

**THE '68 CAMPAIGN
AND BEYOND...
SOCIALIST YOUTH POLITICS
IN AMERICA**

**young socialist
discussion bulletin**

Vol. 12 25¢ 1968



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This draft resolution on socialist youth politics in America has been written for the national Young Socialist convention to be held in Chicago at the University of Illinois--Circle Campus, November 30 - December 1, 1968. It was drafted by the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Similar resolutions and discussion articles will deal with other activities in which young socialists are involved. These initial draft resolutions along with any others submitted to the convention will be discussed and the general political perspectives outlined in them will be voted on.

The resolutions are being circulated prior to the convention to assure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities before the convention meets.

Young socialists from around the country are invited to participate in the written discussion and urged to attend the convention. Contributions to the discussion and inquiries should be sent to the Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003

The '68 Campaign and Beyond . . .

Socialist Youth Politics in America

Introduction

The eighth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance takes place in the context of a deepening radicalization of young people throughout the world. In the past year in this country we have seen this process continue to develop especially among students and Afro-Americans, opening up important new opportunities for the revolutionary youth vanguard in the United States.

The most important feature of the past three years has been the continued escalation of the Vietnam war. The international and domestic repercussions of this escalation have created a shift to the left, especially among youth, indicated by a growing movement and mass sentiment against the war.

The general dissatisfaction with the war policy of the ruling class affects the thinking and consciousness of the American people on other important issues. Workers by and large have rejected any notion that they must sacrifice their living standards to pay for the war, and have demonstrated willingness to battle to preserve those standards in the face of war-caused inflation and taxes. Black Americans have intensified their struggle in the midst of the war, and the most conscious identify the imperialist aims of the U.S. ruling class in Vietnam with their own subjugation by the same imperialist power. Students revolted by the war are beginning to see through the myth of the "American Dream," and are further radicalized by the hypocrisy of the "affluent society" with its racism and poverty in the midst of potential abundance.

The radicalization among students has been intensified by the example set by the Vietnamese freedom fighters and

other colonial revolutionists such as Che Guevara.

The mass struggles in France, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere also add to the general radicalization in this country. They are a graphic example to radicalizing youth in the U.S. that they are not alone in their struggles.

1968 has been the year of the presidential elections in this country. The elections have been the center around which all the important political issues were discussed and debated. Every political tendency has been tested in its position on the elections and the issues involved in them. The YSA convention takes place just after the completion of our vigorous intervention in the elections through our support to the Socialist Workers Party campaign. The YSA must now strike a balance sheet on the experience of the campaign and the gains made, and chart a course of the post-election period.

Our socialist campaign occurred in a much different political situation than in 1964. The 1964 elections were over before the major escalation of the war took place early in 1965. The antiwar movement had not gotten off the ground. It didn't really blossom until the SDS march on Washington in April, 1965. The explosions in Watts, Newark and Detroit had not yet occurred.

We ran our campaign in 1964 against the overwhelming sentiment in the country to defeat the "war monger" Goldwater by electing the "man of peace" Lyndon Baines Johnson. Although the SWP candidates emphasized that there was no basic difference between Johnson and Goldwater, our ability to win people to our campaign was limited in view of the "lesser evil" frenzy whipped up by almost every radical



Paul Boutelle, SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate, speaking at Free Huey Rally

for building the antiwar movement are good. The elections are over in November but the war will go on. Our job in the next period will be the same as it has been since the inception of the antiwar movement: to build mass actions in the streets through united-front type action formations, specifically the Student Mobilization Committee among the youth and the various adult antiwar coalitions. Within this context we will continue to press the demand that the troops be brought home immediately.

A key aspect of our work in the coming period will be antiwar activity among GIs. There have been important signs of growing antiwar sentiment inside the army, and the antiwar movement has the opportunity to win a powerful new component to its ranks -- the soldiers themselves.

The Campus Struggles

The International Student Strike last April, which brought out hundreds of thousands of students from colleges and high schools across the country, was an indication of the growing radicalization among students. Other manifestations of this process have been the occupations of buildings and even of whole campuses, such as occurred at Columbia and Howard universities last spring, and the Berkeley free speech fights.

The deepening radicalization on the campuses around the issues of the war and black power has led students to question the role of the university in society. Antiwar students have exposed the innumerable connections between the university and the war machine, leading to the demand of an end to "campus complicity with the war." Black students, especially in the last year, and white student supporters of black power, have exposed the university's failure to meet the educational needs of black people and the university's role in their continued subjugation. At Columbia, for example, students exposed the fact that the university itself is a slumlord in the surrounding black community. One of the issues involved in the struggles at Columbia last spring was the university's insistence on building a gymnasium on the site of a park in the black community, in total disregard of the needs of that community. Such struggles have underscored the whole question of the role of the university in society.

