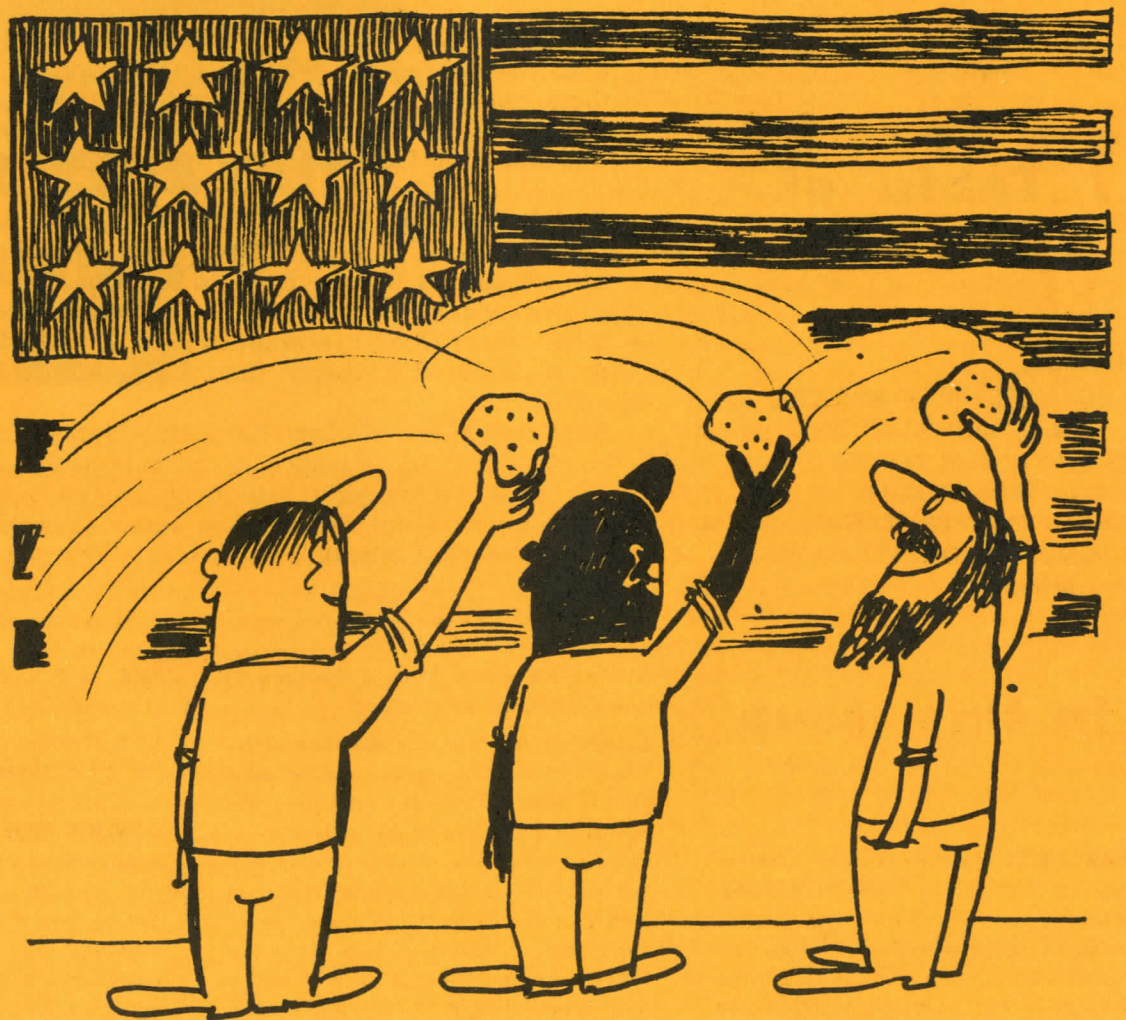


*The Third World Art Exhibit
Black Nationalism and the
American Revolution
Student Unrest in Italy*

young socialist

April 1968

15¢



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Young Socialist Notes

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In this issue

MARY-Alice WATERS, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance obtained an interview with Franco Russo, a participant in the recent explosions on the campuses in Italy while she was in that country in March. Russo is a student at the University of Rome.

Good Grief, Chairman Mao: One of the 57 Australian students who toured China last month was vociferously denounced by Red Guards at Tungji University when they spotted him carrying a placard showing the famous Peanuts cartoon dog, Snoopy, holding a sign that read "Long Live Chairman Mao." The guards issued a statement denouncing Snoopy as an insult to Mao and a notorious reactionary. While the erring student underwent "self-criticism" for his counterrevolutionary ways, the Guards, dipping into the pages of Mao for the appropriate quotation, chorused: "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters must be subject to criticism."

Free Wheelin' Nixon: Former Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy first discovered him. The multi-millionaire was so amused by it all that he tipped him a dollar instead of the usual fifty cents. He is now Washington's most sought after free-lance chauffer; his name is Richard Nixon. Sargent Shriver likes to tell the one about the party where he and Dick Nixon ended up in the kitchen washing dirty glasses. A real humorous coup in Washington is being able to say, "I've got Dick Nixon waiting to drive me to the airport."

Liberalization: In an effort to dispel his image as a hard-line dictator, Paraguay's "President," Gen. Alfredo Stroessner "allowed" three candidates to run against him in the recent election that he won overwhelmingly. On election day, he lifted martial law that had existed in Paraguay since 1930 for 24 hours.

Bad Investment: Although foreign capital investment increased in Canada by 4.7 percent last year, investment in Quebec dropped by 5.8 percent. As the demand for separation and a free Quebec grows stronger, the outside corporations that control more than 90% of all Quebec manufacturing (mostly U.S. investment) get nervous about "stability" there.— *Newsweek*, February 26, 1968.

Brotherly Love: "Robert Kennedy's anti-Vietnam war speech that he delivered in Chicago . . . was lavishly praised by a Senate colleague as 'powerful, eloquent, cogent, incisive' and placed in the Congressional Record. The admiring colleague: Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy."— *Newsweek*, February 26, 1968.

(continued on P. 23)

Mary-Alice was in Italy at the time of some of the demonstrations.

JOANNA MISNIK is a member of the New York City Young Socialist Alliance and a student at New York University where she is active in the antiwar committee there. She is also coordinator for the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle on NYU. While in Cleveland before moving to New York, she was a leading antiwar activist and a staff member of the Cleveland Mobilization Committee.

THE THIRD WORLD ART EXHIBIT in Havana, Cuba is presented in this issue in a display of photographs taken of the art pavillion in Cuba.

DERRICK MORRISON is a National Executive Committee member of the YSA and an editorial board member of the **Young Socialist**. He is presently on a national tour speaking on **Black Nationalism and the Struggle for a Socialist America**. Derrick has been a frequent contributor to the **Young Socialist**.

An Editorial



Photo by Ring

April 15, 1967, New York City.

GET THE VOTE OUT! STRIKE! MARCH!

The American rulers continue to drive ahead in Vietnam. Washington threatens to use nuclear weapons in that war-torn country. Military setbacks and defeats of U. S. forces are met with calls for greater troop reinforcements. Through efforts such as the TET offensive, the Vietnamese people show their courage and determination in repelling the aggression of a foreign nation. The most massive antiwar movement that this country has ever seen is organizing new and greater actions for this Spring. And the American ruling class is now faced with one of the deepest splits in its history.

This division in the ruling class has been revealed in many ways: the sharpening of the editorial policy of the *New York Times* in opposition to the Administration policy; the recent change in editorial policy of *Newsweek*, with a 16-page indictment of the Vietnam war; and the recent announcement by Kennedy challenging Johnson for the Presidential nomination of the Democratic

Party—after the disclosure of the significant vote for McCarthy in the presidential primaries in New Hampshire. The division was further revealed in the recent confrontation between Secretary of State Rusk and prominent members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Millions of U. S. citizens sat home and watched the "great debate" between the American "statesmen" on T. V. These actions on the part of the Foreign Relations Committee will only have an increasing impact on the sentiments for peace among the masses of the people. The effect can only be detrimental to the policy pursued by the administration in Vietnam as the facts about the war are revealed. The effect can only be favorable to the movement to bring the troops home from Vietnam.

In 1960 the first U. S. "advisors" in Vietnam were exposed in their attempts to prop up the Diem dictatorship. Sentiment against the war has since mounted throughout the country, throughout the world, and even into the ranks of the army of the most powerful capitalist nation in the world.

With the growing fear that the U. S. is over extended economically and militarily in Vietnam, the inability of the ruling class to agree on how to solve the growing world crises sharpen. James Reston, an "authoritative" commentator for the *New York Times* expressed this dilemma in his regular column on March 12, 1968. Commenting on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee confrontation with the esteemed Secretary of State Dean Achenson Rusk, Reston said, ". . . a more important illustration of the gap between the Secretary [Rusk] and the chairman [Fulbright] was the question of how to 'organize peace in the world.' This is one of Mr. Rusk's favorite themes: that the issue of the war is not Vietnam, but all of Southeast Asia, and not only that.

"By going to Vietnam, Mr. Rusk says, we are preserving Southeast Asia and stopping 'wars of national liberation' and proving that we will keep our commitments and thereby working toward a decent world order.

"Mr. Fulbright agrees fully with these *objectives*, but thinks that Mr. Rusk's policy in Vietnam is not 'organizing peace'; not proving that the 'wars of liberation' are useless, not encouraging the Asian nations to build a system of collective security, not deterring or frightening the Communists, but precisely the opposite. This is the issue that not only divides Secretary Rusk and Mr. Fulbright, but members of the Foreign Relations Committee." (our emphasis)

What Mr. Reston really means is that both the Senator and the Secretary agree on the need to

defend American capitalism at home and abroad, but disagree on precisely how to go about it. The Senators on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and other government spokesmen such as Kennedy, are not opposed to the war out of sympathy and understanding for the plight of the oppressed in Vietnam or the loss of U. S. soldiers in Vietnam, they are opposed to the war because they are concerned about the preservation of the world capitalist system.

