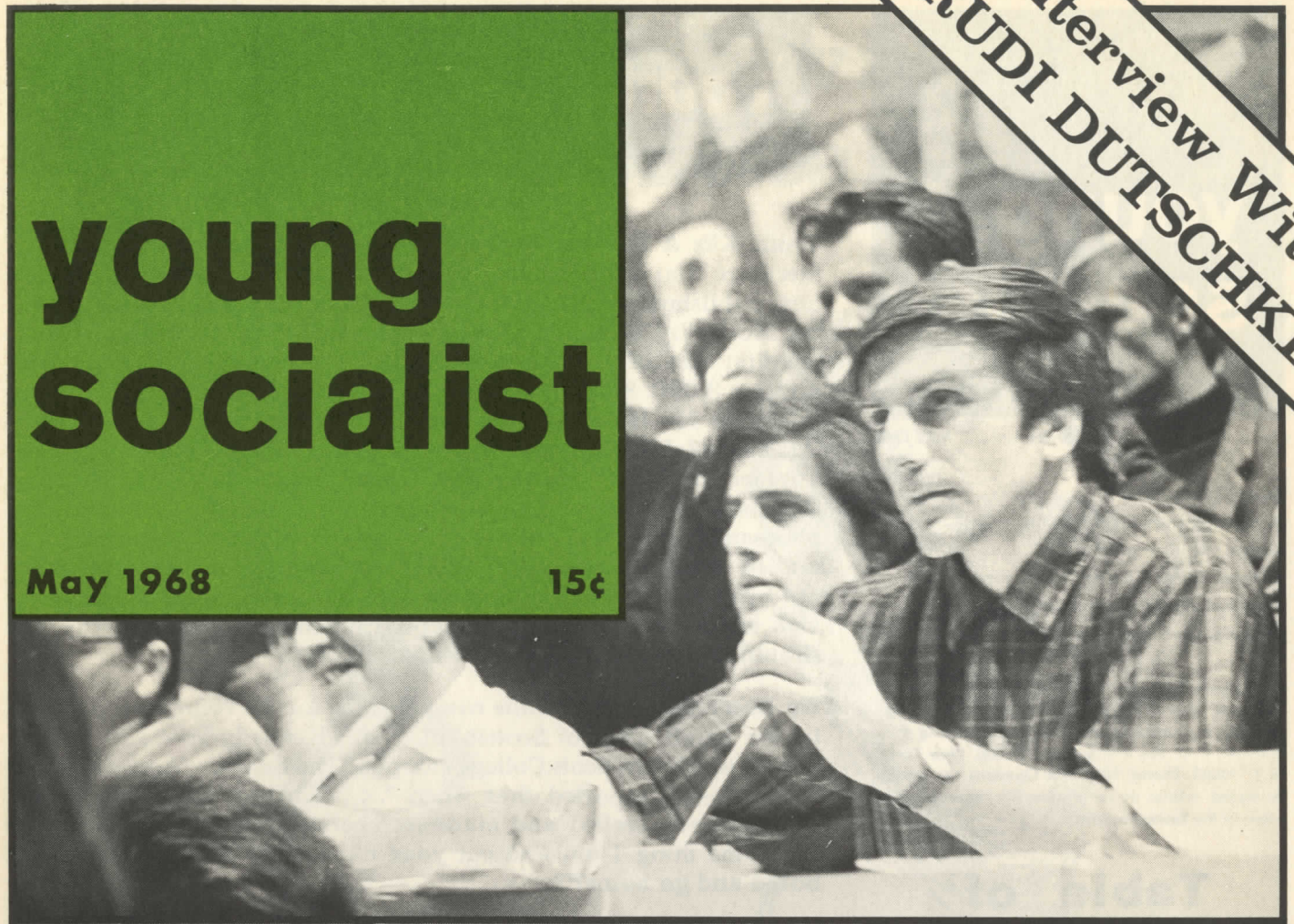


Interview With
RUDI DUTSCHKE

young socialist

May 1968

15¢



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In this issue

COVER PHOTOS: Rudi Dutschke speaking at European-wide conference in support of the Vietnamese revolution. (TOP—photo by Mary-Alice Waters). Rally at Columbia University. (BOTTOM—photo by Hermes).

HOWARD REED was on the scene reporter for **THE MILITANT** a weekly socialist newspaper during the recent strike of the Memphis sanitation workers. He visited Memphis twice—prior to and after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. He has written many other articles

Truth Kits A Success: Probably one of the most popular pieces of literature that the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee has published in the past few months is a 16-page "Truth About the McCarthy Campaign," which sells for 25 cents. Within a week, the first run of 3,000 was sold out. The committee has now run another 3,000. Sales of the pamphlet are a regular activity of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle—especially at meetings of the "McKennedy" supporters. The campaign committee plans to publish another "truth kit," dealing with Kennedy as well. The Citizens for Kennedy, an independent committee for Kennedy in New York, photostated the McCarthy voting record included in our kit and mailed them to known McCarthy supporters. But these pamphlets not only expose the voting records of Kennedy and McCarthy, but also expose the record of all capitalist politics and show why one should vote for Halstead and Boutelle.

We Don't Get Bored! While campaigning for the Nebraska primary in the small town of Scottsbluff, Neb., Kennedy spoke to a large crowd at Hiram Scott College campus. The Sunday, April 21, *New York Times*, reported that when ". . . heckling got obstreperous, Mr. Kennedy smiled and made such comments as, 'You should do the same thing I did and cut your hair,' and 'Why don't you get bored and go home?'"

