

# young socialist

November 1968

25¢

Inside:

- Eugene V. Debs on Socialism and War
- Interview with Antiwar GIs

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PUERTO  
RICO  
LIBRE**



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# young socialist convention

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Editor: Carol Lipman

Business Manager: Kipp Dawson

Design: Melissa Singler

Editorial Board: Charles Bolduc, Kipp Dawson, Caroline Lund, Derrick Morrison, Dan Rosenshine, Larry Seigle, Melissa Singler, Mary-Alice Waters

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## In this issue

**LINDA WETTER** is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance in New York. She attended the celebration of the centenary of the first Puerto Rican rebellion for independence, at Lares, Puerto Rico in September of this year. While in Puerto Rico, she obtained the interview with Manuel de J. Gonzales.

**CAROL LIPMAN** is the Editor of the *Young Socialist*, and a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. She has just

The Thanksgiving 1968 Young Socialist National Convention is shaping up to be the biggest and best in the history of the revolutionary socialist youth movement in the United States. With a month to go until the Convention, requests for information on housing, transportation, scheduling, and the agenda are already pouring into the National Office of the Young Socialist Alliance from all over the country. Buses are being chartered from many cities, including some as far away as New York and Boston, and some as close as Champaign-Urbana, Illinois.

Around the country, pre-election socialist educational conferences are being held. These conferences, which are helping to build the Thanksgiving Convention, have been well attended and response to the Convention plans has been enthusiastic.

As plans for the Convention begin to emerge, several highlights are already evident.

One will be the international panel of revolutionary socialist youth leaders, scheduled for Saturday, November 30. Invitations have gone out to numerous organizations asking them to send representatives to the Convention, and responses have already been received from several countries. Tariq Ali, the Pakistani student leader and organizer of the giant antiwar demonstrations in London, will come from England. From France, a former leader of the JCR, the banned organization which played a key role in the events of last spring, will be present to participate in the discussion of the international movement. From Germany, there will be a leader of the SDS. Efforts are being made to arrange for leaders of the National Strike Committee in Mexico to attend also. Leaders of the Canadian Young Socialists — Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes will be present. In addition, invitations have been sent to several countries that have not yet been heard from.

Time is being arranged for these international youth representatives to lead a panel discussion on the revolutionary movements in their respective countries, and prospects for greater international coordination between the growing movements in different countries.

In addition to these international representatives, many U.S. organizations, including SNCC, SDS, the Black Panther Party, the United Mexican-American Students in Los Angeles, and others have been invited to send special guests to the Convention.

A second highlight of the Convention will be a panel led by active duty GIs and recent vets, discussing their experiences as antiwar activists and socialists drafted into the army.

A third highlight will be a lecture by the noted Marxist scholar George Novack on the role of the working class in making the socialist revolution in the United States. The lecture will be followed by the showing of an hour long film on the events of May and June in France.

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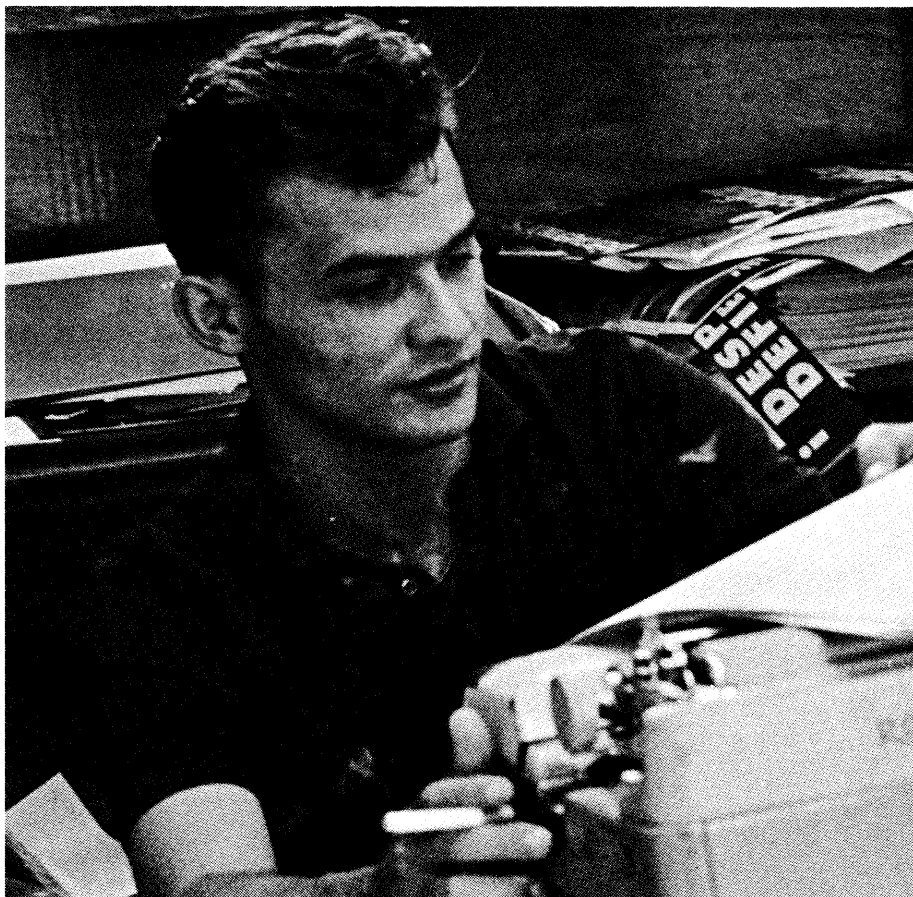
completed a national speaking tour on the topic "From Student Revolt to Socialist Revolution."

**CHARLES BOLDUC** is the National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

**DERRICK MORRISON**, a member of the National Executive Committee of the YSA, and a regular contributor to the *Young Socialist*, recently visited Detroit, where he got a first-hand look at the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement.

## The Struggle for Puerto Rican Independence

# Defend the 25 Accused!



*Manuel de J. Gonzales.*

**Interview by Linda Wetter**

*Manuel de J. Gonzales is the President of the Federation of University Students for Puerto Rican Independence (FUPI). FUPI is a revolutionary nationalist organization formed in 1956 to fight for Puerto Rican independence. It works closely with the Movement for Independence (MPI).*

*The colonial government in Puerto Rico has consistently tried to isolate FUPI and destroy the student movement it leads. Manuel, along with 24 other leaders of FUPI, are currently being framed-up on a series of charges, and face heavy sentences if convicted.*

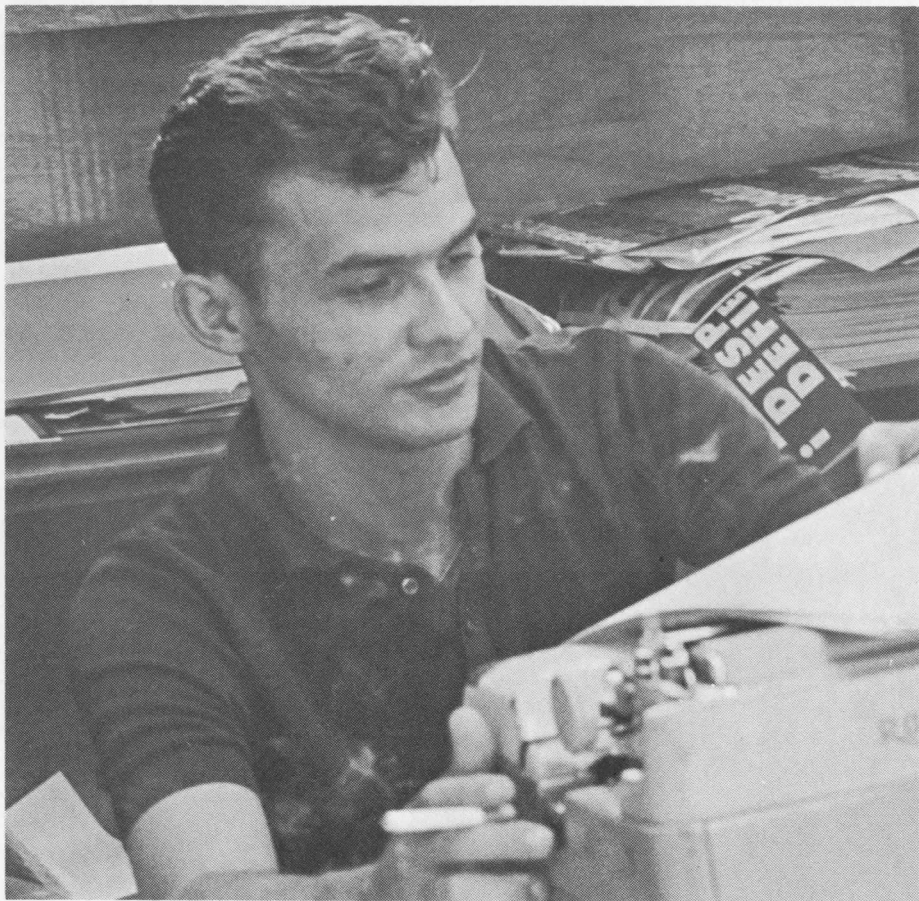
*Linda Wetter, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, interviewed Manuel just prior to the successful September 23rd demonstration in Lares, Puerto Rico, which marked the centenary of the first rebellion for independence in Puerto Rico.*

*The interview has been translated from Spanish by the Young Socialist.*

**Q:** Would you tell us when, and under what conditions, FUPI was organized?

**A:** FUPI was formed at the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras in 1956. At that time the University was at a very difficult stage. Student activities practically did not exist. In order to understand why that situation existed, we have to go a little further back.

In 1948 there was a very vigorous student movement that was led by Juan Mari Bras, who is now Secretary General of MPI and at that time was a student at the University of



*Manuel de J. Gonzales.*

Puerto Rico. The student movement then was very strong at the University. In 1948 the student movement, through the Student Council, invited Pedro Albizu Campos (famous revolutionary nationalist leader of Puerto Rico) to speak at the University. The University officials refused to permit Mr. Campos to speak and the students went on strike. A violent clash resulted between the students and the police. As a result of the strike, all the leaders of the student movement were expelled from the University. Juan Mari Bras and other comrades who led the student movement were not only expelled, but they were not even permitted to enter the University grounds. Under the repressions of the student leaders by the colonial forces, who feared the strength of the student movement, the movement fell into a sleep. Without leadership the movement disintegrated. The leaders had to leave the country and with that began what we now call "La Ley de la Mordaza" ("The Gag Law").