The university is not an island separated from the rest of society. It is an institution of society, specifically an institution of capitalist society. Its primary function is to turn out the administrators, technicians, scientists, and ideological apologists needed to serve the capitalist system. All creative intellectual work is subordinated to,

political tendency, to defeat Goldwater at all costs.

We knew that significant changes in the political climate would develop. Our task was to win over those young people who were ready for an anticapitalist, socialist alternative, and to prepare for future struggles.

The period after the 1964 elections up to the 1968 elections saw the erosion of the Johnson consensus, the rise of the antiwar movement, the deepening of the black struggle, the growth of student radicalization, and in the past year indications of greater militancy among the workers.

The Antiwar Movement

In the past year antiwar sentiment has continued to mount. With no end of the war in sight and regardless of who is elected, we may expect this sentiment to continue to increase.

Even with the pressure exerted on the adult and student antiwar coalitions during this election year by those, such as the Communist Party, who wished to push the movement away from mass actions in the streets in the direction of class-collaborationist politics, the prospects



warped and stamped by, this primary function. One symptom of this fact is that the needs of the war machine have come to dominate a large portion of university life.

The needs, interests and goals of radicalizing students run into direct conflict with the university as an institution in the service of capitalism, on the ideological level as well as on the level of questions such as complicity with the war machine and racial oppression. The university is a center for the creation and dissemination of procapitalist ideology in many fields, from philosophy to economics. Radicalizing students also find themselves in conflict with university administrations over their rights to organize on campus and to participate in the general social struggles in society as a whole. The university administration in this respect plays the role of a cop. This is even more pronounced in the role played by high school administrations.

In the context of deepening radicalization on the campuses we can expect more conflicts and struggles between students and the university administrations. We can expect university administrations to call upon the repressive apparatus of the state to intervene against the students in many of these conflicts (which itself underscores the nature of the university in capitalist society as a bulwark of that society).

Young socialists must intervene in these struggles on two levels. In joining and supporting these actions we should call for the formation of united-front type action committees and mass decision-making meetings to lead the struggle. Against all tendencies which propose individual actions and adventurist actions by small groups we insist upon mass action. Rejecting ultraleft verbiage, we propose that the demands of a particular struggle be clearly defined and tactically pursued under defensive formulations. We can point to the experience and discussions around the Berkeley June events to help explain these points.

The second level of our participation in these struggles is on the broader ideological plane. Against those who would limit the struggle to "student power" demands narrowly conceived, i.e., as purely and simply a struggle between students and the administration, we point to the connections between the particular struggle and the struggle against the whole capitalist system. In actual fact, in every major campus struggle during the past year, broader social questions such as democratic rights or black power have been intimately connected with the particular campus struggle. We should explain the role of the university in capitalist

society, and why it is necessary to change the system itself if the university is to be changed fundamentally. A "liberated" university, a truly free university, cannot exist as an isolated island surrounded by this rotten capitalist system. Those who are seriously interested in making the university conform to the real needs of students, teachers, and society, rather than the needs of big business, must make the transition from "student power" consciousness to socialist consciousness.

In place of the idea of a "liberated" university within capitalist society we propose the concept of turning the campus into an organizing center for the antiwar, black power, and revolutionary socialist movements, the idea the French students have advanced under the slogan of the "red university." To accomplish this, student rights, or "student power," must be fought for and defended.

The radicalization among students has also begun to reach high school youth. This is reflected in the successful high school strike against the Vietnam war in New York and other cities last April, as well as by high school participation in the antiwar movement and black power movements, and by the increased recruitment of high school students to the YSA.

The Black Revolt

The ghetto explosions have helped shatter the myth of steady progress toward complete freedom and equality for black Americans.

Occuring right in the midst of an imperialist war their effect is to bolster the rising tide of black nationalism. Black America, enslaved and held in subjugation for over 400 years, stripped of all national heritage, is retracing its history and developing an identity of its own. The war has intensified this radicalization of black people by making them bear a disproportionately large share of the casualties, and by the war-caused inflation and higher taxes at home which hit blacks the hardest. The gap between living conditions for black and white grows greater every year. The ghettos where black people are concentrated are in decay in the midst of the longest boom in American capitalism's history.

Nationalist consciousness is especially strong among the black youth who have been in the forefront of the struggles in the black community and on campus for black power. The past year has seen an important development of intensified struggles among black students.

