

young socialist
the organizer

4·30·71

**YOUNG
SOCIALIST
CAMPUS
ELECTION
CAMPAIGNS**

SALES CAMPAIGN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOLS

FUND DRIVE

10 Cents

Socialist Summer Schools

Socialist summer schools are a basic institution of our movement. These summer schools are held in every regional center during June, July and August, for the intensive education of our cadre on the principles of revolutionary socialism. Every member of the YSA should orient her or his summer activity around participation in one of the summer schools.

This year, planning for the summer schools will be carried out along with preparations for two very important upcoming events: the August convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which all members of the YSA are urged to attend, and the SWP presidential election campaign to be launched soon after the SWP convention. In line with these events, two special topics are recommended for inclusion in all summer school programs.

The first of these topics is a study of the basic dynamics of the current radicalization and what this means in relation to the prospects for the American revolution and the building of a revolutionary vanguard party in the 1970s. This series would include a study of the political resolution and political reports passed at the last convention of the Socialist Workers Party and the following SWP National Committee plenum, and the main speeches elaborating on these themes at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held in Oberlin last summer.

This study should include the Transitional Program (*The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*), *A Transitional Program for Black Liberation*, and *The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International* (all available from Pathfinder Press). The points made in these documents form the basis of our fundamental strategy in the 1970s. A book containing the former documents is being published by Pathfinder Press under the title: *Towards an American Socialist Revolution: A Strategy for the 1970s*. This book will be available before June 1; these documents are immediately available in *Internal Information Bulletin #5* in 1970 (published by the SWP and available to YSAers) and in back copies of the *ISR*.

The second major recommended topic is a

study of revolutionary socialist electoral policy. A sample syllabus for a course on this topic is in preparation by the National Education Department of the SWP and will soon be available. A new Education for Socialists Bulletin is also available, entitled *Aspects of Socialist Election Policy*. This, along with various Pathfinder publications, means that there is ample material available on this topic.

The 1972 election campaign will be a major area of YSA activity in the coming year; a study of why and how we run election campaigns will be an indispensable aid to this activity.

Most socialist summer schools take up three to five different topics. In addition to the above recommendations, the classes held at Oberlin last year offer a useful guide for further selection of topics. The remainder of the summer school program should be chosen from the following:

1. Marxism and the Women's Liberation Struggle
2. Structure and Organizational Principles of the SWP
3. The History of the SWP
4. Anatomy of Stalinism
5. Foundations of Scientific Socialism
6. Marxism and the Struggle for National Liberation
7. The Revolutionary Party in the Antiwar Movement
8. Dynamics of the Labor Movement and Party Tasks
9. Marxism vs. Ultraleftism, Anarchism and Terrorism

The National Education Department of the SWP will be able to help with speakers, tapes and the selection of materials for study. Speakers from neighboring regions and a limited number from the National Center will supplement those available in each area. Early arrangements should be made for outside speakers.

The summer schools should be closely tied in with regional work. Every YSAer throughout the region should make the necessary arrangements to attend one of the summer schools. Comrades in the regional centers should aid in

obtaining housing, information on summer employment, etc., to comrades from around the region who will be moving to the regional centers to attend the summer schools.

In those instances where comrades in outlying areas will be unable to move into the regional centers for the entire summer, special arrangements should be made. Either these comrades can commute to the summer school sessions (which are usually held two or three evenings per week) or the regional center can supply educational aids (tapes, syllabi, speakers, etc.) to comrades in the region who are unable to attend the summer school classes. Every YSAer should participate in this intensive summer educational process in one way or another.

The main purpose of the summer schools is the education of our own members. The summer schools are not contact classes, although contacts can be invited, nor are they aimed only at the education of new members. Their purpose is to aid the continuing education of all members, and the courses of study are adopted with that in mind.

Responsibility for education is as much a part of our political activity as are sales of our press, antiwar work, finances, etc. Participation in the summer schools should be considered a political assignment for all members of the YSA.

Planning for the summer schools should be well thought-out to maintain a balance in political activity during the summer. Opportunities for our participation in the mass movement cannot be expected to diminish during the summer. While our participation in the mass movements is essential, we should make sure that our education is also a priority item.

In practice, we have found that added summer reinforcements to YSA locals and SWP branches in the regional centers, and the extra enthusiasm which results from a challenging educational program, enables us to maintain political activity in all areas of our work, while carrying out an intensive educational program.

LAURA MILLER
YSA National Office

Education for Socialists

The National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party publishes a number of educational documents and bulletins on various aspects of revolutionary socialist theory in order to aid in the political development of Trotskyist cadre; these materials are available to members of the YSA, and many of them will be utilized in the reading lists for classes in the upcoming socialist summer schools.

One series of educational materials which is particularly useful for YSAers at this time is the *Education for Socialists Bulletin* series. Below is a complete list of these bulletins, which explain in depth some of the key theoretical questions involved in constructing a revolutionary party in the United States. These bulletins can be ordered from: National Education Department, Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York, 10014; all individual orders must be prepaid. A bulletin list of all SWP publications, 1939 through 1970, is available for forty cents from the same source.

EDUCATION FOR SOCIALIST BULLETINS

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Resolution adopted by the 21st National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, September, 1965. \$0.35

THE DEVELOPMENT AND DISINTEGRA-

TION OF WORLD STALINISM

Documents of the Fourth International, 1954-1963. \$1.25

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

Evolution of discussion on the Third Chinese Revolution (1955-1964). \$0.75

CLASS, PARTY & STATE AND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

Documents from the internal discussion in the SWP and in the Fourth International around the question of the nature of Yugoslavia and the countries of the "buffer zone." \$1.00

DEFENDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND ITS PERSPECTIVES

Documents and speeches of the 1952-1953 factional struggle and split in the Socialist Workers Party. \$0.50

DISCUSSIONS WITH LEON TROTSKY ON THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

1. Discussion on "The Death Agony of Capitalism"—May 1938; 2. Discussion on the Labor Party—May 1938; 3. Discussion on the Transitional Program—June 1938. \$0.35

DEFENSE POLICIES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

"Traditions and Guiding Ideas of the SWP in Defense Activities," by George Novack; "The Capitalist Witch-hunt and How to Fight It," resolution of the SWP National Committee, February, 1950. \$0.35

THE NATURE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: Record of a Controversy, 1960-1963

Documents from the SWP internal discussion on the dynamics of the Cuban revolution. \$0.80

STUDIES IN AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY

"Black Slavery and Capitalism," by John Belisle; "The Rise and Fall of the Cotton Kingdom," by George Novack. \$0.80

RECENT TRENDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Reprinted from *The Militant* of 1966 and 1967. \$0.50

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY: A Review of Four Books by James P. Cannon, by Milton Alvin

A review of *Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, *The History of American Trotskyism*, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, and *Letters from Prison*. \$0.25

ASPECTS OF SOCIALIST ELECTORAL POLICY \$1.35

Fund Drive Report and Scoreboard

During the last two weeks the fund drive situation has continued to improve. Two locals, Boulder and Tampa, have already gone over their quotas—with six weeks left in which to carry out fund-raising activities! At least two other locals, Amherst and New York City, are planning to meet their quotas ahead of schedule and then go as far over 100 percent as possible by June 1.