You could not speak at the University, if you did you were suspended. They eliminated the Student Council and all the means by which the students could organize. The students were not allowed even the most minimal participation in the University. The student body became very docile, submissive to administrative pressures, and any fighting spirit was crushed. In 1956, a small group of students, aware of the situation, decided to organize. Among them were a whole series of comrades who today

are almost all in the leadership of MPI and who at that time were students. They formed what is today known as FUPI.

FUPI began to grow and gain strength. It raised demands for more university reforms, greater participation of the students in decisions of the University, and also introduced political consciousness in the University. It was not just limited to a University struggle. This was the direction they gave to FUPI and that FUPI has followed and, I think, will continue to follow. We go to the University not just to work for university reforms. That is one goal but it is secondary. Our function in the University is primarily a political one. We understand that we can not have a university which serves the community, which serves Puerto Rico, until Puerto Rico and its government belong to the Puerto Rican people—that is until Puerto Rico is an independent republic, freed from imperialism.

This struggle of FUPI began to have an impact. In 1960, four years after its formation, there developed a strong, well organized movement at the University. At that time ROTC was obligatory at the University. FUPI began a campaign against the obligatory ROTC, demonstrations, etc. The University was forced to make ROTC voluntary. This is an example of the strength that the movement had at that time. They began demanding reforms in the University, and the administration was forced to concede

them. They won the right to organize—the Student Council was formed again—and they won more voice in University affairs. They lowered the prices in the cafeteria and in other University services.

The movement continued to grow, and as it grew it became more and more dangerous to the regime. Thus in 1964 the government began a systematic repression of the students. As we look back on this repression today we can see that it served to raise the level of consciousness of the students, and aided in their organization. This does not mean that this repression did not succeed in brutally repressing the students.

Today we have a FUPI that is well organized, with a very strong base in the University of Puerto Rico (at Rio Piedras) and strong chapters in other universities in Puerto Rico. University administrations have been forced to sit down and negotiate with us on different occasions in the face of our strength.

No other political organization exists on the campus. Every now and then a political organization forms and then dissolves. There are, however, pro-independence students who believe in the electoral process, who believe that we should go vote this year. FUPI believes that we should boycott the colonial elections. Those pro-independence people who think that we should vote try to form a small group every four years as elections come up, but these organizations dissolve right after elections.



*Puerto Ricans demonstrate against U. S. controlled phoney plebiscite, April 16, 1967.*

Q: FUPI is now involved in the defense of the "25 Accused." Can you give us the background of this defense case?

A: The systematic repression of the student movement began some time ago. I could say that October 28, 1964 was the beginning of the repression, not only the beginning, but the brutal expression of the repression. Up until that time the repression had been limited to intimidating people and persecuting students. Up until 1964 the repression was not violent. In 1964 the movement for university reforms was at its height. FUPI called a demonstration on campus — demonstrations on campus are prohibited — which was supported by a large percentage of the students. The colonial police of Puerto Rico entered the University and attacked the demonstration with clubs, and later with bullets. Many students were injured. But the police retreated because the students did not retreat; they stayed and battled the police. I was a freshman at that time and involved in the battle. The next day the students responded with a much larger demonstration, not only on the campus but also in the streets of Rio Piedras. It was a demonstration of about 8,000 students. That was the beginning of the violent repression. They tried to destroy FUPI and its leadership, but were unable to do so.

Last year was the second large confrontation with the police. At that time FUPI was engaged in a large campaign against ROTC. ROTC was voluntary by that time — now the campaign was to get it off the campus. On the 4th of May, 1967, a large demonstration, led by FUPI, interrupted a parade of the ROTC. When the parade entered the University the students threw sand and stones at the parade and forced it to leave the campus.

The University administration at first did nothing, but a campaign was launched against the students by the reactionary press of Puerto Rico, calling for the expulsion of the students and the outlawing of FUPI. The University responded by expelling 24 students, among them myself and all the leaders of FUPI. Since we were expelled at the very end of the academic year when classes were over

and the students leaving, the students were unable to organize demonstrations in protest.

The next school year, however, the student movement continued with equal strength. The administration had not succeeded in destroying the movement. Those of us who were expelled did not re-register, but we stayed on the campus. This forced the regime to continue, by more violent methods, the repression. On September 27, 1967, the administration tried to expel another student on the charge of using drugs. The student body gathered at the administration building demanding that proof be given of the charge. About 500 well armed police arrived and attacked the gathering. The students responded to the police violence with student violence. The police fired tear gas and used clubs, and the students answered with rocks. Many students were arrested, and a nine-hour battle ensued between the students and the police.

The students retreated to the campus and barred the entrances while the police encircled the campus. Then the police began shooting into the crowd and a taxicab driver, who was helping to take injured students to the hospital, was killed. Four students were wounded by gunfire, and many others were injured with clubs. The colonial Governor then ordered the police to retreat from the University.

Seven months later the colonial government accused 25 students, among them all the leaders of FUPI, of conspiracy, arson, inciting to riot, and destroying private property, during the September 27 battle. This case is now in the courts.

If imperialism succeeds in jailing us, since all 25 are leaders, the struggle will have been dealt a blow. This will be a blow not only against the struggle on the campus, but against the struggle for independence as well. We have tried to establish an international solidarity campaign for our defense. In Puerto Rico a defense committee of many well-known people is attempting to organize solidarity. At the University, a committee of students, outside of FUPI, has been organized and will be in charge of building support within the University.

Q: What can students and radicals in the United States do to help in the defense?

A: I think that the North American students can do very much. In the first place you must take into account the moral support that this gives us — especially since we are a colony of the Yankees. We understand that the people of the U.S., especially the youth, are not against us nor we against them. We are only against the capitalist class that controls the destiny of the country and is responsible for the colonial status of Puerto Rico. Since that is the case, the opinions and expressions of solidarity that the North American students can develop are very important mainly because of the moral authority that this has in our country and also the influence it has internationally. We can remember, for instance, the important role that the French youth played in the freedom struggle of Algeria. I think the role of American youth can be very important in Puerto Rico.

I would like to see information about our situation here spread in the United States. We find that few people in the U.S. are aware of our struggle here — in fact most people don't even know where Puerto Rico is. The only people who come here are tourists who come to see the countryside and lie on the beaches.

If through your press, public activities, conferences, and so forth, our situation could become better known, that would be extremely important for our struggle. And, of course, meetings, rallies, solidarity demonstrations, and statements of well-known people supporting our defense, are all very important.

Q: What influence does the antiwar movement in the U.S. have on Puerto Rico?

A: In Puerto Rico we have always carried on a struggle against being drafted into the Yankee army. This perhaps comes from Albizu Campos who organized resistance to the draft years ago. With the aggression of the U.S. against the Vietnamese people and the use of Puerto Rican youth in that aggression, the resistance to the draft has grown. Right now there are hundreds of Puerto Rican youth who have refused to enter the service, including leaders of FUPI.

The organization of the antiwar movement and the antidraft move-

## Interview by Carol Lipman

*The following interview was obtained by Carol Lipman, Editor of the Young Socialist, in San Francisco a few days after the giant GI March for Peace that was held there on October 12. In that demonstration, 500 active duty GIs were joined by 15,000 civilians in a demonstration against the war in Vietnam.*

*The four GIs who participated in the interview were all active in organizing for the demonstration. A1C (Airman First Class) Tom Rovner, A1C John Pratt, and A1C Jack Michaud, are all stationed at Hamilton Air Force Base in California. Petty Officer 3rd Class Jerry Dunham is a veteran of Vietnam, and currently stationed at the Naval Yard at Mara Island, in Vallejo, California. Jack Michaud and Jerry Dunham are also on the Editorial Board of Task Force, a GI paper published in San Francisco.*

*Since this interview, military authorities have tried to crack down on those active in organizing the GI March. A1C Michael Locks and Lt. (j.g.) Susan Schnall are being court-martialed. Lt. Hugh Smith is being harassed.*

*Money and messages of support can be sent to Schnall and Locks Defense Committee, P. O. Box 31268, San Francisco, California 94131. Telegrams of protest should be sent to: (for Lt. Schnall) Commanding Officer, Oak-Knoll Naval Hospital, Oakland, California; (for A1C Locks) Commanding Officer, Hamilton Air Force Base, California 94934. Copies of messages and telegrams should also be sent to: GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10011.*

Carol Lipman: How did you get involved in the antiwar movement and the action on October 12th?

John Pratt: Ironically, the first idea I had of this peace movement was a newspaper article with Lt. Smith's picture that I saw on a bulletin board at an Air Force library. I immediately called Lt. Smith. I had no other way to vent my frustration with the Vietnam war. There was no other organization that I knew of, until I read this article. I think many of the

## Antiwar GIs—

# "There's No Stopping Us Now!"

more passionate members of our organization don't need convincing, it's just a matter of forming the organization with which they can act.

Jerry Dunham: I first really became against the war after my first tour in Vietnam. I was over there on a patrol boat in '65 and '66 and, well, I became so much against it that when I came back to the States I more or less started looking for different groups and contacting different groups that were antiwar and such. I never really found any to my taste, because most of them that I came in contact with were too radical for me. Hell, they were anti-everything! I'm not against the service, because I don't care what country it is or what type of government you have, you're going to have the military service. But I was against the war, and I was against the service for being against me for being against the war. So, when I went aboard the ship I started discussing the war. I was in

contact with some of the people in this American Servicemen's Union at this time. I found another guy who objected strongly to the war, and together we just started putting out. A lot of guys didn't know why they were there; we started telling why they were there and what was wrong and such. They had to feel you out, and find out what we could do about it—you know, you could object, let the brass know what were your feelings about it. Myself, I wrote a lot of letters to different people. After a while it became pretty obvious with some of the lifers who got a little hot about it. They told me I'd have to quit, that I couldn't express my views because it was bad on the morale of the ship. And I told them to go to hell, I would continue to do it. It led to by being kicked off after a few months of investigation. They got to the point where they thought I was going to sabotage the ship, you know. I had about 75% of the crew behind me.