The demands raised in the black struggle are directed in essence against the government and are political in na-

ture. Consequently, the question of political power is becoming more and more important in the minds of black youth. This poses the question of black political action, and the formation of an independent black political party which can unite the black people against the white capitalist state in a struggle for black liberation.

Black Political Party

The formation of an independent black political party is the key question facing the Afro-American people today. For three decades black people by and large have supported the Democratic Party, which, together with the Republican Party, is the political instrument of the capitalist rulers of this society to keep black people in bondage. A necessary step in the struggle for black liberation is for black people to break with the parties of the white capitalist oppressors and organize their own political instrument, a black political party, independent of and opposed to the parties of the ruling class.

Such a party could unite and lead the black people on a year-round basis. It could, with sufficient organization, win elections in areas where blacks are a majority or near majority, such as in Newark and Gary. It could also organize and lead the struggle for such demands as better housing, better schools, and control over the institutions in the black community, including the police. It could help to organize systematic armed self-defense of the black community from racist attack. In other words, an independent black political party could help organize all aspects of the black struggle, and lead the political fight for black political control of the black communities.

The organization of such a party would also deliver a staggering blow to the Democratic Party by removing the black component from the coalition the Democratic Party has relied on to win elections, and would provide a powerful example of independent political action for the white section of the working class.

Indicative of motion towards independent black political action is the development of the Black Panther Party. This community-based organization is attempting to unite black people around a program based on the needs of the black community. Its example is an important progressive step forward for the whole black struggle.

At its present level of development the BPP is still encumbered by questionable concepts of action by a small group of dedicated people as opposed to mass organization and action. While its deci-

sion to enter the elections was a step forward in political consciousness, its electoral alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party in California was a step backward for the idea of building an independent black political party.

The organization, program and leadership of the black people have lagged behind the demonstrated readiness of Afro-Americans to struggle. This necessary leadership will emerge from the youth in black organizations on the campuses, in the black communities, and in the unions. A key component of the leadership of the black struggle, and of the revolutionary struggle as a whole, will come from black youth won over to revolutionary socialism. The building of a black revolutionary socialist cadre in the YSA is a key task for the entire organization.

The 1968 Elections

Although the period since the 1964 elections has seen a deepening radicalization among youth and the growth of the antiwar, black power and student movements, these movements faced the 1968 elections in the context of the absence of any mass working class or black political party. In spite of the growth of these mass opposition movements, the capitalist parties maintain their virtual monopoly in the political field. The Wallace campaign, too, is being run within the con-



YSAers man literature table at April 27, 1968 antiwar demonstration in New York

text of the two-party system as a racist pressure campaign on the two major parties.

As a consequence, many young people concerned with effecting changes in America have supported various capitalist "peace" candidates running in the two major parties; others have supported middle-class reformist third-ticket electoral formations like the Peace and Freedom Party.

The fact that many young people have become involved in political activity is a progressive thing. However, the kind of political activity is of fundamental importance. The key question is, can this capitalist society be patched up or reformed, or is a revolutionary transition indispensable?

Young socialists are convinced that this system is beyond repair. One glaring example is the fact that in the richest and most powerful country in the world people suffer from grinding poverty while the government spends close to half its huge national budget for instruments of war. This is just one contradiction of a system that produces for private profit instead of public need.

Eugene McCarthy, a professed "peace" candidate, was supported by many people opposed to the war. But McCarthy is a capitalist politician dedicated to the preservation of the capitalist system on a global scale. His disagreements with Johnson's Vietnam policy were tactical, as indicated by his refusal to support the demand for immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. He, too, wanted to keep as much U.S. presence in Vietnam as he thought he could get away with. As a capitalist politician he offered no alternative to the system responsible not only for the war in Vietnam but for the whole U.S. imperialist foreign policy, which he pledged to defend throughout the world. For example, he was for increased U.S. military intervention in the Middle East. As a capitalist politician, he offered no alternative to the system that oppresses black people and which is responsible for poverty, exploitation, etc.

McCarthy's professed objective in running for the Democratic nomination was precisely to "take the protest off the streets" and bring the antiwar youth back into the "mainstream" of American politics, i.e. back into support of the Democratic Party, the very same party carrying on the Vietnam war. To the extent he was successful, antiwar youth were led into political support of the warmaking system through support to one of the political instruments controlled by the warmakers.

The Capitalist Parties

The Democratic Party cannot be transformed into an instrument of fundamental social change. Not only is it stacked with rabid racists from both North and South, it is financed and controlled, lock, stock and barrel, by the ruling capitalist class. This was graphically, if grotesquely, illustrated by the Democratic convention.