The level of payments has continued to be relatively high, but we are not yet taking in enough money to begin catching up—narrowing the gap between where we are and where we should be. By the next scoreboard we must start to narrow this gap.

It is important, especially between now and the end of the spring fund drive, that locals send in payments on a very regular basis—not waiting until a large sum has accumulated in the local bank account, but sending in each week whatever money has been raised that week. This is important not only because the National Office needs the money in order to function but also because it is the only way we can have an accurate day-to-day picture of how locals are progressing toward their quotas. If locals wait very long before sending in money that has been raised, the scoreboard figures are unrealistically low.

At-large payments have been coming in even faster than payments from locals, and the at-large total has moved out ahead of the fund drive as a whole. We have received fund drive payments from several new areas, as well as from areas that had already contributed.

The total national quota has gone down to \$42,175. The Newark and Ypsilanti locals have been disbanded and are now at-large areas. A new local recently formed in Edinboro, Pa., has been tentatively assigned a quota of \$75.

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While most of the honoraria raised this spring are coming from the YSA speaking tours and from Socialist Speakers Bureaus that have been established in many regions, there are two other important possibilities for honoraria that locals should keep in mind.

Leading spokespeople for the YSA and Socialist Workers Party from around the country are being invited to the regional Socialist Educational Conferences being held this spring. Since these comrades have excellent credentials, attempts should be made to set up additional speaking engagements for honoraria in the days immediately before and after the conference.

Also, locals should try to arrange the largest possible honoraria for Cindy Jaquith and Norman Oliver, now on national organizational tours for the YSA. All honoraria raised on these tours above the tour quotas will be credited to the fund drive.

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The response so far to the fund-raising ad in *The Militant* has been excellent. As the scoreboard shows (under "Special Contributions"), we have received \$111 in contributions from *Militant* readers who are not members of the YSA.

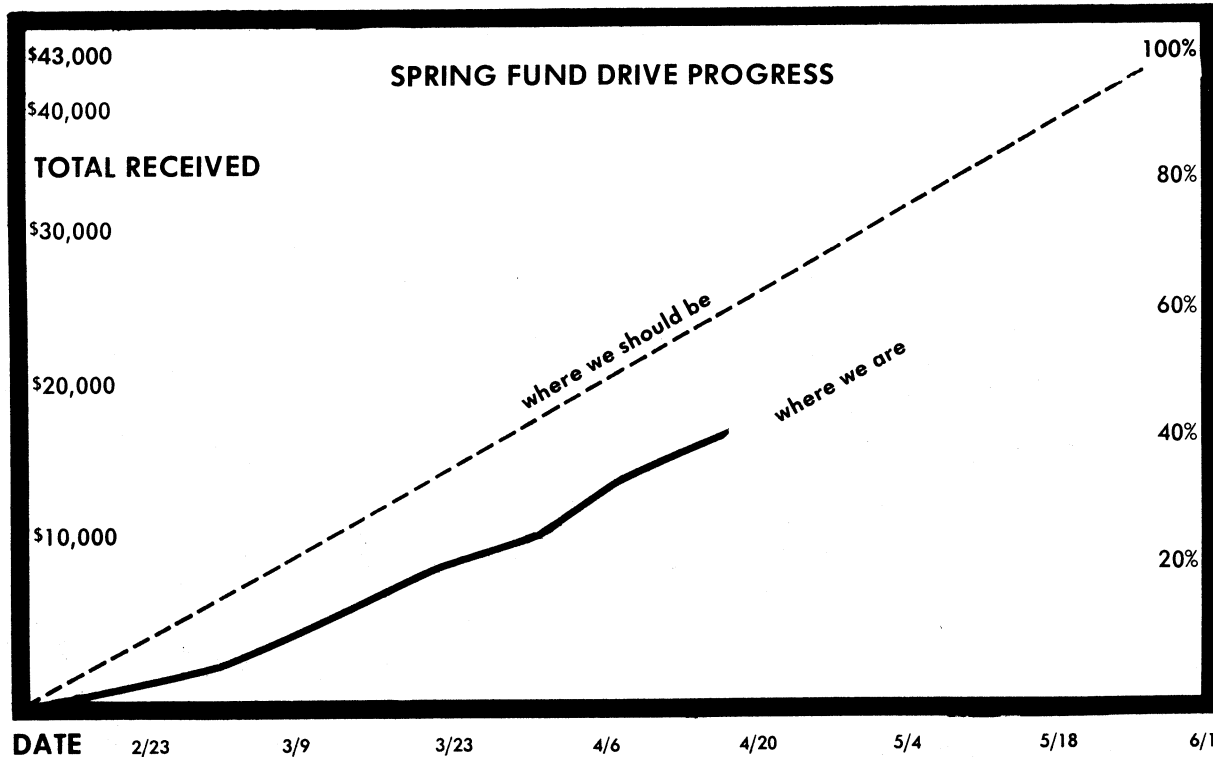
ANDY ROSE
YSA Financial Director

FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD

REGION AND LOCAL	QUOTA	PAID	%
UPPER MIDWEST	1750	1033.50	59
TWIN CITIES	1750	1033.50	59
ROCKY MOUNTAIN	600	356.82	59
BOULDER	200	203	101
LOGAN	150	75	50
DENVER	250	78.82	32
(ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.)		(14)	
(COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.)		(5)	
NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY	5550	3108.20	57
NEW YORK CITY	4400	2915.70	66
BINGHAMTON	350	85	24
PATERSON	300	62.50	21
LONG ISLAND	250	25	10
ALBANY	250	20	8
(ELLENVILLE, N.Y.)		(25.28)	
(WEST HARTFORD, CONN.)		(25)	
(NEW LONDON, CONN.)		(11.50)	
(NEW BRITAIN, CONN.)		(8.50)	
(STONYBROOK, N.Y.)		(3.50)	
(HARTFORD, CONN.)		(2)	
(WEBSTER, N.Y.)		(1.50)	
(GENESECO, N.Y.)		(1.50)	
PENNSYLVANIA	2275	1229.50	54
PHILADELPHIA	2200	1204.50	55
EDINBORO	75	25	33
(LEWISBURG)		(10.50)	
(MANSFIELD)		(10)	
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA	4100	2072.50	50
BERKELEY-OAKLAND	2400	1557.50	65
SAN FRANCISCO	1400	500	36
MODESTO	150	15	10
SACRAMENTO	150	0	0
(SANTA CRUZ)		(26)	
(GLEN ELLEN)		(7.50)	
(CONCORD)		(7)	
(MONTEREY)		(2)	
(SAN JOSE)		(2)	
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	3700	1670.75	45
SAN DIEGO	500	320.75	64
PHOENIX	300	150	50

