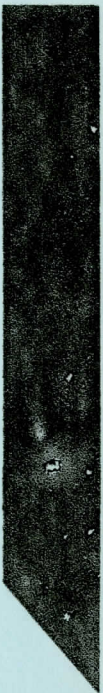



# YSA INFORMATION BULLETIN




AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE REPORT APPROVED BY THE EIGHTH NATIONAL  
CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, NOVEMBER 29th, 1968.




Published by the Young Socialist Alliance  
P. O. Box 471 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003

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The purpose of this talk is to get across an understanding of the dynamics of black liberation in terms of what it will mean for North America and the entire world. From an understanding of those dynamics we begin to chart our course of action. From our studies of this society, we learn that capitalism especially in its imperialist stage, has a tendency to break down and cross barriers, thereby, uniting peoples of the world into a systematic framework. Within this worldwide framework the imperialists make sure that everyone and everybody is tied together. Or, you might say, chained together. Some of us are chained together in a sophisticated fashion so as to make it seem as though those chains don't exist. But others are chained in such a way as to make it impossible for them to forget the iron shackles.

Given this worldwide chain gang, it becomes impossible for anyone or anybody to break loose without starting a chain reaction. Any attempts to break loose would initiate and create a worldwide chain reaction. And among the chain-masters, there will be two reactions to an attempted outbreak. One section of the chain-masters will cry out for law and order, for tightening up the network of iron shackles. Another section of the chain masters will call for some grease, as to make the chains easier to bear. But among some members of the chain gang, there will be shouts of freedom, and new attempts to cut loose. What we in the imperialist countries are experiencing today is the chain reaction that was set into motion by the freedom struggles of the Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans after World War II. And this reaction has been most deeply felt in the Afro-American community. The subsequent struggles of the North American black man has in turn affected and set into motion other members of the chain gang. This is readily seen in the Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and Indian communities and among non-black students. The Afro-American struggle has also affected the consciousness of the third world people trapped within the other imperialist countries. To gauge and measure this effect, I think one only has to quote a sentence or two from a recent speech by Enoch Powell, a British politician. Mr. Powell is a member of the chain-master class in Britain, and he is most sensitive to any uncalled for action among members of the chain gang. The New York Times printed the following on Mr. Powell describing a recent speech before the British Parliament: "Mr. Powell returned to the subject of race today by saying that 'Britain faced a transformation of whole areas which lie at the heart of it into alien territory.' Unless immigration is stopped and repatriation encouraged, he said, 'there will be several Washingtons in England.' The population of Washington D. C. is about 2/3 Negro. He went on to say that the white population would find itself 'dislodged', and added, 'my judgement is this, the people of England will not endure it.' Mr. Powell estimated that unless steps were taken

Britain would have a total of 4½ million colored immigrants by the end of the century -- triple the present figure."

What Mr. Powell should not forget is that Britain was one of the very first nations to create an international chain gang of laborers. It was Britain that created the framework in which the labor of African slaves was tied to the fertility of the Caribbean islands and the North American mainland. And upon the slave labor plantations that arose, Britain entered the industrial revolution. From the industrial revolution, Britain scrapped the slave labor system, and decided to plunder mineral and agricultural riches on the African continent. The rest is a long story, a story which points to the perpetuation and preservation of that imperialist relationship, up to this day. And it is only justice that that imperialist relationship has finally brought the struggle for national liberation right into the cities and urban areas of England itself.

The best way to understand the dialectical relationship between the struggle in Afro-America, and in the "third world" is to examine the historical experience. The events that display the indivisible character between the two struggles most clearly are the two Supreme Court decisions of 1896 and 1954. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States of North America ruled that segregation in the public school system was illegal, and this decision is considered the starting point of the struggle for civil rights in the South. But did the Supreme Court legalize segregation in 1954 because the capitalist rulers of North America suddenly became morally indignant at the plight of black people in the South? I don't think so. I think that the national liberation struggles after World War II of the African and Asian masses had more to do with it than any expression of moral indignation by the Chamber of Commerce or the National Association of Manufacturers. I think that the Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese revolutions had a lot to do with creating the atmosphere that led to the Supreme Court's decision.

But if the situation in 1954 was one in which the colonial revolution was on the upsurge, the very opposite existed in 1896. In 1896, the Supreme Court legalized segregation by upholding the doctrine of "separate but equal." The climate then, in 1896, was one in which the imperialist nations in Europe were carving up the African and Asian continents. In 1884 a conference of European powers was held in Berlin, and the purpose of this conference, in which the U.S. had a representative, was to map out the "peaceful" partitioning of the African continent. And since conflicts were mounting among the European powers over how Africa would be carved up, the European nations decided to sit down and settle the question peacefully.

Thus in 1896, 12 years after this Berlin conference, the subjugation of the black man was well near to completion. Two years after 1896, the U.S. was involved in a war with Spain. And in the aftermath of that war, Cuba, the Philippines, and a couple of other places came under U.S. domination. Therefore, a worldwide climate in which the rights of colored

people were trampled upon and disregarded served to reinforce the denial of human and civil rights for black people here in North America. Given this relationship, it is only logical for black people in this country to identify with every step forward taken by the colonial revolution.

Having taken up the indivisible nature of struggles in Afro-America and in the third world, we now begin to deal with the dialectical relationship between the Afro-American struggle and the student movement here at home. Even in taking up the connection between these two struggles, we still have to deal with the influence of the colonial revolution. It was the civil rights movement that started to legitimize protest in this country. The movement started when Rosa Parks, a black seamstress, refused to go to the back of the bus in Montgomery Alabama on Dec. 5, 1955. From this incident, arose the Montgomery Bus Boycott. A year later, in December 1956, the black community in Montgomery had accomplished the desegregation of the public bus line.

The civil rights movement picked up real momentum when black students entered the struggle in 1960, through the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and this movement reached its climax when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party attempted to replace the regular Mississippi Democrats at the 1964 convention of the Democratic Party. Between the formation of SNCC in 1960 and the MFDP challenge in 1964, there were many mass demonstrations, boycotts, and other confrontations with the system of overt segregation. But the ideology of the movement was essentially that of liberalism. That is, even though the civil rights movement was geared to direct action, the direct action was often designed to get the liberal North and the Federal government to do something about the Southern segregationists. Non-violence was practiced with the idea that the Federal government would eventually use troops to protect black people in the South. In the eyes of the demonstrators, Southern segregation was in contradiction with the liberal fabric of North American society.

This viewpoint of the civil rights movement was also held by many white students who participated in the Ban the Bomb movement. The Ban the Bomb movement was organized in the early '60s through the Student Peace Union (SPU), which was led by the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL, youth group of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party). The stated purpose of SPU was to get the U.S. government to put a halt to the testing of nuclear weapons. Many people in SPU thought that once this was done, North American society would be all right. You see, the civil rights movement and the peace movement then acted on the premise that the United States was not an imperialist power, but the mediator between the imperialist powers of Europe and the surging forces of revolution in the colonial world. Uncle Sam was considered in the eyes of many to be able to understand the colonial revolution, because of his heritage from 1776.

It took two events in 1965 to smash the myth of the New Frontier and the Great Society. The first event was the bombing of North Vietnam by the U.S. government in February, after LBJ campaigned on the basis of opposing a wider war in Vietnam. The second event occurred in August of 1965, the month of the Watts rebellion. The flames and smoke that covered the Southern California sky, put an end to all the talk about racial progress and equality in the great society. Watts expressed the irreconcilable contradiction between North American society and the demands of black people, and Vietnam was an expression of the imperialist nature of North American society. Watts also showed that there would be no such thing as non-violent change in America.

Then, in the winter of 1965, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization was launched. The formation of the LCFO was an indication that SNCC had had enough of coalition politics and that now was the time for independent black politics. The experience of the Southern civil rights movement of Watts and Vietnam -- all of these ingredients went into setting the stage for the enunciation of black power and the radicalization of black student. These were also the same ingredients that helped build and shape the movement of opposition to the imperialist war in Vietnam.

Ever since the summer of 1966 a nationwide radicalization of black students has been taking place. From the fall of 1966, to the summer of 1967, there was the mushrooming of black student organizations on college campuses all across the nation. The first phase of this organization was around cultural nationalism. Black student organizations in this stage were extremely apolitical. Apolitical in the sense that they were mainly organizations of culture, not organizations of struggle. And this lack of struggle was exhibited also because university administrations attempted to grant as many concessions as possible to these organizations.

Most of the protest activity by black students between the fall of 1966 and the summer of 1967, took place on black campuses in the South. In March of 1967, students at Howard University ran General Hershey off the campus. And the involvement of black students at Texas Southern University in struggles in the Houston community led to the police attack on the T.S.U. campus in May of 1967. In the attack on that campus, between two and three thousand rounds of ammunition were fired by the Houston police. In the fall of 1967, black students in the North and West began launching attacks on the racist policies of university administrations. At San Jose State, black students threatened the physical destruction of the football stadium if black athletes continued to be subjected to discriminating and degrading policies. Protest took place around the demand for the inclusion of Afro-American and African history in the curriculum. The apex of black student struggle and protest for the school year was reached in the spring of 1968. In

March, protesting black students at South Carolina State were massacred by highway patrolmen and the local Orangeburg pigs. In the same month students at Howard University seized control of the university. In May black students at Northwestern forced the university to sign a statement admitting that it was a racist institution. Along with this the students got a commitment from the university to set up an all black dormitory and to include more black studies in the curriculum. The biggest action of that year took place when black students led the seizure of buildings at Columbia University. This was done to protest the extension of the university's power into Harlem. Harlem youth participated in the seizure of those buildings.

In this school year, which began last September, we find two processes have taken place. The first process is that some black student organizations have essentially been cooled off or bought off as a result of university concessions. Many universities are attempting to include black faces in the administration. And a lot of these black faces were former members of leaders of these black student organizations. The second, more important process is that many of these struggles of black students are deepening and are taking on a different character and are beginning to draw upon larger and larger numbers of non-black students into the action.