At the convention a sizable number of delegates tried to get a plank adopted on Vietnam which was more "liberal." Even this timid gesture was overwhelmingly rebuffed by the party hacks. In reality a major problem has been to convince the mass of workers and black people that the two capitalist parties cannot be transformed into parties representing their interests.

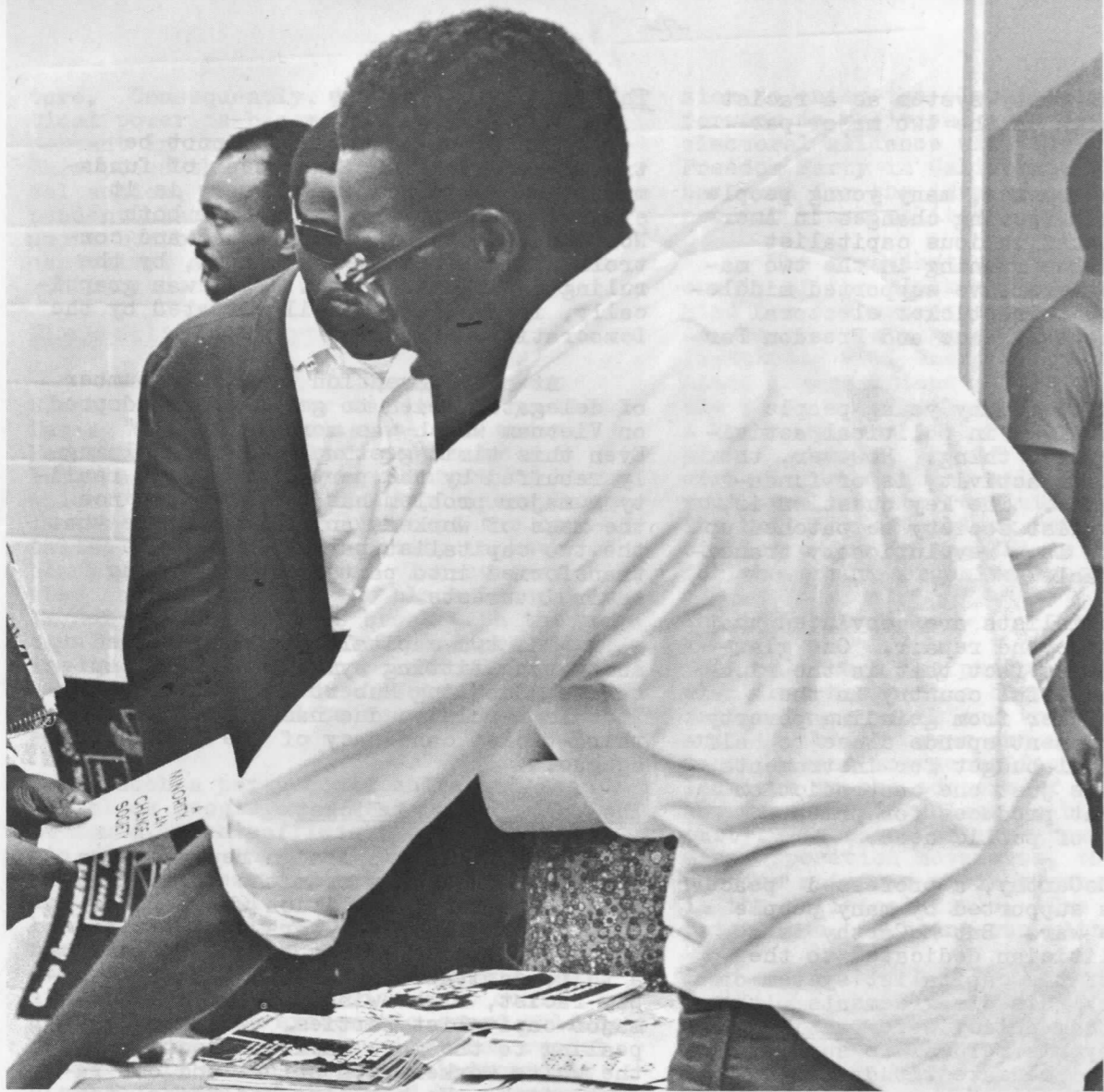
The two capitalist parties ended up nominating fitting symbols of U.S. capitalism, Hustling Hubert and Tricky Dick. To this repulsive duo has been added the third-ticket candidacy of the Alabama demagogue.