LOS ANGELES	2500	1100	44
RIVERSIDE	300	100	33
TUCSON	100	0	0
NEW ENGLAND	4450	1865.40	42
NORTH BOSTON	1100	715	65
WORCESTER	500	302.40	60
CAMBRIDGE	1100	408.50	37
SOUTH BOSTON	1000	298	30
AMHERST	250	60	24
PROVIDENCE	500	81.50	16
MICHIGAN	2850	1156.50	41
EAST LANSING	150	65	43
DETROIT	2400	971.50	40
ANN ARBOR	300	120	40
(YPSILANTI)		(25)	
(FLINT)		(3)	
(MT. PLEASANT)		(1.50)	
SOUTHEAST	2100	851.59	40
TAMPA	300	300.59	100
ATLANTA	1400	465.50	33
TALLAHASSEE	150	50	33
NASHVILLE	150	35	23
JACKSONVILLE	100	0.50	0
(TUSCALOOSA, ALA.)		(25)	
(ATHENS, GA.)		(10.50)	
(SARASOTA, FLA.)		(5)	
(KNOXVILLE, TENN.)		(5)	
(ORLANDO, FLA.)		(1.50)	
(MURFREESBORO, TENN.)		(1)	
(GULFBREEZE, FLA.)		(0.50)	
TEXAS-LA.-OKLAHOMA	2100	835	40
AUSTIN	850	425	50
NORMAN	150	70	47
HOUSTON	850	330	39
EL PASO	150	10	7
SAN ANTONIO	100	0	0
(DALLAS)		(20)	
WISCONSIN	1800	670.50	37
MILWAUKEE	400	188	47
OSHKOSH	150	62	41
LACROSSE	250	87.50	35
MADISON	1000	333	33
MIDWEST	4600	1467.60	32
KANSAS CITY	400	275	69
DEKALB	350	132	38
BLOOMINGTON	250	75	30
CHICAGO	3600	985.60	27
(ST. LOUIS, MO.)		(76.50)	
(CARLINVILLE, ILL.)		(22)	
(PITTSBURG, KAN.)		(9.50)	
(SEDALIA, MO.)		(5)	
PACIFIC NORTHWEST	1000	289	29
PORTLAND	400	125	31
SEATTLE	600	164	27
(PULLMAN, WASH.)		(23)	
(ELLENSBURG, WASH.)		(6)	
(CORVALLIS, ORE.)		(0.50)	
OHIO-KENTUCKY	2800	760	27
YELLOW SPRINGS	150	130	87
CINCINNATI	250	125	50
OXFORD	150	45	30
CLEVELAND	2100	460	22
COLUMBUS	150	0	0
(MARIETTA)		(9)	
MARYLAND-VIRGINIA	1500	400	27
WASHINGTON D.C.	1500	400	27
(CRISFIELD, MD.)		(54)	
(RICHMOND, VA.)		(1.44)	
TOTAL AT-LARGE	1000	467.72	47
SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS		111	
TOTAL	42,175	18,345.58	43
SHOULD BE	43,000	27,090	63

SCOREBOARD COMPILED APRIL 17, 1971



Sales Campaign

Both nationally and locally, a spirited sales offensive has been launched in order to utilize the momentum, organizational experience and consciousness accrued from the recent successful spring sub drive to expand the circulation of our press.

The subscription base of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*, 23,000 and 8,000 respectively, testifies to the growing interest in the ideas of revolutionary socialism. The current readership can be significantly broadened this spring.

Our press, the only one in the United States that presents a revolutionary analysis of national and international events and the developing mass movements, can not only play an essential role in educating and training the future cadre of the revolutionary socialist movement, but also in developing these mass movements in an anti-capitalist direction. In small locals and at-large areas especially, the role *The Militant* and *ISR* can play in recruiting to our movement is invaluable.

There are many good examples of the role our press plays but two in particular should be pointed out.

The first concerns the March issue of the *International Socialist Review*, "Women in Revolt." The receptivity this issue was accorded by women's liberation activists and feminists all over the country was phenomenal. The women's liberation fraction in New York City organized sub blitzes to campuses throughout the New York region while at the same time selling the *ISR* and *The Militant*. They were able to utilize these blitzes to build the March 27 abortion law repeal demonstration in Albany. The demonstration revealed that many of the contingents in the march came as a result of contact with these blitzes on their campuses. We should continue to carry on the same type of sales expeditions in building all of our activities.

The sales of the March *ISR* during the International Women's Day activities and the fact that after a normal press run the business office was totally out of single issues by the end of the month, point to the relevance of our ideas in the various movements.

The second example of the role our press plays was discovered in a recent trip to Crystal City, Texas, made by Mirta Vidal, YSA Chicano and Latino Liberation Director, during

the elections.

The Militant is widely known there and read for its coverage and analysis of the Chicano struggle and its national coverage of other movements.

One of the recent steps taken to develop consciousness about our press was the establishment of a monthly sales letter which is jointly put out by the business offices of *The Militant* and the *ISR*. The information and ideas incorporated in this sales letter enable comrades to keep track of their per capita bundle of *The Militant* and *ISR* and also of their financial situation in relation to other locals all over the country.

The February sales letter notes that SWP branches and YSA locals owe *The Militant* a considerable sum of money—\$11,243.20. It is essential that this situation begin to be reversed. The letter states, "We want to begin immediately to bring this under control by having each area 'freeze' their debt—i.e. pay their current bills on time and not add any more to the back debt. This means determining exactly the breakeven point for the weekly bundle and making certain that that number is sold and the money collected.

"Along with the 'freeze' on the current debt, we suggest that each area with large debts hold a meeting of the organizer, sales director and financial director to work out the best way to insure that current payments are made on time and that a strategy is worked out for the back debt."

Reports from around the country indicate that *The Militant* is selling well. According to the sales letter the debts are resulting from, "1) a lack of systematic weekly records of sales and collection of money or 2) an area is using their *Militant* sales money to cover other expenses. However legitimate many local expenses can be, we should establish the norm now that *Militant* sales should only be used to subsidize other areas of activity after all back debts and current bills are paid."

There is no reason why areas cannot break even on sales of *The Militant* and *ISR*. It just takes a concrete, systematic and well organized approach to sales.

One thing that is important in our approach to sales is teamwork. A concrete projection that every local should make is that of setting up a

joint *ISR-Militant* sales committee. This changes the concept of having one person, a sales director, responsible for *Militant* sales and makes it a collective effort of more than one comrade in the local. The sales committee could consist of a sales director, the organizer, the financial director, a comrade from each campus fraction and possibly a comrade from other fractions, such as women's liberation or antiwar. Each local area, though, will have to decide the composition of a sales committee which would best meet its needs.

Also, by making it a joint *ISR-Militant* sales committee, comrades will be much more conscious of *ISR* sales.

The sales committee does not make up a team of comrades that sell our press. It is the responsibility of every comrade to sell our press, just as it is every comrade's responsibility to come to YSA meetings and pay dues.

The locals must not only develop sales consciousness but organizational efficiency in the keeping of records, finances and every other aspect of our sales work.

The regional centers can also play an important role in this sales campaign. We must develop a regional consciousness and see sales of our press as one aspect of our revolutionary activity which can be greatly expanded through the cooperation and team work of a whole region.

Also, all locals should fill out the monthly sales report forms and make sure that they are returned to *The Militant-ISR* business office. This will make possible better coordination of our sales campaign on a national and local scale.

Implementing this basic guide will certainly make it possible for every area to increase their *Militant* and *ISR* bundle size.