Straight Talk From Another Peace Candidate: Governor Rockefeller has indicated that he might very well be the man most able to "save America" in the next elections. His statement on the war to a news conference held in New York on March 21 provides the programmatic clarity necessary to preserve American imperialism in the next four years. ". . . my position on Vietnam is very simple. And I feel this way—I haven't spoken on it because I haven't felt there was any major contribution that I had to make at the time. I think that our concepts as a nation, and that our actions, have not kept pace with the changing conditions. And therefore our actions are not completely relevant today to the realities of the magnitude and the complexity of the problems that we face in this conflict."

Confrontation With a 'Peace' Candidate: The *Harvard Crimson*, one of the largest daily campus newspapers in the country printed

continued on page 22

on the labor struggles today for **THE MILITANT**.

MARY-Alice Waters is national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and an editorial board member of the **YOUNG SOCIALIST** magazine. She is the author of a 24-page pamphlet, **GIs AND THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR** and has been a frequent contributor to the **YS**.

RUDI DUTSCHKE is the theoretical and practical leader of the German Socialist Students Federation (SDS). He played a leading role in the organization of the European wide demonstration and conference, February 17-18 in West Berlin, in support of the Vietnamese Revolution. His name has become very familiar to students in the United States with the recent attempt on his life in W. Berlin.

Lesser Evil Politics: Political Disaster



BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

"It has amazed me that so many college students are so callous to the war that they think they have the luxury of supporting someone who stands a ghost of a chance of winning. If they want to campaign for someone with no chance to change policy but a brilliance in exposing it, let them work for Dick Gregory. If they want to end the war, let them work for Bobby Kennedy."

Such was the advice of Martin Gottlieb, a student at Queens College in New York, in an article written for the college newspaper, *Phoenix*, on March 19. The main purpose of the article was to convince students that it was wrong to work for McCarthy because he couldn't possibly unseat Lyndon Johnson from the Democratic nomination. Appealing to the guiding spirit of American philosophy, he concluded: "Hopefully, pragmatism will prevail over a phony morality. Hopefully, college students will see that there is only one chance for them to escape the possibility of being sent to Vietnam. Bobby Kennedy is this chance."

The framework of these remarks has been somewhat altered by Johnson's declination of the nomination. However, stated in one form or another,



this is probably the most commonly heard argument in favor of supporting liberal candidates of the capitalist class, in this election or any other. While never claiming that Bobby Kennedy, or Eugene McCarthy (or, as in 1964, Lyndon Johnson) are gems of shining virtue or about to usher in the millennium, this line of reasoning argues that they are better than the other choices on the scene and therefore, in the name of practical politics, should be supported. In other words, it is the classical "lesser evil" politics theory.

Even the God of pragmatism to whom they appeal is a hard master to please. The irony of this whole course of argument is that one of its most damaging refutations is found in the "pragmatism" to which they appeal. The dictionary defines pragmatism as "an American movement in philosophy . . . marked by the doctrines that the mean-

Lesser Evil Politics . . .

ing of conceptions is to be sought in their practical bearings, that the function of thought is as a guide to action, and that the truth is preeminently to be tested by the practical consequences of belief." The plain truth is that if you test the theory of lesser evil politics by its practical consequences no one who really wants to work for radical social change, toward the development of a better world, or simply to bring the troops home and to end the Vietnam war, can possibly advocate such a course of action as supporting Lyndon Johnson in 1964, Robert Eugene McKennedy in 1968 or any other capitalist candidate.

What has been the record of "lesser evilism?" What are the historical precedents to which we can look? Is there any reason to believe that Kennedy or McCarthy have solutions to the problems that face the American people today?

Let's begin by simply taking a look at their stated positions on the major issues today. That in itself may even surprise some.

First, while Kennedy and McCarthy have both voiced statements criticizing the present administration's war strategy and tactics, what is their perspective on ending the Vietnam war?

McCarthy has been quite specific. He has called for "scaled down fighting and gradual negotiations while there is phased de-escalation. I'm for the evacuation of some areas as we try to work out pacification." (*New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1967) At a November 30 press conference last year, McCarthy had the following comment on Johnson's statement that he would withdraw American troops within six months after negotiations. "I think I would advise him against moving that fast. I would put the limit at five years."

Kennedy also, in his Senate speech of March 1967, when he decided US interests abroad could be better defended by criticizing Johnson, stated quite clearly his opposition to the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination. "Nearly all Americans share with us the determination and intention to remain in Vietnam until we have fulfilled our commitments. There is no danger of any divisions—in this Chamber or in this country—now or in the future—which will erode American will and compel American withdrawal."

Both Kennedy and McCarthy have voted without fail in favor of every military appropriations bill for the war, for extending the draft, both voted for the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in 1964, both backed the Korean War and have been consistent supporters of the cold war foreign policy of US imperialism around the globe.

Second, do either Kennedy or McCarthy support the demands of the black population for control over their own communities? Do they support the constitutional right of black Americans to arm themselves in self-defense against racist violence?

Kennedy's record as Attorney General is well known. His refusal to provide any protection for civil rights workers in the South, much less Afro-Americans living in the South, was certainly an important factor in the murder of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner in Mississippi in 1964. He also was responsible for the appointment of the notorious Judge Cox in Mississippi who "tried" their murderers.

Last summer, in a hearing before the New York City Council, Kennedy endorsed the pending gun control legislation which would deny Afro-Americans the right to self-defense, saying, ". . . if we do not pass these laws we sign the death warrant of more policemen [!] and more children who will be caught in tomorrow's crossfires [!]." (If one compares the number of cops killed in recent ghetto rebellions to the number of Afro-Americans, the surprising absence of any "crossfire" is quite obvious.)