The different character of the struggle is the result of the matriculation of larger numbers of black ghetto youth. This increasing role of the black students is either part of the universities' concessions to black student organizations or part of the white liberal crusade against racism. In this crusade against racism, the liberal university officials make all types of promises. Explosions begin when the black youth that are recruited find out there never was any substance of fact to these promises. You can take the situation at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana to point this out. After the assassination of Martin Luther King, some of the university officials felt real guilty about their white racism. So to soothe their feelings about the matter, they initiated "Project 500," a project in which 500 new black students would enroll at the university in the fall. When the black students arrived, they found out, among other things, that the university promises about scholarship money and housing just didn't have any reality to them. After a brief student protest the liberal university officials called in the cops to arrest 244 black students that were involved. This incident goes to show that if liberals have misgivings about racism, they do not have any misgivings whatsoever when it comes down to maintaining racist law and order.

At San Francisco State, the protest of black students revolved not only around the firing of instructor George Murray, but around demands for an autonomous, meaningful Black Studies Program. But it's the incident at Kent State University that leaves the imagination baffled. It is hard to understand univ-

ersity officials allowing the Oakland California police department to set up a recruitment booth on campus. The Oakland police have a national reputation and I find it hard to believe that any university official would make so crude a move as to allow a local pig department the luxury of campus recruitment.

The other feature of these campus protests is that increasing numbers of white students and faculty are becoming involved. Students are becoming involved not only on the basis of support to the black students, but also on the basis of attacking the university as an instrument of the capitalist government. This was very clear in the protest that was staged at San Francisco State. And we can expect to see more of this in the future campus protests.

But it is in the high schools and junior high schools that the power of black students is most clearly seen and felt. In 17 major cities across this country, black youth make up over 50% of the public school enrollment. Black students are the majority in cities like Oakland, Chicago, Memphis, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans. In New York, where black students make up 30% of the public school enrollment, non-whites as a whole make up over 50% of the public school population. This factor of numbers, plus the natural anti-black oppressive character of public school authority, give the struggles in the high schools even more potential power than the ones on college campuses. In Boston, about a month ago, a black student wore a dashiki to school in place of the traditional shirt and tie, and the school authorities immediately sent him home. The subsequent protest by black students was so great that some members of the Boston school board considered activating the National Guard. The most massive high school actions yet undertaken, occurred here in Chicago. That's where tens of thousands of black students participated in mass boycotts that were organized in a highly disciplined fashion.

The demands of the Chicago high school students have gone beyond the level of culture to the arena of politics. Their demand for military training for self-defense was enough to get that point across. Coupled with this, many black students in the Black Students for Defense, the organization that organized the protest, were talking about imperialism, and the revolution going on in the Third World. One black student leader in the Black Students for Defense pointed out the similarity between the education handed out to black youth here in North America and the education that South Africans receive in the Bantustans, put up by the South African government. Both educational systems, he pointed out, are designed to prepare black people for work at menial tasks. In the case of South Africa, it is education for the mines; in the case of North America, it is education for work as domestics, janitors and factory laborers. Chicago represents a new stage in the struggle of black high school students, a new stage in terms of ideas and a new stage



in terms of organizations.

Another new front of high school activity is being opened up on the West Coast, in the Bay Area. In the Bay Area schools, black students have organized black student unions. In October these high school BSUs had a conference. At that conference it was reported that at one school, the BSU was trying to get the Black Panther newspaper and Muhammad Speaks into the school library. And demands were being raised at other schools for black history courses, for the teaching of the African language Swahili, and for serving soul food in the school cafeteria. All of these demands were subsumed under a 10 point program of the BSU.

In other areas, school authorities are using the weapon of integration to dilute and disperse the power of black high school students. In Seattle, black parents, teachers, and students protested attempts to dismantle a black high school. This would have meant sending black students to majority white high schools. The same game was played in Swan Quarter, North Carolina. There, the county had an integration plan which would have put one black high school out of commission, but not a white high school. This plan brought about demonstrations and a boycott by black students shouting "2,4,6,8, we don't want to integrate." This is just an indication that the movement of black high school students is nationwide and not just a regional thing.

The struggles in the high schools have helped to generate the demand for black control of the black community. And the demand for black control has in turn had the effect of raising the political consciousness and awareness of the black community. The most important consequence of the demand for black control is that it raises the question of how that control will be achieved. Whether it will be achieved through acceptable channels within the Democratic Party, or whether black people will have to form their own political party to fulfill that demand. It is obvious from the experience of Cleveland, Ohio and Gary, Indiana that black control of the black community cannot be achieved through the Democratic Party. Therefore we have to begin to deal with that notion in the black community that flows in the direction of a black political party.

When revolutionaries talk about a black party, the conception is of a mass political party that would wield considerable influence over all aspects of life in the black community. What we have to understand is that a political party is a generalization of single issue struggles in a community, a class, or an oppressed colonial nation. To put it more simply, all attempts by the exploited or oppressed people to improve their conditions in terms of housing, schools, jobs, welfare, or culture, rest with the question of who has state power, the question of who controls the political arena. The best example of this is the struggle

for community control of the schools in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in New York. Now the struggle in Ocean Hill, was essentially around the control of the schools. But the struggle could not really succeed because it wasn't just a question of the power of the New York City Board of Education but the power of the government of New York City. The struggle for control of the schools cannot be limited to just education. It must be generalized into a struggle against the Lindsay government. As we saw, the power of a guy like Donovan, who is the Superintendent of Schools, rests in the last analysis with the police, which is the repressive apparatus of Lindsay's government.

The issues of housing, schools, jobs, unemployment, exploitation of the community by white merchants, and defense against the police and organized crime cannot really be fought except through the formation of an independent political party. The government maintains white control of the black community. And it is only when the government is rendered impotent, that black people will be able to take control of their community. At present, there is a great deal of sentiment among black youth and **black** people in general, for an independent black political party. This sentiment was registered in part by the Philadelphia Black Power Conference held last August. A good portion of the 5,000 people who attended that conference were looking for a political alternative. The sentiment was also expressed at the Black Power Convention that the United Brothers of Newark held last July.

The most prominent expressions of that sentiment in organized form are the Lowndes County Freedom Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, and the Black Panther Party, which has its central headquarters in Oakland, California. Both the Lowndes County Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party are vanguard organizations. The Lowndes County Freedom Party is organized on a county-wide basis, whereas the Black Panther Party is attempting to build a nationwide organization. But for the purpose of the discussion, we will confine this report to an analysis of the Black Panther Party. At present, the Black Panther Party is the largest, or strongest revolutionary nationalist organization on the scene. It acts, on the whole, as the polar opposite of those nationalist organizations that have been, in one way or another, compromised by the establishment. The Panther Party's primary appeal is to the youth, which is the most radical section of Afro-America. And if the Panthers succeed in getting out their newspaper, on a weekly basis, and on a national scale, then that newspaper will become the second black nationalist publication or newspaper on a national scale. The first is Muhammed Speaks.

Another positive feature of the Black Panther Party is that it has attempted to enter into coalitions with white radicals around legal defense of victimized Panthers. Even if those coalitions haven't been of the broadest possible character, what the

Panthers have done is to pierce the illusions among many nationalists that white radicals serve no purpose whatsoever, and that legal defense is not worth the time and the effort. The nationwide publicity that the trial of Huey Newton received is an example of what can be done in the arena of legal defense. Newton used the trial to successfully get across and defend his political ideas. The same type of defense was also used in the case of Eldridge Cleaver. The future of the Panthers will depend in large measure on building opposition to the victimization of their leaders.

As the document on the struggle of black America pointed out, the future of the Panthers also depends on whether the Panthers can develop into a real vanguard party. Even though the 10 Point Program is the beginning of the development of a political program, the actions and thinking of many Panthers is fixed upon the gun. Part of the reason for that insistence upon military struggle is that the Panther leadership projects the idea that the revolution is right around the corner. This type of thinking is very harmful to the development of a political party that has to be built over the long run, not the short run. You see, in explaining the 10 Point Program, the Panther leaders say that it is based upon the present political consciousness and awareness of the black community. But if this is the case with the political program, then the rhetoric of the party must get into line with that same reality.

The most significant development this year, in terms of advancing the North American revolution, as well as the black liberation struggle, is the rise of independent black labor organizations within the trade union movement. Before the rise of these black labor organizations, there was not too much one could say about the trade union movement. All we socialists could say was that one day the workers will radicalize, and move against the trade union bureaucrats and the capitalist class. Even the idea that black people are workers was very hard for some people to comprehend. Up until recently, the common viewpoint among radicals was that black people were marginal and peripheral to the North American labor force. In the eyes of many, the majority of the black population were considered to be what is known as the "lumpenproletariat." This viewpoint was not only common among student radicals; it was also common among many nationalist-minded black radicals; in fact, proceeding on the basis of black people being marginal and comprising mainly the lumpenproletariat, many radical blacks concluded that it wouldn't be too long before Uncle Sam began the physical extermination - the elimination - of the black population.

Black workers with nationalist consciousness make real combustible material within the factory. Just recently, out in the aerospace plant in Los Angeles, a black worker was fired from his job because he wore a dashiki to work. Even though

the plant engineer okayed the garment that the black worker had on, the foreman ordered the dashiki-garmented black worker out of the plant. And when the brother protested, he was simply fired from his job. It is this same type of incident that led to the formation of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) in the Chrysler plant in Detroit. In Detroit, the example of DRUM has inspired and set into motion other black workers. At the Ford Rouge Plant, an organization has sprung up with the name of FRUM (Ford Revolutionary Union Movement). Black bus drivers in Detroit have recently attempted to form an organization called the Detroit Bus Drivers Association. The bus drivers who attempted to form the organizations were attacked by both the employer and the union. And because the organizers were subsequently fired, the black bus drivers now have a case in court protesting the illegal firing.