The Wallace Third Ticket

The Wallace campaign represents a Dixiecrat breakaway from the Dixie-Democrat-labor-Negro coalition which Roosevelt put together 30 years ago. It is not yet a "third" party but is in essence a third capitalist ticket intended to appeal racist, right-wing pressure on both major capitalist parties. Wallace is appealing to the more backward section of the white workers, on an out and out racist pitch. He has also had appeal posing as an alternative to the "tweedledum-tweedledee" major party candidates.

The labor bureaucracy, echoed by the class-collaborationist Socialist Party, has launched a campaign to "stop Wallace" by supporting -- Humphrey. This is the form the "lesser evil" argument is tending to take in the 1968 elections. These forces exaggerate the "Wallace danger" and obscure the real and greatest danger facing the American people, the certain outcome of the elections of a victory for one of the capitalist parties and continued capitalist misrule, with its wars and racism.

Wallace has been called a fascist, but this is not accurate. While he is a racist and right-wing spellbinder, Wallace lacks the social demagoguery characteristic of fascism. In the long run, as the crisis of capitalism deepens to the point where the continued existence of capitalist rule is threatened, the imperialists will turn to the fascist solution. But we are not yet at that point, and the big bourgeoisie still finds capitalist "democracy" and rule through the two par-



young socialists
in action



ty setup possible and preferable to any attempt to impose fascism.

What the Wallace third-ticket candidacy indicates is the further drift to the right of capitalist politics, a drift that is also reflected in the "law and order" campaigns of the two major parties. This steady drift to the right by the capitalist politicians is caused by the crisis of the capitalist system itself and the inability of the system to solve any of the basic problems facing the American people. But this rightward drift of capitalist politics cannot be fought by picking out the worst of the capitalist candidates, branding him the "greater evil," and then supporting one of the other capitalist candidates. The capitalist political machines can always come up with a "greater evil" candidate, and those who use the "lesser evil" argument for support to capitalist politicians will remain trapped within capitalist politics forever. This rightward drift, and ultimately fascism itself, as all other symptoms of the decay of the capitalist system, can only be fought by building a class political alternative to capitalist misrule.

"Peace" Formations

Some young people have supported formations like the Peace and Freedom Party. The PFP was set up by various radical political tendencies such as the Independent Socialist Club and reform Democrats who became dubious about the possibility of the Democrats coming up with a "peace" candidate in 1968. The Peace and Freedom Party is in reality a coalition of various forces all of whom disagree with each other on many issues, including on just what the Peace and Freedom Party is. Some view it as merely a "third ticket" in the elections, while the ISC has the utopian hope of actually launching a mass third party through PFP. There are important differences on many other questions, for example Cuba. The ISC does not support the Cuban revolution, while others in PFP do. To hold these various groups together, at least up to the elections, the PFP has adopted a "minimum" election platform that these various forces can agree with.

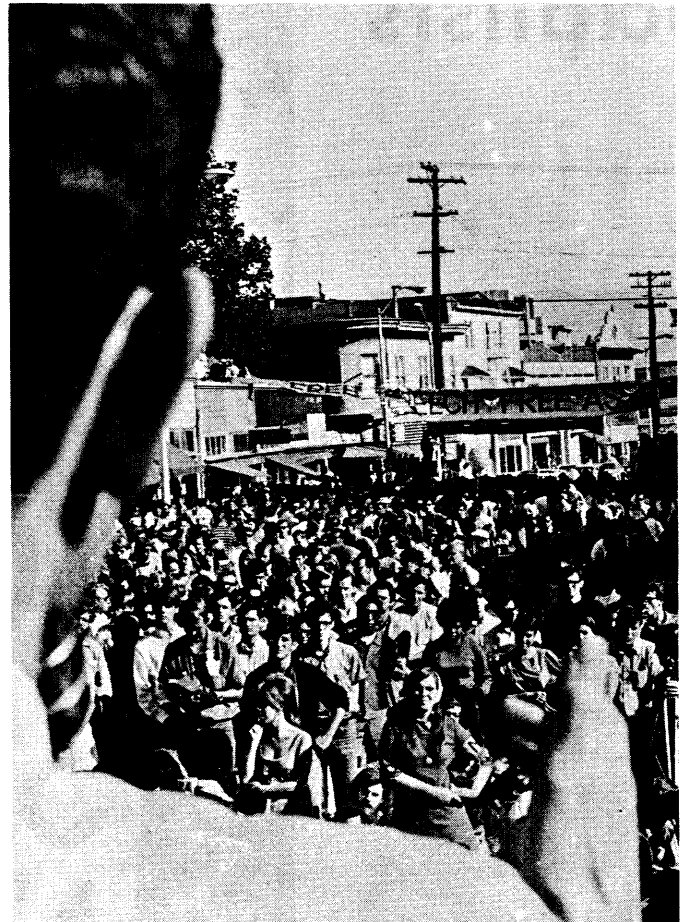
This PFP platform, while containing points we support, such as advocacy of withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, does not project an anticapitalist, socialist alternative to capitalist class rule. Programatically, the PFP is an incipient capitalist political formation which does not go beyond proposals for certain reforms in the capitalist system. Neither does PFP represent a potential alternative to capitalist class rule in the social class it is based on. It is not a working class party in either program or composition. It is a middle-class forma-

tion, appealing to middle-class radicals.