Senator McCarthy's record on the black struggle is certainly no better, and no worse. His reluctance to offend his white racist supporters by holding campaign meetings in the black communities has already occasioned at least one headline-making scandal—the resignation of his two chief press secretaries. At a news conference in Charleston, West Virginia, April 16, McCarthy praised the police and National Guard for their "almost ideal" actions during the recent ghetto rebellions.

Perhaps his attitude can best be summed up by the answer he gave at a meeting where he was asked if he planned to seek the support of black civil rights militants for his campaign. Looking out over an audience of some 500 supporters, of whom maybe five were black, he remarked: "This group looks militant enough to me, a pretty bold group." (*New York Times*, December 4, 1967)

Third, where do the good senators stand on civil liberties issues? Again, Kennedy has had ample opportunity to put his notion of civil liberties into action during his long legal career on Capitol Hill—beginning with a staff position on the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigation, then headed by Sen. Joseph McCarthy. As Attorney General he railroaded Hoffa to jail in a union busting drive, and became well known for his authorizations of wire-tapping in cases the Justice Department was prosecuting.

McCarthy, too, has had a clear record. As a member of the House of Representatives he consistently voted for every appropriation to keep the House Un-American Activities Committee

(HUAC) in business, for every contempt of Congress citation brought against HUAC witnesses, and for the Student Loyalty Oath Bill requiring all recipients of federal assistance under the National Defense Education Act to sign a loyalty oath.

These are the records of McCarthy and Kennedy on three issues which are of central importance not only to radicals in the US today, but to liberals as well. Despite pretenses of being genuinely opposed to US involvement in Vietnam, against racism, and in favor of civil liberties for all, their actual records belie them. In reality, both are *for* the war in Vietnam but *against* the way the Administration is presently carrying it out; both are in favor of policies which will perpetuate the current living conditions of black Americans and intensify the brutality of the repression of ghetto rebellions; both could be expected to wage campaigns against basic civil liberties.

In other words, as McCarthy summed it up in a speech at the University of California in Berkeley in response to a question about the differences between himself and Kennedy, "He's 42 years old."

For many even this brief sketch of the political views of the McKennedy's will be enough to convince them that the Democratic Party liberals will hardly lead US society on a new course. Others will continue to argue, "It's still better than a Johnson or a Nixon." This is the kind of tortured logic which insists that it is better to fight for what you

don't want, and get it, than to fight for what you do want and not get it— at least not yet.

The basic question comes down to one of how to change society, and it is those who argue for "lesser evilism" who must bear the burden of proof. Every conclusion one can draw from the history of the last four decades is that victorious "lesser evils," from Roosevelt through Johnson, bring only more evil and certainly no positive good. After the three most devastating and bloody wars in the history of mankind, almost a decade of witchhunt and repression, and living conditions for black Americans *deteriorating* in relation to white America—nobody can claim that "lesser evilism" brings peace, prosperity, and progress.

But, does it even forestall the "greater evil" as its proponents claim? For instance, if Nixon had been elected in 1960 instead of Kennedy, would something worse than the attempted invasion of Cuba, and the missile crisis have occurred? It is not inconceivable, but in reality, the primary deterrent influence on Kennedy was not the fact he had been elected with liberal, and even so-called "radical" support, but the fact that the Cuban people were armed and ready to fight to the last man to preserve their newly won independence from the US. In other words, the fact that there was an independent, organized, conscious force opposing them meant that the US rulers could not simply have their own way.

Would it have been worse if Goldwater had been

Halstead for President Boutelle for Vice-President



photo by Hermes

YSHBers man literature table at April 3 Resistance Demonstration in Boston, Mass.

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elected in 1964 rather than Johnson? Even in 1964, while Johnson was running as a "peace" candidate he was already carrying out Goldwater's war policy. During the last four years he was certainly not deterred by the fact that he was elected by the biggest majority in the history of American presidential elections as a "peace" candidate. Aside from the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, Johnson's war policies have been deterred by one central factor—the American antiwar movement. The existence of a strong, independent force, over which the American rulers have no control and with which they have to contend has been the most important counterweight

counterweight to their calculated escalation of death and destruction in Vietnam. The ability of the antiwar movement to mobilize hundreds of thousands of Americans behind the demand of immediate withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam was a fact that continuously forced the government to weigh the political impact of its decisions carefully. It was this that made the McKennedys decide to enter the race for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, and it was this that made Johnson decide not to risk his historical rating any further.

For antiwar forces to turn around and now support one of these characters who are trying to ride our coattails, would not be an extension of our antiwar fight, but a betrayal of everything we have worked for so far.

The McKennedys have made it absolutely crystal clear that their intention is to undercut the antiwar movement, take it off the streets and into the safe arena of Democratic Party politics where they can begin to control it in the way they never can so long as it remains independent and outside of their restricted framework.

Far from it being the Bobby Kennedy's who will end the war, it is only our continued actions in the streets, which the Kennedys fear so much, that will bring an end to the war and the withdrawal of US troops. The mere threat of thousands of voters deserting the Democratic Party in 1968 because of opposition to the Vietnam war has already brought a major shake-up in the here-to-fore well-oiled machine. When these thousands actually do break with the capitalist parties and use their power to construct a black party supported by and in the interests of Afro-Americans and a labor party based on and responsible to the trade unions, that is when the potential death grip of the Kennedys and Johnsons and Rockefellers will be broken. That is the "pragmatic" truth which the Martin Gottleibs are often blind too.