In Chicago, black caucuses within different unions have gotten together to form the Black Labor Federation. The federation is made up of the Concerned Transit Workers in the Analgated Transit Union, the black caucus at the General Electric Hotpoint Plant, and a group of black construction workers. Just recently black workers in the Chicago steel industry have begun to organize to make their weight felt. In Boston, black workers attempting to get into the construction trades have organized the United Community Construction Workers (UCCW). A lot of construction work is beginning in the black community in Boston, and part of this construction results from the project houses that are being built under the federal government's Model Cities Program. The UCCW has been going around to the various contractors using any means necessary to get black workers hired at construction sites. A lot of the black workers in the UCCW are very forceful, because they happen to be veterans of the Vietnam war. While the UCCW has been able to get black workers hired at a number of construction sites, the organization is fighting a court case because it shut down one construction site, and is being charged with being an illegal union.

In all of these actions by black workers, the racist union officials have come out foursquare against them. And we can expect an escalation of the antagonism between black and white workers before white workers find out or discover the game being played upon them.

In another area of the trade union movement, we find that radical caucuses are appearing in the American Federation of Teachers. These caucuses are developing as a result of the struggle of black students and their parents for community control. The New Coalition, a pro-community caucus in the United Federation of Teachers in New York City, has recently grown in the aftermath of the UFT racist strike against the black and Puerto Rican communities. As the struggle between community and teacher sharpens, we can expect the growth of such caucuses. In still another area,

we find that there is a growing class consciousness among welfare workers. That is, the sharpness of the struggle between welfare mothers and the welfare department has forced many welfare workers onto the side of their clients. Welfare workers in New York city recently staged a demonstration in one of the welfare centers in support of their clients. The New York YSA has experienced some recruitment among this strata of the working class.

All of this activity in the black community and among black workers goes to show, among other things, that the next radicalization of workers in general will have to be crystal clear about supporting the black liberation struggle. The white workers who radicalized in the '30s could get away with just being against discrimination. The white workers who radicalize in the '70s will have to support nationalism and all of its ramifications.

Revolutionary black socialists have key roles to play and key contributions to make in the development of the struggle for black liberation. That is, we move on the understanding that those with a total comprehension of the revolutionary process will be the ones that will see the struggle to its successful conclusion. When the armed struggle started in Cuba in 1956, everybody considered themselves to be anti-Batista Cuban nationalists. But when the Cuban revolution entered socialist channels, a section of the nationalists just couldn't take it, so they left the country. Those Cuban nationalists who left the country had a vision that was limited to the struggle to remove Batista. And because those Cubans didn't understand the totality of the revolutionary process, they're now either being trained by the CIA to destroy the Cuban revolution, or they are running around in this country throwing bombs at other people.

In grasping the totality of the revolutionary process, the revolutionary black socialists see the need for propagating and building a black political party as only part of the solution to the completion of the North American revolution. That is, the racist oppression of black people is only part of the problem in North America. The other part of the problem is economic exploitation. This other part of the problem brings us to the other part of the solution: the building of a multi-national revolutionary socialist organization. Why multi-national? Because capitalist exploitation is multi-national. You see, while there is a quantitative difference between the exploitation that the capitalist whips on white workers and the exploitation that the capitalist whips on black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Oriental, and Indian workers, there is no difference in kind between the exploitation of the two groups. To quote from the contribution in the pre-convention discussion in the bulletin entitled "Black Trotskyists and a Black Party," by Tony Thomas: "The description of black America as the colony and white America

as the mother country is a useful one, but this viewpoint can lead to a few misconceptions. The black nation is in all fundamental senses a colony of U.S. imperialism, but instead of being thousands of miles away and totally separated, the mother country and the colony are intertwined, occupying the same territory. The struggle of black workers and of white workers cannot be seen as two separate entities. They will take place in the same factories and in the same unions."

The activities of the past year or two of revolutionary black socialists have translated the comprehension of the totality of the revolutionary process into practice. In the fall of 1967, Paul Boutelle and I went on a speaking tour throughout the South. Boutelle, as the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke on both the ideas of black independent political action and revolutionary socialism. Several of the places where Boutelle spoke had the embryonic formation of YSA locals. On a national tour, Boutelle helped to form and consolidate new YSA locals, at the same time he introduced a lot of black students to the ideas of revolutionary socialism, and some of these students have joined the YSA. The publication of the Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle Newsletter was another project initiated by black YSAers during the campaign. The Newsletter explained the drive and the revolutionary logic behind the demand for black control of the black community. AAHB Newsletter was another step along the way towards Afro-Americanizing Marxism. Now that the campaign is over, we will continue the job the Afro-Americanizing Marxism, and get across an understanding of the totality of the revolutionary process. Part of this job is done through writing for The Militant, Young Socialist, and International Socialist Review, and part of this job will be done through participation in black student groups and our collaboration with revolutionary minded nationalists. Through such activity, we hope to recruit to the ranks of the revolutionary black socialists in the YSA.

The tasks of the YSA in regard to the black struggle in the coming period revolve around getting out our ideas on revolutionary socialism and the need for independent political action, campaigning in support of and in defense of the demand for black control of the black community, and the idea of a black political party. We must continue our defense campaigns in behalf of victimized black militants, on and off campus. The concept of legal defense is not too easy for radicals to understand. A lot of radicals don't understand that part of the task of building a revolutionary organization is being able to defend yourself. In the nationalist movement, the concepts of legal defense are not too clearly understood either. One has only to talk to Hugo Blanco, the French students, or the South African revolutionary, Dr. Neville Alexander, to see that building legal defense cases is very important to the international revolutionary movement. These defense campaigns serve the purpose of educating people about the ideas of those that

are being victimized. The defense of Huey Newton educated a lot of people about the politics of the Black Panther Party. The defense of Eldridge Cleaver is doing the same thing. In some areas of the country, success has been achieved in building a broad-based, legal defense of Panther militants. In Los Angeles, a legal defense committee was recently formed to aid and defend the Panthers. In Seattle, a pamphlet entitled Hands Off Aaron Dixon was published to help build a defense campaign in the Northwest. In Detroit, the YSA and other organizations raised money for the Huey Newton defense with the showing of the film "Battle of Algiers." At Antioch, a raffle was held to raise money for the defense of Newton. We not only try to defend the Panthers, but any and all nationalists who are victimized by the state. That defense is manifested not only in defense committees, but also through writing articles in The Militant, and in the YS, and through public meetings and forums. The struggles at San Francisco State, at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana and at Wisconsin State College in Oshkosh posed the task of building defense committees on the campus for victimized black students. Just the simple task of writing articles for The Militant on the struggles in the high schools, and on the campuses, is a key part of the defense of these students. We must be very imaginative in exhausting all avenues for building legal support on the campus.

A case that will loom very large in the coming period is the case of Reis Tiejera and the other members of the Alianza movement, who now are going on trial in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

In respect to the task of getting out our ideas to black radicals and nationalist organizations, we should see ourselves as a fraternal organization. That is, non-black YSAers shouldn't talk to nationalists as white radicals, but as one revolutionary speaking to another. Speaking as revolutionaries, non-black YSAers will be able to avoid the pitfalls of paternalism and condescension. When we collaborate and recruit revolutionary-minded blacks, we collaborate and recruit on the basis of our program, and we have a revolutionary tradition and heritage that we want to get across to as many people as possible. That is, we have a lot in common with anybody who wants to build a revolutionary organization in North America. This is the case because we've had a lot of experience in trying to accomplish that task ourselves, and we invite anyone and everybody to help us in completing that task. This is because, as is inscribed on the wall behind me - "the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution."

#### SUMMARY

The discussion was pretty good as far as the understanding of the YSA's role in the black struggle, and also the understanding of black YSAers' role in the black struggle. I want to take up some of the things that were said in the discussion, and throw some light on some of the ideas that were expressed. What I said

in my report was that we attempt to relate as revolutionaries to the movements in the black community. We don't talk as liberals; when we talk to Black Panthers, when we talk to people from SNCC, when we're talking to a black student who considers himself a revolutionary, we attempt to relate as one revolutionary to another, in regard to exchanging experiences, and a real understanding of what this society is all about.

To understand how we relate to the Black Panther Party, I think we have to understand how we deal with the colonial revolution as a whole. On an international scale, what our comrades are attempting to do is to recruit to the ideas and program of the Fourth International. On the national level in this country, that is, in the black community, we're attempting to recruit to the ideas, program, and organization of the Young Socialist Alliance. We support the Black Panther Party as the beginnings of the development of a revolutionary vanguard in the black community. We don't see the Black Panther Party as the end of that process, but as the beginning, just as Castro's leadership in Cuba was the beginning of the development of a new revolutionary vanguard. We understand that while we support those formations as a step forward, these formations have problems. And we don't shirk from pointing out the problems. We try to be constructive in regard to these problems. That is, we don't just support everything that Castro says. We didn't support his position on Czechoslovakia. We explained what was going on in Czechoslovakia, and the contradictions in his position. This was done as one revolutionary to another. Despite the fact that he went through a three year guerrilla struggle, despite the fact that he is the head of a revolutionary government, we spoke to him as one revolutionary to another. So it's not a point of what forces you have. It's a question of your political program. Despite the fact that the Indonesian Communist Party was three million strong, despite the fact that it had a following among workers and peasants of twenty million people, we didn't fail to criticize the strategy of the Indonesian Communist Party, a policy which led to the slaughter of one million Indonesian Communists. So we don't use the question of whether or not one tendency controls the government as the criteria of not criticizing or criticizing. If Leon Trotsky had done that, I don't think he would have developed too much of an analysis of the Soviet Union. He was just one man criticizing the government.

So it's not the question of how many forces you have, because our analysis doesn't proceed on the basis of a static situation. We're dialecticians. People see change. We're not pragmatists. Again, take the example of Cuba. The whole Cuban nationalist movement went through quite a few changes since 1959. Castro and the Cuban Communist Party understand a great deal more today than they did eight years ago. And some of those people in the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party have learned things from the Fourth International. They learn things from



reading The Militant. The same is true with the understanding of militants in this country. I think that what we see around the world is a growing awareness of the necessity for socialist revolution. People see socialism as the alternative society. It's growing in this country, it's growing around the world. The whole nature of imperialism is becoming much more clear. There's a lot of support for socialism, but some people don't carry out their ideas to a logical conclusion. We have to understand what happens when you accept the idea that there's a class struggle, that society is divided into classes, that the culmination of that class struggle is the victory of one class over another.