All these problems faced by the rulers in this country give added impetus to the antiwar movement. The strength and vitality of the antiwar movement, its effectiveness as a political force, is derived from a very crucial source. We have mobilized an antiwar movement that is completely independent of the political machines of the two-party system in this country. It is outside of their control, thereby able to determine its own program and tactics. It is a non-exclusionary movement united in action against the war.

The ruling class feels threatened by this large and growing movement outside of its grasp. They feel threatened by the loss of confidence and growing antipathy among the students toward the institutions that rule this land. And to make matters worse, they have been incapable of stemming the tide of the growing Afro-American revolt. As this disillusionment continues to deepen as antiwar sentiment grows among the masses of American people—students, Afro-Americans, white workers, and soldiers—there is real reason for them to feel threatened. The proliferation of dissent in the capitalist parties reflects this crisis. That is why the Fulbrights, McCarthy's, the Morses, the Gores, and even the Kennedys, McNamaras and Rockefellers are thoroughly worried. ♣

In face of these problems and growing dissatisfaction with the capitalist system among young people today, the capitalist class more and more feels the necessity to channel discontent back into the framework of the capitalist system and re-charge the masses with the confidence they are beginning to lose. The McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns are an attempted answer to this dilemma. They are preparing a program to stem this rising radicalization and sentiment against the war. They will try to channel this sentiment into the framework of the "traditional" institutions and try to reinvigorate the masses with some of the optimism that appears to be missing today.

Eugene McCarthy said on November 30, 1967, in a news conference in Washington, D. C., ". . . there is a growing evidence of a deepening moral crisis in America—discontent and frustration and a disposition to take extra-legal if not illegal actions to manifest protest.

"I am hopeful that this challenge, which I am making, which I hope will be supported by other

members of the Senate and other politicians, may alleviate, at least to some degree this sense of political helplessness and restore many people to the belief in the processes of American politics and of the American government."

Very clearly, McCarthy's campaign is to channel the antiwar sentiment into the framework of the two-party system in this country—"To take it off the streets and into the ballot box," to blunt the sharp edge with which the antiwar movement has fought the Vietnam war—the product of three Presidential administrations.

The divisions within the ruling class allow the antiwar movement unprecedented opportunities. But while these divisions within the ruling class will be useful to us, and while we want to continue to help deepen them, we cannot base our strategy on supporting one or another faction of the ruling class. It is only our uncompromising and independent opposition to the underlying premises from which these men act that assures the strength and effectiveness of the antiwar movement.

CHOICE '68

Wednesday, April 24, across the country on thousands of campuses, millions of disenfranchised students will have the chance to answer Johnson, Kennedy, McCarthy and the rest of the liberal frontiersmen. They will have the chance to express their position on the war in Vietnam and the 1968 presidential elections. We say: Vote on April 24! Vote for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam! Vote for an immediate cessation of bombing! Write in: Black Control of the Black Communities! Vote for the only presidential ticket that stands for these programs. Vote Socialist Workers! Vote Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle!

STUDENT STRIKE

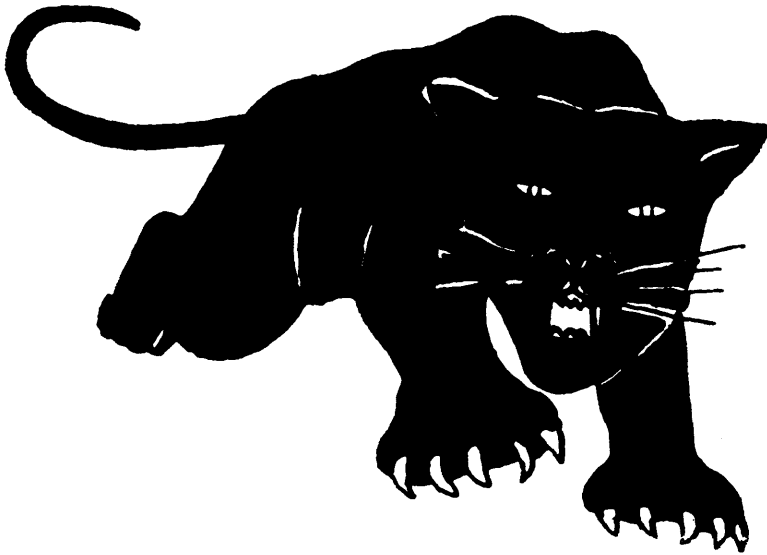
On Friday, April 26, the Student Mobilization Committee, the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union and the High School Student Mobilization Committee have called for an international student strike. Support this political strike against the war in Vietnam.

MASS DEMONSTRATION

On Saturday, April 27, massive demonstrations against the war have been called in every city, throughout the country, throughout the world. The job before the antiwar movement is to build the April days into the largest manifestation of opposition to the war to date.

JOIN WITH US IN GETTING THE VOTE OUT ON APRIL 24, STRIKING ON APRIL 26, and DEMONSTRATING ON APRIL 27.

Black Nationalism and the American Revolution



BY DERRICK MORRISON

Following is an abridged version of the Afro-American Struggle report adopted at the 7th National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Detroit, Michigan, February 9-11. The report was given by Derrick Morrison, a National Executive member of the YSA and an editorial board member of the YOUNG SOCIALIST. Derrick is presently on a national tour speaking on BLACK NATIONALISM AND A STRUGGLE FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA.

To understand the character and the thrust of the black struggle, one must examine the real history of the black man in the United States of North America. The spread of black nationalism today, and the vanguard role that black people will play in the coming American socialist revolution, can only be understood in the context of the history of the American black man.

The growth of black consciousness today is intimately connected to the

strenuous attempts to suppress the African identity of the black man during 300 years of slavery, and 100 years of neo-slavery. In fact there is an inverse proportional relationship between the two. The greater the attempted suppression of the black identity, the more fierce will be the assertion of nationalism or black consciousness. This is true of any nation or national minority group. Because the suppression of the black African identity was carried out more thoroughly in the United States than anywhere else in the world, the black population of North America will display as great if not a greater nationalist consciousness than any other black people in the world. This nationalist consciousness will also entail the most acute awareness of the crimes and suffering that white capitalist society has inflicted on the black man.

This self-awareness of the bestiality and brutality of capitalist society will make the 22 million Afro-Americans the best and ablest grave diggers of the present status quo. Afro-Americans have the least to lose and the most to gain by placing capitalist society

to rest. For black people to become aware of the spiritual, cultural, and psychological robbery that white capitalist society has performed on them, means that black people will also become aware of the material robbery—the 300 years of slave labor, sweat and toil and the 100 years of underpaid labor, sweat and toil—that has been extracted to provide the creature-comforts of so-called white Western "civilization."

The spiritual and psychological robbery are part of the cultural genocide that white American capitalist society has inflicted upon the black man. The extraction of free and underpaid black labor are part of the superexploitation process which has made North American imperialism the colossus that it is today. This cultural genocide goes hand and hand with the super-exploitation of black people as beasts of burden.

In studying the conditions of black people in other parts of the Western Hemisphere, it is clear that none of them have witnessed the complete and systematic denial of black identity as has been the experience in this country. Most African slaves brought to South and Central America were able to preserve and build upon some aspects of their culture and tradition.

For example, racism in the United States and in pre-revolutionary Cuba were two different things. There were no hard and fast racial barriers in Cuba before the United States took "possession" of the island at the turn of the century. Blacks were accorded the same place in Cuban history as any other Cubans. The Jim Crow system was grafted onto Cuban society by Yankee imperialism. Having only 50 years to develop, the Afro-Cuban identity was never submerged to the degree that it was in the United States.

Nationalism, the assertion of blackness, represents a real danger to the rulers in the United States because it begins to undo the 400 years of mental whitewashing that was necessary in order to enchain the Afro-American and is necessary to keep him enchained. Just to mention the idea of black power, of Afro-American identity, causes virtual mass hysteria and the mobilization of the police forces around the nation. The awakening

Black Nationalism and the American Revolution



FLOYD McKISSICK



MALCOLM X

of 30 million Afro-Americans to nationalist consciousness is a necessary component of the American socialist revolution. The 22 million black people in this country are the most powerful national minority group yet to come upon the historical scene. The black nation, predominately working class in composition, is situated in the belly of the world's strongest imperialist power. At the same time, the awakening of the black nation takes place on the historic eve of the downfall of capitalism. History has endowed most other minority groups with a peasant or semi-proletarian character and an embryonic national bourgeoisie. This is not the case with the black nation in America today.

The nationalism of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America revolves around the demand for land, independence, and the development of national economies. Self-determination in the colonial world means the setting up of a politically independent state with absolute control of the economic resources of that state.

Black nationalism is a non-geographic nationalism. It does not necessarily revolve around the setting up of a political state. Black nationalism means the coming together of black people because they are black and have shared a common oppression. Afro-American nationalism on a cultural level involves the reclaiming of the African origin and the assertion of pride in blackness. Black nationalism on the economic plane involves black people gaining control over economic institutions in the ghetto. Black nationalism on a political level is the setting up of political institutions through which black people fight for political, economic, and cultural control over their communities by any means necessary. In other words, black nationalism is "black control of the black community."

Black separatism is the Afro-American expression of geographic nationalism. Separatism corresponds with the nationalism of the oppressed na-

tions in the "Third World." Black separatism seeks to set up an independent black state thus altering the geographical boundaries of the present United States.