*Scene at GI March for Peace, October 12, San Francisco. 500 active-duty GIs attended this historic rally.*

Carol Lipman: Let's talk about the march a little bit, what happened there, and some comments on the organization that led up to the action that took place on October 12th.

Jack Michaud: As far as concrete things we did for the march, a very important aspect was the leafletting on the base. There were GIs who went on to the bases and distributed leaflets where people would see them very plainly during the day. We had these little stickers and they were put all over the base. If you didn't see a sticker, you really led a sheltered life in Hamilton, I'll tell you. Also, there was a little rally at Hamilton. People distributed leaflets on this rally that they were holding there, and drew so much attention that we had at least 10 OSI agents out there watching us because they thought it was really

going to be something. There was one OSI agent for everyone that was at the rally. They took pictures and everything. They harassed me because I brought six girls on base to leaflet. I got called down and they asked me what I did and what was going on down here in San Francisco at the Sacred Heart Church, what kind of organization we have. I naturally refused to answer every question, which really destroyed them.

Tom Rovner: Most of the support we got from GIs was done through leafletting of other GIs on the bases. People went on the bases putting leaflets and stickers all over the place and pretty soon you get a halfway decent reaction from most of the people on base. Discussions were started here and there and among COs and everybody else around the base. Through

general dissemination of literature all over the place the whole movement became pretty well known, regardless of how many people came to the march.

Carol Lipman: I heard there was an airplane that dropped some leaflets on some of the bases. Does anybody know the history of that and what happened?

Jack Michaud: There was a Lieutenant from Oak-Knoll Naval Hospital that organized this, a navy nurse (Lt. j.g. Schnall). She organized this whole thing. They just went up in the airplane and they dropped 14,000 leaflets on Oak-Knoll Hospital, Yerba Buena Island, Treasure Island, and on the USS Ranger. They missed once on the Ranger, but the second time they got the Ranger and

the docks. If you watched the news coverage on the Ranger, they showed an officer standing there and an enlisted man reading the little leaflet they dropped. As the plane flew over, they had the guns turned on the plane the whole way over, you know, like they were going to shoot it down.

Carol Lipman: Do you think the march was a success?

Jack Michaud: Yes, I think it was successful as far as I'm concerned. Because I'm looking at it from a GI's point of view, and I think that just the fact there was pretty close to 300 GIs at the march, under a GI banner, I think that speaks for itself.

Tom Rovner: This march has shown other GIs that they cannot be intimidated by the military. The military cannot force them to stifle expression of their rights as American citizens, just because they're GIs. When you go into the service you do not lose your rights as an American citizen. You may be subject to other laws under the military, but you certainly don't lose your rights.

Jack Michaud: I think that's what a lot of people think, that you lose your rights. They think if a lifer tells you to do something, you should do it without question. I don't think that's right. They don't want you to ask, "Why?" They don't want you to start any discussion among the troops, they really look down on that, as I know from personal experience.

Carol Lipman: What was the feeling of the GIs who participated in the march?

Jerry Dunham: We had a lot of what the Marines call *esprit de corps*. Everybody was great! Wow! You know, "why didn't we do this before?" was the general reaction. Everybody was really excited about it. Everybody was asking why it hadn't happened before, why it has taken so long. Right now I think the guys would go for anything. Call another march tomorrow, I think it would be triple what it was before. If they'd call another one next week it would be

bigger than that. It's going to keep moving like this, because now somebody's kicked it off and they know that they can pretty well do it. They've got the right to do it. They're going to continue doing it. I don't think that can be stopped now.

Carol Lipman: Did the guys on the bases face victimization from the brass in any way, through not being allowed off base on the day of the demonstration, or victimization after the march?

John Pratt: In my particular case, I was notified 15 minutes before the working day ended on Friday that I was going to have a little detail on Saturday, half the day, and then of course they would have found some logical reason to keep me there longer if need be. I was told that I had been two minutes late to work some time during the previous week, and I felt this was obviously discriminatory. They knew I was working in the organization within our unit trying to promote other GIs to attend. I did attend the march. I haven't heard a word about it yet. This is three days after the march.

Jerry Dunham: I was called up on Thursday afternoon and they informed me I was moving to a different barracks. What barracks you're in determines what day you have duty, and they moved me from a dorm that had duty on Friday to a dorm that had duty on Saturday. The reason they gave was that they needed the room in the particular dorm I was sleeping in, although there were 69 empty bunks in there. So I just went ahead and moved my gear and went along with the whole deal. Of course I pulled a sly one on them and got transferred on Friday and made the march anyway. They were aware that I was going to the march because, well, for one thing I told them. But they have been investigating me for about 6 months. Its no big secret.

Carol Lipman: What do you think the future of the movement will be? Can they crush you?

Tom Rovner: I think this is the first time in the service that there's ever been such organization. I talked with so many people lately, veterans who

have been in service, who say that years ago they wouldn't have dreamed of this, because they knew perfectly well what would have happened to them, how easily they could be crushed. Up until now, its all been individuals. The ideas haven't been crushed, but a lot of people have, man. I think this GI march now has shown an awful lot of people that they cannot be crushed if they have organization. That's the whole idea of the GI Association. It's organization. Speak up for your rights as American citizens and GIs.

Jack Michaud: They're going to try and crush this anyway because they hate anything like this that's going on, that's causing any little bit of dissension among the troops.

Tom Rovner: That's quite true, but the mere fact that everything has been kept as legal as possible and above board and within our rights as GIs and American citizens —

Jack Michaud: Legal from a civilian point of view. You see in the military there are so many things they can get you on.

Tom Rovner: All right, you still try to keep it legal as much as possible.

Jerry Dunham: They can crush one man; maybe they can stop one man.



Lt. (j.g.) Susan Schnell, Navy Nurse, one of the organizers of the GI March for Peace.



They can put him in prison. But when he leaves, five more are going to spring up.

Jack Michaud: Let's say it this way. Two months ago they might have been able to crush it by stopping (Lt. Hugh) Smith. But I think at the point where it is right now I don't think they can crush it. Because it would be just too much to stop all of us. Before they could stop it, but I don't think they can do that right now.

Tom Rovner: We've got so much legal backing right now. There are too many lawyers behind us and there are too many civilians behind us.

Jerry Dunham: If it wasn't Smith, it would have been somebody else, because this is going on all over the country right now. It's on the East Coast, they're getting organized pretty well. It's going on at Fort Hood. If it hadn't been Smith out here at Hamilton, it would have been Jones out there somewhere else.

Jack Michaud: I'll tell you right now, you say if they would have crushed Smith something else would have come up. As far as I'm concerned, at Hamilton, Smith is the first person that I know of who started anything here on the West Coast. I haven't heard of anything else. I knew of The Resistance, and all these other things. They were mere farces compared to what we have because they weren't pointed at the GIs. The Resistance was pointed more at you before you became a GI, right? To avoid the draft. Smith has really organized a GI thing here. We're not telling people "resist the draft" and all that. We're telling people that are in the service: "demand your rights."

Carol Lipman: What are some of the actions and ideas that have been discussed for the future? What kinds of things do you think are going to take place, coming out of the GI march itself?

Jack Michaud: There is *Task Force*, which is definite, which is really a truly GI newspaper. It gives a good point of view as far as GIs go. There has also been talk of a teach-in, there's been talk of another march, an indoor rally at Christmas time. There is this thing about setting up a nation-wide consultation program which Dr. Spock and his people would like somebody to take over. There are various ideas like this. There are so many things you can do, but you have to watch what you do because you have to watch your finances. It gets very technical.

Jerry Dunham: I think one of the best ideas that has been brought up so far is the idea of an indoor rally or teach-in. Have some big auditorium or the Cow Palace. If Wallace can pack 'em into the Cow Palace, we're bigger than Wallace. We've got more support than him. I think we can draw a bigger crowd than he can. There's no stopping it now, no stopping it at all.

Carol Lipman: On another subject, there is a question that a lot of civilians are going to ask. There is always a lot of discussion in the antiwar movement about what kind of actions are best, what is the best way to build the antiwar movement. And I was wondering, from the point of view of the GI, what do you think the antiwar movement should do next. What kind of actions are going to draw GIs around the movement?

Jack Michaud: I think to draw a GI to the antiwar movement, you're going to have to aim something at him. Civilians are going to come, no matter what. But as far as drawing the GIs, you have to aim something at them, make them feel like they're doing something important. They have to understand that for them to be at an antiwar demonstration is really going to help—this is a GI antiwar demonstration. You have to make the GIs feel that they really have a big part in this whole thing, which they do, because if a million GIs stood up against the war, they couldn't fight the war because the GIs are the ones that are doing the fighting. A civilian in the antiwar movement helps bring along public opinion. But a GI in the antiwar movement makes decisions. He helps the brass in Washington make decisions. He controls, really. A GI really has a lot more control than he realizes over the decisions of the brass. If he is dissenting against a war, and he's got a thousand followers, they're going to have to treat him with kid gloves because they can't make a martyr out of him. The more they persecute him, the more GIs are going to fall in behind him.

Carol Lipman: What should students do on the campuses to help the movement to grow?

Jack Michaud: Treat GIs as human beings. Because I know a lot of GIs who used to be students. And I think a lot of students have a poor opinion of GIs. I bet you could go to Berkeley and ask them what they think of GIs and they're going to come right out and put them down. I think students should back up GIs and support them. GIs are human beings.

Jerry Dunham: They put us on the same level as Berkeley cops, or the California Highway Patrol or something just because we're in uniform. The majority of the guys who are wearing uniforms right now are in uniform because it's a choice; either you're in uniform or you're in jail. Because we choose to go in uniform rather than jail, let's don't put us on the same level with California Highway Patrol or the Berkeley Police Department.

# Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement

By Derrick Morrison

When one mentions that section of society known as the working class, most black nationalists and radicals concoct a mental picture of a white male, in his 40s, living in a split-level house with a two-car garage out in the suburbs, and passively or actively supporting the presidential campaign of George Wallace. However, when one examines the whole, and not just part of the 80 million members of the North American working class, the above picture crumbles from sight as just another stereotype.

The working class is a multi-national group, composed of whites, blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other peoples that were brought over here to work for the capitalist class. Because Afro-American, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican workers are not only exploited, but oppressed as nations by white society, they have assumed a vanguard position in the struggle against the capitalist exploiters.