This sales offensive will increase our sales, start areas on the road to wiping out their back debts and place the YSA in a solid position to take on the largest sub drive yet next fall.

TERRY HARDY
YSA National Office

Tallahassee Sales Tips

The Tallahassee YSA has one of the highest per capita *Militant* bundle sales (90 per week) in the country, and at present we are increasing our bundle a substantial amount. In the sub drive, we tripled our quota. How are we able to succeed in selling *The Militant*?

To begin with, we have a simple way of organizing our sales on a weekly basis. Each comrade takes a certain quota at the beginning of the week; each comrade then turns in the money for her or his quota at the end of the week. A certain quota goes to the literature table, and comrades at the lit table keep track of the table's *Militant* sales.

Our selling is done almost exclusively on campus. By far, the most papers that are sold every week are at events on campus that attract radical or liberal elements—these range from radical speakers to experimental films. We obtain a list of upcoming events at the University information center, and comrades are assigned to sell at these events. Chances are, many comrades will be going to these events anyway, and it is no trouble to arrive an hour early, get a friend to save a seat, and sell right up to the last minute before the event begins and afterwards.

The Militant also sells well in snack bars that students frequent. Lawns and greens that are popular for studying are good places to sell. Non-students who work on campus are good sales prospects. Comrades are assigned to sell at every rally, political meeting, etc.

While many locals in university towns may think that the dormitories are the only worthwhile places to canvass during subscription

drives, we were most successful canvassing the many apartment houses that surround the uni-



versity. Getting subscriptions (and selling individual copies) off-campus is doubly good, both

because many people living off campus do not frequent the campus as much as dorm students, and therefore see less hawking of *The Militant*, etc., and because we can reach many new people with our socialist ideas this way.

Another suggestion, although we have not yet tried it, is to get into contact with sororities, fraternities, dormitories and business offices to see if they'd like a subscription to put in the lounges and waiting rooms.

Above all, selling *The Militant* takes a concerted effort by all comrades. Always carry a few copies with you. Selling can be done between classes at the main entrance of each classroom building. Always pick the classroom buildings with the most traffic.

Make an extra push at the first of the week to avoid being left with an overabundance of papers at the end of the week. However, if there are some papers left over, these can be sold in the dorms and with special pushes for subscriptions.

Every comrade should be well acquainted with the contents of each week's *Militant*. Use this knowledge when selling. This can lead into some good discussions about socialism. *The Militant* sells people to socialism and informs them about the activities and views of the YSA and the SWP; it's perhaps the best means of recruitment that we have.

DAVID BOUFFARD
Tallahassee YSA

Young Socialist Election Campaigns

Editor's Note: The following article is based on a report presented to the New York YSA local on April 11, 1971.

WHY WE RUN

The New York local will be waging election campaigns on five college campuses and in three high schools this spring. The intensity of our campaigns will vary with factors such as the size of the fraction, but every single one of our campaigns will accomplish the main purposes the YSA has for participating in this activity.

All of our campaigns will serve as a platform to build the mass movements we're engaged in. Our campaigns are interrelated with and complementary to all of our activity. Every YSA election campaign is an antiwar campaign, a women's liberation campaign, a national liberation campaign, a gay liberation campaign, a civil liberties defense campaign, etc. Given the timing of the New York City campaigns, stretching from the last week in April to the second week in May, building the April 24 and May 5 antiwar actions will clearly be a major focus for us.

All of our election campaigns will help lay the groundwork for the big 1972 SWP election campaign. We'll be creating potential SWP campaign supporters by showing how school and the problems of education are part of the larger problems of society as a whole and need solutions that go beyond the campus.

Every single one of our campaigns will build the YSA. We'll be projecting the type of activity that will draw serious radicalizing students toward a socialist alternative; and we'll be able to draw into socialist activity a number of people already very close to us.

Through our campaigns we'll be able to clarify political issues and draw students to our perspectives by directly counterposing our ideas, programs, activities and actions to those of reformist student organizations. Our campaigns will force these organizations to confront us politically—which means bringing the YSA a step closer to hegemony on campus.

We'll be able to establish the YSA by getting out our ideas and activity in connection with our name; our campaigns will provide us with a wider arena of intervention in the name of the YSA. This achievement will be particularly significant because on most of the campuses where we're running there is currently very little independent YSA activity.

We've seen this time and again around the country—people waiting for the knowledge that we exist, people who agree with us, who want to join us, but who simply don't know us yet. So we can expect to recruit directly from these campaigns and to lay the groundwork for future recruitment.

Also in line with building the YSA, we'll be increasing our campus fractions not only quantitatively, but qualitatively as well. Our comrades will get speaking experience; they'll have the opportunity to explain and defend our program in public, which means having to be well-acquainted with our ideas.

When thinking about the goals of YSA election campaigns, the question of winning comes up. We should be clear that the goals I've just gone over, centering around establishing and building the ideas and activities of the YSA, and the YSA itself, are the primary reasons we run campaigns. Success or failure should not be gauged by the number of votes we get, or by whether or not we get elected.

The election of YSA candidates, however, is well within the realm of possibility—students don't have to agree with our entire program to vote for us; they just have to see us as the best alternative. We run serious election campaigns, and we run to win, but winning is not the main reason we run. The criteria we use for judging the success of our campaigns are whether or not we have publicized our name and program to the widest audience possible, and whether or not we have brought any of these people closer to our perspectives.

THE CHARACTER OF YSA ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Student governments, by and large, enjoy zero respect from the campus community, and students generally regard election campaigns with apathetic disdain—until *we* run! When considering the opportunities for our election campaigns, we want to be very careful not to think simply in the context of "what is done."

We want to think in terms of what *we* can do with the campaigns, how we can transform them from irrelevant formalities into tools for building the Third American Revolution. Our issue-oriented campaigns are distinguished from the Mickey Mouse-personality campaigns past and present; we will set a political tone for the campaigns to which all other candidates are forced to respond.

There is a very wide scope of interventions we can make through the YSA election campaigns. We can take advantage of all the opportunities opened up last May, by sinking our roots into all aspects of campus life. We can speak to departmental, cultural, and political organizations, in dormitories, sororities, fraternities, classrooms and cafeterias; we can set up mikes outside for impromptu campaign raps during class breaks.

We can approach a whole series of individuals and organizations for endorsement. We can put out leaflets on all kinds of subjects and in response to issues as they arise in the

course of the campaigns, and we can publish special material on how the school is currently set up and how it should be set up.

We should thoroughly research each school where we're running a campaign—find out just who controls the school newspaper, who sits on the Board of Trustees, what student fees are used for—and relate our YSA program specifically to each campus. We should know what's going on at each school; we're an integral part of the campus community, not merely some "outside agitators;" we have something to say specifically about each school where we're running.

At the same time, an important slant to our campaign propaganda should be to give students self-confidence, to convince them that they have a significant role to play in changing the world. A common problem we run into is that students may think in radical terms but they don't see how they, as students, can affect society. We want to explain that students are not an impotent social force as the ultralefts claim; they are not isolated from what's going on in the world, but are part of the class struggle.

Our campaigns have the potential to appeal not only to radical students, but also to radicalizing students. We start out where they're at, their own campus community, and draw them into the international social struggles by showing the link-up. Vice versa, for students already concerned about social struggles but who don't see how they can affect these struggles as students, our campaigns make the connection.