As one result of "lesser evilism," the entire axis of capitalist politics in American has moved steadily to the right over the last 30 years. Because many

who consider themselves radicals have refused to work to build an independent base, for decades there has been no mass political expression of the needs and aspirations of American workers and Afro-Americans. Today with the development of the black power movement and the antiwar movement, this is beginning to change. These *political* movements with mass appeal and the potential of organizing a mass base have already helped produce the crisis in the American ruling class that has marked the events of the last few weeks.

But this is only the beginning of a development that could produce much deeper repercussions in American political life. When Afro-American and white American workers begin to recognize the fraud of the two-party con game that has been perpetrated on them for so long, when they begin to construct mass parties to parallel and express the demands of the growing mass political actions already taking place—then there will be a real force capable of fighting for fundamental changes in American society.

Socialists and radicals who agree with the perspective of working toward such formations, who agree with the necessity of beginning the fight for them now, do have a way of expressing this in action. They can do this by building the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign for Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, a campaign that carries precisely these ideas to millions of Americans. It is a campaign that stands for fundamental changes in US society—for a socialist America and a socialist world.

By beginning now to construct a concrete alternative to the forces of "lesser evil" and "greater evil," the Tweedledum-Tweedledee electoral monopoly in American politics can be broken. But it will not be an easy task and it is not a job for faint-hearted reformers who think that the millionaires, multi-millionaires and billionaires who run the two capitalist parties are going to do anything that will cut across their vital interests. It is not that they are necessarily sincere or insincere, for peace and progress or against it. But whether liberal or reactionary, they are still committed to preserving the basic economic and social system in this country, and the needs of preserving the system are much more powerful than the subjective wishes of any individual.

What is needed is a complete break from the political parties that propose to provide new housing in the slums by giving slumlords "investment incentives;" that "defend freedom" by directing the destruction of an entire country; that maintain their power through deception and force, using varying quantities of each depending on the needs.



March 30, Memphis: National Guardsmen with fixed bayonets and armed personnel carriers block streets as protesters march in support of sanitation workers' strike.

The Memphis Strike: Victory

BY HOWARD REED

In face of every union busting technique that the Southern racists could muster, the ten week strike of the Memphis sanitation workers has been won. The union gained its essential demands of recognition from the city and dues check off. The workers have also gained a fifteen cents an hour wage increase (ten cents an hour on May 1 and an additional five cent increase on September 1), a fourteen month contract and promotions based on seniority. The average wage of the sanitation worker in Memphis is now \$1.85 an hour. By the end of the drive, it had gained the support of the black community and the labor movement all across the country.

Martin Luther King was murdered in Memphis while demonstrating solid support for the strike. Sixteen-year-old Larry Payne was killed and four other demonstrators shot March 28 when police brutally attacked a demonstration led by King in support of the sanitation workers. Cops had con-

sistently clubbed and Mace strikers and their supporters for the last two months—including high school students. Thousands of National Guardsmen and 7:00 P.M. curfews had become a regular occurrence.

* * *

On January 31, twenty-two black employees of the Memphis Department of Public Workers were sent home because it was raining. White employees were not sent home. After an hour, when it stopped raining, whites were put back to work and received a full day's pay. The strike from its inception was part of a larger struggle of the black people against racial oppression.

The black sanitation workers voted on February 12 to strike. On February 17, five days after the strike began, 3,500 persons gathered in the Mason Temple in Memphis to hear ministers and union officials explain why the men were on strike. Food was collected and contributed to 150

families. On the same day, the NAACP threatened massive demonstrations unless the demands of the strikers were met. Within a week it became clear that the strike had the support of the entire black community.

One hundred and fifty black ministers formed an organization called COME (Community on the Move for Equality). Meetings were held every night in black churches to raise money for the strikers. Daily marches led by union officials and ministers publicized the strike and the issues involved.

On February 23, after the City Council refused to consider the issues in the strike, thousands of people marched down Main Street in Memphis. They were met with clubs and Mace. Police cars crowded the marchers, and one squad car parked on a woman's foot until three men forced the car to move.

Sunday, February 25, the black ministers declared from their pulpits a boycott of all downtown and



March 30, Memphis: National Guardsmen with fixed bayonets and armed personnel carriers block streets as protesters march in support of sanitation workers' strike.

branches of all firms operated by city councilmen. They also called for mobilizations of the other 18,000 city employees of Memphis at nightly mass meetings at the Clayborn Temple, headquarters for the strike. Boycotts of Memphis' two daily newspapers, which had given racist accounts of the strike were also organized. Groups of people were assigned to move through the black neighborhoods to inform people of the issues of the strike.

Mayor Henry Loeb of Memphis was the main target of the workers. He had been elected the previous October, with 98% of the black community voting against him. Almost one half of Memphis' 500,000 residents are black, but Loeb consistently ignored the demands of the black community. In negotiations, according to union officials, he repeatedly said, "You did not elect me; I don't have to listen to you." Loeb's brother owns a chain of laundries and barbecue restaurants in Memphis, which were also included in the boycott.

At the beginning of the fifth week of the strike, a massive march to City Hall was organized. The City Council proposed to consider the issue of the strike the following week. In answer, Rev. James Lawson of COME said, "The issue is simple, these men struggle for six long years. . . . They have been permitted to work hard, on a salary (\$1.70 an hour) that would be impossible to support a family on. The money spent on police protection for sanitation trucks cost more than the proposed raise." After Lawson spoke, the meeting was adjourned, and 100 people were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.