Our understanding is not just based on what is going on today, but on looking at what has gone on in the past. When you deal pragmatically, sometimes you can get caught up in a lot of mistakes and a lot of erroneous conclusions.

Take for example the OLAS Conference in 1966, where revolutionaries from Latin America got together and decided that the line was armed struggle against imperialism. Even though that was agreed to by a great number of parties and groups from Latin American countries, as the subsequent period shows, there were people who participated in the conference who were consciously opposed to armed struggle, consciously opposed to the struggle against imperialism. Why? It wasn't because they were afraid, or something like that. It was an historical error. It was what school they were educated in. The school of reform in Venezuela, Guatemala, etc. The conference was split between the various Communist parties. Because the genuine revolutionaries proceeded on the basis that when Communist parties are Communist parties, they practice their ideology. And if you're a Communist, you're obviously a revolutionary fighter. But as it developed, it didn't come out that way. The Communist parties are not revolutionary parties. They're not Communist, they're class collaborationists. They're class collaborationists because of historical errors, which derive from the Russian revolution after its degeneration in the 20's. That's a factor that played a big role in the development of the revolution in Guatemala and Venezuela. And if we don't understand that, we can't understand what's going on today.

The same thing is clear if you take the example of Algeria. We support the Algerian revolution. We supported the struggle of the National Liberation Front. But there are problems that developed in the National Liberation Front related to the relations between the political and the military. The problem was where would the party go in Algeria? It was mainly a military struggle. And because there was no mass revolutionary socialist political party build, what happened was that the Army took over. An article by James Foreman points out the contradiction between building a military organization and building a political organization, that is, that the military must

be subordinate to a political organization, if a revolution is to succeed in the long run. And it's obvious what happened in Algeria.

Now we don't merely sit back and analyze a development; we analyze and draw the conclusion. And it's the same when you deal with the class struggle in this country. If you accept the fact that society is divided into classes, and also, in this society, divided into nations, that there is a white oppressor nation, and a black oppressed nation, a Mexican-American nation, an oppressed Puerto Rican Nation, and an oppressed Indian nation, then one must understand that those struggles will have a great deal of effect on each other. Our analysis of how to bring about the American revolution is based on understanding those two struggles. Our conclusion is that there will be an American revolution, and that one aspect of that revolution is the organization of the oppressed nations within a political party. That is, the organization of the black political party. Not that that organization takes form in a vacuum, because it's obviously going to have repercussions on the rest of society. The example of blacks taking on the ruling class and breaking the Democratic party, also affects other layers of the population. We can see that more concretely in the struggles that are developing within the unions. That is, black unionists are beginning to organize against the bureaucrats, against a class collaborationist line. They happen to be all black. But at the same time, on the basis of discussions with leaders of DRUM, I don't think that they think they can overthrow the Reuther bureaucracy by themselves. I think they see the organization of black workers within the trade unions as part of the total struggle against the Reuther bureaucracy.

This is what I mean by understanding the totality of the revolutionary process., that it is not just a thing where one group gets organized. You have to understand the ramifications that the organization of that group will have on society, the effect that the organization of black workers will have on the rest of the working class. It begins to push into motion. It begins to provide an example of successful struggles against the bureaucrats. Most workers don't conceive of struggle because of the fact that they have very little power. What you get is workers going into a reactionary thing, supporting Wallace, etc., because they're frustrated. They can't take out their frustration or they don't feel they can, on the leadership, so they take out their frustrations of black people. That's something that has occurred throughout American society. But that will not solve the problems that exist in America. And I think that the example of formations like DRUM, and the

example of the Concerned Transit Workers, will begin over time to provide a spark -- an example -- for other sections of the working class. Already at the Chrysler plant, you have the organization of a group of young white workers called, I think, the CTU, the Concerned Trade Unionists. Their organization was the result of the organization of DRUM. I think that we have to understand that chain effect.

The conclusion is that the struggle of these workers against Reuther and the bureaucracy, and eventually against capitalist society as a whole, has to be organized eventually through a revolutionary workers party, with socialism as its ideology. And that party will have a multi-national character; it must include white, black, Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and Indian workers. And the success of the struggle of either of these sectors of the working class is going to depend on the success of the others. This is part of the ramifications of the whole strategy that we see from our understanding of society. While there will be organizations along national lines -- all-black organizations, all-Puerto Rican organizations, all-Mexican-American organizations -- there will have to be a multi-national organization based on the ideas of revolutionary struggle against the capitalist class, based on the idea of organizing people on a class basis.

I think that in order to understand the future, you must see the present. And today, turbulence is taking place in American society. The beginning of the radicalization of white workers can be seen within the army itself. Men in the army have to face directly the question of the war. Because of this, there is no cop-out. You just can't go and attack black soldiers and have your problem solved. You have to organize against the brass. This is why you have the development of organizations among GIs. And you find that when GIs organize against the war, and don't see fighting in Vietnam, some of these GIs also transfer that understanding to the United States. They don't go along with fighting in the black community either. It's through their own experience that they understand the class struggle, not the other way around. I think that that's the way its going to be with most segments of the population. That is, they'll understand the black struggle through their own experiences. They don't just examine the black struggle and support everything that comes out. It will be through their own experiences that they'll understand.

I think that people must be clear about what our goal is in this country. Our goal is simply to cut America down. To cut down the power that North America exercises over the world. The U.S. only has 6% of the world's population, but controls 60% of the world's mineral and agricultural resources. It means a lot of peoples do not have power over their own lives because it's

being decided for them by American corporations. A socialist revolution in this country, which begins to destroy the monopoly capitalist class, will be, in effect, the liberation of the whole world. And in a sense America will begin to assume its just place in the world, as just another nation. The expression of the power of the majority will come forward. America depends on the cobalt, diamonds, and coal, etc. in the third world, in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Once the third world peoples have control of these things, they can decide a great deal of what goes on in this world. So that provides a basis for people beginning to change their way of thinking -- understanding what went on in capitalist society, and what are the prospects of a socialist society.

In the black struggle we see the rediscovery and the recapturing of Afro-American history, that is that blacks study history and attempt to point out what is going on now to black people is a continuation of what went on among black people in the past. Black people were always struggling against the society. There was always resistance against racial oppression. And that throws a lot of light on understanding the mood of the black population today. To understand the white working class you have to do the same thing. We have to understand the past, the victories and defeats of the past. The study of history, and its application to the present, is the task that we accept for ourselves.

## CONVENTION SCHEDULE

Thursday, November 28 (Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St., Chicago)

1:00-3:00 Registration at Hotel  
3:00-3:45 Organization of the Convention  
3:45-4:45 Report: The New International Youth Radicalization  
4:45-6:45 Discussion on Report and Resolution  
6:45-7:00 Summary of Report and Discussion  
7:00-8:30 Dinner  
8:30 "Can the American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution?  
A Marxist Answer to New Left Critics," a talk by  
George Novack

Friday, November 29 (University of Illinois, Circle Campus. Illinois  
Room, Chicago Circle Center)

9:00-10:00 Breakfast  
10:00-11:00 Report: The '68 Campaign and Beyond... Socialist Youth  
Politics in America  
11:00-12:00 Discussion on Report and Resolution  
12:00-1:30 Lunch (high school fraction meeting)  
1:30-3:00 Discussion continued  
3:00-3:30 Summary  
3:30-4:30 Report: On the Revolutionary Struggle of Black America  
for Self-Determination  
4:30-6:30 Discussion on Report and Resolution  
6:30-7:00 Summary  
7:00-8:30 Dinner  
8:30-11:00 International panel with a former leader of the banned  
JCR and leaders of the German SDS, British antiwar  
movement, Mexican student strikes, and YS/LJS of Canada.

Saturday, November 30 (University of Illinois--same as Friday)

9:00-10:00 Breakfast  
10:00-12:00 Panel discussion with active duty antiwar and socialist  
GIs  
12:00-1:30 Lunch (black fraction; publications meeting)  
1:30-2:30 Report: Young Socialists and the Fight Against the  
Vietnam War  
2:30-4:30 Discussion on Report and Resolution  
4:30-5:00 Summary  
5:00-7:00 Panel on the Struggle for Self-Determination in North  
America  
9:30 Party with Rock Band, Light Show (Midland Hotel  
172 W. Adams)

Sunday, December 1 (University of Illinois--same as Friday)

9:30-10:30 Breakfast  
10:30-11:15 Credentials Report (Constitution Commission Report)  
11:15-12:15 Organizational Report  
12:15-1:30 Lunch  
1:30-3:30 Discussion  
3:30-4:00 Summary  
4:00-5:00 Election of National Committee  
5:30 National Committee Plenum

MINUTES OF THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION  
OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS            NOV. 28 - DEC. 1, 1968

First Session, Thursday, November 28, 1968, Convened at 3:00 p.m.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Derrel M. chair the first session.

Motion: to approve.

Motion Carried

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE CONVENTION

Presentation of National Committee motions on the organization of the convention by Charlie B.

1. Motion: that the Presiding Committee consist of Mary-Alice W., Charlie B., Derrick M., Larry S., Carol L., Kipp D., Will R., Rich H., Marilyn L., Nelson B.

Motion Carried

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

Motion Carried

3. Motion: to approve the agenda as written.

Motion Carried

4. Motion: to approve the schedule as written with the exception of a change in time for the GI Panel.

Motion Carried

5. Motion: to adopt the following rules for the convention.

- a. that all sessions be open, with the exception of the session electing the new NC, which shall be closed.
- b. that the NC shall be elected by secret ballot.
- c. that delegates and alternates seated in place of absent delegates have voice and vote; that fraternal delegates have voice and consultative vote; that special guests have voice and no vote.
- d. that discussion presentations be limited to seven minutes.

- e. that in any discussion period no one may speak a second time before each person desiring the floor has had a chance to speak.
- f. that only those delegates seated at the roll call of a particular session may vote.