Self-determination of the black nation involves black people becoming masters of their own destiny. According to Lenin's writings on the right of nations to self-determination, this includes the right to separate, the right to form an independent state. Self-determination for Afro-Americans means the right of Afro-Americans to decide either to separate from the United States, or to decide to help build a multinational American state. For black people to decide either way, the present society must undergo a revolutionary transformation. The right to separate or the right to build a multi-national state cannot be exercised under capitalism. Only through a socialist revolution will Afro-Americans be able to fully exercise the right of self-determination. Black nationalism is the necessary state of consciousness needed by black people to fight for the right of self-determination. We welcome and look forward to the deepening of nationalist sentiment in the black community.

The present black liberation struggle is in a rapid state of flux, constantly and continually changing. New layers of black militants and leaders are rising to the fore as old militants and tired leaders reveal their inability to keep pace with the dizzying rate of change.

Since the last YSA convention in March 1967, there have been a number of gains and leaps forward by the black liberation movement. All these gains and leaps are bringing the movement that much closer to realizing the perspective of the formation of an independent black political party through which all aspects of the struggle can be organized.

The biggest leap forward is the proliferation of black student organizations across the country. Any attempt to form a nationalist youth organization, a black party, or a black antiwar organization, has a ready made base in the existence of these black student unions and Afro-American societies. At the same time the most politically advanced black nationalist youth will

come out of these student organizations. If SNCC was born out of a partial radicalization of black students, what can be anticipated from this full scale movement of students toward black consciousness? The pace of liberation for any oppressed nation is quickened when its intellectuals and students begin to develop nationalist consciousness. Just as the revolutionary socialist youth movement reaps great benefits from the radicalization of white students, so will the revolutionary socialist and nationalist movements be strengthened by the awakening of black students.

Black student organizations have spearheaded the fight against racial discrimination on campuses, in high schools, and in the community, and have led struggles to get Afro-American history into the curriculum. Recently a black campus group at the University of Georgia succeeded in desegregating campus facilities. Today, black students are engaged in a struggle with the state of South Carolina to desegregate Orangeburg, S. C. Already, three students have been murdered by bestial national guardsmen.

Another great leap forward is the explosion occurring in black high schools and junior high schools. At one junior high school in Brooklyn, New York, the students succeeded in confronting the school administration in a demonstration to win better food, more dances and more freedom. At a high school in the Bronx, for those who didn't read the January issue of the *Young Socialist*, a seventeen year old CORE activist led a fight which succeeded in placing a Swahili course in the language curriculum. Ferment in this arena will continue.

Black youth are reacting in part to the ghetto rebellions which have destroyed all illusions about the much-trumpeted "progress" of the black man. The war in Vietnam and the tightening of the economic situation add to the rebellious mood of black youth.

Another important development is the revolutionary transformation of SNCC into a nationalist organization which promotes revolutionary change in America. This is marked by the pro-socialist statements of Carmichael, Forman, Brown and others. This new interest in the ideas of socialism was

Black Nationalism and the American Revolution

stimulated by global travels in which SNCC members met and talked with the vanguards of the colonial revolution and European student movements. With the establishment of international fraternal relations with the leadership of Cuba and the NLF, SNCC continues to be in the vanguard of carrying out the legacy of brother Malcolm X.

Another sign of the offensive taken by the black struggle was the call sent out to black athletes to boycott the Olympic games. This call was issued at the Western Regional Black Youth Conference held in Los Angeles over the Thanksgiving holidays. The initiator of this call, San Jose State professor Harry Edwards, has also denounced the lily white membership policy of the New York Athletic Club. On Feb. 16 an NYAC sponsored track meet will take place at Madison Square Garden. There will be a massive boycott of athletes coinciding with a large picket line to protest NYAC policies. The nationalist awakening among black athletes destroys the last sanctuary of so-called equality for the black man.

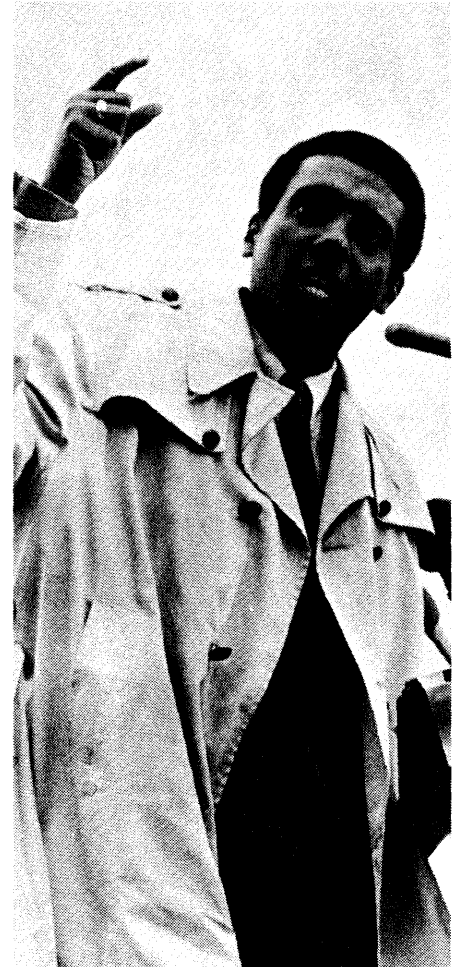
The various regional and national black conferences will continue to be held. The Newark Black Power Conference and the Western Regional Black Youth Conference were high points of last year. The black conferences this year will be even more important because they occur during an election year. This will serve to make the conferences more political and will help to further the outlining of political strategies.

The most recent leap forward was the formation of the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union (NBAWADU) by the black contingent at the Student Mobilization Committee Chicago Conference. This formation represents the first attempt to construct a truly national black youth organization. NBAWADU already has regional committees in fourteen cities. The best potential base for the black antiwar antidraft union is the countless number of black student organizations.

- continued



H. RAP BROWN



STOKELY CARMICHAEL

By enlisting these student organizations into the fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, NBAWADU can have the effect of politicizing the various culturally oriented student organizations. The black high schools will also provide an important base for NBAWADU and will facilitate links with the black community. These are only a few of the numerous possibilities for NBAWADU in the next months ahead.

With all these offensive strides of the black struggle taking place, and potential struggle bursting at the seams, is it possible to view this year as the year of repression, the year in which facism and genocide loom just around the corner? Nobody would argue the fact that there have been government assaults on the movement, but we must not fall into the bag of generalizing these specific assaults as being the central feature of the next period. For all his power, Uncle Sam is on the *defensive* at home and abroad and it

is precisely radical forces that are on the rise. Because Uncle Sam is on the defensive, attacks and frame-ups of black militants will continue.

Every radicalization and major social upheaval creates vicious retaliation by the rulers. During the 1930s when the labor movement organized the CIO, dozens of militants were killed and hundreds wounded and arrested. The radicalization of Afro-Americans today is also creating retaliation by the rulers who want to intimidate the black community. We must defend all victims of attacks made at the national, state and local level and demonstrate through broad coalition defense efforts that Afro-Americans will not be intimidated. On the campuses we should be very conscious of collaborating with black organizations, SDS and other radical or liberal organizations in defending black militants. The broader the coalition, the larger will be the funds and publicity. It is even possible at some campuses to obtain student govern-

ment support for a particular defense case. The defense of black militants is a central part of the struggle for black liberation.

In analyzing the political situation and the prospects for the Socialist Workers presidential campaign in the ghetto today, we must first absorb some lessons from the 1964 experience. In 1963-4, the black nationalist movement was on the rise. The skyrocketing of brother Malcolm X's influence and the success of the Michigan Freedom Now Party getting on the ballot, represented high points of the nationalist movement in the first half of 1964.

The Freedom Now Party was the first all black political party. The call for such a party was first issued by the black journalist William Worthy at the August 22, 1963 March on Washington. Although small groups of black nationalists in several cities organized around the idea of the Freedom Now

(continued on p. 18)

YOUNG SOCIALISTS FOR HALSTEAD AND BOUTELLE

Halstead for President; Boutelle for Vice-President

clip and send to:



Photo by Hermes

Paul Boutelle, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party speaks at Columbia U celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

YSHB
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- I would like more information.
- Although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the Socialist Workers Party, I endorse the Socialist Workers Party's 1968 presidential ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.
- I want to help the campaign.

Name

Address

City State

Zip School

Organization



Waving their passes, University of Rome students march demanding entrance to the University. On far right is Franco Russo, interviewed by Mary-Alice Waters for this issue of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

Student Unrest in Italy

--An interview with a participant

The following interview was given by Franco Russo to YOUNG SOCIALIST editorial board member Mary-Alice Waters while she was in Italy in early March. She participated in the Berlin antiwar demonstration of 20,000 on February 18, and then spent several weeks in Europe meeting and talking with socialist youth in different countries. Franco Russo is a student at the University of Rome; a member of the editorial board of LA SINISTRA a revolutionary socialist weekly paper; and a participant in the student movement at the University of Rome.

The current struggle taking place in the Italian universities is wide in scope. For a period of time ranging from three to six weeks—depending upon which university—the students have occupied every university in Italy. They have held daily general assemblies of all students to discuss tactics and strategy. They have set up commissions (or workshops) to discuss every conceivable particular problem and report back to the general assembly. The struggle is spreading to the high schools as well, and the Italian government has been faced with a major dilemma in how to deal with the mounting student militancy.

In the following pages Franco Russo explains the political evolution of the struggle and some of the problems as well as some of the victories the students have had. They will sound familiar to many American students.

The student struggles taking place in Italy today should also be placed in the context of the other student struggles in Europe today—in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Belgium, and many other countries. Together, these political struggles led by students are playing an important role in the total political picture of Europe, and the YOUNG SOCIALIST will be returning to these events in upcoming issues. — ed.

Mary-Alice Waters: Could you explain a little of the political evolution of the current struggle between the students and the government?