By this time, sections of the white community became aroused, and declared their support of the sanitation men. The 35,000 member Memphis AFL-CIO declared their support of the strike, as did the 100,000 member Tennessee AFL-CIO. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO (AFSCME), to which the strikers are affiliated, focused national attention on the strike.

The Seafarers International Union pledged \$1,000 a week to the strikers until the settlement was reached. Donations were also received from Memphis locals of the Machinists, the UAW,



Police brutality during Memphis strike.

the Furniture Workers, and the Rubber Workers, who also provided the strikers with the daily use of their hall. On March 4, five hundred white trade unionists marched with the strikers. The Catholic Council on Human Relations donated \$1,000 to the strikers. AFSCME locals all over the country started gathering money for Memphis, and District Council 37 of AFSCME in New York raised close to \$10,000.

On Monday, March 18, Dr. King came to Memphis. He addressed a capacity audience of 12,000 at Mason Temple, and said that the time had come to "escalate pressure" in support of the sanitation workers. He declared that a day must be set aside for a general work stoppage so that the city would cease to function for one day. "In a few days you ought to get together and have a general work stoppage, when nobody will go to the white folk's kitchen, and no black child will go to any school. On that day the city will not be able to function.

"Anybody with eyes can tell that there is something wrong with this nation. We are spending \$50,000 to kill one Viet Cong and only \$53 a person to fight poverty." The suggestion of the work stoppage had tremendous support in the crowd.

King led a march of 17,000 people on March 28 where thousands of high school students stayed away

from school that day to participate in the action. Cops were seen clubbing students who were leaving Hamilton High School to join the march, and one girl had to be sent to the hospital. It was at this demonstration, attacked by cops, that sixteen-year-old Larry Payne was murdered in cold blood after he had surrendered to the cops.

King announced plans to return to Memphis and lead another massive demonstration April 8. On April 4, he was assassinated. The Mayor and Governor immediately responded by sending 4,000 National Guardsmen into Memphis.

On April 8, more than 40,000 persons marched in Memphis in support of the sanitation workers and in tribute to Dr. King. The march was led by Mrs. Coretta King, widow of Dr. King, and by Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, one of King's top aides. Abernathy told the crowd that he did not come to Memphis "to participate in a memorial service. I have come to cry out to the River of Jordan, to say to this nation, we are bound for the Promised Land.

"We ain't going to let nobody whether it be Mayor Loeb, the governor, the National Guard and the police, Lyndon Baines Johnson, or Congress; we ain't going to let nobody

turn us around."

Abernathy declared that racial discrimination "is a contagious disease that was brought to this land by none other than the white man. It was created by a capitalist society, a society that would deny necessities to the masses while granting luxuries to the classes . . . Black people are dying in Vietnam when they cannot live in peace at home."

The most impressive aspect of the march was the solid support given to it by the black community in Memphis, which constituted the largest number of demonstrators. Signs with the basic slogan of the strike, "I Am a Man" were seen everywhere.

In addition to the leaders of SCLC, Ossie Davis and Harry Belafonte, as well as Rev. James Lawson, and Dr.

Ralph Jackson, leaders of COME marched in the front ranks.

For the first time, massive labor support became manifested. John DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitation Men's Association of New York was present. The New York sanitation workers had recently concluded a bitter strike, in which a threat by Mayor Lindsay of New York to call in the National Guard to break the strike was thwarted by an angry response on the part of the New York labor movement including the threat of a general strike on the part of New York's million member Central Labor Council. Harry van Arsdale, president of the New York Central Labor Council was present in Memphis.

Walter Reuther presented a \$50,000

check to the sanitation workers and said, "If it takes more than this, there'll be more coming." Tommy Powell, president of the Memphis AFL-CIO called for the resignation of Loeb.

The national AFL-CIO set up a special fund for the strikers and contributed \$20,000. Members of the Seafarers from many major ports were there, as well as officials from the American Federation of Teachers, AFSCME, the Packinghouse Workers, Textile Workers, Retail Wholesale Department Store Workers, the Laborers, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Jerry Wurf, international president of AFSCME said to the demonstrators that he had been told that "the city of Memphis had been doing things the same way for 50 years and no one is going to change it.

"Then something magnificent happened. The garbage workers found some allies. The Memphis ministers, the NAACP, the whole black community of Memphis declared that 'we are with these men. So long as they are not free and have no dignity, then none of us has freedom or dignity.'" Loud cheers went up when Wurf said, "I pledge to you that no matter how long it takes, until we have justice and decency and morality, we will not go back to work."

The success of this strike will have a tremendous impact on unionism in the South, especially among black workers. Already in Memphis, as a result of the sanitation strike, 100 maintenance employees of the Board of Education, carpenters, plumbers and electricians, mostly black have organized themselves into a union. They make an average of \$2.00 an hour less than their white counterparts.

In Mobile Alabama, on April 5, the day after the assassination, 100 of the 133 sanitation workers had signed union cards with the Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union. Eighty-five percent of these workers were black, and worked as laborers in the city's parks, cleaning streets and collecting garbage. Mobile, like Memphis prohibits unionization of public employees, but the success of Memphis is likely to have a strong effect there. The Memphis strike is only a harbinger of future struggles in the union movement and black struggle.



Mass demonstration in Memphis expresses black community support to strikers.

Who is Rudi Dutschke?

I met Rudi Dutschke last February 17, the weekend of the giant Vietnam conference and demonstration that brought together in Berlin 20,000 youth from all over Western Europe.