Mexican-American farm workers in California and in the Southwest have carried on a four-year struggle for union recognition with the grape growing industry. In New York City, Puerto Ricans are joining with Afro-Americans in demanding community control of the schools. Young white workers drafted into the U. S. imperialist Army are beginning to organize against the war in Vietnam.

All of these struggles have been given a big impetus by the unfolding of the black liberation struggle over the past decade.

This struggle has deepened as a result of the recent actions launched by black workers in the Detroit auto

plants of the Big Three: General Motors, Ford Motor Co., and the Chrysler Corporation. The street actions initiated by Afro-America against the symbols and the instruments of oppression (the merchants and the police department) have finally spread to the oppressor himself, the imperialist exploiter. Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors have their tentacles stretched out all over the world, with big holdings in the Union of South Africa. Detroit is the center from which this world-wide auto empire is operated.

The power of black workers can be noted from the fact that over 33 percent of the 1.5 million members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) are black. In many plants, black workers are in the majority.

At present, the focal point of struggle by black workers against super-exploitation and racist oppression is the Hamtramck Assembly plant of the Chrysler Corporation. Hamtramck (pronounced: Hamtramick) is an incorporated city in the center of Detroit, sort of an internal suburb that is heavily Polish with a growing black population. The black community in Detroit surrounds the whole of Hamtramck.

Hamtramck Assembly is the plant where the widely advertised Dodge

car is put together. Thus, the name that the black workers adopted in their struggle was DRUM, Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement. DRUM was formed last May after white and black workers staged a wildcat strike over the fast pace of the assembly line. It was a wildcat because the strike was not sanctioned by the bureaucrats in the UAW.

Of the 30 workers that were disciplined and the 7 that were fired by the Chrysler management, the overwhelming majority were black. This action followed a long train of abuses directed at the black workers ever since the July uprising in the summer of 1967. The new sense of identity gained by black Detroit after the July explosion was reflected in the plant by the black workers. Since 60 to 70 percent of the 10,000 workers on the assembly line are black, and the management and foremen are lily white, the display of black consciousness by black workers produced that much more of a clash with the reality of power in the plant. The foremen, who mainly reside in the outer suburbs, came down on any black worker wearing an Afro, or tiki—African symbol worn around the neck. Black workers were suspended or fired on any pretext by the foremen. So finally, in May, DRUM was formed. Its lead-

ership and support came from young black workers in the plant. Revolutionary black students who published the *Inner City Voice* also helped out in the formative stages of DRUM.

Throughout May, June, and July, the organization put out a newsletter called *DRUM*, which documented case after case of racist harassment by the Chrysler management in collaboration with UAW shop stewards.

In the second week of July, DRUM issued a set of demands for the elimination of racism at Dodge. One demand called upon Chrysler to pay South African auto workers the same wage as that given the white Afrikaner auto workers. Other demands called for the installment of 50 black foremen, 10 black general foremen, 3 black superintendents, a black plant manager, and the rehiring of all black workers fired on trumped up charges by the racist foremen. Another demand stipulated that union dues be directed to the black community to aid in the struggle for self-determination instead of the cause of the UAW bureaucrats.

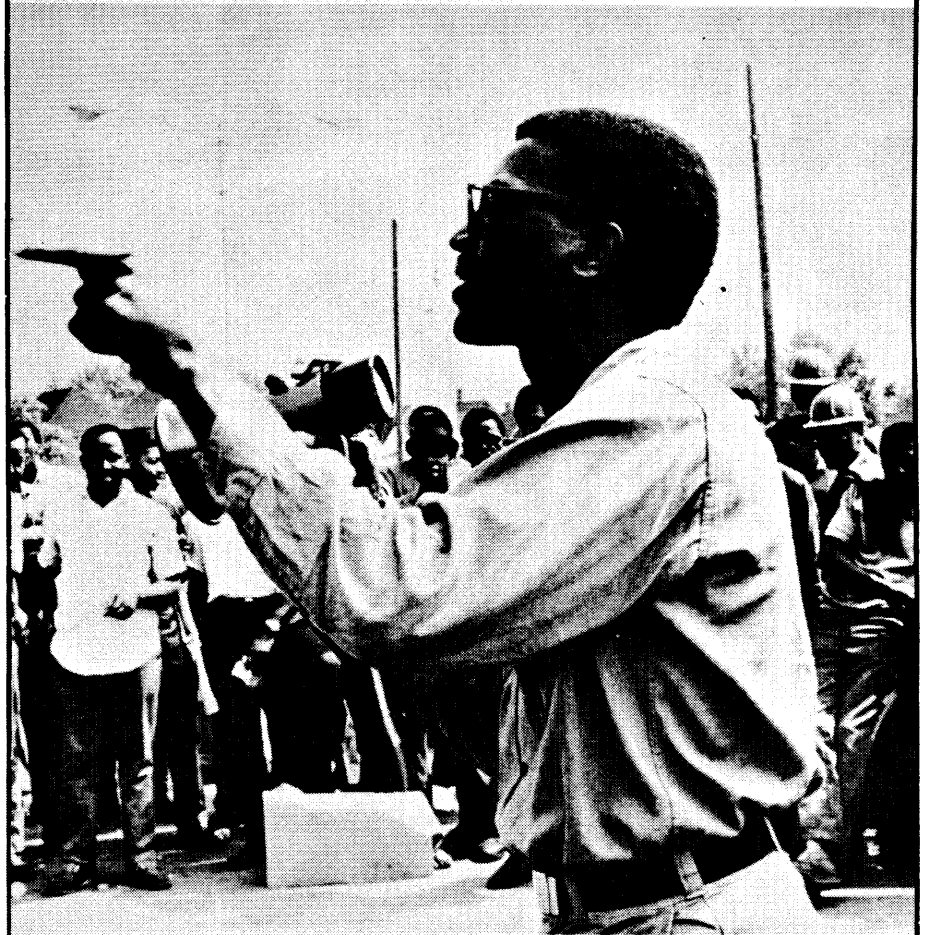
When no adequate response came from either Chrysler or the UAW, DRUM proceeded to shut the plant down. Over 2,000 black workers struck and picketed the plant on July 12. The wildcat continued for another two days. Because of the solidarity displayed among the black workers, not one worker was fired or suspended. Although the demands were not met, the management became very cautious in their treatment of black workers.

The leadership of UAW Local 3, before and after the shut down, denounced the strike, calling it racism in reverse. They even went so far as to say that the strike prevented other workers from going into the plant who wanted to put in an "honest day's labor." These explanations were given by the union leadership in a meeting they held with about 200 black workers the day before the strike. The black workers got up and walked out of the meeting.

After the strike was over, black workers at other auto plants began to seek out DRUM for information and direction.

The next goal that DRUM set its sights on was the September 26 election to the Board of Trustees of Local

## DRUM'S CANDIDATE



# RON MARCH FOR TRUSTEE

*Election poster used in DRUM's campaign in the UAW.*

3. The Board is composed of three people. Its function is to oversee and direct the spending of the money put into the local treasury. The names of the Board go on the checks that are used to take money out of the local's bank account.

The election on September 26 was to be a special election to replace one of the Board's members who had recently died. Of the remaining Board mem-

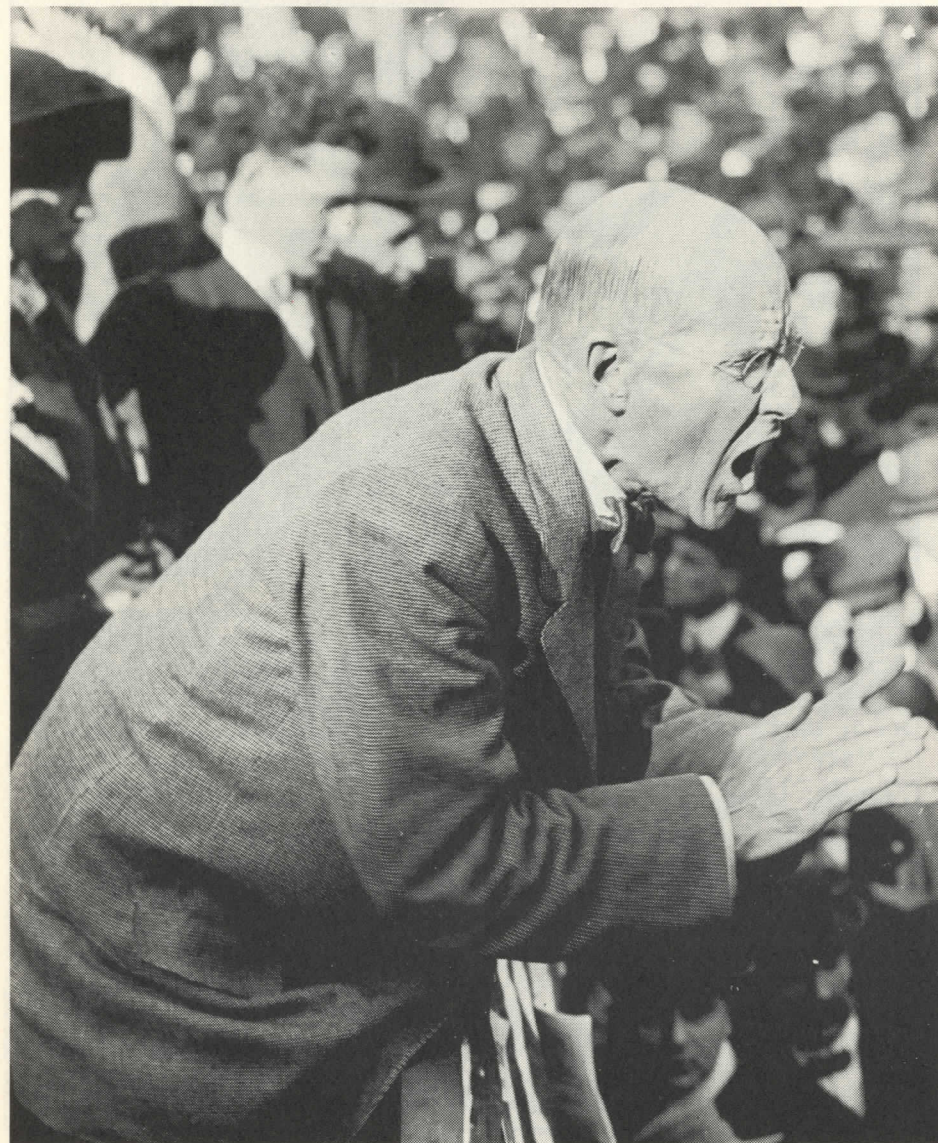
bers, two black women, one had militant leanings. DRUM decided to run Ron March for the vacancy.