Franco Russo: The struggle began as one between the students and the university, but the course of the struggle itself has forced the students to mature

politically and develop their political consciousness.

The battle of Vallaguila was really the turning point. This was a fight that took place on March 1 at the College of Architecture as the police attacked the students who were attempting to enter the college. It was at that point that the students confronted the political power, in fact the armed power, of the bourgeoisie; and realized that their fight was not just with the academic authorities. It was at that point that they realized that the government itself—and a "center-left" government at that—was trying to destroy their movement.

As a result of the clash between the students and the government, the students began to realize that the problems they faced at the university were closely tied to the general political problems of the society as a whole. They began to realize that solutions could not be found on the university level alone. The problems lay in the role played by a university in a capitalist society, and ultimately the only solution was to change the entire social system.

— continued



Waving their passes, University of Rome students march demanding entrance to the University. On far right is Franco Russo, interviewed by Mary-Alice Waters for this issue of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

Student Unrest in Italy

--An interview with a participant

Mary-Alice Waters: How did this change in consciousness directly affect the struggle?

Franco Russo: Perhaps this can best be seen in the main slogan that was raised by the students after the battle of Vallaguila: "We Don't Want a School of the Bosses." In other words, they recognized that the university is designed to meet the needs of big business, of the capitalist society, in order to turn out executives, bureaucrats, and technicians. They rebelled against this kind of school. In searching for allies, they attempted to link up with other layers of the population, such as the high school students, but especially the working class students and the apprentices.

Mary-Alice Waters: What specific demands have been raised by the students?

Franco Russo: As the struggle was first initiated, most demands were directed at the university authorities. The students wanted exams given by the professors to be open to the public; they wanted the right to discuss their grades with their professors; they wanted the right to take exams over again if they thought the grades given by the professors were unfair; and they wanted the right to take their exams when they were ready to, rather than just once or twice a year at the whim of the professor.

The faculty at the College of Letters and Philosophy here in Rome voted to accept these conditions and to give exams in the occupied university. This was one reason the government decided to intervene so brutally in the battle of Vallaguila. If they had allowed that decision stand it would mean the students had won a significant victory and a voice in determining policy for the university.

Now, however, many students understand that there can be no real fundamental changes in the university system without a change in the society itself. One of their main goals is to make larger and larger numbers of people aware of this. Many students do not want to raise goals and demands that they think the government can easily satisfy. They don't want to compromise with the government, but

they want to reach out and involve broader masses in the fight.

Thus, one of the demands being raised is that the government give every student a living wage. Only students with very good grades get money. Many of those who have the burden of working while going to school will find it difficult to get good enough grades to qualify for government funds. Also students from working class families need not only money for their own subsistence, but funds to replace the wage they would be earning for their families if they weren't in school. Therefore the demand for a wage for each student is a very basic

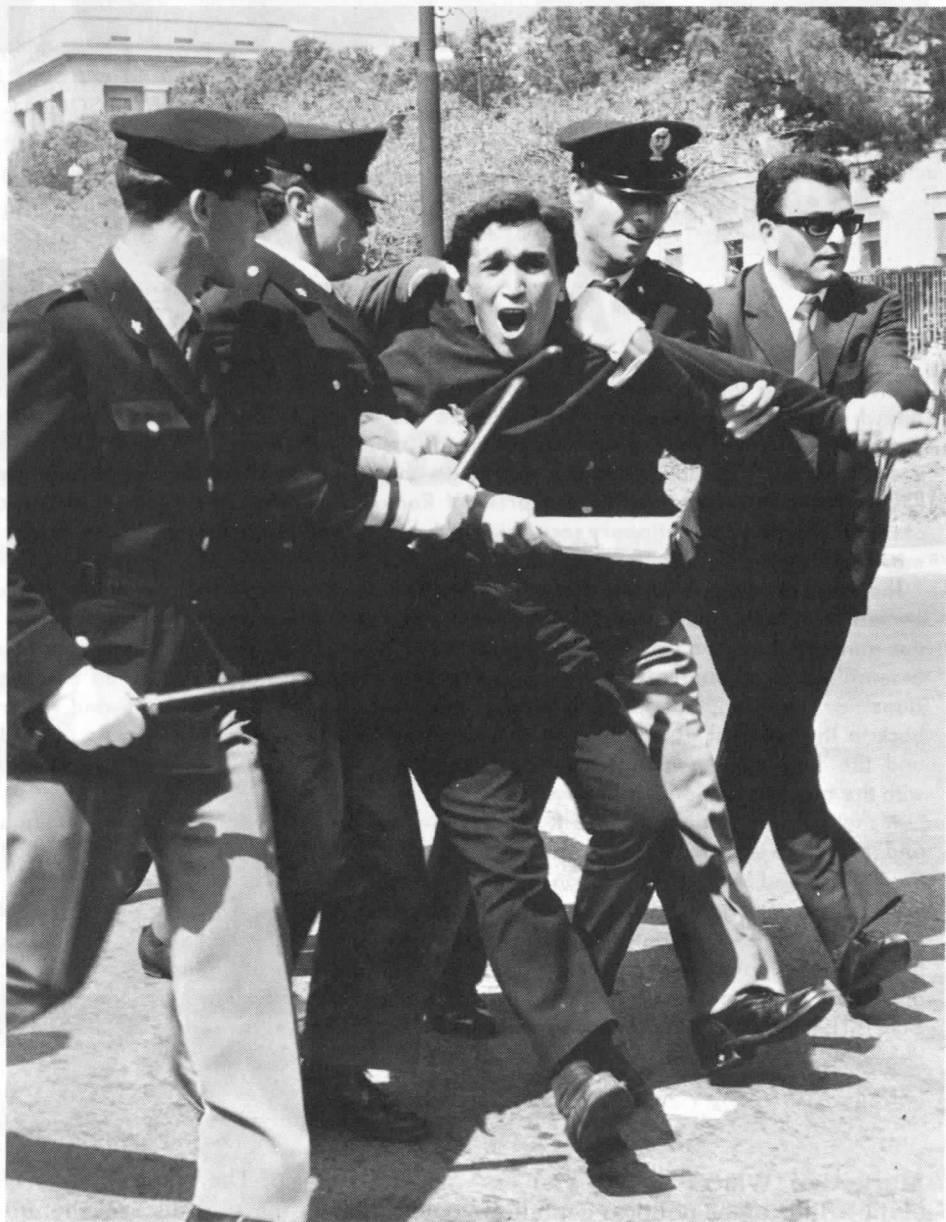
democratic demand that will also help establish links between the students' struggle and the broader masses of the population.

The whole university system in Italy is based on what we have called a "merit-ocracy." A "merit-ocracy" not of those who are smarter or more deserving, but of those who have more advantages at the outset. In general, it is not the university that creates the class differences in society. It is the existing class differences that create the contemporary university. The university then helps to perpetuate the class differences.

These are all some of the basic ideas



Police hold one of many demonstrators arrested during widespread student actions.



Police hold one of many demonstrators arrested during widespread student actions.

we are trying to communicate to broader numbers of the population. These are some of the lessons the students have learned in the course of the struggle. They now want to spread their new level of consciousness to others.

Mary-Alice Waters: What are the organizational forms of this student struggle?

Franco Russo: Well, first of all you must understand a little about the general framework of Italian politics today. In the last few years there have developed important mass movements, demonstrating that significant stratas of the working class and also some of the middle class sectors of the population are very dissatisfied with the status quo. They are willing to struggle. But, these struggles have not been led, by and large, by the traditional parties of the working class. If anything, the Communist Party has placed a damper on such struggles. For instance, in reading *L'Unita*, the paper of the Italian Communist Party, you will see that there is little enthusiasm about the current student struggles. They support them very grudgingly.

The students are beginning to understand that the Communist Party and the left socialist party (P. S. I. U. P.) are only parties of constitutional opposition; they are not revolutionary parties. Larger and larger numbers are rejecting these parties and the student organizations connected with them. The student movement has been in the difficult position from the very beginning of having to fight not only the government, but also the traditional mass parties of the left.

Therefore the students have been searching for other organizational forms, rejecting many of the bad things about the traditional mass parties of the left. A new kind of left-militant is emerging from these experiences. There is a new consciousness in regard to the relationship between leaders and militants. Objectively, the student movement has rejected the bureaucratic structure of the Communist Party where a very small number of people decided everything, and the rank-and-file has no say.

The new kind of militant is not a person who is simply directed by a leadership that elaborates a political



line and then orders the rank-and-file into action. The new kind of militant is a person who participates in the discussions and the elaboration of the political line, and then carries it out himself also. He refuses to delegate to anyone else the responsibility for formulating political decisions.

Of course, this also explains why the political line of the struggle was initially not so well defined. Most of the students are new to politics and they are in the process of learning. It also explains the violence of the clashes that took place at Vallaguila. The thousands of students who were attacked by the police there, had also participated in making the decision to march to the College of Architecture and occupy the school. So when the police attacked, each one felt he or she had a personal stake in the decisions that had been made. They were conscious that they had to go on because they had decided along with thousands of others what to do.

Photo: During police assault on student demonstrators, police cars and buses, used to transport cops into the university, were summarily turned over and burned.

STUDENT UNREST IN ITALY

Mary-Alice Waters: What is the relationship between the current student struggles and the movement against the Vietnam war that has developed in Italy during the last three years?

Franco Russo: Many of the militants of the student movement have also been in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, of the struggle to aid the Vietnamese people. In Italy, this has not only been a struggle of solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution, but also one against our own government. Italy is part of NATO and directly tied to U.S. imperialism. The struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam has helped to raise the level of political consciousness among students, particularly on international questions. This is now beginning to be linked to domestic questions as well. The more clearly students view the unity of the class struggle on an international and domestic scale, the more conscious they are of the necessity to establish links with the working class and broader layers of the population who are beginning to struggle against the system.