WHAT WE CAN DO WITH WHAT WE'VE GOT

What we'll be able to do in actuality will vary from campus to campus. Half of our campaigns are taking place on campuses where we have only one comrade. All of our campaigns will follow the general approach I've outlined, but for personnel, financial and time factors, they will be on a lesser scale on certain campuses.

On every campus, we'll carry out two minimum tasks: 1) mass distribution of the basic campaign program; and 2) setting up of a YSA campaign meeting geared towards recruitment. There will also be a citywide news conference at which Young Socialist candidates from eight different schools will inform the bourgeois press that we're not trying to "infiltrate" the NYC schools, we're winning support in broad daylight!

In most of the campaigns, we should be able to debate with other candidates and get articles in the school newspapers. The main variable factor will be our ability to reach out for speaking engagements and endorsements.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES

There are several ways we can collaborate with independents in our election campaigns. One way is to include them in our Young Socialist slates. We want to be careful about running with someone who's not politically dependable, who might go off on a tangent in the middle of the campaign or bend to various pressures. We want to run with people who are close to us politically, on a YSA program. In addition to creating a more powerful campaign through the addition of forces, running with independents is an excellent way to recruit them!

Secondly, there's the variant of coendorsement. Let's say independent candidate Connie is planning to run an election campaign focused on the demands of the women's liberation movement. Depending upon the political character of Connie's campaign, we might approach her about running with us on a united slate. It may turn out that Connie is not politically prepared to take this step. If she's not running for a position we're running for, and if her campaign program is one we could support, then the possibility of coendorsement arises. We could write in our campaign materials that we support Connie insofar as she agrees with what we stand for, and she would do the same thing in her materials. This enables us to work with Connie and draw her closer to the YSA, as well as gaining added publicity for our campaign.



If Connie is competing with us for an office, we would point out in a positive, friendly manner that we agree with the issues she's raising, but that our campaign encompasses that and much more, so it is better to support the Young Socialists.

Sometimes, the question of the SMC running a candidate is posed. We are opposed to this, and for that matter, to the idea of any single thrust coalition in which we're involved fielding candidates in an election. The nature of the SMC is that it encourages all people to join who agree on building mass actions for immediate withdrawal from Indochina. It relates the war to other issues, but does not present a program for these other issues.

By the nature of student government, on the other hand, a candidate, if not during the campaign, once in office would have to address himself or herself to a whole series of issues. The SMC would then be held responsible for all positions taken by the SMC candidate. This would mean excluding people from the SMC who disagreed with the candidate's position on issues other than the war; it would mean changing the character of the SMC.

CONCLUSIONS

Even with the minimum that might be done in some of our election campaigns, in the context of the current situation, where the YSA is little known on several of the campuses where we're running, the importance of our YSA election campaigns is clear. With antiwar actions falling smack in the middle of the elections, with the opportunities for our comrades to develop politically, with the '72 SWP election campaign around the corner, and with the likelihood of running with recruitable independents, it would be wrong for us to abstain from the upcoming elections.

The establishment of the YSA on many new campuses and the very real possibility of direct recruitment from our campaigns stand out in particular relief in light of the upcoming expansion of the New York YSA.

The personnel limitations imposed on our campaigns are an indication of how far we have to go in establishing a campus base in New York City; of course, the campaigns are aimed at overcoming these limitations. The fact that we are able to run election campaigns on eight campuses this spring indicates how far we've come since last year, when approximately one half of a campaign materialized. The YSA election campaigns projected for this spring reflect quite a collective achievement of the New York local, an achievement which the election campaigns will react upon and accelerate.

MATERIALS

Given the personnel and financial limitations on our campaigns, the campaign materials will be the following:

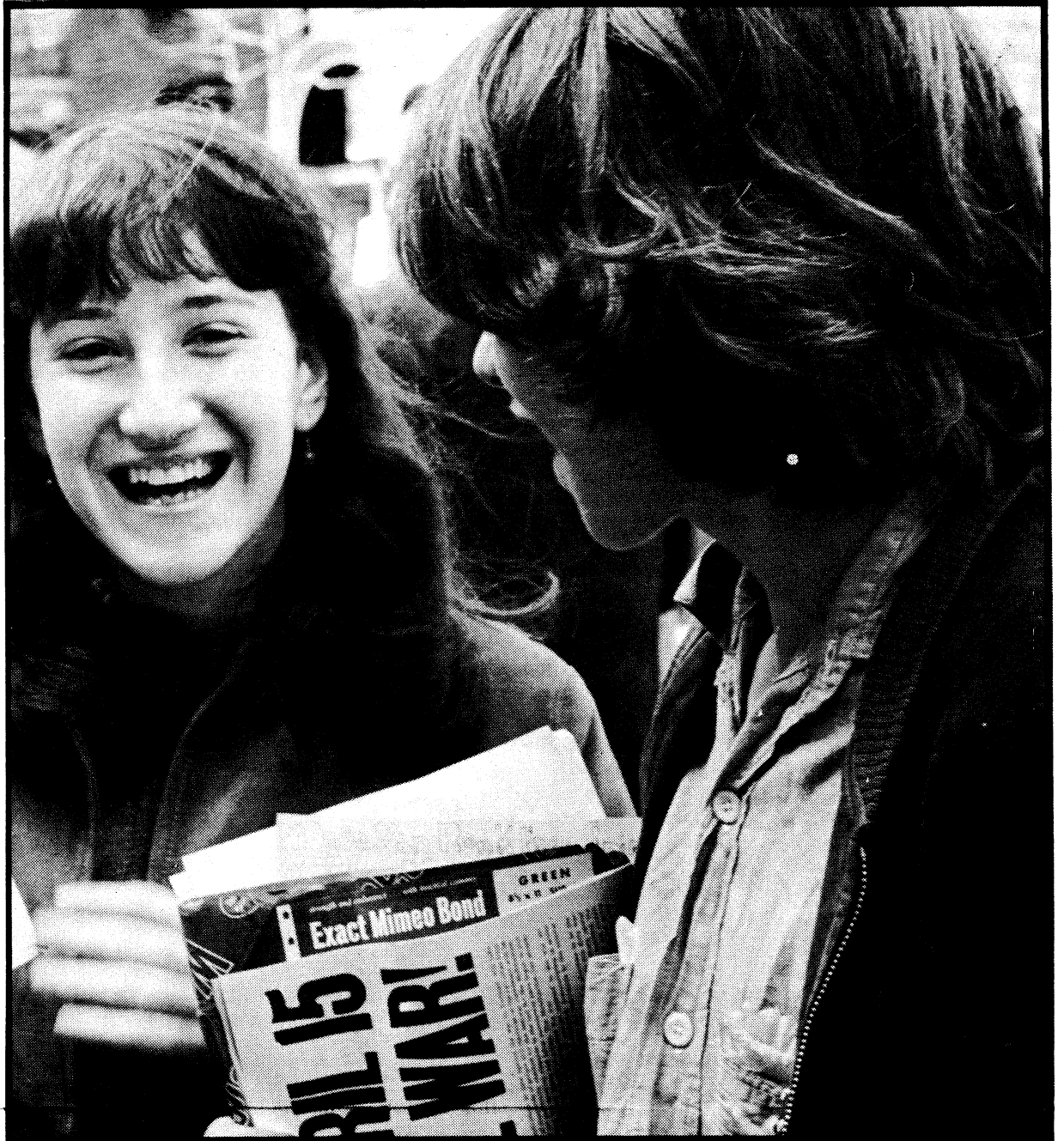
1) A leaflet with the basic campaign program on one side and an announcement of the YSA recruitment meeting and a coupon on the reverse side. This means that the recruitment meetings should be held towards the end of the campaign, when we will have distributed most of the campaign materials.