Motion Carried

6. Motion: that delegates from Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle groups be seated on the basis of one delegate for every five active members.

Motion Carried

7. Motion: that the YSA locals formed after November 11 be granted full delegate status. These locals are Houston, Austin, Ypsilanti, Peoria, and Oshkosh.

Motion Carried

8. Motion: that the fraternal delegates be the outgoing National Committee, one person from each at-large YSA area, one person from each at-large YSHB area, and one person from each at-large AAHB area, including the Des Moines, Iowa AAHB.

Motion Carried

9. Motion: that the at-large YSA areas approved by the NEC after November 11 be seated with one delegate from each area. These areas are Kalamazoo, Mich., Logan, Utah, Stanford, Calif., Lancaster, Pa., Beloit, Wisc., and Glen Ellyn, Ill.

Motion Carried

10. Motion: that the special guests be one representative from each invited organization. These organizations are the Socialist Workers Party, the German section of the Fourth International, the former Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire, the Mexican Student Strike Committee, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistés, the Arab Student Association, the Dominican United Front for Liberation, the Black Panther Party, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the national Students for a Democratic Society, the Iranian Students Association, and the Federation of University Students for Puerto Rican Independence.

Motion Carried

11. Motion: that the convention be open to YSA members, sympathizers, invited guests, and observers.

Motion Carried

12. Motion: that there be three special panels: an international panel, a GI panel, and a panel on the struggle for self-determination in North America.

Motion Carried

13. Motion: that there be a Nominating Commission made up of one delegate from each local.

Motion Carried

14. Motion: that the Nominating Commission be chaired by Wendy R. and Dan R., with voice and no vote.

Motion Carried

15. Motion: that John S. and Mike M. be convention secretaries.

Motion Carried

16. Motion: that Caroline L. and Kipp D. chair a Credentials Committee of five people, the other three to be elected by the convention.

Motion Carried

Nominations: Ginny O., Larry B., Pat G.

Motion: to elect Ginny O., Larry B., and Pat G. to the Credentials Committee.

Motion Carried

17. Motion: that Peter S. chair a Constitutional Commission of three people, the other two to be elected by the convention.

Motion Carried

Nominations: Dave K., Lou P.

Motion: to elect Dave K. and Lou P. to the Constitutional Commission.

Motion Carried



18. Motion: that the bourgeois press be allowed to cover the three special panels but be excluded from the working sessions of the convention.

Motion Carried

## II. FRATERNAL GREETINGS

1. Greetings were read from the Austrian section of the Fourth International.
2. Greetings were given from the former Parti Communiste Internationaliste and the former Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire.
3. Greetings were read from imprisoned Trotskyist comrades in Mexico.
4. Greetings were given from the Secretary of the German section of the Fourth International.

## III. REPORT ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL YOUTH RADICALIZATION

Reporter - Mary-Alice W.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee for a five minute recess.

Motion Carried

Discussion on The New International Youth Radicalization: Helena H., Frank G., Robin M., Jan G., Naomi A., Melissa S., Derrick M., Halket A., Will R., Jean S., David T., Steve S., Wilbert A., John V., Jay L., Steve M., Al U.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to send the following message to the imprisoned Mexican comrades:

Dear Comrades,

Your revolutionary greetings to the 1968 Young Socialist Convention were received by the Convention today. We recognize our responsibility to aid in every possible way the struggle of the Mexican revolutionary youth, and we are pledged to do everything in our power to mobilize American youth in defense of the persecuted students of Mexico. The illusion of bourgeois democracy in Mexico has been shattered. The tyranny of imperialism allows no liberty anywhere in the capitalist world.

Our common class enemy has its headquarters not in Mexico City, but in Washington. We are committed to the fight against that enemy. We are enthusiastic about our future, and optimistic about the prospects of waging a successful defense campaign on your behalf.

Motion Carried

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to send the following message to the Czechoslovak students:

The Eighth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance meeting in Chicago, U.S.A., sends its fraternal greetings to you. We salute your heroic fight against bureaucratic domination, and for workers democracy -- for a return to the Leninist norms of socialist democracy and a society run by the workers and students.

We are meeting here today to make plans to continue to build the movement against American imperialism and its aggression in Vietnam, to support the struggle of Afro-Americans for their right to self-determination, and to continue to build the rapidly growing young socialist movement in the United States.

We carry on our work in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and in the knowledge that we are part of a new generation of revolutionary youth throughout the world.

We look forward to the victory of the revolutionary students and workers in Czechoslovakia, and pledge our solidarity and support.

Motion Carried

Summary on the report on The New International Youth Radicalization - Mary-Alice W.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to approve the general line of the resolution and report on The New International Youth Radicalization.

Vote on the Presiding Committee motion:

Delegates: 105 for, none opposed, no abstentions.  
Consultative: 33 for, none opposed, no abstentions.

Motion Carried

First session adjourned at 7:00 p.m.

Second Session, Friday, November 29, 1968, Convened at 11:00 a.m.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Carl Fr. chair the second session.

Motion: to approve.

Motion Carried

I. FRATERNAL GREETINGS

1. Greetings from the Iranian Student Association.
2. Greetings from the Dominican United Front for Liberation.

II. POLITICAL REPORT: THE '68 CAMPAIGN AND BEYOND--SOCIALIST YOUTH POLITICS IN AMERICA

Reporter - Larry S.

Recessed for lunch at 12:30 p.m. - reconvened at 1:30 p.m.

Discussion on the Political Report: Eloise C., Tony T., Kendall G., Naomi A., Peter S., Robin M., Seth W., Dave K.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee that there be a limit of five minutes for every speaker.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Political Report continued: Steve S., Robin D., Dave F., Walter L., Tony C., Steve C., Jeff P., Laurie P., Joanna M., Linda S., Cindy J., Carl F.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to take nine more speakers and that there be a limit of four minutes for every speaker.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Political Report continued: Herman F., Dave K., Russell B., Carol L., George B., Jo Lee J., Walt G.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to have the Summary, a ten minute recess, the Black Struggle Report for one hour, one hour of discussion, dinner from 7:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m., and one hour of additional discussion from 8:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

Discussion: Robin D.

Motion Carried

Summary on the Political Report - Larry S.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to approve the general line of the Political Resolution and Report, The '68 Campaign and Beyond--Socialist Youth Politics in America.

Vote on the Presiding Committee motion:

Delegates: 110 for, none against, one abstention.  
Consultative: 31 for, none against, no abstentions.

Motion Carried

Second session adjourned at 4:45 p.m.

Third Session, Friday, November 29, 1968, Convened at 4:55 p.m.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Derrick M. chair the first part of this session.

Motion: to approve.

Motion Carried

1. Talk by a leader of the Illinois Black Panther Party.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to break for dinner until 7:30 p.m.

Motion Carried

Recessed for dinner at 6:30 p.m. - reconvened at 7:30 p.m.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Tony T. chair the remainder of this session.

Motion: to approve.

Motion Carried

I. BLACK STRUGGLE REPORT:--ON THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF BLACK AMERICA FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

Reporter -- Derrick M.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to send the following message to Hugo Blanco:

El Fronton Prison  
Peru

Dear Comrade Blanco:

The revolutionary struggle in Peru against the neo-colonialist regime is our struggle. The victimization and imprisonment of yourself and your comrades by the Peruvian puppet regime is an attack not only on the movement in Peru, but on the entire world revolutionary movement. At the Eighth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, in the spirit of internationalism, the cornerstone of any living movement, we reaffirm our solidarity with our comrades in Peru. We rededicate ourselves to a campaign to expose the brutal and inhuman treatment of political prisoners at El Fronton by the police guards.

We look forward to a revival of the practice of international defense of all revolutionary victims of repression. Toward that end, we will continue to work for the release of you and your Peruvian comrades and for the freedom of all political prisoners in Latin America, the United States, and throughout the world.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Black Struggle Report: Scott, Dave F., Herman F., Helen M., Wilbert A., Larry B., Stu S., Matilde Z., Will R.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee that there be a limit of five minutes for each speaker.

Discussion: Scott, Robin D.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Black Struggle Report continued: Carl Fi., Norman O., Peter S., Albion U., Carol F., Tony C.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to take a final speakers list of five speakers with a limit of five minutes per speaker.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Black Struggle Report continued: Carl Fr., Peter K., Evelyn K., Tony T.

Summary on the Black Struggle Report - Derrick M.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to approve the general line of the Black Struggle Resolution and Report, On the Revolutionary Struggle of Black America for Self-Determination.

Vote on the Presiding Committee motion:

Delegates: 107 for, one against, no abstentions  
Consultative: 33 for, one against, no abstentions

Motion Carried

Motion: to send the following message to the three imprisoned Black Panther leaders in England:

The Eighth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance sends revolutionary greetings of solidarity with you i your struggle against an unjust imprisonment by the British authorities.

With the deepening of the struggle on the African, Asian, and Latin American continents, the oppressed nations within the imperialist countries are beginning to make their voices heard. This is registered in the growth of the British Black Panther Party.

This racist frame-up of Black Panther Party leaders by the lacky Labour government of British imperialism, which has imprisoned you for four months, is a sign of a bankrupt society, a society which cannot grant or deal with the demands of black people.

We fight here with the knowledge that our gains and achievements are yours.

Building a world-wide campaign against your imprisonment is a crucial part of the world revolution.

Venceremos.

Motion Carried

Third session adjourned at 11:00 p.m.

Fourth Session, Saturday, November 30, 1968, Convened at 10:30 a.m.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that David T. chair the fourth session.

Motion: to approve

Motion Carried

I. FRATERNAL GREETINGS

1. Greetings from the Socialist Workers Party by Joe Hansen.

II. ANTIWAR REPORT: YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR

Reporter - Carol L.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to have discussion on the report until 12:15, to recess for lunch at 12:15 and reconvene at 1:30 p.m.

Motion Carried

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to suspend the rules to allow Mike W. from Madison, who is not a seated delegate, to speak for seven minutes about his differences with the antiwar report and resolution on the question of the Democratic party convention demonstration.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Antiwar Report: Will R.

