges every local committee to reproduce and circulate it.

The developments in the case are changing every day and we'll do our best to keep the YSA informed of these developments as quickly as possible.

The most important tasks now are:

- 1) underline the importance of this case for the antiwar movement to the activists in your committees;
- 2) use the case to help build the Aug.6-9 Days of Protest;
- 3) publicize the case as much as possible (the Parade Committee is preparing a pamphlet with all the major documents of the case and a brochure). Get articles into local and campus newspapers.

Also attached is a statement issued by the YSA in support of the three men.

Comradely,

Doug Jenness
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THREE G.I.'s ARRESTED AND HELD AT FORT DIX TO PREVENT THEIR SPEAKING
ON THEIR LEGAL CASE AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR!

Three G.I.'s, formerly stationed at Fort Hood Texas, and on leave in New York City were arrested July 7 just one half hour before they were to speak to a public meeting at Community Church to explain legal proceedings which they have instituted against the Vietnam war, which they consider "illegal, immoral and unjust." They were taken, two of them in handcuffs, to Fort Dix, New Jersey and are being held under tight restrictions.

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They completed the Signal School and were assigned to the 142nd Signal Battalion, 2nd Armored Division, Fort Hood, Texas. There they found they were under orders to go to Vietnam.

"Now all we had discussed and thought about was real. It was time for us to quit talking and decide. Go to Vietnam and ignore the truth or stand and fight for what we know is right."

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE STATEMENT OF SUPPORT
TO THE FORT HOOD THREE

The Young Socialist Alliance whole-heartedly supports the right of Pvt. Dennis Mora, Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. David Samas to refuse to serve in Vietnam on the grounds that it is an illegal and immoral war.

We further endorse their efforts to enjoin the Secretary of Defense McNamara and the Secretary of the Army to withdraw the orders to ship them to Vietnam.

The courageous resistance of these three men will stand as a hallmark in the history of the antiwar movement and of the country. They are not only registering a protest against the Vietnam war. Many thousands of us have done that. But they are saying "No" from inside the army itself- a heroic act of great political import.

The mere fact of their protest is a testimony to the growing dissatisfaction within the military service against the dirty,brutal aggression by the United States against the people of Vietnam. It is the proof that as the antiwar movement grows and deepens its influence is being felt by the troops themselves; and this is vitally important if the resistance against the Vietnam war is going to be successful.

It is the duty and responsibility of the antiwar movement to rally to the defense of these three men and all others that may follow them. Not only does this link the organized opposition against the war with the G.I.'s, but it demonstrates that in no way is the movement going to permit the government to intimidate,harass or penalize individuals and organizations opposing the Vietnam war.

We protest the illegal arrest of the three soldiers--an arrest that was made just prior to a public meeting where they were to present their views openly and frankly. We reject this as an infringement of the right to free speech not only of G.I.'s but of all American citizens.

Furthermore, we regard with disgust the crude attempt by the police to bribe David Samas and his parents. Petty bribery of this character is a strong indictment against the police, the military authorities and the government and places the onus of guilt squarely on them.

The YSA has been active in the antiwar movement from its very beginning and has participated in all of its major actions and projects. The defense of Dennis Mora, David Samas and James Johnson will not be an exception. We offer our full assistance to these men.

July 12, 1966

NEC MINUTES for JULY 2, 1966 No. 17

Present: Betsey, Doug, Melissa, Mary-Alice, Caroline, Lew, Daniels
Excused: Dan

Chairman: Melissa

Agenda: 1. National Office Report
2. Young Socialist
3. Meredith March
4. Antiwar Report
5. DuBois Club Convention
6. SDS National Council Meeting
7. National Conference for New Politics

1. National Office Report - Lew

A. Transfers

Peer and Angie have moved from San Jose to Berkeley. Roland and Bonnie will be moving to San Francisco.

Motion: To approve the transfer of NC member Peer from San Jose to Berkeley.

Motion: To approve the transfer of NC member Roland from New York to San Francisco.

Discussion: Caroline

Motions Passed

B. Introducing the YSA.

A couple of locals have ordered large quantities of the brochure and indicate that the brochure is easy to distribute.

2. Young Socialist - Mary-Alice

The next YS will be out by Aug. 6-9. The main article will be on "Black Power."

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Lew, Betsey

Motion Passed

3. Meredith March - Betsey

Informational report on the march and Lowndes County. Fuller report and discussion to take place at next NEC.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Lew, Daniels, Betsey

Motion Passed

4. Antiwar Report - Doug and Lew

A. Fort Hood Three - Doug
See Attached.

B. Informational report on Aug. 6-9 developments - Doug

C. SWP-YSA joint antiwar fraction report - Lew
See Attached.

Motion: To approve the reports.

Discussion: Lew, Caroline, Doug

Motion Passed

5. DuBois Club Convention - Lew

See Attached.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Mary-Alice, Lew, Daniels, Lew, Doug

Motion Passed

6. SDS National Council Meeting - Doug

See Attached.

Motion: To approve the report.

Discussion: Caroline, Doug, Caroline, Doug, Lew, Doug, Lew,
Mary-Alice, Doug

Motion Passed

7. National Conference for New Politics - Doug

See Attached.

Motion: To approve the report.

Motion Passed

NEC Report on the SDS National Council Meeting - Doug - July 2, 1966

On June 17, 18, and 19 the National Council (NC) of SDS met in Ann Arbor, Michigan. About 125 people were present from around the entire country.

The national council meeting was preceded by two days of special conferences sponsored by SDS -- one conference on electoral politics and another on the draft and the selective service examination. The workshops on electoral politics concentrated their discussion on the Scheer campaign and the Black Panther party.