2) Campaign posters, electro-stenciled on colored, legal-size paper.

FINANCES

The total cost of the paper and electro-stencils needed to produce our campaign materials is \$90.00. The local is making an initial outlay of \$90.00 and expects to receive a minimum income of \$50.00 from the campaigns, based on the guideline that these campaigns should be primarily self-sustaining.

Fund raising will take two forms. Possibly the school will provide a campaign budget but, whether or not this is the case, we should immediately apply for a budget for the YSA as a student organization. If the YSA is not yet a recognized student group, it should become so in short order. Additionally, YSA fund-raising letters, each geared towards the particular campus where it's being circulated, are being sent to select professors. These letters will be followed up by telephone calls and/or personal visits.



OUTLINE OF BASIC CAMPAIGN LEAFLET

The basis of all of our student government election programs is the *YSA Program for the Student Revolt*, adapted for use on the various campuses. The following is the basic text for our high school campaign leaflet (we will have a separate leaflet for the college campaigns).

VOTE YOUNG SOCIALIST—MARY FOR PRESIDENT

Do you ever wonder what you're doing here? Or what school could be like if you had a say in it?

Mary, Young Socialist candidate for president, feels, "Instead of deciding for us what we should be doing so we'll accept the world as it is and help keep it that way, high schools should be changed so we can learn what's happening in the real world and can help make it a better place. I'm for changing the school from a robot factory into an organizing center for all movements for social change."

The Young Socialist candidates want to change the high school to meet the needs of the majority of the population rather than serving the tiny minority that now controls all institutions of the U.S. The demands below are steps in this direction, but because of the role of the high school in society, students and faculty cannot fundamentally control the high school until the American people control their own country—until we have a socialist America!

FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA; END THE DRAFT! Build the national antiwar march on Washington and San Francisco April 24 and the May 5 national student strike. No war or big corporation recruiters in school. No FBI spying!

FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION! Provide free birth control information, easy accessibility to contraceptives, and abortion referral service.

Build the movement to abolish abortion laws. For the right of pregnant women to remain in school. For courses on the herstory of women and women's struggles. End channeling of women away from "male" fields.

FOR GAY LIBERATION! End the perpetration of stereotyped sex-roles in the high schools. Eliminate anti-gay propaganda from text books.

FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR AFRO-AMERICANS, PUERTO RICANS AND ALL OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES! For student, faculty and community control of the schools. For Black, Puerto Rican and other studies departments, controlled by these oppressed nationalities.

FOR HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS! For the right to use all high school facilities to build the antiwar, feminist, national liberation, gay liberation, ecology movements, etc. Full civil liberties for all students; freedom of speech and assembly and the right to demonstrate against government and administrative injustices without reprisal. No cops in the schools. Student-faculty control of what courses will be taught and the hiring and firing of faculty members and administrative officials.

END THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA!

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES!

FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION!

FOR GAY LIBERATION!

FOR HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS!

MIMI HARARY
New York YSA

Northeast Congress to Unite Women

A very successful Congress to Unite Women was held in Boston March 26-28. Eight hundred people attended the weekend conference which was built regionwide by the New England Women's Coalition (NEWCO), a coalition of 29 organizations plus individuals.

Our concept of the Congress was that it should be a gathering of women with the authority to pass resolutions, endorse projects in which women are involved and bring women of similar interests together who could then form ongoing groups and collectives. Although it was sponsored by NEWCO, it was not a NEWCO meeting, and the resolutions passed by the Congress were not binding on NEWCO to implement and take responsibility for.

The Congress had a triple purpose of being educational, social and decision-making.

The activities began Friday evening with a rally. This was open to the public and included about 100 men. The speakers were Florence Luscomb, former suffragist, Myrna Hill, YSA member and staff member of the Third World Women's Caucus of the N. Y. Women's Strike Coalition, Margaret Benston, author of *Political Economy of Women's Liberation*, and Vancouver women's liberation activist, and Florynce Kennedy, N. Y. black feminist attorney and co-author of *Abortion Rap*. There was also a presentation in song, film and poetry by gay women.

Saturday was entirely devoted to workshops and to a women's party Saturday evening. Workshops were divided into three categories: consciousness-raising, action workshops and constituency organizing.

The consciousness-raising workshops were held in two sessions with some of the most popular workshops held both sessions. Topics were Women and the Media, Women and the Law, Marriage and the Family, Gay Women, Third World Women, Liberation of Older Women, Is Feminism Revolutionary?, Living with Men, Crimes Against Women and Self Defense, Alternative Life Styles, and Women and Pornography.

The pornography workshop proved very informative and popular. It included a large graphic exhibit of photos, cartoons, and excerpts from articles and stories that showed the extreme ways in which women are exploited as sex objects and as the subjects of sadomasochistic male fantasies. A "stag film" was shown, followed by discussion.

Action workshops dealt with Abortion, April 17 Mass Action, Childcare, Women and the War, Erica Huggins-Angela Davis Defense, and Legislative Action.

Sunday morning constituency workshops included Third World Women, Campus, High School, Gay Women, Working and Professional Women, Housewives, Suburban Women, and Women in the Arts.

All of the action workshops brought proposals to Sunday afternoon's plenary session and also some of the other workshops brought in reports and proposals.

The plenary supported the initiation of a class action court case for abortion law repeal in Massachusetts and a childcare teach-in and referendum campaign in Cambridge. There was unanimous approval for a feminist festival and

march to be held in Boston, April 17, which was designated "Women's Liberation Day." The action would be built around the major demands of NEWCO.

The Women and the War workshop's proposal to endorse the United Women's Contingent for April 24 was supported. Other actions included support for Erica Huggins and Angela Davis and defense of all other political prisoners, and approval of the effort to establish a women's center in Boston.

We were very pleased to note a greater participation of older women than at previous conferences. Also, press coverage of the conference, almost on a daily basis, by all the major newspapers was considerable. As a result of the conference, a working women's task force, an artists collective, and an ad hoc committee to build the United Women's Contingent were formed. In addition, volunteers were recruited to work on NEWCO's ongoing projects.

The YSA and SWP, as members of NEWCO, participated fully in planning and building the Congress, as well as participating in the weekend activities by leading some of the workshops, and taking part in all of the discussions. Over \$100 worth of Pathfinder literature, *Militants* and *ISRs* were sold.

MARILYN LEVIN
South Boston YSA

Minnesota Abortion Coalition and Action

The formation of the Abortion Action Coalition in Minnesota and the recent demonstration of 600 which it sponsored at the state capitol are the result of three months of organizing and a growing amount of discontent and disillusionment among women with the state legislature.