The bureaucrats of Local 3 saw this as a threat to the way the Board actually functioned. In practice, not three, but only one name was used on checks to draw money out of the bank. This was the role the dead Trustee had played. In return for al-

cont'd on p. 18

# SOCIALISM

# and WAR



Debs speaks to Socialist Party rally. "I am not a capitalist soldier: I am a proletarian revolutionist."

**eugene debs' famous  
canton, ohio speech  
june 16, 1918**

On June 30, 1918, Eugene V. Debs, leader of the Socialist Party of the United States, was indicted on charges of having violated the Sedition Act for speaking out against the First World War. The indictment was based entirely on the speech given at Canton, Ohio, on June 16. Excerpts from his famous speech are printed below.

The entire socialist movement, prior to World War I, had always taken a principled stand in opposition to imperialist wars. An internationalist Marxist position is totally incompatible with support to any capitalist government in an imperialist war. But large sections of the Second (Socialist) International had, by 1914, abandoned revolutionary Marxism in favor of reformism and national chauvinism. Many of the European socialists, including a large percentage of the official leaders of the movement, supported their governments in the war. Of one hundred socialist deputies in the German Reichstag, only Karl Liebknecht voted against the war credits for the government. Similar betrayals were made by the socialists of France, Italy, England,

and other parts of Europe.

The Socialist Party in the U.S. was divided on the question of the war. Officially, the party held an antiwar position, but much of the official leadership supported the war and resisted any campaign against it. An official statement of the National Committee in 1915 called upon "the workers of America to oppose war and all agitation for war by the exercise of all the power in their command." But the National Committee refused to take a stand against the pro-war socialists of Europe.

Debs made his position perfectly clear, and campaigned throughout the country against the impending war. He differentiated himself from the pacifist opponents of war: "I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. . . . I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make necessary, even to the barricades. That is where I stand, and where I believe the So-

cialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war."

In April of 1917, just after the U.S. entered the war, the Socialist Party held an emergency convention in St. Louis. The convention adopted a resolution, supported by 80% of the delegates, which reaffirmed the Party's "allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States."

In spite of the support of the majority of the Party for the antiwar stand, many of the leading figures—the intellectuals, the journalists, the trade union officials—openly supported the war.

An antiwar movement of impressive size demonstrated support for Debs' position. Mass demonstrations were held in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Eighteen thousand men failed to register for the draft in the Twin Cities. In Cleveland, the largest May Day parade in the city's history was dominated by the antiwar theme.

The ruling class responded with repressive measures. The Espionage Act was used widely to imprison antiwar militants and radicals. Antiwar publications were banned from the mails. The government successfully whipped up pro-war hysteria that led to vigilante attacks on the peace movement while cops looked the other way.

The Russian Revolution, and Russia's withdrawal from the war inspired the left-wing socialists; at the same time it alarmed the pro-war forces in the United States. In the first few months of 1918, more than 2,000 members of the Industrial Workers of the World were arrested, and over 1,000 indictments were made under the Espionage Act. Leaders of the Socialist Party openly repudiated the St. Louis resolution. Meyer London, the only socialist Congressman, stated that the President's war aims coincided with the Party's position. Seven socialist aldermen in New York City came out in favor of a Liberty Loan drive.

Debs reacted vehemently to these open betrayals. He called for a new



"It is the working class who fight all the battles . . . who shed their blood and furnish the corpses . . ."

national convention, saying that a split would be preferable to "confusion and chaos within the Party."

It was in this context that Debs decided to attend the Ohio Convention of the Party. Ohio had been a center of the Party's left wing, and three leading Ohio Socialists were imprisoned in the Stark County Workhouse in Canton for opposition to the draft.

Debs gave the major address in a park just across the street from the workhouse. 1,200 people cheered his antiwar and anticapitalist stand, while agents of the Justice Department wandered through the crowd, checking draft cards.

His indictment as a result of the speech came as no surprise to Debs. "I had a hunch that speech was likely to settle the matter," he said later.

At his trial, Debs spoke to the jury himself, in defense of his stand: "I wish to admit the truth of all that has been testified to in this proceeding. . . . I admit being opposed to the present form of government. I admit being opposed to the present social system. I am doing what little I can, and have been for many years, to bring about a change that shall do away with the rule of the great body of a people by a relatively small class and establish in this country an industrial and social

democracy."

He was sentenced to ten years in prison, of which he had served almost three when President Warren G. Harding ordered him released on Christmas Day, 1921.

For antiwar activists, and young socialists fighting against the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, this speech shows clearly that the current fight against the Vietnam war is the continuation and expansion of a movement that is linked to the best of America's revolutionary history.

The text of the speech is reprinted from *Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs*, 1948, Hermitage Press, New York.

## Eugene Debs on Socialism and War

Comrades, friends and fellow-workers, for this very cordial greeting, this very hearty reception, I thank you all with the fullest appreciation of your interest in and your devotion to the cause for which I am to speak to you this afternoon. (Applause.)

To speak for labor; to plead the cause of the men and women and children who toil; to serve the working class, has always been to me a high privilege; (Applause) a duty of love.

I have just returned from a visit over yonder (pointing to the workhouse), where three of our most loyal comrades are paying the penalty for their devotion to the cause of the working class. (Applause.) They have come to realize, as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe in the world. (Applause.)

I realize that, in speaking to you this afternoon, there are certain limitations placed upon the right of free speech. I must be exceedingly careful, prudent, as to what I say, and even more careful and prudent as to how I say it. (Laughter.) I may not be able to say all I think; (Laughter and applause) but I am not going to say anything that I do not think. (Applause.) I would rather a thousand

times be a free soul in jail than to be a sycophant and coward in the streets. (Applause and shouts.) They may put those boys in jail—and some of the rest of us in jail—but they cannot put the Socialist movement in jail. (Applause and shouts.) Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. (Applause and cheers.) They are simply paying the penalty, that all men have paid in all ages of history, for standing erect, and for seeking to pave the way to better conditions for mankind. (Applause.) . . .

Are we opposed to Prussian militarism? (Laughter.) (Shouts from the crowd of "Yes, Yes!") Why, we have been fighting it since the day the Socialist movement was born; (Applause) and we are going to continue to fight it, day and night, until it is wiped from the face of the earth. (Thunderous applause and cheers.) Between us there is no truce—no compromise.

But, before I proceed along this line, let me recall a little history, in which I think we are all interested.

In 1869, that grand old warrior of the social revolution, the elder Liebknecht, was arrested and sentenced to prison for three months because of his war, as a Socialist, on the Kaiser and on the Junkers that rule Germany. In the meantime the Franco-Prussian

war broke out. Liebknecht and Bebel were the Socialist members in the Reichstag. They were the only two who had the courage to protest against taking Alsace-Lorraine from France and annexing it to Germany. And for this they were sentenced two years to a prison fortress charged with high treason; because, even in that early day, almost fifty years ago, these leaders, these forerunners of the international Socialist movement were fighting the Kaiser and fighting the Junkers of Germany. (Great applause and cheers.) They have continued to fight them from that day to this. (Applause.) Multiplied thousands of Socialists have languished in the jails of Germany because of their heroic warfare upon the despotic ruling class of that country. (Applause.) . . .

I hate, I loathe, I despise Junkers and junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the Junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the Junkers in the United States. (Thunderous applause and cheers.)

They tell us that we live in a great free republic; that our institutions are democratic; that we are a free and self-governing people. (Laughter.) This is too much, even for a joke. (Laughter.) But it is not a subject for levity; it is an exceedingly serious matter.

To whom do the Wall Street Junkers



in our country marry their daughters? After they have wrung countless millions from your sweat, your agony and your life's blood, in a time of war as in a time of peace, they invest these untold millions in the purchase of titles of broken-down aristocrats, such as princes, dukes, counts and other parasites and no-accounts. (Laughter.) Would they be satisfied to wed their daughters to honest workingmen? (Shouts from the crowd, No!") To real democrats? Oh, no! They scour the markets of Europe for vampires who are titled and nothing else. (Laughter.) And they swap their millions for the titles so that matrimony with them becomes literally a matter of money. (Laughter.)

These are the gentry who are today wrapped up in the American flag, who shout their claim from the housetops that they are the only patriots, and who have their magnifying glasses in hand, scanning the country for evidence of disloyalty, eager to apply the brand of treason to the men who dare to even whisper their opposition to junker rule in the United States. No wonder Sam Johnson declared that "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." He must have had this Wall Street gentry in mind or at least their prototypes, for in every age it has been the tyrant, the oppressor and the exploiter who has wrapped himself in the cloak of patriotism, or religion or both to deceive and overawe the people. (Applause.) . . .

Yes, my comrades, my heart is attuned to yours. Aye, all our hearts now throb as one great heart responsive to the battle-cry of the social rev-

olution. Here, in this alert and inspiring assemblage (Applause) our hearts are with the Bolsheviki of Russia. (Deafening and prolonged applause.) Those heroic men and women, those unconquerable comrades have by their incomparable valor and sacrifice added fresh lustre to the fame of the international movement. . . . The very first act of the triumphant Russian revolution was to proclaim a state of peace with all mankind, coupled with a fervent moral appeal, not to kings, not to emperors, rulers or diplomats but to *the people* of all nations. . . . When the Bolsheviki came into power and went through the archives they found and exposed the secret treaties—the treaties that were made between the Czar and the French Government, the British Government and the Italian Government, proposing, after the victory was achieved, to dismember the German Empire and destroy the Central Powers. These treaties have never been denied nor repudiated. Very little has been said about them in the American press. I have a copy of these treaties, showing that the purpose of the Allies is exactly the purpose of the Central Powers, and that is the conquest and spoliation of the weaker nations that has always been the purpose of war.

Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder. In the Middle Ages when the feudal lords who inhabited the castles whose towers may still be seen along the Rhine concluded to enlarge their domains, to increase their power, their prestige and their wealth they declared war upon one another. But they themselves did not go to war any more than the modern feudal lords, the barons of Wall Street go to war. (Applause.) The feudal barons of the Middle Ages, the economic predecessors of the capitalist of our day, declared all wars. And their miserable serfs fought all the battles. The poor, ignorant serfs had been taught to revere their masters, to believe that when their masters declared war upon one another, it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another and to cut one another's throats for the profit and glory of the lords and barons who held them in contempt. And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class

has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives. (Applause.) . . .

And here let me emphasize the fact—and it cannot be repeated too often—that the working class who fight all the battles, the working class who make the supreme sacrifices, the working class who freely shed their blood and furnish the corpses, have never yet had a voice in either declaring war or making peace. It is the ruling class that invariably does both. They alone declare war and they alone make peace.

*"Yours is not to reason why:  
Yours but to do and die."*

That is their motto and we object on the part of the awakening workers of this nation. . . .

Do you wish to hasten the day of victory? Join the Socialist Party! Don't wait for the morrow. Join now! (Applause.) Enroll your name without fear and take your place where you belong. You cannot do your duty by proxy. You have got to do it yourself and do it squarely and then as you look yourself in the face you will have no occasion to blush. You will know what it is to be a real *man* or *woman*. You will lose nothing; you will gain everything. (Applause.) Not only will you lose nothing but you will find something of infinite value, and that something will be yourself. And that is your supreme need—to find yourself—to really know yourself and your purpose in life. (Applause.) . . .

If you would be respected you have got to begin by respecting yourself. (Applause.) Stand up squarely and look yourself in the face and see a man! Do not allow yourself to fall into the predicament of the poor fellow who, after he had heard a Socialist speech concluded that he too ought to be a Socialist. The argument he had heard was unanswerable. "Yes," he said to himself, "all the speaker said was true and I certainly ought to join the Party." But after a while he allowed his ardor to cool and he soberly concluded that by joining the Party he might anger his boss and lose his job. He then concluded: "I can't take the chance." That night he slept alone. There was something on his conscience and it resulted in a dreadful dream. Men always have such dreams



when they betray themselves. A Socialist is free to go to bed with a clear conscience. He goes to sleep with his manhood and he awakens and walks forth in the morning with his self-respect. He is unafraid and he can look the whole world in the face (Applause and laughter) without a tremor and without a blush. But this poor weakling who lacked the courage to do the bidding of his reason and conscience was haunted by a startling dream and at midnight he awoke in terror, bounded from his bed and exclaimed: "My God, there is nobody in this room." (Laughter.) He was absolutely right. (Laughter and applause.) There was nobody in that room.

How would you like to sleep in a room that had nobody in it? (Laughter.) It is an awful thing to be nobody. That is certainly a state of mind to get out of, the sooner the better. . . .

To turn your back on the corrupt Republican Party and the corrupt Democratic Party—the gold-dust lackeys of the ruling class (Laughter) counts for something. . . .

There is something splendid, something sustaining and inspiring in the prompting of the heart to be true to yourself and to the best you know, especially in a crucial hour of your life. You are in the crucible today,

my Socialist comrades! You are going to be tried by fire, to what extent no one knows. If you are weak-fibered and faint-hearted you will be lost to the Socialist movement. We will have to bid you good-bye. You are not the stuff of which revolutions are made. We are sorry for you (Applause) unless you chance to be an "intellectual." The "intellectuals," many of them, are already gone. No loss on our side nor gain on the other.

I am always amused in the discussion of the "intellectual" phase of this question. It is the same old standard under which the rank and file are judged. What would become of the sheep if they had no shepherd to lead them out of the wilderness into the land of milk and honey?

Oh, yes, "I am your shepherd and ye are my mutton." (Laughter.)

They would have us believe that if we had no "intellectuals" we would have no movement. They would have our Party, the rank and file, controlled by the "intellectual" bosses as the Republican and Democratic parties are controlled. These capitalist parties are managed by "intellectual" leaders and the rank and file are sheep that follow the bell-weather to the shambles. . . .

They are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not *their* but *your* patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing line or chucks them into the trenches. . . .

Yes, in good time we are going to sweep into power in this nation and throughout the world. We are going to destroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and re-create them as free and humanizing institutions. The world is daily changing before our eyes. The sun of capitalism is setting; the sun of Socialism is rising. It is our duty to build the new nation and the free republic. We need industrial and social builders. We Socialists are the builders of the beautiful world that is to be. We are all pledged to do our part. We are inviting—aye challenging you in the name of your own manhood and womanhood to join us and do your part.

In due time the hour will strike and this great cause triumphant—the greatest in history—will proclaim the emancipation of the working class and the brotherhood of all mankind. (Thunderous and prolonged applause.)

### Puerto Rico, cont'd from p. 5

ment in the U. S. has served as a push and given new impulse to our resistance. In fact, we have attempted to carry on actions together, such as last April 26th when we called a student strike at the University in response to the call of the Student Mobilization Committee. The student strike at the University of Puerto Rico was very effective. So, as I said before, the organizing of the antiwar and antidraft movements in the U. S. serves as an example for us and helps our struggle.

Q: Could you tell us something about the influence of the Cuban Revolution in Puerto Rico?

A: I think that the Cuban Revolution has had a primary influence on our struggle here. The impulse that the Cuban Revolution gave to Latin America, the elevation of spirit and the optimism that it gave to countries, including Puerto Rico, that it was pos-

sible to gain freedom, helped to form independence struggles with a new vigor and determination. Also, the example of Cuba, organizing her socialism 90 miles from the base of imperialism, and succeeding in defending herself against invasion and pressure from the U. S., gives us the highest hopes here in Puerto Rico.

Q: What kind of impact does the black liberation struggle in the United States have here?

A: The black struggle in the United States has had a great deal of influence on the Puerto Rican people and has been a blow to the pro-State forces in Puerto Rico. Taking into account the similarity of the black population in the U. S. and the Puerto Ricans—we are both "non-white" and we are both subjected to racial prejudices—the black struggle in the U. S. has shown the Puerto Rican population what it means to be dominated by imperialism.

Being aware of the importance of

the black struggle and our connection with it we have tried to cooperate with that struggle. For example, last year we invited Stokely Carmichael to Puerto Rico so he could speak to the community and to the University students, in an attempt to make an alliance with SNCC and to show our solidarity.

Q: Did FUPI take an official position on the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union?

A: Yes, FUPI took a position on this that was made public in Puerto Rico. We in Puerto Rico are carrying on a struggle for independence. We call for self-determination for all countries. So, of course, we censured the invasion of Czechoslovakia because it violated the international principle of self-determination. Now, this does not imply that we support the reforms that were being carried out in Czechoslovakia. We do not take a position in regard to them, but we do censure the Soviet Union for the above reasons.

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DRUM, cont'd from p. 11

lowing the theft of local funds by the bureaucrats, the dead Trustee was paid off very handsomely. This whole operation had the stamp of approval of the chief bureaucrat, Walter Reuther. The local labor toms were only carrying out what Reuther and his henchmen carry out every day on a national and international level.

It was Ron March's stated intention to put an end to this state of affairs on the local level. DRUM ran a vigorous campaign, putting up posters and passing out leaflets. A recently formed group of young white workers called CRU, the Committee for Real Unionism, helped out in supporting March's candidacy.

On September 26 at 5:30 p.m., the election booths were closed. Forty-five minutes later, it was announced that out of a field of 27 candidates, Ron March had won, with a 50 vote lead over the nearest contender.

Two Hamtramck pigs (police), stationed at the union hall, greeted the election victory with a spate of profanities. They and other pigs then went over to a bar across from the plant where black workers hung out. The cops began to verbally harass workers in and around the bar. The black workers responded in a verbal fashion. After a brief moment, the pigs then attacked the workers with axe handles. They arrested one black worker and took him back to the police station, which was right around the corner from the union hall. The black workers immediately gathered into a group and went over to the station. An officer told the workers to go to the union hall where the Mayor of Hamtramck and Chief of Police would explain what had happened.

About 50 black workers, including Ron March, gathered in the hall. When the Mayor and Police Chief arrived, one of the union bureaucrats immediately began to lock all the doors. This bureaucratic dog then proceeded to lead a contingent of pigs into the room, whereupon they began to attack the black workers with axe handles and mace. The Mayor and Chief of Pigs just stood by and observed.

All this action was just the beginning of the attacks on March and DRUM by the UAW bureaucrats in collaboration with the Pig Department before the October 3 run-off election.

The bureaucrats sent out letters to retired workers, who are mostly white, slandering DRUM, claiming retirement benefits would be cut off if March won. Not content with this gross lie, the UAW exercised some of the control it has over the local Negro newspaper, the *Michigan Chronicle*. On October 1, the *Chronicle* came out with a headline about the possibility of the Dodge plant being moved to the suburbs.

This policy of divide and rule brought out the retired workers and older black workers to vote against March in the October 3 election. In spite of this policy, out of 3,000 ballots cast, March lost by only 700 votes, 2,091 to 1,386.

In summing up the election campaign, DRUM wrote, "DRUM members are not so narrow minded as to place all their efforts on winning this particular election. DRUM's concern is the liberation of the people. Anything else falls short of the goal.

Nothing will be gained, in actuality, by winning the trustee position; your conditions will remain the same. The most important thing that can come out of an election like this is that DRUM will show the power of black workers and can gain more members who will continue to lead the struggle."

What the election illustrated is the tyrannical and undemocratic nature of the UAW. There are no real channels in the union for rank and file workers to express themselves. Reuther is just as big a bureaucrat as George Meany, the head of the AFL-CIO. DRUM has exposed the erroneous idea that Reuther is a "progressive" labor leader who "champions" the cause of the poor and dispossessed.

The future of the labor movement lies not with Reuther and other assorted sell-out artists posing as labor leaders, but with DRUM and other young workers that are moving against the bureaucrats.



More than 1/3 of UAW members are black. Here members of Local 600 walk out of Ford's River Rouge plant in nation-wide strike, September, 1967.

# Letters to the Editor

(The following letters are a sampling of mail received recently by the Young Socialist and the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.)

Linea #6 e/ N y O Apt. 11  
Vedado, Habana  
Cuba  
"Year of the Heroic Guerrilla"

I'm a Cuban university student, studying Architecture in Havana University. I learned of your organization from the May 1968 issue of the *Young Socialist* which was loaned to me by a Canadian friend. Being deeply concerned with the problems faced by socialist youth in the United States, I would like to know if it would be possible to subscribe to your magazine.