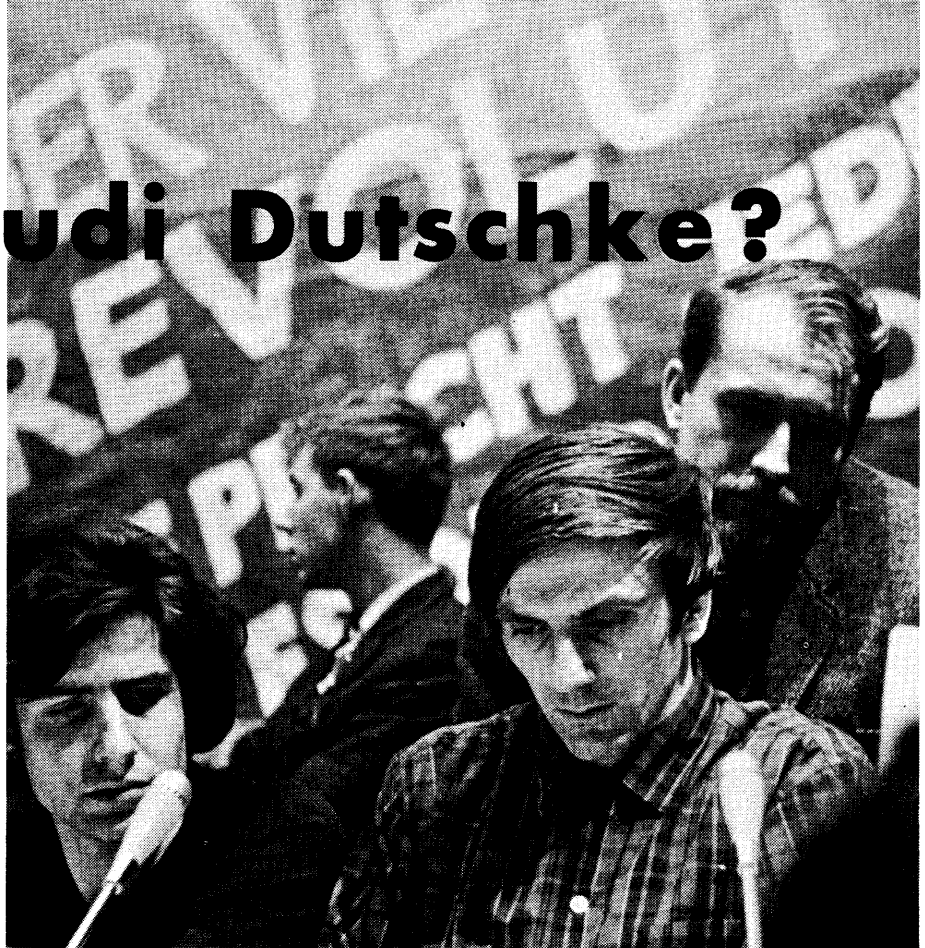
During the three days of activities, he was everywhere, chairing sessions of the conference, talking with foreign delegations, speaking on the platform, and leading the most politically advanced youth of Western Europe through the streets of Berlin to demonstrate their support for the Vietnamese Revolution. But that was wholly in character for him.

As the acknowledged leader of the left wing of the German SDS, as its chief spokesman and leading theorist, his presence, advice, and leadership have been constantly in demand, not only in West Berlin and other cities of West Germany but all over Europe.

SDS is an organization of some two to three thousand university students in West Germany. Until 1959 it was the official student organization of the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic Party of Germany], but as the SPD moved further and further to the right it found the criticisms of its youth organization too embarrassing. SDS was financially cut off and an "incompatibility resolution" was formulated, making membership in the SDS sufficient reason for expulsion from the SPD. Most of the youth, however, stayed with the SDS.

In a country where the Communist Party, the Fourth International, and all other left-wing political parties are banned, the German SDS has been a home for radical youth of all political affinities; it has also played an important political role in West Germany as a whole, often being described as the "extra-parliamentary opposition."

Between 1959 and the mid-1960s the SDS grew fairly steadily and engaged in many political campaigns, such as giving classes and seminars



Rudi Dutschke

photo by Mary-Alice Waters

on the economic reasons for the "Berlin Wall," leading activities against American aggression in Vietnam, and fighting for more control by students over university conditions.

The SDS came into the spotlight of international news last June with a demonstration against the West Berlin city government's hospitality to the notoriously reactionary Shah of Iran. The demonstration was attacked by the West Berlin police, who shot and killed one of the students, Benno Ohnesorg. The reaction among the West Berlin population was so strong that the ruling Social Democratic Party had to make a scapegoat of the mayor, who was removed from office.

As the most articulate spokesman of the left wing in SDS, Rudi Dutschke became known all over Europe. His picture began appearing on the front pages of mass-circulation magazines and newspapers, as well as left-wing political journals of all types. The reactionary Springer press, which publishes 70 percent of the mass-circulation newspapers in Germany and has been a target of many SDS demonstrations, mounted a vicious campaign against SDS and Dutschke in particular.

The atmosphere that developed in West Berlin around the time of the Vietnam conference weekend in February provides a good example of the kind of hate campaign that was built up against SDS, with the assistance of the Social Democratic Party city fathers. While the Springer press ranted about violent, destructive minorities, the neo-Nazi paper, *National und Soldaten Zeitung* [*National and Soldiers' Journal*], ran a banner headline: "Stop Dutschke's Red Terror!"