STUDENT UNREST IN ITALY



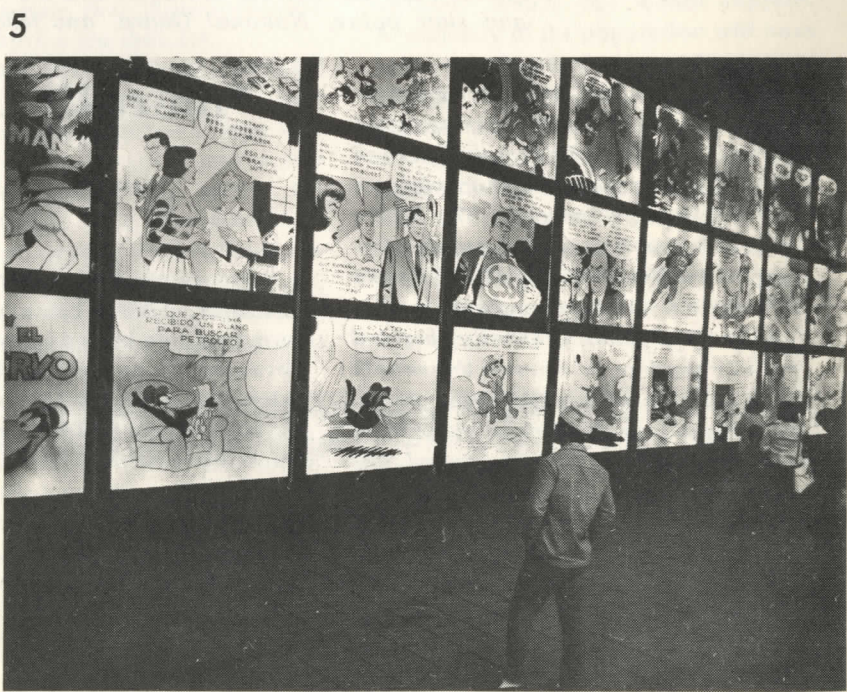
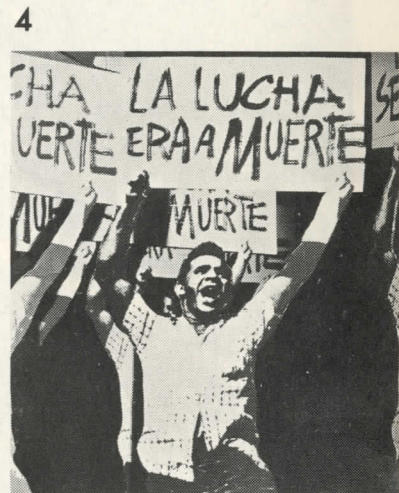
THE THIRD WORLD EXHIBIT

These two pages are devoted to photographs of the Third World Art Exhibit in Havana Cuba. The exhibit, prepared by a team of Cuban artists, occupies a pavilion a block long and a quarter block wide. The photographs were taken by Harry Ring and a professional photographer who visited

the pavilion with him. Harry Ring is a staff writer for *The Militant*, a weekly socialist newspaper in the United States. He has been traveling throughout Cuba for the past three months, giving on the spot coverage of the developments there for *The Militant*.



1. T.V. box alternated showing this youngster (above) of the colonial world and color advertisements for U.S. products.
2. A splendidous, pickle-pussed LBJ reaching out to create man in his own image— a second LBJ.



3. Part of a large cartoon panel (6). Superman is thinking: "I have to find out what is happening in the Third World. This is a job for Superman."
4. Section of an informational panel on Latin America.
5. The cartoon panel.

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A letter from our reader . . . and an answer .

WHO Is The Perpetrator of Violence?



Photo: 12th St., Detroit, Michigan was the scene of vicious attacks by city and state police, National Guard, and federal Army in summer of 1967.

This month, the Letters to the Editor column is devoted to a discussion raised by one of our readers on the question of evolution, revolution, and violence in revolutionary struggle. The Letters to the Editor has been a regular feature in the YOUNG SOCIALIST since it became a monthly magazine in May 1967. This column, usually reserved for our readers, is devoted this month to a discussion on questions raised traditionally in the radical movement. Dan Rosenshine, who answered this letter, is an editorial board member of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, and a National Executive Committee member of the YSA. We urge our readers to send in comments on this or any other article that appears in the YOUNG SOCIALIST publication. — ed.

“morally . . . a pacifist”

Kendall Park, New Jersey
February, 1968

After reading a selection of your literature, I have come to the conclusion that I do indeed support your platform, which to me is unclear. In short what are the means by which the socialist government will supplant the present capitalist system. I have inferred from your policy statement that the goal of the YSA is a social democracy. Fine, I agree. Yet, is the socialist machinery to be set in power through force, i.e. armed revolution, or through elections and other peaceful means, i.e. evolution?

Morally I am a pacifist. Although I do have reservations about the efficacy of evolution, I think that in the long run this method is the only acceptable one. If you advocate evolution consider me a member of the YSA. If revolution, sorry, but I'll have to find another organization.

I should clear up one point: I am willing to interpret evolution flexibly. I would, for example, consider a *bloodless* coup as a more or less evolutionary method. In short, revolution to me, implies blood; and blood baths, I'm not about to support.

Hope to hear from you soon.

R. M.

WHO Is The Perpetrator of Violence?



Photo: 12th St., Detroit, Michigan was the scene of vicious attacks by city and state police, National Guard, and federal Army in summer of 1967.

"... march of humanity"

New York, N. Y.
March, 1968

The questions you raise—"evolution," "revolution," "peaceful vs. violent change"—have long been subjects of debate and misunderstanding among American radicals. I agree that these concepts should be carefully defined by young socialists today.

The history of the twentieth century has been a history of the ruling capitalist classes violently fighting among themselves and against the oppressed of the world to maintain an outmoded and archaic system.

It has been a system that has produced two world wars culminating in the use of nuclear weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Its foremost defender, American imperialism is presently attempting to suppress the Vietnamese Revolution with the most barbaric methods yet used in warfare. And once again the use of nuclear weapons by the United States hangs over mankind as the rulers in Washington plunge blindly ahead in defense of their system.

The United States has militarily intervened in popular rebellions time and time again, such as in Guatemala in 1954, in the Congo in 1962 and in Santo Domingo in 1966. "... whatever the peril, whatever the costs," as John F. Kennedy said, the capitalists will defend their system.

But the "cost and peril" today are borne by millions of youth being drafted for use in Vietnam and future colonial interventions. Black freedom fighters also bear the "costs and peril" as they press forward in their struggle for self-determination. The legal harassment, police provocation and violence they face today is a direct continuation of the past four hundred years of racial oppression.

Capitalism has proven itself as incapable of progressive evolution as a dinosaur. A revolutionary transformation of society is necessary with the replacement of the capitalist system by another more suited to human needs. Planned production for use, not profit and workers democracy will usher in the next stage of human develop-

ment—an equalitarian, socialist society.

"All right," you might say, "if that's what you mean by revolution, I agree—socialism is necessary." But "is the socialist machinery to be set in power through force?"

We would prefer and we advocate a completely peaceful and bloodless socialist revolution in America. The election of a new government based upon the workers and intent upon socialism would be the most efficient and least costly method of social transformation. Such a government would begin by legally nationalizing the major industries, withdrawing all troops from foreign soil and upholding the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination.

But past experiences teach us that exploiting minorities have never abdicated power peacefully to the will of the people. There are a number of examples of this in both American and world history.

In 1861 the Southern slave-holders revolted against the majority policies represented by Lincoln. The civil war which ensued led to the revolutionary abolition of slavery—not the gradual limiting of it that Lincoln himself stood for. The Democratic-Republican compromise of 1876 instituted a reign of terror in order to deny black people the independent political power they were developing during Reconstruction. Historians estimate that thousands were lynched within a few decades.

In October 1917, when the socialist revolution took power in Russia, there were a minimum number of lives lost. But in order to maintain power and build a new constructive society, the Russian people had to defend their government against the combined onslaught of thirteen capitalist nations, including the United States, fighting on as many as twenty-one fronts for over

two years. The intervention of the capitalist powers led to the death of millions. The Bolsheviks finally won because they had both the support of the people and the determination to carry on against counter-revolution at all costs and by any means necessary.

The Cuban Revolution has faced similar counter-attacks from native and foreign reaction. The Cubans have been able to maintain their socialist revolution because they had no illusions about the nature of their enemy.

In the United States, would American "democratic" capitalism obey the wishes of a socialist-minded majority and allow itself to be voted out of power? Or do the lessons drawn from past and contemporary experiences indicate that the capitalists would initiate violence, attempting to dispense with democracy in order to save capitalism? In our opinion, the latter is the most likely variant.

It is certainly preferable to work for a revolution without bloodshed, but it would be a betrayal of mankind not to prepare the working class for self-defense against capitalist inspired violence. The greatest bloodbaths, such as Indonesia in 1965 and Germany in the thirties and forties, occurred when mass socialist and communist parties failed to do this.

You also mentioned in your query that you "... consider a *bloodless* coup as a more or less evolutionary method," which you would support. A majority of the population will have to be convinced of the need for radical change before a socialist revolution. Coups—bloodless or otherwise—are not realistic projections for changing society and should not be confused with a final "seizure of power" or "insurrection," the last stage in the development of a popular revolution. Coups, such as happen often in Latin America are the conspiratorial work of a mi-

— continued

I don't favor violence. If we could bring about recognition and respect of our people by peaceful means, well and good. Everybody would like to reach his objectives peacefully. But I'm also a realist. The only people in this country who are asked to be non-violent are black people. I've never heard anybody go to the Klu Klux Klan and teach them non-violence, or to the Birch Society and other right wing elements. Non-violence is only preached to black Americans and I don't go along with anyone who wants to teach our people non-violence until someone at the same time is teaching our enemy to be non-violent. I believe we should protect ourselves by any means necessary when we are attacked by racists. —Malcolm X

. . . more

nority, usually a section of the army, seeking to undemocratically impose its will. Socialism is not a conspiracy—it is a political program that represents the interests of the majority of the people.