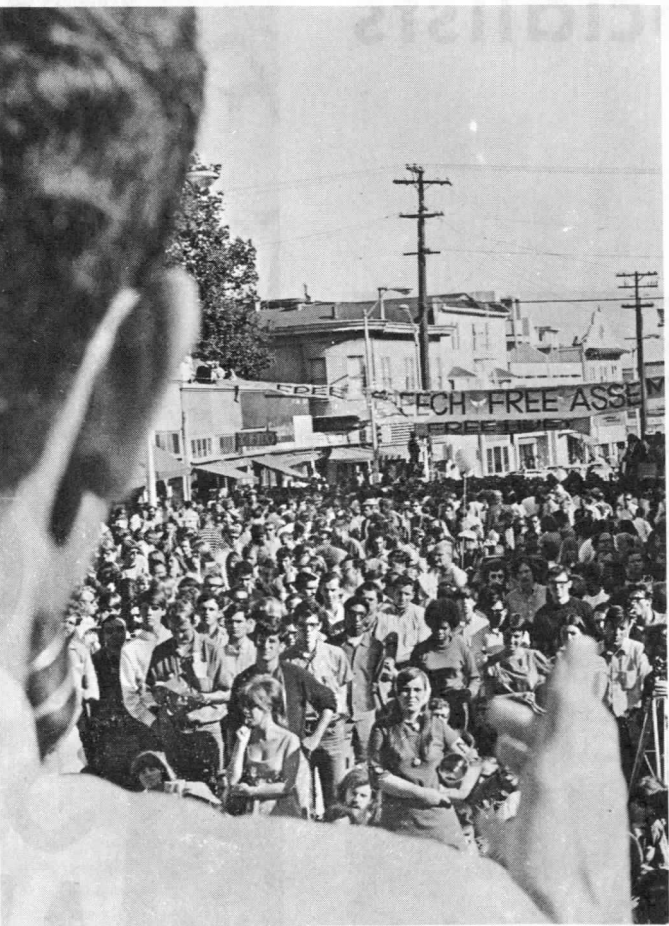
The Marxist analysis of capitalism demonstrates that the working class is the key motive force for revolutionary change. Because of its position in the productive process, the working class, in the long run, is both driven to struggle against capitalism and has the power to destroy this system and build the new system of socialism.

The events of May-June in France were a graphic example of the power of the working class and the key role it plays in modern capitalist society.

The struggle of the students in France was the detonator that set off the charge of the working class. The struggle which the students started, however, could go only so far because the students by themselves do not have the power to fundamentally change the system. When the workers entered the struggle, the whole situation changed. Because of their function in the productive apparatus, the workers were able to paralyze the whole country through the general strike and plant occupations, and placed the question of continued capitalist rule or its replacement by workers power on the agenda.



YSAer speaks to victory rally in Berkeley on July 4, 1968



YSAer speaks to victory rally in Berkeley on July 4, 1968

The major political weakness of the new young radicals in the U.S. is confusion and doubt about the role of the working class. This is due to the fact that they have never seen a combative working class since they have grown up in a period of relative working class quiescence. These young radicals find no mass political alternative to the ruling class parties on the scene. Trying to find answers and alternatives, they are susceptible to supporting "independent formations" like the Peace and Freedom Party that in reality are reformist capitalist formations. The inevitable radicalization of the American working class will change this situation.

The CP Campaign

The Communist Party has also projected its own form of class collaboration politics during the election. The politics of the CP are totally subservient to the Kremlin line of "peaceful coexistence." The form this takes in the U.S. has been to give support to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. The CP vigorously supported McCarthy, and continues to back McCarthy men like O'Dwyer in New York. McCarthy's defeat presented them with problems in carrying out their fundamental line. They found it difficult, given the strong anti-Humphrey feelings of young radicals, to come out for him, and urged concentration on capitalist party "peace candidates" for lesser offices. Their own campaign was a token campaign, subordinated to their support, where they could find them, to such liberal capitalist politicians. Where the choice was between "two reactionaries," they advocated supporting Freedom and Peace candidates, etc.