Four different resolutions on the question of II-S, draft exams, and demonstrations against the draft were presented to the workshop on draft and ranking. All the resolutions supported some form of activity around the question but expressed different emphases on the question. The resolutions were submitted to the NC for discussion.

The agenda for the National Council meeting was: 1) coalition politics, 2) Vietnam, 3) draft, 4) Radical Education Project (REP), 5) high school organizing, 6) SNCC, 7) South Africa, 8) election of national secretary and administrative council, 9) convention planning, 10) publications, 11) civil rights.

Vietnam, coalition politics, and civil rights were not covered. A brief summary of the other points follows:

- 1) A resolution was passed against II-S and the draft on the grounds that they are instruments of an unacceptable foreign policy. The motion passed tended to play down the II-S aspect.
- 2) It was decided to expand the Radical Education Project which is centered in Ann Arbor. This department of SDS is responsible for publishing research papers and educational materials.
- 3) It was agreed to place more emphasis on high school organizing.
- 4) Ivanhoe Donaldson from the New York SNCC office gave a report on SNCC. He said that they were emphasizing "disruption not reform" and thought that "black power" was applicable to the North as well as the South. He indicated that SNCC was planning to start projects in Newark and Harlem and was considering activities against American complicity with apartheid in South Africa.

A motion of solidarity with SNCC was made and became a center of controversy when an amendment was added endorsing SNCC's support of independent political action. The amendment failed but the motion of solidarity passed (see attached).

- 5) A program was proposed by Tom Condit of Chicago whereby SDS would ask SNCC and several Christian youth organizations to issue a joint call for nationwide demonstrations, and boycotts and UN sanctions against the South African regime.

Carl Ogelsby, president of SDS, moved to support the Alexander Defense Committee against the government's attempt to force it to register as a "foreign agent." A corollary motion was also passed

whereby Carl Ogelsby would ask the ADC if he could become one of its national officers.

6) It was decided to elect officers for the next two months (until the convention late in August). Jane Adams, former Freedom Democratic Party organizer and Mississippi Valley organizer of SDS, was elected national secretary. Bob Speck, editor of New Left Notes, was selected as administrative assistant. Bob Speck, Jerry Rubin and Eric Chester were all nominees for national secretary but withdrew at the last minute.

7) It was decided to have a national convention the last week in August somewhere in the midwest.

8) It was agreed to expand publications.

A proposal from the DuBois Club convention meeting in Chicago that SDS co-sponsor an action in Washington on August 27-28 around the theme "Peace and Economic Security" was rejected.

YSAers from Ann Arbor and Detroit attended the various sessions and maintained a literature table where about \$18-19 worth was sold.

Several important political conclusions can be made as a result of our observations at the SDS National Council meeting:

- 1) SDS is a large scale political workshop where debate and discussion are taking place on some important political questions. Black power and white radicals, coalition politics, how to achieve political power, whether to call SDS a socialist group, etc. are some of the political questions that are being debated by the leadership of SDS.
- 2) The openness of SDS makes it easy for us to participate and intervene in these debates and discussions on both local and national levels. We should increase our previous efforts to present our ideas on these questions to the ranks of SDS which are being drawn into the discussions.
- 3) Every local should follow closely the developments within SDS in each area. It is suggested that a person from every local be assigned to fraternize with SDSers and attend SDS meetings. Every local should subscribe to New Left Notes, SDS's official newspaper. (Write SDS, 1103 E. 63rd St., Chicago, Illinois 60637).

RESOLUTION ON SNCC

SDS has long maintained fraternal relations with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Now that SNCC is under fire from a variety of liberal organizations and publications we feel a special urgency to restate our support. Let it be clear that we are not merely supporting SNCC's right to its views, we are welcoming and supporting the thrust of SNCC's program, and expect to continue our joint work.

SNCC has emphasized "black power." This is not a magic charm of a promised land; it is a strategy for social change and a mode of organization. Both the strategy and the mode become clear if the United States is understood as an essentially racist culture. Yet at the same time Negroes have been an exploited caste, they have been taught to seek their salvation in integration -- that is, in an accommodation to the dominant social values, under white leadership.

We know that not all SNCC's critics resemble George Wallace; that is precisely why we try to lay bare the liberal assumptions that lead to attacks on SNCC. We are struck with the fact that among the critics are liberals vociferous in their praise of an America in which minorities organize themselves and preserve their cultural integrity. They are now denouncing SNCC's "black consciousness" as "racism in reverse." We doubt these critics would find themselves so upset if SNCC sought to accept the major premises of American life; it is precisely because SNCC is revolutionary -- because it is trying to bring about a fundamental rearrangement of power in America -- that they shrink in horror.

Racism and economic exploitation confront Negroes as a group, together. So, of course, Negroes, especially in the Southern black belt and the Northern ghettos, must act as a group in order to chal-

lenge their condition. This is not "racism in reverse" any more than American revolutionists were "colonialists in reverse." It is a recognition of the fact of common identity and the beginnings of a strategy for change. We must not simply tolerate this "black consciousness," we should encourage it.

Measured integration is very literally irrelevant, since integration assumes the integrity of the dominant (white) culture. "Black consciousness," on the other hand, understands very deeply the exploitativeness of that culture and seeks to make a beginning in reconstructing it. We agree, then, with SNCC in asking why Negroes cannot seek to live and rebuild where they wish, in their own schools, with their own economic base, without being dismissed as "racist."

Some liberal and radical critics argue that SNCC's strategy will be frustrated by the sheer fact that Negroes are a minority, even in large portions of the Deep South. To this we say that the responsibility for that frustration would lie with those whites who fail to build white movements that can at some point ally with the black movement for common goals. Whites in the civil rights movement have almost always been auxiliaries, and at the present stage they could easily frustrate the Negro movement unless they recognize the right and the need for black radicals to organize independent bases of power in Negro communities. Power means the ability to act autonomously; it is a truism that the power of black communities is limited to the extent it depends directly on white help. (This is not the only factor to be considered

passed by National Council of Students for a Democratic Society, June 18, 1966

when the white radical thinks about organizing Negroes, but we cannot dispute its importance.)