Although I was born in Cuba, I lived most of my life in the United States, New York City to be precise. I left Cuba at the age of seven and returned to my country at the age of seventeen, four years ago. Even though I no longer live in the States, I am still concerned with the problems that face the American people and I would appreciate it if you could also send the name and address of socialist youth in the United States with whom I could maintain correspondence.

Revolutionarily,  
Fatherland or Death

Charles Dunn

Bronx, New York

I am 16, and attend Evander Childs High School in the Bronx. I am not of voting age but feel that I am intelligent enough to recognize some-

thing good and worthwhile. I share the same ideas on the various issues and problems that encounter us. I would appreciate it very much if other people would come to their senses and realize that the Democrats and Republicans speak fallacy and the only time they show some concern on matters that the people are confronted with is at election time. It is past time for the people to realize that the politicians mean them no good.

Your ideas on the Vietnam war and Black Control and toward other politicians and problems seem to be the perfect answer and attitude which should be taken by everyone.

I am a Negro who supports Black Control, people against the war, and those who are capable of recognizing exactly what is needed for improvement of the cities, state, and the nation. I wish to give you my full support and I am offering you some of my time. I am for you all the way.

C. D. B.

Lorain, Ohio

Although I am only fourteen years old and a freshman in high school I am very much interested in politics this year. Like Fred Halstead I believe there must be an end to war and racism. It is my belief that Fred Halstead is America's last chance for peace and freedom, thus I support him and his running mate, Paul Boutelle.

My support for this candidate has led me to represent him in a Mock National Election at my high school. I would like as much information and literature as possible dealing with the candidates and their views on war, racism, socialism and anything else important. I would appreciate this service very much. Also, I am enclosing a donation. It may be small, but it is the best I can do.

Yours in peace and freedom,

J. R.

Wausau, Wisconsin

I am very interested in the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle. As a former member of both major political parties I know first hand

that there is no hope in either of them. The tragic antics of the Democrats in Chicago and my attendance at a rally for Spiro T. Agnew at which I was almost clubbed by a policeman when I did not applaud, put an end to whatever hopes I once had placed in the two party system. The American Independent offers a third choice, but this seems to be a choice between strangulation and axe-murder. So I am placing my hopes in the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.

Please send me some literature and a picture button of Paul Boutelle. I would also like very much to attend the Young Socialist Thanksgiving Convention.

J. C.

New York, N. Y.

Your article on the "campaign" of the Communist Party in the '68 elections really hit the nail on the head. The double-dealers of the CP have lost all sense of shame or subtlety. The *Daily World* has been campaigning for O'Dwyer in the New York Senatorial race, although the CP "officially" backs Herman Ferguson, candidate of the Freedom and Peace Party. Ferguson barely got mentioned in the *Daily World* throughout the whole campaign. With prestidigitators like that backing your campaign, you sure don't need any opponents! But to top off the whole swindle, Arnold Johnson wraps up the CP assessment of the campaign in the October *Political Affairs*, put out by the CP. There he lauds O'Dwyer's stand on the war, his stand at the Chicago Convention, his "record as a labor attorney," and so on, all of which "offer a broad basis for uniting voters, in and outside of the major parties, for the conduct of a winning campaign." Was the CP then supporting O'Dwyer after all? Definitely not. Somebody, somewhere in the well-oiled machine, caught the indiscretion (it might prove embarrassing to have it in print), and stuck on a footnote: "the Communist Party organization supports Herman Ferguson . . ."

How long do these fourflushers think they can get away with that kind of absurdity?

L. T.

# student power and the "red university"

By Charles Bolduc

*"An education which is free from immediate practical ends is free to see the world as it in fact is without prejudice or preconception or professional need. It is education which is philosophical rather than useful. . . . The modern world needs technicians, but it needs a persistent philosophic pressure even more. It needs statesmen and an informed electorate—persons who are not lobbyists, but intellectuals. . . ."*

— Washington Square College,  
NYU Course Manual

*"The class which is the dominant force in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force. Insofar as they rule as a class and determine the whole extent of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in their whole range and thus, among other things, rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age. . . ."*

— Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. III

What role can revolutionary students play in the growing anticapitalist and socialist movements in the industrialized countries? Is "student power" a revolutionary concept or a diversion from the real struggle? What is the function of the universities and high schools in capitalist society? What is the "Red University?" These are some of the questions that are at the center of discussions among serious revolutionary students throughout the world.

While it would be impossible in the available space to examine these questions in detail, I hope in this article to initiate a discussion that can be continued in future issues of the *Young Socialist*.

The ruling class in the advanced capitalist countries faces the loss of the allegiance of an entire generation of intellectual laborers they had hoped to woo with the lure of a "share in America." Many single factors have

been at work: the alienation resulting from training instead of learning in high schools and monopoly capital's multiversity; the absorption into the higher educational conveyor belt of wider layers of working class and Afro-American youth to fill the expanding needs of capitalism for highly trained engineers and administrators; the upsurge in the revolution in the colonial world, from Vietnam to Bolivia; the deepening of the black liberation struggle in the United States.

The result has been the accelerating radicalization among student youth. The "outside agitator" that Berkeley's chancellor Clark Kerr fought so feverishly in the free speech crisis of 1964 has turned out to be nothing less than the historic process itself.

As the quote from the NYU catalog indicates, the schools and colleges have tried to create the image of the ideal institution devoted solely to the dissemination of knowledge, above and apart from the social conflicts of the day. It is the place where the student objectively and dispassionately examines the conflicting forces in the rarified atmosphere of pure reason, where he prepares to make (but never makes) decisions of great social significance for humanity.

But intellectually trained students can find no unifying framework in bourgeois education in which to place the ingredients of Cuba, Vietnam, Watts, secret warfare research, the CIA, and so on. The upsurge in the tempo and level of the worldwide conflict between two antagonistic social forces—the class struggle—shattered the image of education under capitalism.

Could the black student swallow the line that his world would be free from racism when he got to college? Could students continue to believe that they were being presented with an objective approach to developments in the world when they learned that their "objective" professors were as often as



Columbia University Strike, April 1968.

not on the payroll, directly or indirectly, of the agencies of American imperialism? Could they continue to believe that the universities and high schools were intended to provide an education when it became perfectly clear that they were structured in such an authoritarian manner as to stifle any attempt at independent thinking or action?

Educational institutions, from nursery school through graduate programs, are designed to fulfill a necessary function in capitalist society. Modern capitalism needs a steady supply of literate, and even highly trained workers. For the system to function smoothly, these workers must be "disciplined" in the sense that they accept the status quo. The ruling class needs also administrators, both for industry and for the state, as well as its "intellectual" apologists for the capitalist system.

It is this basic function of education under capitalism which is in fundamental conflict with the aspirations and values of wider and wider layers of students. And it is this conflict that has torn off the mask of impartiality and objectivity.

Some elements of the student movement have put forward the slogan "student power." The term is an abstract one, and subject to various, even contradictory, interpretations. To some, student power means simply the rights of students to make deci-

sions concerning their lives as students: such things as control of the curricula, the nature of examinations, food in the cafeteria, housing, etc. This "pure and simple" student power consciousness views broader political struggles as irrelevant to the student movement, or at the very most, only relevant when they directly involve students or the schools. An analogy can be made with the ideology of "pure and simple trade unionism" which rejects political action by trade unions and argues that unions should restrict themselves to "bread and butter" issues and struggles.

An example of this kind of thinking is an article in the July, 1968 issue of *Political Affairs*, put out by the Communist Party, U. S. A. In it, Carl Winter, the co-editor of the *Daily World*, interpreted the divisions among students in Paris last spring as a conflict between the revolutionary political groups and those students who were interested in university reforms. He sides with the latter group. Winter says that the struggle began as one for the "modernization and democratization of the University structure" but was taken over by "various Leftists." These "Leftists" had "nothing to say about reorganization or concrete changes in the educational system. . . . Their main attack was centered on what they called the 'society of consumption' at whose door they laid all the evils of the educational system. . . . In short what one saw here was on the one hand a cer-

tain amount of froth designating itself as *the* genuine revolution, and on the other hand very serious work by people who were really making a revolution in a constructive way. . . ."

This approach is the epitome of *reformism*. It accepts the basic premise of the ruling class: if there is something wrong, patch it up (be "constructive"); but don't talk about changing the *system*, that's "destructive!" But changing the system is exactly what revolutionary youth are beginning to see is the only real solution.

A statement by the Columbia University Strike Coordinating Committee puts a totally revolutionary content into the phrase "student power:" "We can hope for and possibly win certain reforms within the University, but the ultimate reforms we need—the elimination of war and exploitation—can only be gained after we overthrow the control by the class of people on Columbia's Board of Trustees. In a sense, Columbia is the place where we received our education—our revolutionary education."

The universities and high schools are instruments through which the capitalist class rules, just like the state apparatus and the army. Important improvements can be made, reforms can be won, but there can be no "free university" under capitalist rule. Revolutionary student power means the direction of the intellect, energy, and organization of students towards the overthrow of the existing social order

in alliance with other revolutionary forces in society. Manuel de J. Gonzales, head of the Puerto Rican University Federation for Independence, makes this point clear in the interview published in this issue: "We go to the University not just to work for university reforms. That is one goal but it is secondary. Our function in the University is primarily a political one. We understand that we can not have a University which serves the community, which serves Puerto Rico, until Puerto Rico and its government belong to the Puerto Rican people—that is until Puerto Rico is an independent republic, freed from imperialism."