Motion: to extend Will's time for one minute.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Antiwar Report continued: Frank G.

Recessed for lunch at 12:15 p.m. - reconvened at 1:30 p.m.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

1. Greetings from the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes by Gary P.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee that ABC TV be allowed to take a quick silent film of the session.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Antiwar Report continued: Richard H., Chuck C., Jean S.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to suspend the rules so that Allen M. may speak.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Antiwar Report continued: Mike W., Larry S., Syd S., Gordon F., Robin D.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee that there be a limit of five minutes for every speaker.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Antiwar Report continued: Dave K., Ken S., Kitty C., Richard L., Terry Hi., Matilde Z., Tony T., Carol F., Bob S., Howard P., Naomi A.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to close the speakers list.

Motion Carried

Discussion on the Antiwar Report continued: Joe C., Roger R.

Summary on the Antiwar Report - Carol L.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to approve the general line of the Antiwar Resolution and Report, Young Socialists and the Fight against the Vietnam War.

Vote on the Presiding Committee motion:

Delegates: 106 for, none against, no abstentions  
Consultative: 31 for, none against, no abstentions

Motion Carried

Fourth session adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

Fifth Session, Sunday, December 1, 1968, Convened at 11:15 a.m.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Joanna M. chair the fifth session.

Motion: to approve.

Motion Carried

I. ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

Reporter - Charlie B.

YOUNG SOCIALIST REPORT

Reporter - Kipp D.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

Reporter - Caroline L.

791 people registered from 25 states. 39 are from the south. The 791 are 65% male, 35% female. 46% are 21 or under. 160



are delegates, fraternal delegates, or alternate delegates. There are 513 observers, including 7 GIs. 405 are YSAers, 48 are SDSers, 1 DuBoiser, 1 SPer, 1 from SSOC, 1 from DRUM, and others.

Issues that motivated joining the YSA: 267 antiwar movement, 169 Halstead-Boutelle campaign, 109 black struggle, 33 French events, 87 Cuban Revolution, 2 sick of SDS, 1 Czechoslovakia, 5 Berkeley events, 1 Columbia events, 1 "growing up in America."

Average years in the YSA: a little over 2 years. 187 joined in 1968. For 164 YSAers present this is the first convention.

Background of the YSAers attending the convention: 66 SDS, 62 antiwar committees, 24 YSHB, 2 PL, 14 DuBois Clubs (including 3 officers), 4 Communist Party, 10 Student Peace Union, 4 black groups, 1 Peace and Freedom Party, 5 Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 11 civil rights groups, 14 pacifists, 3 Socialist Party, 2 YPSL, 3 Young Democrats.

### CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION REPORT

Reporter - Peter S.

Motion: from the Constitutional Commission that there be two amendments to the constitution: That Article III, Section 4 be amended to read, Each new member shall pay two dollars initiation fee which shall be forwarded to the National Office. Membership dues are a minimum of one dollar a month, all of which shall be sent to the National Office. Mem-

That Article V, Section 6 be amended to read, The election of delegates to the National Convention shall be conducted by the local units. A member must have joined the YSA prior to the date specified in the convention call in order to vote. The ratio of delegates to membership shall be determined by the National Committee.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee that there be a limit of five minutes for every speaker.

### Motion Carried

Discussion on the Organizational Report and the Young Socialist Report: Robin M., Roger R., Lou P., Peter S., Rich H., Dave F., Barb M., Jay L., Carol F.

Motion: from the Presiding Committee to send the following message to James P. Cannon:

This convention, the largest in the entire history of the Young Socialist Alliance, is the confirmation of the fact that our roots in the tradition of the American Trotskyist movement are the source of our strength, politically and organizationally.

As the pioneer of the American Trotskyist movement, and as the National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, the revolutionary combat party in the United States, this convention salutes you and extends its warmest greetings.

This convention has set our line of action for the coming year. We are now ready to carry that line out.

Motion Carried

Motion: from the Presiding Committee that the convention express its appreciation to Vincent R. Dunne.

Motion Carried

Tribute to comrades graduating from the YSA.

Appreciation and thanks expressed to the Chicago comrades for the excellent job done in hosting the convention.

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

Vote on the Presiding Committee motion:

Delegates: 101 for, none against, no abstentions  
Consultative: 28 for, none against, no abstentions

Motion Carried

Vote on the motion of the Constitutional Commission:

Delegates: 100 for, none against, no abstentions  
Consultative: 28 for, none against, no abstentions

Motion Carried

Singing of the "Internationale."

Fifth session adjourned at 4:15 p.m.

Sixth Session, Sunday, December 1, 1968, Convened at 4:40 p.m.

Delegates and fraternal only.

Recommendation from the Presiding Committee that Derrel M. chair the sixth session.

Motion: to approve.

Motion Carried

I. NOMINATING COMMISSION REPORT

Reporter - Dan R.

Motion from the Nominating Commission to set the number of full National Committee members at thirty.

Motion Carried

Proposed slate of 30 full National Committee members:

John B.	Caroline L.
Nelson B.	Robin M.
Charlie B.	Derrick M.
Peggy B.	Derrel M.
Ellis B.	Wendy R.
Robin D.	Will R.
Kipp D.	Dan R.
Carl F.	Bob S.
Janice F.	Peter S.
Jan G.	Larry S.
Rich H.	Melissa S.
Evelyn K.	Syd S.
Susan L.	Tony T.
Marilyn L.	David T.
Carol L.	Peer V.

Motion: from the Nominating Commission to accept the slate of thirty as a whole.

Discussion: Linda S. nominated Eloise C., Jeff P., Dan R., Tony C.

Vote on the Nominating Commission motion:

100 for, five against, one invalid ballot, no abstentions

Motion Carried

Motion: from the Nominating Commission to set the number of alternate members of the National Committee at 27.

Motion Carried

Proposed slate of 27 alternate National Committee members:

1. Linda S.	8. Christine H.
2. Joanna M.	9. Joe M. (on leave of absence)
3. Bruce H.	10. Mike H.
4. Richard L.	11. Ove A.
5. Roger T.	12. Frank G.
6. Paul M.	13. Sharon N.
7. Howard P.	14. Kitty C.

- |                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| 15. Jean S.    | 22. Albion U. |
| 16. Norman O.  | 23. Alan W.   |
| 17. Russell B. | 24. Laurie P. |
| 18. Bob W.     | 25. Bill P.   |
| 19. Pat G.     | 26. Steve Z.  |
| 20. Herman F.  | 27. John V.   |
| 21. Gordon F.  |               |

Motion: from the Nominating Commission to accept the slate of 27 as a whole and to grant Joe M. an indefinite leave of absence.

Discussion: Naomi A. nominated Mike M., Dan R., Linda S. nominated Eloise C., Mary-Alice W., Dan R., Wilbert A. nominated Carl Fi., Rich H.

Declinations: Carl Fi. declined.

Discussion continued: Charlie B.

Motion: by Jim M. for a hand vote on the Nominating Commission's slate.

Discussion: Jim M., Larry S.

Motion Defeated

Discussion continued: Syd S., Tony T., Al U., Don G., Stu S., Melissa S., Linda S. withdrew the nomination of Eloise C., Rich H. withdrew the nomination of Mike M.

Vote on the Nominating Commission motion:

87 for, none against, one invalid ballot, one abstention

Motion Carried

Convention adjourned at 6:00 p.m.

YOUNG SOCIALIST DOMESTIC CIRCULATION

<u>STATES AND CITIES</u>	<u>NUMBER OF SUBS AT LAST CONVENTION</u>	<u>NUMBER OF SUBS AT TIME OF NOV. ISSUE</u>
<u>ARIZONA</u>		
Tuscon	2	2
Scottsdale	1	2
Phoenix	1	8
Ft. Smith		1
Tempe		2
	<u>4</u>	<u>15</u>
<u>ALABAMA</u>		
Aburn	1	
Montgomery	1	
St Bernard		1
Dothan		1
	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>ARKANSAS</u>		
Little Rock		2
Malvern		1
		<u>3</u>
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>		
<u>Northern</u>		
Berkeley	43	103
Oakland	7	40
San Francisco	35	115
Daly City	1	3
Burlingame	1	1
Belmont	1	
Atascadero	3	1
Goleta	1	1
San Mateo	2	1
Williams	1	1
Glen Allen	1	1
San Anselmo	1	
Mill Valley	1	
El Cerrito	1	
Colusa	2	2
Sacramento	1	3
San Jose	2	8
Petaluma	1	
Albany	2	
Stanford	3	3
Menlo Park	1	1
San Leandro	1	
Santa Cruz	1	
Healdsburg	1	2
Carmichael	1	
Palo Alto		5
Richmond		2
San Rafael		1
Belvedere		1
Cotate		1
Rohnert Park		1

Northern Calif  
continued

Petaluma		1
Stockton		1
Denair		1
Yosemite		1
Santa Rosa		1
Arcata		3
Davis		1
Vacaville		1
Yuba City		1
Portola		1
Pleasant Hill		1
Fremont		1
Hayward		1
Moraga		1
Napa		1
Orinda		1
San Leandro		1
Vallejo		1
	115	<u>320</u>

Southern

Los Angeles	25	98
Redding	1	
Arcadia	1	
Long Beach	1	3
Lomita	1	
Chula Vista	1	1
Van Nuys	1	1
La Jolla	1	
San Diego	2	3
Imperial	3	3
Riverside	1	2
Beverly Hills	1	
Bell Gardens	1	1
Venice	1	2
Bell	1	1
Topanga	1	2
Compton		1
Culver City		1
Gardena		2
Malibu		1
Redondo Beach		2
Inglewood		1
Santa Monica		3
West LA		1
Torrance		1
Whittier		1
Norwalk		1
Bell Flower		1
Lakewood		1
San Pedro		2
Tujunga		1
Pasadena		5
Glendale		2
Hidden Hills		1
Reseda		1

Southern Calif.  
continued

San Fernando		1
Granada Hill		1
Sun Valley		1
Woodland Hills		1
Panorama City		2
Sherman Oaks		2
North Hollywood		2
Covina		2
El Monte		1
Monterray Park		2
Pomona		1
Rosemead		1
Ulhambra		4
El Cajon		1
Falbrook		1
Lakeside		1
Redlands		1
Fullerton		5
Garden Grove		1
Orange		1
Santa Ana		2
Camarillo		1
Ojai		2
Mono Hot Springs		1
Fresno		1
Monterey		1
	<u>43</u>	<u>186</u>

Northern California	749	320
Southern California	43	186
Total California		<u>506</u>

COLORADO

Boulder	1	2
Denver	1	2
Leadville		1
Ft. Collins		1
	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>

CONNECTICUT

South Norwalk	1	
Hamden	1	1
New Haven	2	6
Southport	1	
Fairfield	1	
Storrs	1	1
West Hartford	1	
Portland		1
New Britain		1
Hartford		4
Mansfield		1
Windham		1
Woodstock		1
Durham		1
Meridien		2
Middletown		2

Conn. cont.