SDS seeks to call white critics to their true tasks, not to impugn their motives. If we really want to help we will be organizing primarily among the powerless, the disenfranchised, the dependent whites -- poor, working class, and middle class -- toward their power in communities, unions, and professions, so that they may move toward authentic alliance with the organizations of black power. There can be no true coalition for radical change unless there exist people in many spheres, wherever they are, committed to and organized for the reconstruction of American life.

Finally, SNCC has been criticized for having a position on the Vietnam war, in the first place; and second, for having the position it does, one of deep and wholehearted opposition. But we applaud SNCC for recognizing that the enemies of deep-seated social change at home are the enemies of revolution abroad, and for acting to forge alliances with the oppressed in the Third World. We are saddened to see presumed internationalists attacking SNCC for articulating its solidarity with their brothers -- whether in Guatemala or South Africa or Vietnam -- and we intend to work closely with them in making international contacts: without sectarianism, but also without illusions as to the real position of America in the world, or for its own poor and powerless.

NEC Report on the Fort Hood Three - Doug - July 2, 1966

A new and politically significant defense case is developing for the antiwar movement. This is the case of the Fort Hood Three -- three soldiers who until June 6 were stationed at Fort Hood, Texas with the 142nd Signal Battalion, 2nd Armored Division.

The three men, Pfc. James Johnson, 20; Pvt. Dennis Mora, 25; and Pvt. David Samas, 20, have all received orders to report to Oakland Army Terminal on July 13 for shipment to Vietnam. Although they are going to report as ordered to the Oakland Army Terminal, they have stated that under no circumstances will they board ship for Vietnam and are prepared to face court martial if necessary.

The three soldiers are initiating an action in the courts to enjoin the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Army from sending them to Vietnam. The papers for this action were filed in Washington, D.C. on June 30 by Stanley Faulkner, who along with Mrs. Selma Samols is the attorney for the three. The legal grounds for the case are that the war is unconstitutional and is in violation of the decisions of the Nuremburg trials.

A Fort Hood Three Legal Defense Committee has been established with A.J. Muste and Staughton Lynd as co-chairmen, Dave Dellinger, secretary, and Al Evanhoff, treasurer. A broadly based 10 man steering committee has been created to coordinate the defense activities.

A press conference was called by the defense committee on June 30 in conjunction with the filing of the papers. Both Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of SNCC, and Lincoln Lynch, Assistant Director of CORE, spoke at the press conference and solidarized themselves with the three G.I.'s. As a result of this conference considerable T.V. coverage was given to the case and a substantial article appeared in the New York Times.

The next two major activities surrounding the case are:

- 1) A public meeting to be held in Community Church in New York on Thursday, July 7. The three men will present their case at the meeting.
- 2) A broad, united front of organizations in the Bay Area is organizing to have as many people as possible meet the three when they arrive at the San Francisco airport on July 9th.

On the legal front a hearing is scheduled for the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C. on July 11.

Neither Johnson nor Samas have any political affiliation and Mora is currently a member of the DuBois Clubs.

This case is politically important for three major reasons:

- 1) A well publicized and active defense of these three G.I.'s -- none of whom are pacifists and all of whom are presently in the army -- is a link between the antiwar movement and the G.I.'s. Within two days after the press conference a few soldiers came up to the Parade Com-

mittee office in New York wondering how the case was coming and if it was successful how it would apply to them. The case is an example to the thousands of G.I.'s who are disgusted by the prospect of going to Vietnam. By merely defending these three men it implicitly raises the question of what other soldiers should consider doing about the war.

2) The case sharply confronts the Johnson administration at one of its most sensitive points -- the draftee army. A reliable, unquestioning army is of the utmost importance to Johnson and his war aims, and if soldiers and groups of soldiers begin challenging the war and their participation in it, it is a direct challenge to the government.

Not only does the case confront the administration head-on, but it also cuts across the phony "peace" campaigns around the country. The liberal "peace" candidates are not eager to be associated with a case that does not permit any fuzzy lines between the administration and the antiwar movement.

With the left wing of the civil rights movement -- SNCC and CORE -- and the left wing of the pacifist movement coming out unequivocally in defense of these three G.I.'s, it puts the CP, the DuBois Club, and other coalitionist groups on the defensive.

3) The fact that the case is something new and different is important. The antiwar movement has organized many demonstrations and rallies and will continue to do so. However, there is a need for the freshness and inspiration of new and daring focal points. This case can become one of those points.

Our tasks should be:

- 1) Make the facts about the case known in all the antiwar formations in every local area;
- 2) Get local committees to send statements of solidarity to the defense committee. The sooner the better with these statements.
- 3) Get big-name antiwar figures in every area to send in their names as sponsors;
- 4) Get local antiwar groups to raise money for the case. It is going to cost money for the defense committee to get out publicity.
- 5) Get publicity about the case in local and campus newspapers.

For information about the case write: Fort Hood Three Legal Defense Committee, c/o Dave Dellinger, 5 Beekman St., 10th floor, New York, N.Y.

July 12, 1966

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We further endorse their efforts to enjoin the Secretary of Defense McNamara and the Secretary of the Army to withdraw the orders to ship them to Vietnam.

The courageous resistance of these three men will stand as a hallmark in the history of the antiwar movement and of the country. They are not only registering a protest against the Vietnam war. Many thousands of us have done that. But they are saying "No" from inside the army itself- a heroic act of great political import.