Socialism and the struggle for socialism is the "march of humanity." In the Second Declaration of Havana, Fidel Castro dealt with the very question of revolution and violence: ". . . the development of history, the ascending march of humanity does not hold back, nor can it be held back. The forces which impell the people who are the real makers of history, determined by the material conditions of their existence and the aspirations for higher goals of well being and liberty, which emerge when the progress of man in the fields of science, technology

and culture make it possible, are superior to the will and the terror unleashed by the ruling oligarchies.

"The subjective conditions of each country, that is to say, the conscious factor—organization *and* leadership—can accelerate or retard the revolution, according to its greater or lesser degree of development; but sooner or later in each historical epoch, when the objective conditions mature, consciousness is acquired, the organization is formed, the leadership emerges and the revolution takes place.

"Whether this takes place peacefully or in a painful birth does not depend upon the revolutionists, it depends on the reactionary forces of the old society, who resist the birth of a new society engendered by the contradictions carried in the womb of the old society. The revolution is in history like the doctor who assists at the birth of a new life. It does not needlessly use the tools of

force, but will use them without hesitation whenever necessary to help the birth. A birth which brings to the enslaved and the exploited masses the hope of a new and better life.

"In many countries in Latin America, the revolution today is inevitable. That fact is not determined by anyone's will. It is determined by the horrifying conditions of exploitation in which American man lives . . ."

The struggle of the Latin American masses is part of world-wide struggle for socialism. Today in the belly of imperialism there is a new resurgence of radicalism among students, Afro-Americans and workers. Join us in the necessary effort to mobilize the American people in opposition to the Vietnam war, in support of the colonial revolution, in support of self-determination for black Americans, and for a socialist America.

Dan Rosenshine

IN MEMORIAM

The Death of a Revolutionary

One of the most beloved and respected veterans of American Marxism passed away from the arena of struggle when Rose Karsner Cannon, wife of James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party died at the age of seventy-eight. She had given sixty years of unflagging service to the cause of socialism, with four decades of these as a leading figure of the American Trotskyist movement.

Rose was born in Rumania in 1890. She came as a child with her family to the United States in the flood of immigration from Eastern Europe at the turn of the century. She entered political life at eighteen, when she joined the New York local of the Socialist Party after listening to a street corner rally during the election year of 1908. The party's presidential candidate that year was Eugene V. Debs. The socialist

leader made a profound impression upon the young woman worker living on New York's East Side as he did on that entire generation of labor militants in the United States. She participated in all his campaign appearances in the New York area as a salesman for *The Masses*. Rose became a personal friend of Debs following her marriage to Dave Karsner, a journalist who was Debs' first biographer.

A year after joining the Socialist Party, Rose became secretary of *The Masses*, a semi-official party publication which was later transformed into the most celebrated radical literary periodical in American history.

The mighty events of the first world war and the Russian Revolution produced the same upheaval in her political outlook as they did among her contemporaries. She was uplifted by the revolutionary fervor generated by the victory of October 1917 and convinced by the program of Bolshevism. From then until her death she considered herself a follower of Lenin as well as Marx.

In the ensuing split within American socialism, Rose unhesitatingly aligned

herself with the revolutionary left wing in forming the new Communist movement. She first met James P. Cannon in 1921 at the convention which unified the rival communist groups named the Communist Party and the United Communist Party. Cannon was part of the central leadership of the latter organization, while Rose had been assigned to take notes at the convention proceedings.

Rose subsequently took charge of the relief work of the newly established Friends of the Soviet Russia and was elected its National Secretary. The FSR collected half a million dollars worth of aid for the starving Soviet population and raised funds to buy the first American tractors for the Soviet Union under the slogan of "Tractors, Not Armaments."

In her next major assignment, she collaborated with James P. Cannon in launching the International Labor Defense which defended many class-war victims at home and abroad. One of its outstanding achievements was the immense national and international campaign organized under their direction on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.



ROSE KARSNER CANNON: 1890-1968

As a guest of the International Red Aid, Rose visited the Soviet Union from December 1924 to April 1925.

Although increasingly disquieted by certain inexplicable events within the American Communist Party, she did not clearly perceive the drift of developments within the Soviet Union until 1928. She was the first person to whom James P. Cannon showed the copy of Trotsky's *Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International*, which he had smuggled out of the Soviet Union. This important document had accidentally come into his

hands as a delegate member of the Program Commission of the Eighth Comintern Congress.

"After I finished reading it," she later recalled, "although I did not grasp its full implications, I did get the essence of it. My reaction was: now at last, light has been thrown on the troubles we, the American section, had been having with the Comintern."

Together with Cannon, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern, she was a founding member of the Left Opposition which became the Communist League of America after their expul-

sion from the American CP in 1928. She spent her next forty years in constant activity to reorient and reconstruct the revolutionary vanguard in the U. S.

During the first pioneering decade she discharged many responsibilities in the party center. She acted as business manager of *The Militant* and headed Pioneer Publishers. She met the second world war, as she had the first, with the attitude of a revolutionary Marxist. She took in stride the challenge posed by the convictions and subsequent imprisonment of James P. Cannon and seventeen other SWP and Minneapolis teamster leaders for their socialist opposition to the imperialist slaughter. She set an example for the party members in her speech at the farewell banquet in New York shortly before the eighteen went off to prison on January 1, 1944: "We will not mope. We will be more active in the movement than ever before and we will continue in this work until you return."

After the war ended, Rose served as secretary of the American Committee for European Workers Relief which provided aid for the antifascists and revolutionaries on that war-stricken continent.

In 1952, at the age of sixty-two, the Cannons moved from New York to Los Angeles where they made their home. She continued to participate in party life to the full measure of her capacities until the time of her death. In recent years she noted with intense interest and satisfaction the reunification of the Fourth International, the inspiring achievements of the Cuban Revolution, and the reinvigoration of American Trotskyism through the expansion of its young forces.

Next to Natalia Trotsky, Rose was more continuously and closely identified with the Trotskyist movement than any other woman comrade. She was loved for her warm and sympathetic character as much as she was admired for her fortitude in sustaining the revolutionary Marxist vanguard in the stronghold of imperialism over most of the turbulent twentieth century.

BY GEORGE NOVACK

... Black Nationalism and the American

Revolution

(continued from page 8)



Mothers of Harlem school children protest against racist demands of the teacher's union and raise the concept of black control of schools.

Party (FNP), only in Detroit was a large scale party built. In the process of gaining the 20,000 signatures necessary to place the party on the ballot, the FNP branched out to other Michigan cities. Thus the formation originally centered in Detroit, became the Michigan Freedom Now Party. The Michigan Freedom Now Party then fielded a slate of state-wide candidates in the summer of 1964. Around the same time, brother Malcolm X formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity, after which he again returned to Africa. Malcolm was viewed by most black nationalists as the one man that could solve the crisis of leadership in the ghetto.

In July of 1964, the nationalist movement came to an abrupt stop. It froze in its tracks. The crisis was precipitated by the nomination of Barry Goldwater for President by the Republican Party. Those nationalists who thought they could abstain from taking a position on the presidential elections were sadly mistaken. Nationalists, who posed no alternative to Goldwater, were caught up in the stampede into the camp of

Lyndon Baines Johnson. *Liberator* magazine, which had supported the formation of the FNP, grudgingly gave support to Johnson as the only alternative to Goldwater.

Some of the leaders of the Michigan Freedom Now Party generalized their independent political action onto a national scale and supported the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party—Clifton DeBerry and Ed Shaw. Malcolm more explicitly called Goldwater "the Wolf" and Johnson, "the Fox," rejecting both of them while in Africa. While Malcolm took this position, he did not object to his followers at home supporting DeBerry and Shaw. Support to the SWP campaign was limited and the bulk of the nationalist movement, without a national black party, stood by and gave tacit or overt support to LBJ. In the meantime most of the civil rights leaders jumped into Johnson's hip pocket.

Today, we have a similar situation. As in 1964, our campaign is the only alternative to the "Goldwater" who now sits in the White House. But there are

substantial differences between the situation today and that of 1964. The various tendencies in the radical movement know that LBJ can't be supported. They will be looking for something else. This fact alone will open to our campaign greater Afro-American support. The Socialist Workers campaign is the only ticket in the 1968 elections that supports and is campaigning for the idea of a black political party.

At present, the various alliances of big businessmen are trying to penetrate and pacify the ghetto. This is being attempted through opening up communications with the hitherto considered "irresponsible elements" in the black community. The best example of this type of action is here in Detroit. If you had told Henry Ford II two years ago that he would be sitting down talking shop with the Rev. Albert B. Cleage, he would have declared that you were out of your mind. Today Henry Ford II talks shop with Cleage because Cleage represents the explosive feelings and aspirations of the black community.

Since the nationalists have a mass following and influence in the ghetto, big business and its government cannot easily write them off. Instead big business and its government are attempting to co-opt and buy off the influential nationalist leaders. The leading agency in this field is the Ford Foundation.

●McGeorge Bundy, chairman of the Foundation, recently drew up a plan for decentralization of the New York Public School system. Decentralization, or community control, was what many Harlem nationalists have been demanding.

●At the beginning of the summer in 1967, the Ford Foundation handed \$175,000 dollars to Cleveland CORE

APRIL 1968

(Congress of Racial Equality) to keep Hough [a black ghetto in Cleveland, Ohio] quiet. This money was used to get CORE out of debt and was used by Cleveland CORE to help elect Carl Stokes as mayor of Cleveland.