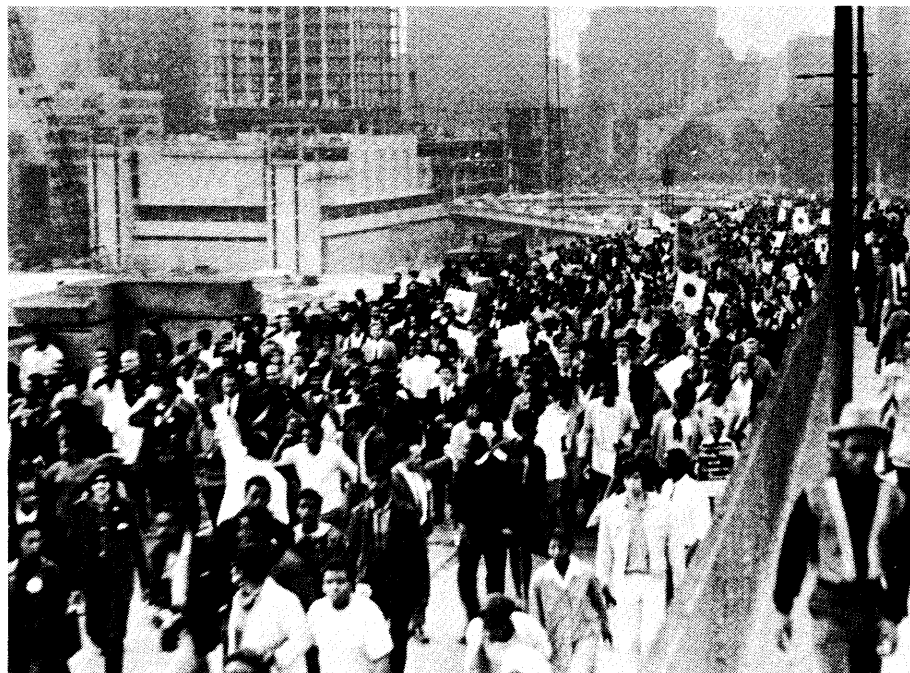
It is this line of thinking that led French student revolutionaries to develop the concept of the "Red University." The idea has been discussed since the tremendous events of last May-June, when student struggles were the first stage of a revolutionary offensive involving the French workers in a massive general strike. The "Red University" concept is the extension into action of the idea that the free university can exist only in a free society. It is part of the increased attention on the part of the world's revolutionaries to analyze more precisely the students' role in the struggle for socialism.

Underlying the concept of the "Red University" is the central demand for total political freedom, the right of the student to fit his academic training into an ideological framework of his own choosing. It means the right to participate directly in the revolutionary dialectic taking place in the whole society. It is a challenge to the usurpation and manipulation of the centers of knowledge for the narrow reactionary purposes of the capitalist class. It is the launching of a struggle to release these centers for the use of the masses, to turn the schools and colleges to the service of the entire society.

The "Red University" is a center for political activity. All facilities—meeting halls, class time, printing and broadcasting equipment—must be accessible to students and others in society for political discussions, debate, organization, and action.

It is the exact opposite of the school which is "philosophical rather than useful."

It is also diametrically opposed to the theory that the students by themselves, or as part of the intellectual elite of society, can make the revolution. As Ernest Mandel put it, ". . . we fight for this alliance and this convergence between the student revolt and the struggle for the proletarian revo-



Students and parents march 20,000 strong over Brooklyn Bridge in New York City to demand community control of schools.

lution . . . because we know very well that neither by virtue of their numbers nor by virtue of the place they hold in society, can the students alone overthrow capitalist society. . . ." The "Red University" is an instrument of that alliance.

While the phrase itself comes from the French comrades, the struggle has already begun in the United States. The movement here has centered around the two central political questions of American politics — the war in Vietnam and the black liberation struggle. This was made graphically clear by the Columbia strike last spring which began on the basis of opposition to Columbia's expansion at the expense of the black community, and opposition to the University's collaboration with American imperialism through the Institute for Defense Analysis.

One of the more recent battles has been the fight of the Berkeley students to open their campus to Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party and the Presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party. Cleaver originally was invited to give 10 lectures in an experimental sociology course. The regents of the University then passed a rule limiting Cleaver to one lecture. The issue clearly is whether the University can be utilized by revolutionary and radical forces within society as a whole, or whether the ruling class will continue to dictate what is taught and who teaches it.

The question is not restricted to the universities. In October, Max Rafferty, the state Superintendent of Public In-

struction in California sent out a letter to every school superintendent in the state threatening to revoke credentials and state aid if Cleaver were permitted to speak in any public schools.

This same struggle, in a different form, is being fought in New York City, where the black community has conducted a hard-fought campaign for black control of their community schools. During the racist strike by the United Federation of Teachers, almost half the city's schools were opened by parents' groups, in alliance with high school students organized into the High School Coalition. In Brooklyn, an evening adult school was begun, run by the local school board, which included courses on African and Afro-American history, and studies of past revolutions. In introducing the course on revolution, the teacher made it clear that he intended to include a study of Marxist thinking because "those cats know more about revolution than anybody else."

The 10 point program of the Black Panther Party states the demand of the black community clearly: "We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in present-day society."

The other main focus of the fight to gain control of the educational system has been opposition to the war in Vietnam. The struggle against university and high school complicity with the war in Vietnam has been an important element of the student move-

ment in the past period. The struggle against ROTC on campus, against military recruiters in the schools, against secret chemical and biological warfare research on campus, have all been means of mobilizing masses of students. The Teach-Ins, which marked the beginning of the antiwar movement in 1965, were successful attempts to use the universities as a place for educating and organizing the American people in opposition to the imperialist war in Vietnam.

The campus has been an organizing center for an antiwar movement that is not limited to the student population. Strong links have been forged between the civilian antiwar movement and the GIs. Campuses have been the main centers from which this action has been organized and carried out. As the involvement of GIs in the antiwar movement grows, the rights of soldiers to utilize the campuses for organizational work will become an important issue.

While the idea of the "Red University" is new, the struggle has been going on for some time, and important victories have been won. As more American students come to accept a revolutionary perspective, the issue of revolutionary action and organization through the schools and colleges will become more important. As the class struggle in its various forms — among GIs opposed to the war, the fight for black control of the black community, etc. — intensifies, the questions dealt with here will demand fuller and more complete answers. I hope this article will be seen as a contribution in that direction.

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NOVEMBER 1968

Convention, cont'd from p. 2

These special events at the Convention will help to underscore the political importance of the international youth radicalization, the developing anti-war sentiment in the armed forces, and the importance of the May Revolution in France for the revolutionary movement around the world.

These and other topics will be taken up in the reports and discussion on resolutions submitted to the convention for formal action. Delegates from the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, and Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle will come from at least 23 states and dozens of cities, colleges, and high schools.

Discussions have already begun in local areas on the major resolutions drafted by the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. These resolutions present a general political orientation and evaluation of issues such as the antiwar movement, the '68 elections, and the black liberation struggle. Any member of the YSA can submit counterresolutions, political amendments, or discussion articles for the entire membership. Just prior to the Convention, each local chapter votes on the resolutions, and delegates to the Convention are elected on a proportional basis if there is disagreement over basic political orientation.

At the Convention, these delegates will be discussing and voting on at least five major reports. One will deal with a political assessment of the international youth radicalization and what it means for revolutionary youth in the United States. A second will deal with the results of the fourteen month election campaign in support of the Socialist Workers Party national candidates, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, and the prospects for overall development of the revolutionary movement in the U. S. in the coming months.

A third report will take up the central political importance of the black liberation struggle, the work to build a mass black political party and to promote black control of the black community. A fourth will deal with the central necessity of continuing to build the struggle against the Vietnam war, in the U. S. and on an international scale. And the final report will take up many of the concrete organizational tasks of the young socialist movement, such as distribution of the *Young Socialist*, education, fund raising, and recruitment.

One of the most important tasks of the Convention will be to elect a new National Committee to lead the work of the organization during the coming year. The National Committee, which meets periodically between Conventions, comprises the political leadership of the YSA around the country, and selects from its members a National Executive Committee to be responsible on a day by day basis for

## Convention Agenda U of Illinois (Circle Campus)

**Thursday, November 28** (Midland Hotel)

- 12:00-3:00 Registration
- 3:00-7:00 Opening Session of the Convention; Report and Discussion on NEC Draft Resolution, "The New International Youth Radicalization"
- 7:00 Dinner
- 8:30 "Dissent in the Armed Forces: What Role for Antiwar GIs"—a panel of active duty GIs.

**Friday, November 29** (University of Illinois)

- 10:00-1:30 Report and Discussion on NEC Draft Resolution "The '68 Campaign and Beyond . . . Socialist Youth Politics in America"
- 1:30 Lunch
- 3:15-6:45 Report and Discussion on NEC Draft Resolution "On the Revolutionary Struggle of Black America for Self-Determination"
- 6:45 Dinner
- 8:30 "Can the American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution? A Marxist Answer to New Left Critics"—Lecture by George Novack. Followed by showing of film on the highlights of May and June in France.

**Saturday, November 30** (University of Illinois)

- 10:00-10:30 Summary of Discussion on Afro-American struggle, and vote.
- 10:30-11:30 Report and Discussion on NEC Draft Resolution "Young Socialists and the Fight Against the Vietnam War."
- 1:00 Lunch
- 2:15-3:45 Discussion Continued
- 4:00 Panel Discussion led by revolutionary youth leaders from England, Germany, France, Mexico, and Canada.
- 9:30 Party (Midland Hotel)

**Sunday, December 1** (University of Illinois)

- 10:30-11:15 Credentials Report
- 11:15-1:15 Organizational Report and Discussion
- 1:15 Lunch
- 2:30-4:00 Discussion Continued
- 4:00-5:00 Election of the National Committee

implementing the Convention decisions.

Along with everything else there will also be special workshops and discussions on Afro-American struggle activities, high school work, how to improve the publications for the movement, and other topics.

Of course, there will also be a gala Saturday night party, with the best entertainment from around the country.

If you haven't already made plans to attend the Young Socialist National Convention, be sure to write immediately to YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003, or call 212-989-7570.





# ATTEND THE NATIONAL YOUNG SOCIALIST CONVENTION CHICAGO NOV. 28-DEC. 1, 1968

A National Convention of young socialists from throughout the United States will be convened in Chicago over the Thanksgiving weekend. It will meet in the midst of a year of unprecedented revolutionary activity — from Prague to Paris, from Vietnam to Bolivia, and from Columbia to Berkeley. The Convention will discuss: the international revolutionary youth movement; the Vietnamese revolution and how to defend it; the 1968 election campaign waged by the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and the Young Socialist Alliance; the Afro-American struggle for the right to self-determination; the perspectives for the revolutionary socialist youth movement in this country, and the fight for a socialist America.

Reports will be given at the Convention by representatives of revolutionary socialist youth abroad, by antiwar and socialist GIs, and by participants in the Afro-American struggle, the antiwar movement, and campus rebellions across the country.

If you are interested in attending the Convention, fill out the coupon below.

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