The mere fact of their protest is a testimony to the growing dissatisfaction within the military service against the dirty, brutal aggression by the United States against the people of Vietnam. It is the proof that as the antiwar movement grows and deepens its influence is being felt by the troops themselves; and this is vitally important if the resistance against the Vietnam war is going to be successful.

It is the duty and responsibility of the antiwar movement to rally to the defense of these three men and all others that may follow them. Not only does this link the organized opposition against the war with the G.I.'s, but it demonstrates that in no way is the movement going to permit the government to intimidate, harass or penalize individuals and organizations opposing the Vietnam war.

We protest the illegal arrest of the three soldiers--an arrest that was made just prior to a public meeting where they were to present their views openly and frankly. We reject this as an infringement of the right to free speech not only of G.I.'s but of all American citizens.

Furthermore, we regard with disgust the crude attempt by the police to bribe David Samas and his parents. Petty bribery of this character is a strong indictment against the police, the military authorities and the government and places the onus of guilt squarely on them.

The YSA has been active in the antiwar movement from its very beginning and has participated in all of its major actions and projects. The defense of Dennis Mora, David Samas and James Johnson will not be an exception. We offer our full assistance to these men.

July 12, 1966

NEC Report on the National Conference for New Politics - Doug
July 2, 1966

The National Conference for New Politics was initiated by liberal and radical supporters of peace candidates last January in Chicago. It did not really get off the ground, however, until its national executive committee met in New York in the first part of June and issued its statement of purpose.

The political objective of the NCNP is to channel the energies and protests of the antiwar militants into Democratic party politics. To this end they have a \$500,000 fund raising campaign in order to help finance various peace candidates around the country. So far they have dispersed close to \$20,000. About \$6,000 was allocated to the Morgan campaign in the Oregon Democratic primary, \$1,000 to the Mark Comfort campaign in San Francisco, \$850 to SDS's Newark project, \$1,000 to the Theodore Weiss campaign in Manhattan, \$5,500 to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, \$1,000 to Robert Scheer's campaign, \$1,000 to Lowndes County Freedom Organization, and \$250 to the 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action in Chicago.

Julian Bond from SNCC and Simon Casady, former head of the California Democratic Council, are co-chairmen of the organization.

The composition of the NCNP includes liberals, student radicals, and social democrats. Paul Booth, former national secretary of SDS, Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC, Dick Gregory, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Mark DeWolfe Howe, and others are on the provisional national council.

This new organization held a three day Institute on New Politics (originally scheduled for five days) at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on June 20,21,22. The original purpose of the "institute" was for a few Democratic party hacks and former Progressive Party campaigners to teach the younger generation the techniques of running "issue-oriented" campaigns.

From the point of view of the NCNP the three days were a failure. Instead of the 75 to 100 that were expected only about 15 to 25 were present for most of the sessions. Those present were for the most part people who had attended the SDS national council meeting which was held in Ann Arbor just before the NCNP conference. Consequently they were very tired and not too attentive.

Present at the conference were: Bob Gottlieb, SDS and New York Committee for Independent Political Action (CIPA); John Mason, SDS and New York CIPA; Jim Lafferty, candidate for U.S. Congress from Detroit; Peter Werbe, Detroit SDS and Detroit CEWV; Frank Joyce, Detroit SDS and CEWV; John Maher, Boston SDS; Jerry Rubin; Jack Weinberg; Mike Schneider, San Francisco California Democratic Council; Steve Weissman, Berkeley SDS; Carl Bloice, Scheer campaign and DuBois Club; Steve Max, New York SDS; Clark Kissinger, SDS and 49th Ward CIPA in Chicago; Don Rothenberg, National Council member of the NCNP and head of the Northern Californians for Liberal Representation; Eric Mann, SDS Newark project; Bob Scheer, Paul Booth, national council member of the NCNP and former national secretary of SDS; Ivanhoe Donaldson, New York SNCC and former campaign manager for Julian Bond;

Doug Jenness and Linda Belisle, YSA.

Instead of sessions on how to run effective campaigns in the Democratic party the conference boiled down to reports and discussion on seven electoral projects around the country. They were:

- 1) New York CIPA
- 2) 49th Ward CIPA in Chicago
- 3) Tom Adams campaign in the Democratic primary for U.S. Senator from Massachusetts
- 4) Jim Lafferty campaign in the Democratic primary for U.S. Congress from Detroit
- 5) SDS's Newark Community Union Project (they've supported a few local candidates in the Democratic primary)
- 6) Bob Scheer campaign in the Democratic primary in Berkeley-Oakland
- 7) Black Panther Party.

There was uneasiness regarding the Black Panther party's independence from the Democratic and Republican parties. Nevertheless, the Democratic party question was not raised openly, nor were there any head-on attacks on the Black Panther party.

The Scheer campaign created the most interest and was a source of inspiration to most of the people present. It was looked at as an example of what is possible to achieve by running a "radical" candidate if you take a "win" attitude.

The report on the Scheer campaign indicated that Scheer polled close to 45% of the vote against the Democratic incumbent, Jeffrey Cohelan. Scheer did not carry the "Berkeley hills" where the liberal professors live nor the white working class areas. He did, however, carry the "Berkeley flats" where the students are predominant and the black ghettos in South Berkeley and West Oakland.

Scheer linked his campaign with several community reform organizations and now that his primary is over he plans to maintain three offices which will try to develop on-going "grass roots" organizations for future electoral campaigns.

Although this particular NCNP-sponsored event was not very successful, the fact that coalitionists from around the country have come together and are trying to build an organization is very important and must be watched closely. Any time our coalitionist opponents can overcome the differences among themselves long enough to unite in a common national structure, it makes our work all the more difficult.

They have also consciously drawn in representatives from SDS and SNCC in order to cover their left flank and help divert the energies of student radicals away from direct confrontation with the government and into coalition politics.