The Social Democratic West Berlin government organized a counterdemonstration, supported by the trade unions, ostensibly to prove that Berliners are for "freedom and peace" and against violence in the streets. More than twenty bystanders were beaten up by goon squads at the official demonstration, and frequent cries of "Send them (SDS) to the gas chamber!" were heard in the Berlin streets. To foster such a lynch campaign places heavy responsibility on the West Berlin government for creating an atmosphere conducive to the attempt on Rudi's life. He had been threatened many times in recent months. He moved from one room to another every month or two and let few people know his address.

While I was in Berlin, Rudi agreed to give this interview and arranged for me to meet him at his apartment at 7:00 P.M. When I arrived, his American wife Gretchen, and his five-week-old son Hosea Che, and several friends were also waiting for him to return—with visible anxiety. He had gone out an hour earlier and planned to return in a few minutes. As we waited until 8:00, then 9:00, and then 10:00, the concern grew.

Gretchen recounted several recent incidents of threatening notes in their mailbox and smoke bombs left on their stairway. Then at 10:30 Rudi returned, unharmed but tired, after getting caught in a series of urgent meetings at the SDS headquarters.

We talked for more than three hours, discussing everything from German Social Democracy to Cuba, from prospects for the world socialist revolution to the history of the Third Interna-

tional. He spoke slowly but clearly and humorously, in English, with Gretchen occasionally providing translations for such terms as "gross national product."

When we finished at about 2:00 A.M., they insisted I sleep on an extra mattress in their one-room apartment rather than leave at that late hour. The next morning Rudi was up and off at 8:30 in order to fly to Amsterdam to speak there at an antiwar rally.

As a person, Rudi exudes genuine warmth and concern for individuals, coupled with a searching intelligence and ready sense of humor. There is a dynamism about him that everyone finds attractive.

His political evolution in recent months has been quite striking, moving from a position reflecting Herbert Marcuse's disdain for the working class as a force for social change to

a more nearly Marxist understanding of the class nature of society and the necessity of fighting for a socialist transformation of the capitalist countries.

In a poll taken last February in West Germany, 25 percent of German youth said they agreed with, and approved of, Rudi Dutschke. Such statistics have struck well-founded fear into the hearts of West Germany's rulers, who now cry out hypocritically against the gunman whose bullets they helped direct at Rudi Dutschke.

(The above was excerpted from the February 19, 1968 World Outlook, a weekly revolutionary Marxist publication, specializing in weekly political analysis and interpretation of events for publications of the labor, socialist, colonial independence and black liberation movements.)

Interview With Rudi Dutschke

Mary-Alice Waters obtained an interview with Rudi Dutschke while she was in West Berlin for the European-wide demonstration and conference in support of the Vietnamese Revolution. Extensive excerpts of the interview are published below which were edited only as to make sense to the reader.

Mary-Alice Waters: First could you give a little of the history of SDS—where it came from and how it developed?

Rudi Dutschke: It came from the German Social Democracy. There have been two tendencies in the history of the labor movement in middle Europe—the social democratic tendency and the communist tendency. In a more historical materialist sense, the two tendencies have been the reformist tendency and the revolutionary tendency. Only since 1919 has Germany had an official Communist Party. The German Social Democracy on the one hand and the Communist Party on the other determined the development of the labor movement in the 1920s. This division of the labor movement and the fight

between these two parties made possible the victory of fascism in Germany in the 1930s. . . .

After the victory of fascism, the German labor movement was destroyed. All the working class organizations and parties were destroyed by fascism and by the policies of Stalinism as well. This happened all over the world—in Spain for example. After the second world war the re-organization of the labor movement in middle Europe was a difficult task, especially in Germany because of the division of the country into two different systems. In Western Germany there was the reconstitution of capitalism and in Eastern Germany there was the organization and establishment of a new system which in a real Marxist sense is not a socialist society, but it is not capi-

talistic.

After the second world war the German Social Democracy represented a political alternative to Stalinism but not to capitalism. The Social Democracy wasn't able to pose a revolutionary alternative to either. The Social Democracy went the way of capitalism. When the Communist Party was banned in 1956, it left Western Germany without any organization with a revolutionary attitude. I don't mean to imply that the Communist Party had a revolutionary attitude at this time.

The German SDS, the German Socialist Student Federation, originated after the second world war within the Social Democracy. In the second half of the 1950s SDS became more radical in the process of the fight against atomic weapons. At this time there





INTERVIEW WITH RUDI DUTSCHKE

was a great debate in Germany about the rearmament of the German Republic. In this debate the SDS was against rearmament. A large section of the German Social Democratic Party was also against rearmament. This was the last vestige of any radical democratic attitude within the Social Democracy in Germany. The SPD leadership and the rest of the party as a whole was determined not to fight against rearmament. They agreed with the government. Because SDS didn't agree with these policies, they were expelled in 1960. At this time no section of SDS as yet had a real revolutionary attitude toward capitalist society—in any practical sense.

The economic situation in the German Federal Republic was one of a lengthy prosperity period of the capitalist system. By 1950 the gross national product of the German Federal Republic had reached the pre-war level. Economic progress from 1950 to 1964 was unprecedented. This was very hard for socialists in Germany to understand. They thought that capitalism was stabilized and had no real contradictions.

In SDS there was only a small minority of intellectual circles which were able to understand Marxist analysis and were able to write their own analysis of the temporary stability of German capitalism. But they had no mass basis either within the university or outside of the universities. During this period of long

economic prosperity the SDS was isolated from the party (SPD), the trade unions and from the economic foundations of material production. They were only an intellectual minority in the university. They were especially strong in the sociology and philosophy departments.