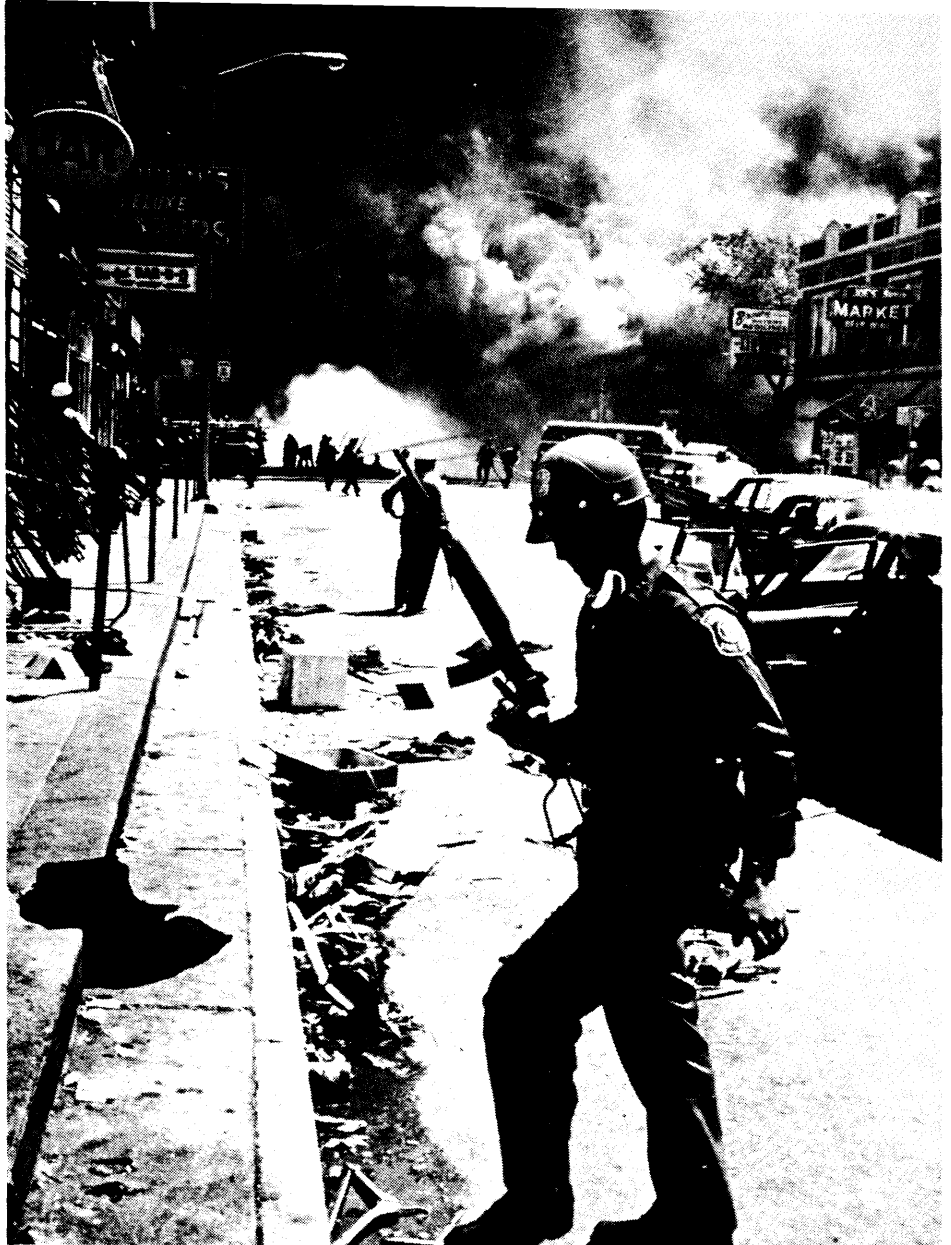
● In January, it was disclosed that the Ford Foundation had granted SCLC \$230,000 for use in training black ministers in "urban leadership" to help solve the "crisis in the cities." This money will also be used by Martin Luther King to launch the April March on Washington for "jobs or income."

● However not all goes well with the Foundation. Last month Reverend Cleage, head of the Citizens Citywide Action Committee and the Federation for Self-Determination, announced his rejection of \$100,000 from the Ford Foundation because of the strings attached to it. Floyd McKissick flew to Detroit and backed up Cleage in this open rejection.

The attempts at coalition between big business and the black nationalists will never be stable. There will be too much pressure from the masses. Big business, though, has more in mind than just pacifying the ghetto. It wants to keep the black community from breaking with the Democratic Party. The existence of many community based nationalist organizations makes it possible for independent black political action to be expressed electorally on a local scale. The intent of big business is to make sure that any political action on an electoral level is channelled into the Democratic Party. But despite this effort, it is possible that a few of the nationalist organizations will run independent congressional candidates in 1968. Afro-American support for Halstead and Boutelle will increase as these local independent campaigns are mounted.

The problem that the Detroit nationalist movement and organizations such as CORE face is the question of supporting a local black Democrat. This immediately places them in the untenable bind of justifying their support to the local Democratic candidate and skirting the issue of supporting Johnson, the head of the Democratic Party.

Revolutionary nationalists also face the possibility of being sucked into supporting a "Peace and Freedom"



Detroit, U. S. A.

ticket or some variant of liberal capitalist politics. Supporters of the "peace and freedom" tickets are using the argument that these kinds of formations are the only way to fight government assaults on the antiwar and black movements. They use this argument to divert black radicals away from organizing an independent black party or running independent black tickets.

In light of these developments and forecasts, the Halstead and Boutelle campaign assumes just that much more importance. "Peace and Freedom" will not campaign for the formation of a black political party and neither will the Democrats. Just saying black control of black communities isn't enough. You must point out how that control can be achieved. No election campaign except the Socialist Workers

ticket really supports the right of the black nation to self-determination.

Since the last YSA Convention, the number of black YSAers has substantially increased. This can be attributed to the nationalist and student radicalization now shaking the country. This is a very important growth because the number and caliber of black revolutionary socialists will be crucial in the building of a black political party and the construction of a revolutionary black leadership. Black nationalists who are revolutionary socialists will be the best and most consistent of the nationalists. This has been proven historically and in our epoch in such places as Cuba, Vietnam and China. The best nationalists in Asia, Africa and Latin America are revolutionary socialists and communists.

Among the nationalist tendencies in the United States, that tendency most oriented toward socialism is the most consistent. SNCC and CORE are both black nationalist organizations, yet they supported different sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. SNCC, because it adopts a revolutionary nationalist position, supported the Arabs in their fight against Israel, the agents of US imperialism in the Mideast. McKissick, head of CORE, announced at the National Conference for New Politics Convention in Chicago, his support of Israel on the simple basis that the Zionists are nationalists. The Arabs are nationalists too.

The point is which group enhances the struggle against imperialism.

In the case of the election of Stokes in Cleveland and Hatcher in Gary, CORE adopted the simple nationalist position that Stokes must be supported because he is black. H. Rap Brown called Stokes a "neo-colonial Tom," and said that both Stokes and Hatcher were in the same party as Lyndon B. Johnson. CORE assumes that if you are black you are all right. SNCC, because of its internationalist orientation says not only must you be black, but you must

be independent of the ruling class. This is the difference between plain black nationalism and revolutionary black nationalism.

Through this type of analysis we can begin to understand what the strategy of the revolutionary black nationalist who considers his aim socialism should be. In constructing his strategy, the revolutionary nationalist or black socialist has to depart from the "Third World." In the "Third World" the colonial people are geographically separated from imperialism. The peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute nations that have their own national bourgeoisie. The task of revolutionary nationalists in these countries is to build Marxist-Leninist parties based on the workers and peasants to conduct a two-pronged struggle against imperialism and the national bourgeoisie.

In this country there is no significant national black bourgeoisie. The black masses are overwhelmingly proletarian in their composition and live within the imperialist country. The immediate enemy of both the white proletariat and the oppressed black nation is the imperialist government. Cuba could achieve

self-determination without a fundamental change in the system in the United States. For the oppressed black nation there can be no self-determination without a socialist transformation of American society. Therefore, revolutionary nationalists must map out a strategy to divide the oppressing white nation and organize the oppressed black nation for the struggle for self-determination.

The white population will split along class lines during a revolutionary struggle and it is imperative for white workers organized in their own organizations of struggle to unite with independent organizations of the black community. This is a practical necessity if the capitalist class is to be removed; but it is possible only if the white working class unconditionally supports the right of the black community to self-determination. This unity will be forged only if a revolutionary socialist organization—a vanguard organization—composed of the most politically advanced black and white workers is built and leads the struggle for power.

To organize the oppressed black nation into the struggle for self-determination, a black political party is needed—a party that is based on the black



Patrice Lumumba, martyred leader of the revolutionary struggle in the Congo was a victim of capitalist inspired violence and terrorism in an attempt to stem the tide of the African Revolution. Lumumba is seated here in a jeep, hands bound, just prior to his assassination.

people being oppressed because they are black, despite their class oppression. A black political party reflects the fact that the masses of black people will enter the struggle against capitalism through a national awakening.