Our policy toward this new formation should be:

- 1) keep closely informed of its activities and report any local developments to the National Office;
- 2) expose it as a threat to the political independence of the anti-war movement.

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SHOULD SOCIALISTS SUPPORT PEACE CANDIDATES?

A discussion paper submitted to
the Second National Convention
of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.
June 17, 1966

There has been considerable discussion within and between socialist youth organizations about many important political problems that face all of us. The open and serious manner in which the discussions have been carried out is a refreshing development and should be welcomed. It is only through this kind of discussion, in which ideas are weighed carefully and on their merits, that programs and organizations capable of fundamentally changing this society can be created.

We agree with the editorial in Dimensions, the discussion journal of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, which states that those of us in socialist groups "should state our differences for many are fundamental and far reaching in scope. But we should state them in a manner which does not cut off debate, but rather, which poses the basic questions which need to be tackled by the movement as a whole."

Perhaps one of the most basic current disputes among socialists active within the antiwar movement is whether or not we should support liberal "peace" candidates in the 1966 elections. As part of the discussion, we in the YSA are submitting this paper to the Second National Convention of the DuBois Clubs for consideration.

Those who support "peace" candidates include in this category the liberal politicians who have criticized the Johnson administration's war policies in Vietnam. Almost all of the candidates designated as peace candidates are Democrats, although there is a sprinkling of Republicans as well.

The leading proponents of peace candidates are the Socialist party, the Communist party, SANE, and many liberals. Just recently a new organization called the National Conference on New Politics has been formed to help raise support for peace candidates around the country with Julian Bond and Simon Casady as co-chairman.

"Protest" and "Politics"

One of the most common arguments used in support of peace candidates is that it is not sufficient for a movement like the anti-Vietnam-war movement to remain a "protest" movement where demonstrations, teach-ins, parades, etc., are the most common form of action. It is argued that the movement must extend beyond "protests" and enter the electoral arena where it can become a "political" movement.

In order to discuss this argument adequately we must make clear what we mean by "politics."

Political issues are all those which relate to the policies of the government and who controls the government. All important questions of our time tend to become political questions. Foreign policy and war are obviously political issues, and the antiwar movement, which has as its objective the reversing of a fundamental policy of the U.S. government, is clearly a political movement.

In fact, the movement against the war in Vietnam is the most important political development in the United States today. Its demonstrations and rallies are political in content, and represent powerful forms of political action. They have produced the largest political opposition movement in this country in decades directly challenging the rulers of the country, the capitalist class, on one of its most jealously guarded domains, the conduct of foreign policy.

The antiwar movement challenges the right of the ruling class and its politicians to make war at a time when it is conducting a ferocious war in Vietnam. It is implicitly challenging the right of the rulers to rule on this critical issue.

To create a dichotomy between demonstrations and electoral actions and to call the former non-political is false. Election campaigns are only one type of political action.

What we are primarily concerned with in this discussion is not whether electoral activity should be a major axis of struggle for the antiwar movement, but with the specific kind of electoral action proposed by the supporters of peace candidates. They are proposing coalition politics which means supporting a "progressive" or "liberal" section of the capitalist class.

Coalitionism has been justified by many different arguments. Some have called the Democratic party the "friend of labor" or the "friend of the Negro people." Others say it is a "lesser evil" to the Republicans.

Today the argument is heard that the way to build an effective movement against the Vietnam war is to support Democratic party "peace candidates."

Are these arguments accurate or inaccurate, correct or incorrect? We feel they are neither accurate nor correct, and that their inaccuracy is revealed quite easily by examining the Democratic party to determine what it is and what it isn't.

First of all, the Democratic party is owned lock, stock, and barrel by the capitalist class as is the Republican party. The ruling rich keep their hold on the party through the power of their money to buy and corrupt, maintaining a tight grip on the central apparatus of the party.

A Vote-getting Machine

The tens of millions of Americans who pull the levers in the voting machines on election day do not control or determine the policies of the party. Moreover, the overwhelming majority

of them do not even consider themselves party members. The primary elections do not determine the character of the Democratic party. They are frauds, designed to give the party the appearance of practicing "grass roots" democracy. All important decisions of policy are made at the top and invariably reflect the interests of the ruling class. The truth of the matter is that both the Democratic and Republican parties are vote-getting machines for the ruling capitalist class and not representative political organizations of the voters.

The outstanding characteristic of the Democratic party is that the party bosses have welded together a coalition that includes labor leaders, civil rights leaders, and even some socialists, whose job is to deliver in a bloc the labor and Negro vote on election day. This is a coalition of "leaders" and bureaucrats. The closest that millions of Negroes and workers come to actually participating in the coalition is on election day when they pull down the voting lever.

This coalition has been very useful to the country's rulers because it has provided them with a means by which dissent and opposition can be drawn into their organization, the Democratic party. Dissenters are trapped into choosing between the liberal and conservative wings of the capitalist parties, both of which are dedicated to the preservation of capitalism. Furthermore, coalitionism blocks the formation of independent anti-capitalist opposition to the ruling parties.

The ruling class is a tiny minority and under an electoral system it is imperative that it find allies who can insure the success of its candidates at the polls. This "alliance" does not benefit the vast majority of workers and Negroes but rather is the means by which the rulers guarantee their continued political dominance. For workers and Negroes, who represent the majority of the electorate, to block with a tiny group of capitalists and politicians on the terms of the latter is like a group of slaves joining their owner in a struggle against slavery.

Coalitionism and "Practical" Politics

Most supporters of coalitionism will agree with many of our arguments about the nature of the Democratic party and the labor-Negro coalition with it. However, they contend that at the present historical juncture it is more "practical" to support "progressive" capitalist politicians in order to win partial gains than to support and help develop the existing independent political movements.