Several months ago, women from the YSA and the University of Minnesota Women's Liberation Group decided that we needed a coalition which could mobilize people in Minnesota around the repeal of all abortion laws. Before we knew it was necessary to build a new coalition, we had attended meetings of the Minnesota Council for the Legal Termination of Pregnancy (MCLTP), a group which claimed to be an open coalition, but was, in reality, strictly a lobbying group with no fondness for the women's movement. We decided that it would take a long, hard struggle to get this existing group to call for a demonstration.

The planning meetings for the Abortion Action Coalition (AAC) were called to decide what kind of demands and action we wanted to see. Several women in the MCLTP, as well as other women not active in the feminist movement, showed a great deal of interest. Because the women's movement is less experienced here than in some other cities, especially those which had large actions on August 26, 1970, the AAC decided that a coalition around the demand "End All Abortion Laws Now" was more realistic than around the demand "Free Abortion on Demand" at the present time. This demand, it was felt, would assure wide support and active participation.

The AAC's slogan was "Abortion—A Woman's Right to Choose." April 3 was set for a mass demonstration around this demand on the steps of the state capitol.

YSA and SWP members were initiators and leaders of the coalition as well as speakers at the demonstration. We testified at the legislative hearings in the name of the SWP municipal campaign for "Free Abortion on Demand" and in favor of a referendum on the question. Although the people cannot initiate a referendum in Minnesota, we called on the legislature to initiate a Constitutional amendment to let the people vote on the question.

Members of the AAC testified before both the House and the Senate against all restrictions on a woman's right to abortion and against the male dominated legislature (it has only one female member). We claimed that a celibate clergy and a male legislature did not have the

right to make this decision for all women. The AAC was firm that it was not a lobbying group, although many of the twenty groups which endorsed the action also supported lobbying and letter-writing. The Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, the anti-abortion front group for the Catholic Church, spent far more than the legal budget on their lobbying campaign and lost a good amount of credibility solely on the basis of their aggressive and high pressure campaign to sway the legislators.

The AAC was fortunate to obtain a free office at the University of Minnesota and a full-time coordinator, who is also a YSA member.

For a movement which had no precedents yet in Minnesota and a coalition which was not yet established, we were amazingly successful in raising money. Several fund-raising mailings were sent out to mailing lists of those groups which endorsed the action and were willing to give us their lists, as well as to professors and those who had signed abortion repeal petitions. A budget of \$500 was originally projected, although we went over it by \$100.

We called people with money, assuming that everyone is for repeal of the abortion laws, and asked for contributions of \$50. Not everyone we phoned gave us \$50, but two gave \$100 each, and most gave \$15-\$25.

We originally estimated that we could get out 30,000 leaflets and 200 posters, but we ended up getting out 50,000 leaflets and 400 posters. We had a total of eight hours on radio shows as well as announcements in the community calendars, but the newspapers were not as responsive as they should have been. They didn't print our release just prior to the action, which would have meant a great deal in terms of numbers, and they didn't give honest coverage to the demonstration itself.

At the demonstration on Saturday, April 3, we gathered at the Governor's Mansion at noon. A child care center was staffed by several men at the Friends' Meeting House. We marched about a mile and a half to the state capitol behind an AAC banner "End All Abortion Laws Now." About fifteen women were assigned to marshal the march and take a collection at the rally.

A sheet of instructions was passed out to all marshalls and a chant sheet was given to everyone on the march, which included the following chants:

1. Women, unite!
Stand up and fight!
Abortion is our right!
2. Legislators hem and haw,
Stop the talk, repeal the laws!
3. No more money for Vietnam!
Free abortion on demand!
4. Legislators, no time to wait,
Women die while you debate!
5. We demand without delay,
Repeal abortion laws today!
6. Free abortion, join the fight,
Women of the world unite!
7. A woman's choice, not a man's
Free abortion on demand!
8. 1, 2, 3, 4, Abolish all abortion laws!
9. Women must decide our fate,
Not the church, not the state!

After the third speaker, a collection speech was given, hitting hard at the fact that the opposition group has the money, but we have the people. There were eight speakers at the rally, including a woman doctor who had had to seek a New York abortion, the coordinator of AAC, the head of the Human Rights Commission, a feminist, and representatives of abortion referral services.

The spirit of the demonstration was as high as if we had had several thousand people, and we expected that many until it snowed the day before. Many of the women who had been lobbying for the last month were more than ready for a demonstration on the capitol steps where we wouldn't let the legislators speak, and many people wanted to know what the coalition was going to do next.

Although we haven't yet eliminated the abortion laws, we have laid a public base for an abortion law repeal movement, established it as a woman's issue and built a solid coalition. The AAC hasn't yet decided on a future action, but we came out of the demonstration with enough money to launch another action. We now have many new supporters, and we are confident that we can further consolidate the coalition and activate more of the groups that endorsed the April 3 action.

MARY HILLERY
Twin Cities YSA

Northern California SMC Conference

SMC is becoming a mass organization with wide influence in Northern California. This was evident at the Northern California Student Antiwar Conference held in San Francisco on April 4 and sponsored by the SMC. Activists from 40 colleges and 20 junior and senior high schools, over 275 participants in all, attended. The expansion of the SMC regionally is due largely to the momentum of the April 24 action and also to the recently established West Coast SMC National Office, which has been able to collaborate more closely with the Western SMC chapters than the East Coast SMC N.O. had been able to do in the past.

The conference was built around the theme of how students could build the April 24 demonstration. It was a conference held to organize, not to debate April 24 and mass action (at a time so close to the action); sufficient debate had taken place at the national conferences of both NPAC and SMC. This conference was basically an implementation conference, although, of course, we realized that basic political questions would be raised and that a good discussion of these questions could be held (and was).

Careful preparations went into the conference from publicity to the actual arrangements, security, etc. Several thousand posters and 100,000 leaflets were silk-screened and printed respectively. A full-time regional organizer for the SMC went on the road to build the conference and new SMC chapters; another organizer maintained daily contact with people in the region and organized the distribution of leaflets to about 30 regional campuses which in turn leafletted area high schools. Every high school in San Francisco and several junior high schools were leafletted extensively (two or three times).

Mailings were sent to the campus press and every student government president, BSU, MECHA chapter, Asian student organization, women's liberation and gay liberation group in the region. A press conference was held with students from many campuses at which a message of support was read from a striking AFT official. Although the press did not show up

in person, the press release was given wide coverage and we had significant coverage of the conference itself.

The central purpose of the conference was to organize Northern California student antiwar activists for the final push for April 24, but we didn't want to stop there. The strength of the SMC, aside from its politics, is that it is an ongoing organization which can keep up the demands on the government to get out of Southeast Asia, as well as keep the pressure on other sectors of the antiwar movement to unite in action.

Materials for building ongoing SMCs on campus were produced for the conference in large quantities. We reprinted the High School Bill of Rights, a six-page pamphlet called *How to Organize an SMC*, a sample fund-raising letter, and an informational leaflet on U. S. oil interests in Southeast Asia from the *Guardian*.