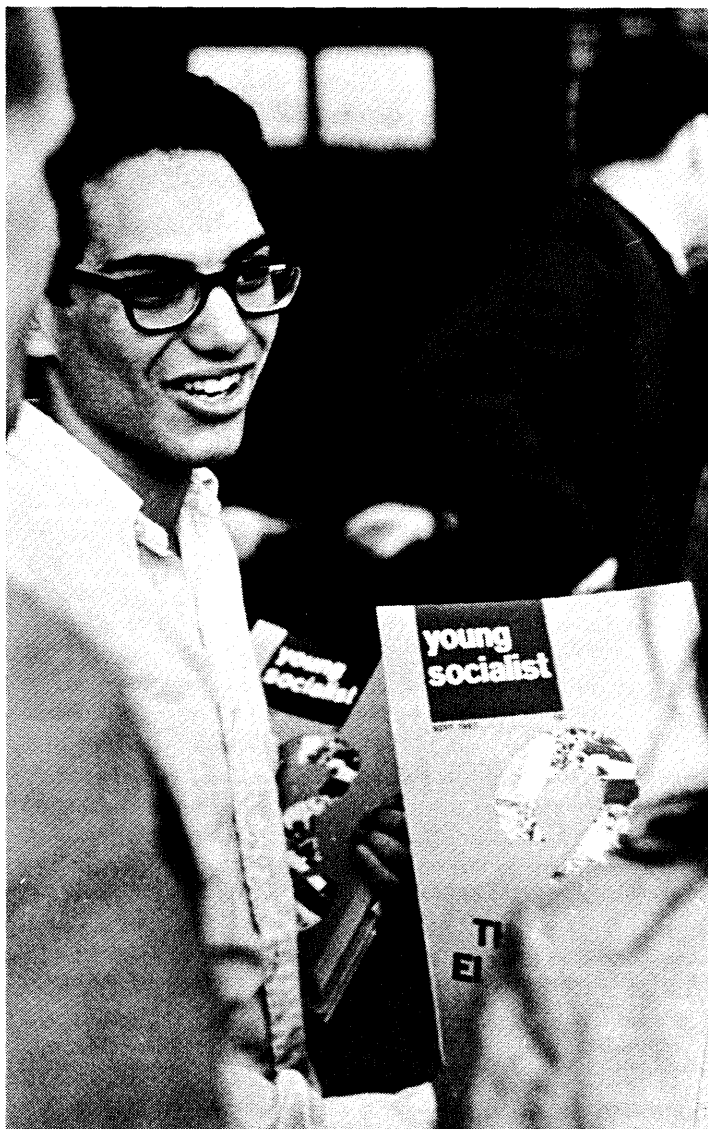
The building of a mass black political party will have the effect of breaking the political monopoly of the Republican and Democratic parties. The break-up of this political monopoly will have the effect of forcing white workers to take the road of independent political action. When white workers embark on such a political course, this will contribute to the division and regroupment of whites along revolutionary lines. This division will further strengthen the powerful black minority.

Because the perspective of building

the vanguard Marxist youth organization and readying the black nation for the struggle for self-determination is one of great magnitude, the corresponding obstacles and difficulties in the path of such a perspective will also be great. To cope with these difficulties and remove the obstacles, black revolutionary socialists will have to develop their understanding of revolutionary socialist ideas rapidly. To be able to explain the socialist program to both black and white radicals will require that the black vanguard give special attention to socialist education. Ultimately, it is only Afro-Americans who can accomplish the Afro-Americanization of Marxism.

At the same time white revolutionaries must not fall in line with the sentiment that is widespread among

white radicals. That is a sentiment that assigns the role of white radicals exclusively to the white community. This role is assigned with the idea that white radicals have really nothing to offer the black struggle. What we have to offer black radicals is Revolutionary Marxism. Marxism is the set of tools that are indispensable in analyzing capitalist society. We are the ones who have inherited the legacy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We want to share this Marxist tradition with as many people as possible. We attempt to build a unity of black and white radicals on the basis of class struggle program. Echoing some of Carmichael's statements abroad, the only real unity among black and white militants can occur in the struggle for socialism.



IF YOU SUPPORT:

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- Black Power
- Socialist Candidates
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Join the Young Socialist Alliance

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN JOINING OR LEARNING ABOUT THE YSA WRITE TO YSA, P.O. BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N. Y., N. Y. 10003 OR

Meet Young Socialists in your Area

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ATASCADERO: Bill Blau, P. O. Box 1061, Atascadero, Calif., 93422, tel. (805) 466-9635

BERKELEY: YSA, 2915a Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Calif., 94704, tel. (415) 849-1032

U. of California: Carl Frank, tel. (415) 549-0308

Oakland High School: Linda Richardson, 4055 Lakeshore, Oakland, Calif., 94610, tel. 452-4264

Merrit City College: Jaimey Allen, 1934 Parker, Berkeley, California, tel. (415) 845-2149

Laney College: Susan Montauk, 1130 E. 28th St., Oakland, Calif., tel. (415) 536-2865

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 S. F. City College: Jim Miller, 3641 16th St., S.F., Calif., tel. (415) 626-2011
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 Brandeis U.: Nat London, 116 Kinnard St., Cambridge, Mass., 02139, tel. (617) 547-5360
 Harvard U.: John Barzman, 608 Franklin St., Cambridge, Mass., 02139, tel. (617) 868-3021
 MIT: Tom Fiske, 42 Bigelow St., Cambridge, Mass., tel. (617) 876-5930
PITTSFIELD: Alec Harper, Miss Hall's School, Pittsfield, Mass., 01201, tel. (413) 528-1928

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 Cass Technical High School: Dave Watson, tel. (313) PR 8-3947
 Ford High School: Bob Brenner, tel. (313) TE 1-6135
EAST LANSING: Michigan State U.: Ginny Osteen, 611 W. Holden Hall, tel. 353-5870

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 Minneapolis Central High School: Bill Scheer, 3829 Oakland Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn., 55413, tel. (612) TA 5-0880
 University High School: Charles Hayman-Chaffey, 2420 Seabury Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn., 55406, tel. (612) 721-7711
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...Notes

(continued from p. 2)

"I Pledge Allegiance. . .": The Northport, Long Island, N. Y. School Board will soon enact a rule providing disciplinary action for all students who refuse to salute the flag for other than religious reasons. The rule resulted when several students refrained from this daily ceremony to dramatize their strong opposition to the Vietnam war.

The Real War Machine: In an effort to figure the whole thing out, Pentagon experts are submitting a research budget of \$8 billion for fiscal 1969 which will include substantial funds allotted to install a computer center that could predict "trouble spots" in the pacification program. This will purportedly "add . . . a capability for reporting, reacting to, and anticipating acts of Vietcong violence and terrorism." Maybe a new and growing antiwar group in New York, the Computer Professionals for Peace, can feed the machine a piece of information that will save the Pentagon a lot of trouble—namely, the Vietnamese people won't be "pacified" until all US troops are withdrawn from Vietnam.

Little Red Book of the Month: "Let workers, peasants, housewives, Republicans study, memorize, and digest the exhortations of Chairman Johnson." Thus, the authors of the newly-published *Quotes from Chairman LBJ* introduce their new work. Pocket-sized and sporting a cover photo of the grinning Johnson in a Mandarin Mao jacket, this little red book is designed to immortalize the Chairman through a sampling of some 350 incisive sayings destined to become American axioms. To wit:—"I'm not smart enough to make a President."—"Don't spit in the soup. We've all got to eat."—"You're daddy may go down in history as having started World War III." And in closing, "As we go down the long, winding, uphill trail of the greater society, a better America, a place where every family has a roof over its head . . . where there is a rug on the floor and a picture on the wall and a little music in the house—let's stand up behind the leadership of your country which says: Tomorrow will be better than yesterday."

Johnson Blackballed: "Tuesday night the brothers of Adelphi Epsilon Pi (AEPi) fraternity unanimously voted to blackball President Johnson. Johnson has been an honorary brother of the fraternity since 1964 when he visited the campus [Temple U] during his Philadelphia presidential campaign. One of the AEPi pledges Neil Alper '68, became the most popular pledge in the fraternity house when he handed his dink to President Johnson. Johnson first wore the dink and then gave it to Albert M. Greenfield, former University trustee, now deceased.

"When Johnson accepted the dink he said, 'I wish I was back where you are.' The brotherhood of AEPi then sent him a telegram informing him he was an honorary brother. Johnson had been a brother ever since. The President was blackballed for conduct unbecoming a brother, and action detrimental to the fraternity, which includes drafting of seniors, said Mike Gurainick, '68, president of AEPi . . ."— *Temple University NEWS*, February 29, 1968.

It's Bound to Improve? As LBJ was addressing the Veterans of Foreign Wars March 12, 1968, the evening of the New Hampshire primary, he related a discussion he had that day with the Lady Bird. "Mrs. Johnson and I were watching some of the early returns from the New Hampshire primary today. Nixon had 25 votes and I as yet had none. I turned to Mrs. Johnson and asked her what she thought of that. 'It's bound to improve,' she said."

Young Socialist Alliance Issues Press Release in Defense of Puerto Rican Youth: "Five leaders of the Youth Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (JMPI) have been arrested and charged with violating the selective security act by calling on Puerto Rican Youth not to serve in the U. S. Armed Forces. The JMPI has been in the forefront of the struggle against the war in Vietnam in Puerto Rico. The harrassment of the leaders of the JMPI is another in a long list of attacks on the antiwar movement. These attacks have not and will not stem the tide of mounting mass opposition to the Vietnam war. The Young Socialist Alliance supports and joins in with the defense efforts of these five and urges all organizations to join in a united defense effort of these Puerto Rican youth. An attack on one section of the antiwar movement is an attack on all!"

Antiwar GI Discharged: A victory for freedom of speech for GIs was won March 15 when Pfc. Howard Petrick was discharged from the Army. He was given, though, an undesirable discharge on the grounds that he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He will now begin a legal battle in the civilian courts to obtain an honorable discharge, thereby forcing the Army to grant him his Constitutional rights. Howard will begin a national speaking tour discussing antiwar sentiment in the Armed Forces and gaining support for his defense. The tour will be sponsored by the Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick, established while Howard was in the Army when threatened with court-martial for his socialist and antiwar views. For further information write: Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick, Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y., 10003.

— JOANNA MISNIK



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