We only need to examine the record carefully to determine whether this contention has any validity or not. What concrete gains were won, for example, for the working class and Negro people as a result of welding a coalition in support of Johnson in the 1964 elections? The answer is none. With a landslide victory tucked under his belt Johnson felt he had enough elbow room to escalate the dirty war in Vietnam.

In response to this gruesome war the anti-Vietnam-war movement emerged and was organized independent of the Democratic party and implicitly against it. Organized labor fared no better. With the labor vote wrapped neatly and delivered to his doorstep, Johnson and the Democratic party politicians felt safe enough to renege on their promise -- a meager promise at that -- to abolish Section 14b of the Taft-Hartly Act. In the civil rights field where some legislation was passed, this was not the result of coalitionism but in reality a response to the independent struggle of the Negro people in massive demonstrations. These direct actions were organized outside of the Democratic party and independent of it.

Bettina Aptheker, in an article in the most recent issue of Dimensions ("Perspectives for the Peace Movement"), discusses this question of winning partial gains by supporting "progressive" capitalist candidates. "But what of the fact that Robert Scheer's election might bring us closer to ending the war? That seems to be ignored." She says, "The idea is also advanced that it would be disastrous if Robert Kennedy became President in 1968 on the pledge of ending the war; and catastrophic if he really did end the war. Granted that Bobby was a McCarthy hatchet-man, and isn't exactly a sweet-smelling politician; but we're not being napalmed and gassed and murdered. Maybe, just maybe, we could tolerate Bobby long enough to get the troops home."

Bettina seems confident that Kennedy would bring the troops home, if elected. Such confidence is hard to justify when one listens to Kennedy. In the May 1966 "Report from Robert Kennedy," the former Attorney General of the country said: "Our objective is a settlement which will free the South Vietnamese from the terror and intimidation, and prevent the forceable takeover of their country by North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. To achieve this objective we must continue our military commitment to convince the Communists that they are not going to win militarily."

However, Bettina misses one fundamental fact. The reason Robert Scheer, Robert Kennedy, Theodore Weiss, and other liberal politicians are critical of the Vietnam war is because of the tremendous grassroots pressure from the population, and from the independent antiwar movement which has the capacity to organize that sentiment. It is possible that Robert Kennedy could get elected in 1968 and be forced to end the Vietnam war. But it is also possible that President Johnson might be forced to end the war in 1967. The key question here is how much pressure -- from the antiwar movement and the world-wide struggle against imperialism, including the struggle of the Vietnamese -- can be brought to bear on Johnson, Kennedy, and the rest of the capitalist politicians. Rallying behind Johnson in 1964 or rallying behind Kennedy in 1968 is not the way to put pressure on them. This only guarantees them votes and relieves the pressure on them. It is much more sensible from the point of view of "practical" politics to organize independently of the liberal politicians in order to build the largest counterforce to their policies.

As socialists we support independent political organizations of the working class not only because of the pressure it puts on the rulers. More important, we encourage it because independent working class formations, no matter how small they seem now, are embryos of the political alternative to the ruling class parties.

"Lesser Evils"

The underpinning of Bettina's argument is that we should endorse the "lesser evil." She makes this clear when she depicts McNamara as "insane," and Rusk as "maniacal" but argues that "Morse and Fulbright have a grasp of world realities; an understanding of what the United States can and cannot do in this great revolutionary epoch."

The fact of the matter is that all four of these politicians have well reasoned arguments in defense of their particular approach to preserving capitalism. If Bettina is right in assuming that the "reasonable" politicians who can best defend capitalism are not running the government, that is a problem for the capitalist class, not for socialists. Our job is to help dispel illusions about capitalist politicians, not foster them.

Along these lines it is sometimes pointed out by proponents of coalitionism that there are significant distinctions between different sections of the ruling class. However, these distinctions do not differ qualitatively in the sense that they do not represent a break with capitalism or capitalist politics, but rather indicate different approaches on how best to defend capitalism. These differences can be best utilized, and can sometimes be created, by the movement, if the movement is organized independent of the ruling class as a whole.

Since most of the peace candidates are running in the Democratic party primaries, we have discussed at length the character and role of the Democratic party. However, liberal politicians will sometimes run "independently" of the Democratic and Republican parties. In almost every case such candidacies have in essence not been independent, but merely attempts to jockey into a better position vis a vis the Democratic party and did not represent a genuine break with capitalist politics.

Henry Wallace's Progressive party was this type of political formation. Although it was formally independent of the Democratic and Republican parties its program was pro-capitalist. In fact, this party was essentially a third capitalist party opposing the cold war, but supporting capitalism, and when push came to shove in Korea, Wallace came out in support of the war and the party collapsed. Wallace made no attempt to build his party on the trade union organizations, i.e., to build a labor party. Instead, the Progressive party was posed as a supra-class party - a "people's party" - which was a cover for its pro-capitalist program.

A crucial question for socialists when considering political action of any type whether it is a demonstration or an election campaign is whose class interests are served by the action. Socialists are dedicated to the working class and to the revolutionary transformation of our society by the action of the workers. Our day to day, week to week, and year to year activity is conducted with the viewpoint of how best to build a revolutionary workers movement in this country. Historical experience has demonstrated time and time again that it is impossible for the working class to

take power away from the ruling capitalist class unless it creates its own organizations of struggle. As socialists it is our responsibility to aid and assist the formation of these organizations where they don't exist and to support and develop them where they do.

Regardless of what formations capitalist politicians may create or work in, or how many divisions may exist among them, they are dedicated to the support and defense of imperialism. It is impossible for American imperialism, however, to maintain its dominance without ruthlessly crushing colonial revolutions and maintaining a world-wide police force. The Democratic party which has presided over more imperialist wars in American history than any other ruling party, by its very nature is not going to forsake its defense of imperialism and imperialist war.