The conference began with a report on the progress of the April 24 action and projections for the National Student Moratorium May 5 and the GI actions on May 16. This report went over the principles of the SMC and made projections for recruiting 500-1,000 new members in the Northern California region by May 15 for the national SMC membership drive, distributing 1,000,000 leaflets for April 24, and recruiting 1,000 SMC monitors for the demonstration.

A full discussion followed the report, in which the Workers League made its usual stabs in the dark. The conference refused to allow the Workers League's sectarian proposals for a counter-demonstration on April 24 to divert the discussion and concentrated instead on more relevant discussion on how to reach out to decisive sectors of the population through the antiwar movement.

YSA fraction meetings, held prior to the conference in both San Francisco and Berkeley, where comrades mobilized for the conference, prepared our participation. We set the tone of the conference—enthusiastic and constructive. There was very good participation from comrades throughout the region, including at-large

members.

Workshops at the conference were Third World, Women, High School and Jr. High School, Labor, Ecology, Organizing a Campus SMC, and GIs. The sectarians pretty much prevented the labor workshop from having a good discussion on how students could help build labor support for April 24, but all of the other workshops carried through productive work, although the allotted time was insufficient (one hour).

The participation of the YSA in this conference was a microcosm of our participation in the entire Spring Offensive. That is, we participated fully in the conference as SMC activists with all kinds of ideas for building April 24, May 5 and SMC chapters.

Many of the conference participants were open to our ideas on other issues and we carefully organized *Militant* and *ISR* sales, as well as a literature/recruitment table to which we assigned comrades who are especially good at discussing our politics with new people. We prepared an initial leaflet on the Socialist Activists Conference which we are going to hold two weeks after April 24. We leafletted extensively for the Militant Labor Forum after the conference and, as a result, drew many new people to the forum and closer to joining the YSA.

The SMC has taken great strides forward since the conference. Three new elementary school chapters are already organizing, not to mention junior and senior high schools and college chapters. The key to continued success of the SMC in Northern California is the continued participation of the YSA in this process and the concomitant efforts of the YSA to recruit SMC activists to the YSA.

CAROLE SEIDMAN
San Francisco YSA

New from Pathfinder

Pathfinder Press has recently reprinted *The Third International After Lenin*, essays written by Trotsky during the struggle against the rise of Stalinism. The republication of this book, which, though one of the most important basic works on Stalinism, has long been unavailable, is a significant event for the revolutionary socialist movement.

We recognize that, as the Political Resolution adopted by the Tenth National Convention of the YSA stated, "Although we have not directly confronted them in the main arenas of our activity during the immediate past period, the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League have been and continue to be our main opponents within the radical movement."

Every member of the YSA should be prepared to take on CPers and YWLLers, defeat them in debate, and expose their fundamentally reformist, anti-Marxist views. This means that thorough study of Stalinist theory and practice is a key component of every comrade's education.

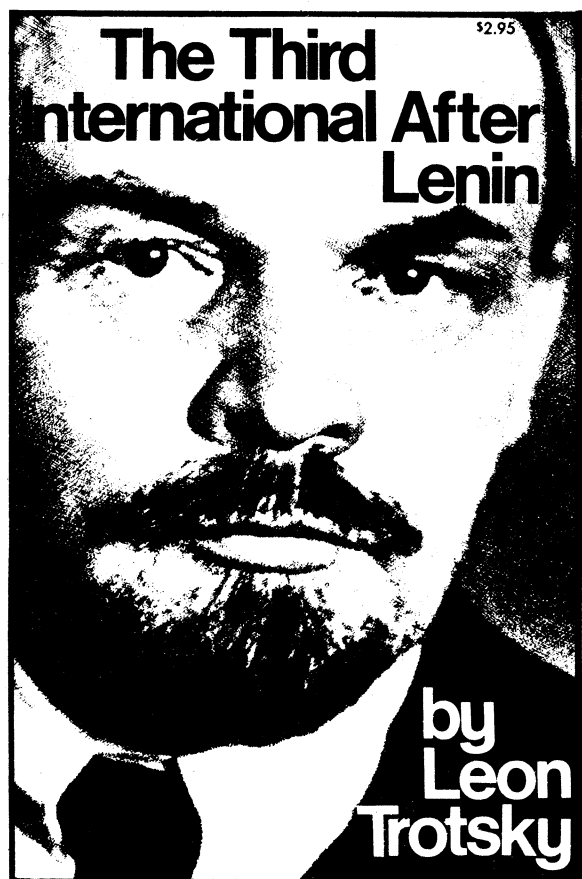
The Third International After Lenin is indispensable to such study. In it Trotsky analyzes and exposes the theory of "socialism in one country," the theoretical cornerstone of Stalinism, as being the antithesis of Lenin's proletarian internationalism and, what is more, as sure betrayal of the world revolution. He explains the social basis for this theory and shows how its application led to working class defeats in the mid-1920s in Germany, China, and around the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee. He contrasts the zig-zags of the Communist Parties under Moscow's bureaucratic control with the real role that must be played by the revolutionary party.

The initial publication of this book is an exciting chapter in the history of our movement. It was originally written by Trotsky as criticism of the draft program that was to be considered and voted on by the Sixth World Congress of the Third International (Communist International, or Comintern) and was directed to the delegates at that Congress. It was never distributed to the Congress, but two delegates (James P. Cannon, from the U. S., and Maurice Spector, from Canada) almost by accident were able to read a copy, were convinced by it, and managed to smuggle it out of the Soviet Union. It was the basic document around which the American Trotskyist movement was organized.

A new introduction to this edition, written by Gus Horowitz, is very valuable in placing the book in its historical context, in bringing up to date the list of revolutions sold out by the Stalinists under the banner of "socialism in one country," and in clearly explaining how Trotsky later altered some aspects of his analysis as Stalinism itself developed further.

Local literature agents should be sure to order enough copies of *The Third International After Lenin* for literature tables and educationals. This book will be part of the reading material for many of the socialist summer schools and, in any case, every YSAer should consider it part of his or her personal required reading.

ANDY ROSE
YSA National Office



young socialist the organizer

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

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LOCAL OR AT-LARGE AREA

NUMBER OF COPIES

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The Column

A new feminist magazine is being published in Boston by Female Liberation, called *The Second Wave, a Magazine of the New Feminism*. It contains feminist analysis, poetry, drawings, reviews and photography by women. The first issue of what is to be a quarterly contains articles on Nixon's child care plan, the defense of Angela Davis, Black women's liberation, an article on women and law by Jo Freeman and an interview with Myrna Lamb.

Subscriptions cost \$3 for one year. Single copies are 75 cents. You can get a 25 percent discount for orders of 10 or more. Send your orders and money to: Female Liberation, P. O. Box 303, Kenmore Square Station, Boston, Mass. 02215.

* * *

As is evident from recent issues of *The Organizer*, YSA locals and at-largers around the country have been the subjects of a variety of articles in the campus press. The amount of campus publicity that we gain seems to be directly proportional to our political strength and breadth of activity on each particular campus. We would like to continue to print examples of "YSAers as newsmakers" in this publication. Remember to send in to the YSA National Office copies of all local and campus publicity that we receive.

— EDITORS