SDS

Students for a Democratic Society also tried to come to grips with the major questions involved in the presidential campaign. Because SDS lacks a clear program and homogeneous organization it is unable to come up with a clear perspective. Positions varied from abstention to supporting McCarthy, the Peace and Freedom Party, or the SWP campaign. Many SDSers were confused about what to do. Young socialists will want to explain the importance of building a real class alternative to capitalist rule to McCarthy supporters, Peace and Freedom supporters, and to SDSers who are open to our ideas and proposals. Many young people who supported McCarthy and other capitalist "peace" candidates will now be more open to the revolutionary alternative since some of the "peace" candidates have lost the nominations of the major parties.

Abstentionism

This election year, as in the past,

some political tendencies have called for abstention from the election campaign altogether. This sentiment was voiced by some members of SDS and other radicals because they consider electoral activity to be either tactically ineffective or a form of selling out to the system.

Many thousands of Americans abstain simply because they think voting is a waste of effort. The sentiment to abstain is healthy to the extent that it is a recognition that both parties of the ruling class have the same prowar, racist politics. Sometimes abstention is correct if there is no real alternative. In 1968 in the U.S., however, abstention is wrong because there is an alternative.

Revolutionaries recognize the importance of using all available forms of struggle against the ruling class. One form of independent political action is mass actions in the streets against an imperialist war; another form is independent electoral activity.

To reject electoral activity not only shows a misunderstanding that the central problem facing the American working class and the black community is to break with capitalist politics, but also does not take advantage of one form of struggle against the ruling class. Militancy and radicalism are not a basic threat to the ruling class as long as they remain unorganized and do not pose the question of political power.

To advocate abstention really means giving back-handed support to the ruling class parties and maintenance of the political monopoly the ruling class enjoys through those parties. Unless the American working class and black community are organized into their own independent political parties fighting for power there can be no American revolution.

The SWP Campaign

In the SWP election campaign, which we supported and built, we have focused on three main political challenges:

1. To support the antiwar movement by helping to unify the largest possible number of people from every sector of the population in united front type organizations in a drive to win broad layers of the American people to struggle against the imperialist war. The SWP campaign has pressed the demand that the GIs be brought home now, both within the antiwar movement and the population as a whole.

2. To give uncompromising support to black people in their struggle for black control of the black communities and self-determination. The campaign has explained the need for an independent black political party, and has combatted

the racist assault on the black community in the "law and order" appeals of all three capitalist candidates.

3. To carry on the fight for a class struggle approach in politics through supporting the SWP ticket as a concrete class alternative to capitalist rule and gaining the support of all those ready to break with capitalist politics, and by propagandizing for an independent black party and a labor party.

All of these tasks were carried out within the framework of the most extensive election campaign that our movement has ever conducted.

The electoral strategy of the YSA is based on several considerations which determined who we would support in the 1968 elections. We decided over a year ago to support the SWP campaign because 1) it has a full class struggle program for revolutionary change which fits the needs of the struggles taking place in the U.S. today; 2) the SWP is a party that fights on a year-round basis in the interest of the working people, through action and education; 3) the SWP is also a party made up of workers in collaboration with students dedicated to the uncompromising struggle that will have to be made to achieve socialism.

These three considerations -- program, practice, and composition -- determined our support for the SWP and our rejection of "peace" candidates in the Democratic Party, the Peace and Freedom Party, and all other formations of their ilk.

The YSA supported the SWP campaign with the general view of offering a class alternative to those people who wanted to break with the parties of the ruling class. We knew that the SWP campaign would be the only class alternative because, for certain historical reasons, there is no mass political party representing the interests of either the working people or the black people of this country. It was also our understanding that most people, including many antiwar activists and radicals, would again support capitalist candidates. With these things in mind we also knew that because of the general political situation many more people would support the socialist campaign than in the past and that many new people would join our ranks and dedicate themselves to the struggle for socialism.

Black control of the black communities is now a widely accepted and discussed slogan in the black community, as is the slogan of withdrawal of troops among broad sections of the population. The SWP campaign has won the support of many people, in the main of young people, who want to fight for a socialist solu-

tion to the problems facing America and the world. The SWP candidates, national and local, have had the opportunity to speak to thousands of people, campaign supporters have sold or distributed large amounts of campaign literature, and numerous newspapers and TV and radio programs have carried news about the SWP campaign. In addition, the trip of Fred Halstead to Saigon and other cities of the world has highlighted our campaign work among American GIs.

The development of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle are two important gains of the campaign. Many YSHBers and YSHB groups are joining the Young Socialist Alliance, making an important addition to our forces. We are also recruiting young black supporters of our campaign.