In specific interventions like the Vietnam war, the rulers may be forced to withdraw, but not because of any fundamental change in the character of the Democratic party or the "liberal" section of that party. Instead, it will be due to the fantastic pressure exerted by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and the growing international movement against the war. Support to peace candidates is not a way to end war, but rather insures the continued rule and dominance of the capitalist ruling class, imperialism and wars.

What Alternative?

If "lesser evilism" and electoral coalitions with the "liberal" wing of the capitalist class for the purpose of maintaining them in office are unprincipled and ineffective from both a socialist point of view and the point of view of maximizing reforms and concessions, what kind of independent electoral action should we be seeking to build?

Bettina Aptheker states in her article in Dimensions that, "While these coalitions (with the liberals) are often difficult to maintain they are the sure way to win." We have already indicated why they are in fact "the sure way to lose," but of equal importance is the admission that such coalitions are difficult to maintain. Why are they so unstable? It's certainly not because the liberals aren't willing to take support -- especially support in the form of money and good hard leg work -- wherever they can get it. Most liberals will take help from communists, socialists, anarchists, and even the ultra-right, as long as such groups keep quiet and work hard.

The problem in maintaining such coalitions then arises from the fact that the workers and Negroes who are misled into supporting coalitions with the liberals are constantly acting against their own best interests. Even though the majority of workers and Negroes vote for the Democratic party, they are forced by war, poverty, racial discrimination, inflation, and antilabor laws to wage struggles that cut across the interests that the Democratic party is pledged to defend and challenge the right of the rulers to rule. There is the ever present possibility that they will attempt to bolt the coalition -- hence the necessity on the part of the rulers of constant vigilance to keep them from striking out on their own.

As socialists we support and encourage these breaks with the coalition and point to them as examples of what the working class must do if it is to create a counterforce to the capitalist class.

We must have a perspective of electoral action independent of the ruling class and based on workers and Negroes, and we welcome such independent political struggles as the antiwar movement and Freedom Now movement. These movements present a direct challenge to the ruling class and undermine its electoral coalition with the working class and Negroes. The growth and strength of these independent struggles helps to widen the breach between the voters and the coalition, helps to expose the true character of the Democratic party, and helps to destroy the illusions that shackle the Negroes and workers to the Democratic party. The shattering of these illusions will be a step toward building parties of their own, representing and fighting for their own interests.

There are several forms of electoral action which complement the independent thrust of direct action and should be supported by socialists. Independent black political action is one of the most important forms today. The millions of black Americans who vote for the Democratic party are key to the entire coalition. Without them the Democratic party could not win (and as Stokely Carmichael put it, the whole structure would come crashing down in so many pieces "that all the king's horses and all the king's men could not put it together again.") The independent road taken by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization - the Black Panther party - in Alabama is an inspiring example of what can be done. Learning from the experience of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party, the Black Panther party was built absolutely independent of and in conscious opposition to the Democratic party. It is democratically controlled by the Negroes of Lowndes County who make all the decisions and select their own candidates. It is not dependent on any single candidate or leader for its existence and program. It is financed by the people of Lowndes themselves and is not dependent on Northern or Southern liberals who have their own ideas about how the organization should be run.

In a county where 80% of the population is black, the Freedom Organization could win next November, if free and fair elections are held. Its example will provide a powerful stimulus in other southern counties as well as Northern ghettos.

A second form of independent electoral action which socialists should encourage and promote is that based on the working class and its organizations, the trade unions. The futility of labor's efforts to win concessions by supporting the liberal capitalist politicians is given fresh proof daily by the reactionary antilabor laws which pour out of Washington and every state capital, and by labor's failure to secure even such tiny concessions as the repeal of Taft Hartley 14b.

Although the sentiment for, and the possibility of creating, a labor party in the U.S. was diverted into the Democratic party during the 1930's, in other advanced capitalist countries such parties have been formed. In Canada, for example, which even has the same international unions as the United States, the New Democratic Party was

formed several years ago with the support and active participation of many unions and already polls roughly 18% of the vote in national elections. The NDP is on record in opposition to the war in Vietnam and against Canada's supporting role and has participated in building protest demonstrations against the war.

The third type of independent electoral action that should be supported is political campaigns that are specifically socialist in character and candidates who run on a socialist platform. Such campaigns at this time play a real role in helping to educate the layer of radicalizing youth about the nature of the Democratic and Republican parties and to convince them of the need for a revolutionary socialist perspective in America.

In a world where one third of the population live in workers' states, where the overwhelming majority of the population consider themselves socialists, and where socialist groups in increasing numbers organize against imperialism, socialist electoral action in the United States can only have the most fruitful results in the coming period.

Submitted by the National Executive
Committee of the Young Socialist
Alliance

NEC REPORT ON THE DuBOIS CLUB NATIONAL CONVENTION - Lew - July 2, 1966

The second national convention of the DuBois Clubs, held in Chicago June 17, 18, and 19, marked a setback for the DBC. Publicized widely, the DBC leadership wanted and expected their convention to be a convention of the "movement" with the DBC at the head, and to this end they had rented the Chicago Coliseum which seats some 4000 people.

The average attendance at the convention was 150 people, of which 20-30 were YSAers. There was no meaningful representation at the convention from the "movement," that is, SDS, pacifists, radical independents, or civil rights groups. The largest single session of the convention had 275 people present, and not the 350 that The Worker reported.

The entire convention was influenced by the formation and activity of a black caucus. Approximately 10-15 Negro DBCers at the convention organized a black caucus with the aims of forcing the DBC to somehow adapt to the idea of 'Black Power' and to attain representation in the national leadership of the organization. This caucus was in some ways peculiar. It very directly reflected the influence of Malcolm X, his ideas, and the movement around him. (One DBCer on the floor of the convention stated that Malcolm was the greatest thing to come along in years.) Yet, on the other hand, the members of the caucus had a loyalty to the DBC, in spite of the fact that the Stalinist line does not adapt too readily to 'Black Power'. All members of the caucus held the community organizing approach of the DBC and wanted to adapt it to 'Black Power'.