Bridgeport		1
Kent		1
Westport		1
Stamford		1
	<u>8</u>	<u>26</u>

DELAWARE

Dover	1	1
Washington	1	
Newark		1
W. Imington		3

FLORIDA

Petersburg	1	1
Ft. Lauderdale	1	3
Orlando	1	
Tallahassee	1	5
Orange Park	1	2
Jacksonville		1
Gainesville		3
	<u>5</u>	<u>15</u>

GEORGIA

Ft. Benning	2	3
Athens	2	
Atlanta	16	43
Smyrna	3	1
Doraville	1	2
Decatur	1	
Chamblee		2
Forest Park		1
Stone Mountain		1
Columbus		1
	<u>25</u>	<u>54</u>

HAWAII

Honolulu	1	2
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ILLINOIS

Chicago	50	135
Carbondale	2	12
Libson	1	
Champaign-Urbana	4	19
Peoria	2	6
Des Plaines	2	1
Western Springs	1	2
Downers Grove	1	2
Monmouth	1	
Oaklawn	1	1
Evanston	1	3
Maywood	1	1
Elgin	1	3
Bellwood	1	1
Skokie	1	3
Mt. Prospect	2	4
Wilmoor	1	
Glencoe		1
Glenview		1



Illinois cont.

Parkridge		1
Winnetka		1
Addison		1
DeKalb		15
Elmhurst		1
Glen Ellyn		4
Lombard		1
Westchester		2
Broadview		1
River Grove		1
West Chicago		1
Berwyn		1
Blue Island		1
Harvey		1
Joliet		1
Morris		1
Aurora		1
Clarendon Hills		1
La Grange		3
N. Aurora		1
N. Riverside		1
Salesburg		11
Oak Park		1
Mt. Carroll		1
Sterling		1
Rochford		2
Bloomington		2
Danville		1
Normal		1
Alton		1
Belleville		1
Quincy		1
Buffalo		1
De Soto		1
Jacksonville		1
	<u>73</u>	<u>262</u>

INDIANA

West Lafayette	1	19
Evansville	1	10
Washington	1	1
Bloomington	5	30
Notre Dame	1	3
Valpariso	3	2
Indianapolis	1	9
Anderson		2
Greencastle		2
Shelbyville		1
Gary		2
Syracuse		1
South Bend		4
Ft Wayne		1
Muncie		4
Yorktown		1
Richmond		1
Terre Haute		9
	<u>13</u>	<u>102</u>

IOWA

Council Bluffs	1	1
Des Moines	1	3
Ames		1
Grinnel		3
Waverly		1
Ft Dodge		1
	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>

KANSAS

Manhattan	4	1
Ft. Riley	1	1
Lawrence	1	2
Osawatomie		1
Ottawa		1
	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>

KENTUCKY

Prospect	1	1
Louisville	1	2
Lexington		1
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>

LOUISIANA

New Orleans	1	3
Baton Rouge		1
	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>

MAINE

7

MARYLAND

Annapolis	1	
Baltimore	2	9
Silver Springs	1	3
Bethesda		1
Seat Pleasant		1
West Hyattsville		1
Kengsington		1
Laurel		1
Sandy Spring		1
Cockesville		1
Catonsville		1
Salisbury		1
	<u>4</u>	<u>21</u>

MASSACHUSETTS

Cambridge	18	80
Boston	17	95
Hyde Park	1	
Allston	2	
Roxbury	2	
Dover	1	
Berkshire		1
Sandisfield		1
Nahant		1
Natick		3
Worcester		1
Mt. Herman		1
Beverly		1
Bellingham		1

Mass. cont.

South Byfield		1
Marblehead	1	1
Lynn	1	
Lincoln Center	1	1
Williamstown	1	1
Great Barrington	1	1
Northhampton	1	1
Amhurst	2	2
Springfield		1
Granby		1
	<u>49</u>	<u>195</u>

MICHIGAN

Detroit	54	115
Highland Park	3	1
Jonesville	1	
Ann Arbor	18	47
Kalamazoo	2	7
East Lansing	1	33
Oakpark	1	
Saginaw	1	1
Ypsilanti	1	7
Wayne	1	1
Taylor	1	1
Inkster	1	1
Dearborn	1	3
Warren	3	
St. Calire Shores	1	1
Southfield	1	1
Anchorville	1	
Bay City		1
Essixville		1
Mt. Pleasant		2
Okemos		1
Lansing		4
Nazareth		1
Buchanan		1
Tecumseh		1
Grand Rapids		2
Alpena		1
Anchorville		1
Birmingham		3
E. Detroit		3
Farmington		1
Milford		1
New Baltimore		1
Pontiac		2
Rochester		1
Huntington Woods		1
Royal Oak		2
Warren		3
Allen Park		1
Chelsea		1
Dexter		1
Pickney		1
Romulus		1
Willow Run		1
	<u>92</u>	<u>259</u>

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis	26	75
St. Paul	6	48
Sartell	1	1
Winona	1	1
Dakota	1	
Anoka	1	
Bear Lake	1	
Northfield	1	3
Chaska		3
Minnetonka		1
Wayzata		1
Rochester		1
Maeha		1
St Peter		2
Wells		1
Morris		2
Collegeville		2
Little Falls		1
Walker		1
Moorhead		4
Thief River Falls		1
	<u>38</u>	<u>149</u>

MISSOURI

Kansas City	1	1
St. Louis	6	6
Overland	1	
Olivette		1
Warrensburg		1
Columbia		1
	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>

MONTANA

Missoula	1	1
Great Falls	1	1
Billings		1
Helena		1
	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Tilton	2	
Lebanon	1	1
Fitzwilliam		1
Littleton		1
Hanover		7
Durham		1
N. Conway		1
	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>

NEBRASKA

Omaha		1
Lincoln		3
Hastings		1
		<u>5</u>

NEW JERSEY

Piscataway	1	
Ft Dix	1	1
River Dale	1	
Jersey City	1	2
Union City	1	2
Irvington	2	1
Passaic	1	2
Orange	1	2
Hoboken	1	1
Palisade	1	
Newark	1	2
Clifton		1
East Orange		10
Linden		1
Maplewood		1
Verona		1
W. Orange		1
Plainfield		2
Skoth Plains		1
Union		2
Elizabeth		3
Hillside		1
E. Paterson		2
Ridgewood		1
Ringwood		1
Wayne		2
Leonia		1
Cressdill		1
New Milford		1
Teaneck		1
Doren		1
Morristown		1
Barrington		1
Camden		5
Mays Landing		1
Hopewell		1
Island Hts		1
Flemington		1
Somerset		1
Somerville		2
New Brunswick		5
	<u>12</u>	<u>67</u>

NEW MEXICO

University of New Mexico	1	
Albuquerque		3
	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>

NEW YORK

New York City	118	228
Staten Island	5	48
Peekskill	1	
Scarsdale	1	1
Great Neck	1	1
Garden City Park	1	1
Ridgewood	1	
Brooklyn	5	50

<u>New York cont.</u>		
Flushing	4	
Jackson Heights	1	
Queens	1	
Jamaica	2	
Hollis	1	
Greenvale	1	14
East Meadow	1	
Merrick Long Island	1	
Fort Rockway	2	
Huntington	1	2
Albany	3	15
New Paltz	1	6
Glens Falls	1	
Syracuse	1	1
South Korthight	1	1
Buffalo	2	4
Rochester	2	8
Ithaca	2	6
Bronx		30
Binghampton		15
Chappaqua		1
Garrison		1
Rye		1
White Plains		1
New Rochelle		1
Middletown		1
Stony Point		1
New Hyde Park		1
Astoria		1
Long Island City		3
Far Rockaway		1
Inwood		1
Plainview		1
Selkirk		1
Scotia		1
Newburgh		1
Poughkeepsie		3
Plattsburgh		1
Levittown		1
Lindenhurst		1
Massapequa		1
Stony Brook		2
Hamilton		1
Utica		2
Endicott		2
Endwell		1
Johnson City		1
Vestal		1
Appleton		1
Grand Island		1
Amherst		1
Brocton		1
Elmira		1
Freeport		1
Oceanside		2
Valley Stream		1
Williston Park		2
Copagiue		1

New York cont.