Due to the absence of mass working class or black political parties, the campaigns staged by Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace dominated the electoral scene, creating the illusion in some that there is a general rightward shift among the population as a whole. This picture is false. We can expect that after the elections disillusionment with whoever is elected will rapidly proceed, and we can expect a powerful resurgence of the antiwar movement and a deepening of the radicalization on the campus and in the black communities. It is in the context of a growing radicalization that we have to review the tasks before us.

Electoral work is only one part of the regular work of the YSA. Our campaign work has taken us another big step toward our goal of building a mass revolutionary socialist youth vanguard. We have strengthened our organization in numbers, influence and experience. We enter the post-election period with great opportunities and a bigger organization to take advantage of them.

Our Tasks

1. We will continue on a campaign basis to build the mass movement in opposition to the Vietnam war. Our elementary duty as internationalists is to aid to the best of our ability revolutionaries in other parts of the world who are struggling against imperialism. The best way for us to carry out this task here in this country is by building a mass movement against the war. This movement has already played a central role in the growing radicalization of young people and will continue to do so on a larger scale.

Our approach will continue to be to build mass actions in the streets through united-front type action formations, specifically the SMC and the various adult antiwar coalitions. Within this context

we will continue to press for the demand that the troops be brought home immediately.

A key aspect of our antiwar work in the coming period will be antiwar work among GIs. There have been important indications of growing antiwar sentiment inside the army, and the antiwar movement has the opportunity to win a powerful new component to its ranks -- the soldiers themselves.

2. To carry out a campaign of unconditional support to the Afro-American struggle for full freedom, justice, equality, and self-determination. Explaining the need for an independent black political party will be central to this task. To counter racist violence we advocate organized, armed self-defense of the whole black community.

We will continue to defend all victims of racist frame-ups, and seek to establish close ties with Afro-American organizations on the campuses and in the black communities.

Our movement has the best supply of literature on Afro-American history, the ideas of Malcolm X, and black nationalism, and has the best and most complete analysis of the black struggle of any tendency. We should be sure to get this literature, and our publications, into the hands of every Afro-American we come into contact with.

All of us, black and white, must study the history of the black struggle in this country and grasp the revolutionary thrust of black nationalism through a theoretical understanding of the national question as it relates to black America.

3. The central focus of our work remains on the college campus and in the high schools. The bulk of our recruitment, of both black and white young people, will continue to be from high school and college students. The campus remains the vanguard of the antiwar movement, and provides a section of the vanguard of the black movement.

4. The only way we can carry out this work effectively is through a thor-

ough understanding of the history and traditions of the revolutionary movement. Our educational programs are now more important than ever. Education will be a key factor in our ability to reach out and take advantage of the opportunities facing us. It is only through the continued development of well-rounded revolutionists that we can be sure that we will reach our ultimate goal.

Along with our central areas of work in the antiwar, black power and student movements we will continue to carry on our regular socialist activity, such as continued and regular trailblazes to new areas where we can recruit significant numbers of people.

We should also be attuned to new developments in the world arena where we can support the world revolution as we did around the French and Czechoslovak events. Through this work we have established ourselves as the internationalist wing of the revolutionary socialist youth movement in this country. These tasks go hand in hand with our regular sales of the Militant and the Young Socialist. Both of these publications represent our ideas and thinking on the major events in the world today. Our publications are the public face of our movement and are major tools for building the YSA.

A great deal of our work during the entire history of the YSA has been carried out in close collaboration with the SWP, the revolutionary party in the U.S. This collaboration comes from common program and common goals. This close work has been invaluable for the development of the revolutionary socialist youth group in this country. The experiences and traditions of the American Trotskyist movement have been our guide in every area of our work.

If we carry out our tasks with revolutionary optimism and confidence the best of our radicalized generation will be recruited to our ideas and will join our ranks. All our tasks should be carried out with an eye to recruitment, for this will assure us of developing the YSA into the dominant socialist youth movement in this country. All young socialists are encouraged to join in this task.

October 12, 1968

YOU BELONG IN THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

IF YOU SUPPORT

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

BLACK POWER

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

THE VIETNAMESE LIBERATION FIGHTERS

A SOCIALIST AMERICA

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE



FOR PRESIDENT **FRED HALSTEAD**

PAUL BOUTELLE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

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ATTEND THE NATIONAL YOUNG SOCIALIST CONVENTION CHICAGO NOV. 29-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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... I plan to attend the Convention. Please send me details on housing, transportation, delegate status, etc.

... Please send me a set of the discussion bulletins prepared for the Convention, enclosed is \$1.00.

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