The influence of this caucus was first felt at one of the opening workshops where white DBCers were accused of being white chauvinists. Later at a public rally, a Negro DBCer from Watts stated that Black Power was a good idea, suggested that DBC projects in black ghettos should be all black, and blasted "progressives" for their orientation of holding hands and singing "We Shall Overcome."

Open political differences at the convention posed real problems for the DBC leadership. Their answer to the caucus was to concede on some vague and meaningless points, and then to offer national posts to two of the leaders of the caucus. This procedure was evidently accepted by the caucus, and thus the grouping was effectively bought off.

In attempting to make the convention a meeting of the "movement," the DBC had invited many of the radical youth organizations. Dimensions carried an editorial calling for more discussion among left groups around issues that divided them, and proposing left unity where such unity was possible. In that spirit the YSA attended the convention with representatives from the national office, one carload from each of the midwest locals, and the entire Chicago local.

YSA's participation in the convention was a continuation of our previous policy of confronting the DBC with our ideas, and at the same time fraternizing with the ranks of the DBC in order to find the healthy elements and draw them closer to us. At this convention, our intervention revolved around three points:

1. Independent Political Action. We planned to present our ideas on this in counter-position to the peace candidate orientation. A discussion paper presented in the name of the YSA was distributed to most of the delegates. (See attached.) In addition, we pushed the idea of the Black Panther party, as a concrete positive example of the kind of independent political action we support, utilizing the Black Panther pamphlet and button.

2. International Days of Protest. We spoke in behalf of the International Days of Protest, attempting to get the DBC to formally endorse the IDP and agree to build them as the single most important activity in the United States in the coming period. This orientation tended to cut across and compete with the DBC's plan for a march on Washington for peace and economic security, Aug. 28.

3. Defense. In addition to offering our support and collaboration in their defense efforts, we wanted to use a defense case involving one of our comrades to show the healthy elements within the DBC how a defense case is run - in distinction to the totally sectarian approach the DBC has followed.

The members of DBC at the convention were already convinced of the peace candidate orientation and organizing for it, so this subject did not raise much discussion. However, we were able to raise the issue in workshops and did make some gains. In one case the chairman of the workshop felt so uneasy he arbitrarily closed the workshop.

The DBC leadership would not endorse the IDP, nor would they formally reject it. Instead they pushed for their March on Washington. The membership had many hesitations about such a march, feeling that it would not be a success. However, the leadership pushed extremely hard for this action, going so far as saying that SDS would co-sponsor it, when SDS had no such intention. By the end of the convention, the march had been unanimously approved. It will probably be a more colossal failure than even the convention.

The convention made an attempt to revive the DBC defense case, in reaction to the fact that the "movement" has forgotten about it. However, they made no concrete plans for a concerted defense effort. No attempt was made to educate the DBCers on the facts of the case (this was left to the lawyers). No defense committee type of apparatus is contemplated. A motion to have a full time person on the case never reached the floor. However, the Joe Johnson defense at the convention was able to make several concrete gains. Bettina and Herbert Aptheker, and Hugh Fowler became sponsors. A motion of support to the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joe Johnson passed the convention.

We were able to learn a great deal about the DBC at this convention, and to fraternize with the DBCers. These were our greatest gains.

The composition of the convention was almost entirely youth from radical backgrounds. Most of those present were the sons and daughters of CPers or exCPers. Since this was really pushed as a big

convention for the DBC, it stands to reason that their entire membership fits in this category more or less.

There was little evidence at the convention that the DBC has been able to recruit or integrate new radicals. In addition, there was no concrete evidence that the DBC really recruited anyone in their membership drive after the government attack.

The DuBois Club is probably only a little larger than the YSA in real numbers. When only 150-275 show up at a widely publicized convention, it follows that their membership cannot be more than double the number at the convention, at the very most. The DBC in addition, probably has a paper membership 2-4 times their real membership, and not the 3-4,000 they advertise.

Since its founding convention the DBC has been able to consolidate a leadership which, bureaucratic though it is, has the respect of the membership. Moreover it is a national leadership -- Jim Peake, Gene Dennis, the Hallinans on the West Coast; Hugh Fowler and Eisencher in the Mid-west; Ricky Eisenberg, Jose Ristorucci, and Bob Heisler on the East Coast.

The growth of nationalist sentiment in the United States has had an impact on and penetrated into the DBC. It is a question the conscious Stalinists cannot come to grips with nor answer, and one that bothers the membership, particularly the black members. The YSA can probably make the most gains around this question at this time.

There was not one public instance of "trot"-baiting, either in workshops or plenary sessions. The closest thing to baiting was a sign over their literature table which read, "Buy from your friends, not the Trot opposition."

Literature sales at the convention were surprisingly good, amounting to \$61.80. The largest sellers were the Black Panther buttons and pamphlet -- 68 and 58 of each respectively. Several pamphlets dealing with the Negro struggle sold well also. The literature table also served as a convenient place for discussion. Bruce H., who headed the literature table, reports that many discussions took place there with guests at the convention, black caucus members, and friendly DuBoisers.

Our intervention in the convention confirmed the correctness of our orientation toward the DBC and underlined the importance of continuing it in the future. We should continue to put pressure on them, confront them with our ideas, particularly on the Negro struggle, and fraternize with the ranks of the DBC. We should continue to watch the DBC, for differences which can give us an opportunity to participate in the discussion. Other pertinent information (such as recruitment or lack of it) should be forwarded to the NO.