Oakdale		1
Seaford		2
Haupague		1
	161	<u>482</u>

NORTH CAROLINA

Durham	1	4
Washington	1	
Fayetteville	1	
Greensboro		1
Chapel Hill		1
Raleigh		2
Ft Bragg		2
Belmont		1
Charlotte		1
	<u>3</u>	<u>12</u>

NORTH DAKOTA

Fargo		3
Grand Forks		7
Upham		1
		<u>11</u>

OHIO

Gambier	1	1
Worthington	1	
Columbus	2	8
Toledo	2	1
Elryia	1	
Cleveland	21	155
South Euclid	2	
Kent	2	6
Cincinnati	2	1
Yellow Springs	3	16
Dayton	1	
Oberlin		21
Hudson		1
Cardington		1
Bowling Green		1
Curtice		1
Defiance		2
E. Liverpool		1
Bedford		1
Chagren Falls		1
Wooster		3
Wickcliffe		1
Akron		1
Youngstown		1
Hartville		1
Uniontown		1
Wilburforce		1
Athens		1
Celina		1
Cridersville		1
	<u>38</u>	<u>230</u>

OKLAHOMA

Norman	3	3
Edmond		1
Langston		1
Oklahoma City		2
Hominy		1
Stillwater		1
	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>

OREGON

Albany	1	
Portland	5	17
Beaverton		1
Boring		1
Forest Grove		7
Corvallis		6
Eugene		2
	<u>6</u>	<u>34</u>

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia	30	90
Valley Forge	1	1
Lansdowne	1	2
Gladwyne	1	
Chester	1	2
Bucks County	2	1
Lancaster	1	6
New Providence	1	1
Gettysburg	1	1
Chambersburg	1	
State College	1	4
Johnston	1	
Pittsburgh	1	5
Loretto		1
Windber		1
Altoona		1
University Park		1
Carlisle		1
Elizabethtown		1
Harrisburg		1
York		1
Williamsport		1
Bethlehem		2
Easton		8
Whitehall		1
Friendsville		1
Doylestown		1
Cheney		2
Westtown		1
Norristown		1
King of Prussia		1
Phoenixville		1
Reading		12
Balaeynwyd		1
Haverford		2
Langihorne		1
Springfield		2
Swarthmore		1
Havertown		1



Penn. cont.

Wyncote

Wynnewood

43

1

1

163

RHODE ISLAND

Newport

Warwick

Lincoln

Providence

1

2

1

7

10

SOUTH DAKOTA

Vermillion

Brookings

Sioux Falls

Mitchell

1

3

6

2

2

13

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mt. Holly

North Augusta

Ft Jackson

Columbia

1

2

3

1

6

TENNESSEE

Swanee

Nashville

Memphis

Jackson

1

1

5

3

1

9

TEXAS

Austin

Ft. Sam Houston

Houston

Ft. Hood

Mingus

Denton

Richardson

Dallas

Baytown

Freeport

San Antonio

Robston

Canyon

Ft. Bliss

El Paso

4

1

6

2

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

3

1

1

1

15

8

3

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

1

24

VIRGINIA

Norfolk

Alexandria

Charlottesville

Ft. Eustis

Arlington

Springfield

Roanoke

1

1

3

1

2

1

1

8

2

VERMONT

Swich		1
Woodstock		1
Bennington		1
Burlington		3
Winooski		1
Vergennes		1
Johnson		1
Plainfield		2
		<u>11</u>

WASHINGTON

Pullman	1	2
Cheney	1	1
Ft. Lewis	1	1
Tacoma	1	
Everett	1	
Seattle	16	45
Vashon	1	
Kirland	1	
Laconia	1	
Belleview		2
Bothwell		1
Mercer Island		1
Mount Lake Terrace		1
Rolling Bay		1
Arlington		1
Bellingham		1
Gig Harbor		1
Port Townsend		1
Centralia		1
Chehalis		1
Ellensburg		1
Spokane		2
Waitsburg		1
	<u>24</u>	<u>65</u>

WASHINGTON DC

	9	20
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WEST VIRGINIA

Institute		1
Ridgeview		1
Stalbans		1
Charleston		1
Beckely		1
Bethany		1
Parkersberg		1
Morgantown		2
		<u>9</u>

UTAH

Salt Lake City	2	5
Pleasant Grove		1
Logan		2
Springville		1
	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>

WISCONSIN

Marshfield	1	1
Shawno	1	1
Osceola	1	
Clayton	1	
Briggsville	1	
Madison	31	73
DeForest	1	
Milwaukee	1	6
Kenosha	1	
Greendale	1	1
Random Lake		1
Racine		3
McFarland		1
Middleton		3
Stoughton		1
River Falls		1
DePere		1
Edgar		1
Stevens Pt.		2
Land O' Lakes		1
Sparta		1
Eau Claire		2
Oshkosh		2
Appleton		1
Menasha		1
	<u>40</u>	<u>104</u>

FOREIGN

Canada		45
Puerto Rico		7
Others		<u>131</u>
		<u>183</u>

YOUNG SOCIALIST BUNDLES

<u>LOCAL OR AREA</u>	<u>March</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>July-Aug</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>OWED</u>
Albany, NY	10	10	10	-	-	-	10	20	\$9.00
Ann Arbor, Mich*							25	25	15.00
Antioch, Ohio	20	30	20	20	25	25	30	30	..
Arizona*							15	15	6.00
Atlanta, Ga	50	50	50	50	50	75	75	75	76.00
Austin, Tx	25	25	25	-	-	10	10	20	2.00
Baltimore, Md	10	100	10	10	10	-	-	-	25.00
Berkeley, Calif	289	275	475	325	325	325	325	325	130.00
Binghamton, NY*							10	25	2.50
Bloomington, Ind*			20	20	20	40	50	50	18.90
Boston, Mass	300	300	300	200	450	250	300	300	10.00
Buffalo, NY								5	1.00
Carbondale, Ill	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15.00
Champaign, Ill	50	75	50	-	25	25	50	50	57.50
Chapel Hill, NC*						5	5	5	3.00
Cheney, Wash	5	5	5	-	-	-	5	5	2.75
Chicago, Ill	375	425	350	325	400	400	500	400	180.00
Cleveland, Ohio	150	150	200	200	156	200	250	250	246.25
DeKalb, Ill*							10	30	6.00
Detroit, Mich	200	200	200	250	200	200	200	200	40.00
East Lansing, Mich*						25	25	25	10.00
Evansville, Ind*						5	5	15	5.00
Houston, Tx	5	5	5	15	15	15	15	15	12.75
Indianapolis, Ind*							30	30	12.00
Irvington, NY								10	2.00
Kent, Ohio	35	35	35	35	35	75	20	20	22.25
Long Island, NY**							100	150	50.00
Los Angeles, Calif	150	150	150	150	150	150	200	300	60.00
Madison, Wisc	110	150	110	50	50	50	50	50	10.00
Manhattan, NY**							450	450	90.00
Newark, NJ**							75	75	30.00
New York, N.Y.	475	1500	700	500	950	700	**	**	327.35
New Haven, Conn								15	3.00
Philadelphia, Pa	200	350	300	75	150	300	200	100	241.75
Portland, Ore	5	5	5	5	5	20	20	20	12.00
Poughkeepsie, NY*							5	10	3.00
Sacramento, Calif	12	12	12	12	-	12	12	12	4.80
St. Louis, Mo								10	1.00
Salt Lake City, Utah							15	15	6.00
Santa Rosa, Calif*							10	10	4.00
San Francisco, Calif	125	200	125	275	190	200	200	200	112.00
Seattle, Wash	50	150	50	75	75	50	50	50	10.00
Twin Cities, Minn	150	200	200	150	175	200	200	200	40.00
Washington DC	75	30	30	30	50	50	50	50	52.50
Bookstores	220	220	210	210	210	220	215	215	
Other bundles	180	145	120	120	120	120	120	120	
Canada	81	71	71	86	126	86	81	81	
Bundle TOTAL	3372	4883	3352	3203	3977	387		138	1969.30

\*new bundles since last convention

\*\*New York local divided into Manhattan, Long Island, and Newark, NJ locals

## LITERATURE SALES REPORT

During this past year, Merit has more than doubled its business. This growth is reflected not only in sales, but also in the number of bookstores and dealers that are ordering from Merit for the first time:

Total # of outlets	Number of these outlets that are new since Jan.	# of states in which they exist
560	243	44

The most significant increase in this area falls under the category of Afro-American bookstores:

Total # of Afro-American outlets	Number of these that are new since Jan.	# of states in which they exist
105	69	25

One of the most encouraging facts is the extent of growth of new Afro-American bookstores in the south. They've sprung up in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The following chart represents the best-selling titles in two areas together with a comparison of sales during the same time period for 1968 and 1967:

Afro-American Best Sellers:	# sold May-Oct. 1968	# sold May-Oct. 1967
1. Malcolm X on Afro-American History	8,239	3,332
2. Two Speeches by Malcolm X	3,470	2,553
3. Malcolm X Talks to Young People	3,218	1,127
4. Malcolm - The Man and His Ideas	2,814	1,376
5. Last Year of Malcolm X (paper)	2,134	2,065
6. Case for a Black Party	1,829	not in print
7. Myths About Malcolm X	1,645	printed in Dec.
8. Murder in Memphis	1,180	not in print
9. How a Minority Can Change Society	1,150	735
10. Black Nationalism and Socialism	928	not in print
Marxist Best Sellers:	# sold May-Oct. 1968	# sold May-Oct. 1967
1. Introduction to Marxist Econ. Theory	1,043	not in print
2. Black Nationalism & Socialism	690	497
3. Socialism on Trial	577	299
4. Their Morals and Ours	572	410
5. Revolution Betrayed	467	462
6. Permanent Revolution	347	262
7. Intro. to the Logic of Marxism	263	291
8. Uneven & Combined Development	262	78
9. Transitional Program	280	230
10. Stalinism and Bolshevism	259	120

Yet another reflection of Merit's growth is the increased number of new titles that have been published in the past year:

New Stage in the Advance of Cuban Socialism - Fidel Castro  
Those Who Are Not Revolutionary Fighters Cannot Be Called Communists -  
Fidel Castro  
Black Ghetto (new edition combining Black Ghetto and Watts and Harlem)  
Black Nationalism and Socialism  
Should the U.S. Be Partitioned  
Murder in Memphis  
Worker-Student Uprising of 1968 - Pierre Frank  
Whither France (paper and cloth) - Leon Trotsky  
Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out  
Revolt in France  
Case of Leon Trotsky - Report of the Dewey Commission  
Fifty Years of World Revolution - Ernest Mandel

Of these new titles, The Case of Leon Trotsky has been met with an enthusiastic response from many quarters outside of our own movement. In a recent Library Journal, which goes to all libraries in the country, this book was reviewed and listed as a "must for every library." As a result, it has been selling around 25 copies a week -- the majority of which go to libraries, and over half of the first run is gone already!