In 1964 and in the beginning of 1965 a discussion on the situation in the Third World opened up. At this time, the SDS, especially in West Berlin, began to discuss the interrelation between environment and action—action against the police and action against the bureaucrats who run the university. There was a desire to organize and participate in direct actions in the streets concerning the situation in the Third World. But the fact that these demonstrations would have to be carried out in contradiction to the laws of the ruling class in our society, produced an anti-authoritarian attitude in a small part of the student body, many of whom were not yet in SDS. Through these actions SDS was able to broaden its own base.

What was the importance of the Third World? It was the Vietnam war and US aggression that played a large role in the radicalization and development of anti-authoritarian consciousness among Western German students, rather than an understanding of the contradictions in our own society and the possibility of the destruction of our own state apparatus. . . .

The politicalization and radicalization in Germany began in the weakest link of this society—somewhat like Lenin's theory of the weakest link. We think that the weakest link today in Western Germany is the university. It is the weakest link because the students have the time to study the problems of this society. Their sociological position is not determined by the necessity to sell their own labor. They are relatively secure in their position. They are in a better position to carry out revolutionary political activity. They have a better understanding of the mechanisms of the capitalist society at this time. As Regis Debray said, revolutionary groups must go to the weakest link of the society—in Latin America to the countryside where the socio-economic contradictions are great.

In our society, the weakest link is the university and we began our politicalization there on several levels. First, about the beginning of 1965 which was at the end of the reconstruction period, the prosperity period, of the so-called "economic wonder," the rate of growth declined from seven percent to three or four percent. This decline in the rate of growth was very important because we could explain to the students that capitalism is not a sterilized totality without any great contradictions.

The confrontation between revolution and counter-revolution in Vietnam was another factor. The students were confronted with a war in which the difference between humanism and science was very great. We could explain that science can be a productive force in the emancipation of man-

kind rather than a destructive force as in Vietnam. This disparity between humanism and the terror of US aggression in Vietnam was very evident.

The third level concerned the university directly. In the summer semester of 1965, there was a confrontation between the bureaucrats of the university and the anti-authoritarian attitude of a small part of the student body. Here the bureaucrats of the university arbitrarily made a decision to reduce our study time. Rather than allowing us to study as long as we wanted, they wanted to decide how long we could study. We confronted them with this issue; first through teach-ins, and in the process were able to broaden our base.

There was a fundamental betrayal in politics by all German politicians. After the second world war, the politicians spoke about the unification of Germany, spoke against rearmament, spoke against capitalism and spoke for freedom. Twenty years after the second world war, a number of students saw that the German Federal Republic had not gone the way of democratization, but had gone the way of restoration, restoration of the old capitalist society. There developed then a big mistrust between the political authorities, especially the Social Democratic Party, and the anti-authoritarian and socialist student movement in Western Germany.

Mary-Alice Waters: On a relative scale, do you think that the international events were more important?

Rudi Dutschke: Yes, I think that the international events were the most important factor in this radicalization. Our confrontation with the police, with the state apparatus, first took place after the murder of Patrice Lumumba and the visit of Tshombe to Germany. While he was in Berlin we held our first demonstration in the streets. We didn't abide by the rules of the police. We confronted them and forced Tshombe to leave. This was the first step in our political activity and we began to involve more students in other levels of struggle.

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Demonstration of 20,000 students and young people in West Berlin against the Vietnam war February 18.



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opened in SDS between those who wanted SDS to be a *real* social democratic party and others like myself who thought that both the SPD and the Communist Party are part of the capitalist society; more exactly, not part of the society, but a special fraction of the state apparatus. . . .

The different tendencies of SDS are based on different political analyses of contemporary German capitalism and how to struggle for social change. One tendency, as I said before, believes that the trade unions are not part of the institutions of the state apparatus, the basic foundation of the system. We believe today more than ever before that there exists a dialectical unity between the state bureaucrats and the giant corporations. In former times the giant corporations determined the make-up and the policies of the state as a whole. In Western Germany, because of the decline of the German imperialists after the second world war, for a certain period the weight of the state bureaucrats increased as the relative weight of the giant corporations declined. Today there is a dialectical identity and workable relationship between the giant corporations and the state bureaucrats which is very important for the explanation of capitalism today. For not only is profit making the first task of capitalism, as it was during classical capitalism, but it must today stabilize and conserve the ruling system as a system. Profit making and the conserving of the existing system are inseparable.

During the twenties, during the world-wide economic crisis, there was a priority on the stabilization of economic factors in the reproduction system of capitalism. Today it might be said that there is more or less a priority on politics—politics not separated from economics but interrelated with it. On the basis of this analysis of society, our conclusion was that we have to develop a system of actions conducive to broadening our base and mobilizing forces at the weakest link of the system—the

university and even in certain spheres of material production, such as the stagnating branches of production like the coal mines. This was our answer to the situation at the end of the reconstruction period.

The other tendency proposed in 1965 that SDS work together with the Social Democrats and with the trade unions. We should, they said, not only work together but attempt to enter the unions, and the Social Democratic Party to fight for certain positions with a perspective of breaking the party, and the trade unions and winning the majority of the workers. The majority of SDSers didn't agree with this line and thought it was an illusion. In following the other program we do not mean to imply an abstract negation of working together with the trade unions. We want to work together with certain groups and individual unions but with a goal of building a united front with all anti-fascist groups, organizations and tendencies.

Mary-Alice Waters: Since 1965 a great deal of your activity has been around the Vietnam war. Could you describe a little of this activity?

Rudi Dutschke: From 1964 to 1967 we held many demonstrations about the war in Vietnam—mass meetings at the university, smaller ones at schools, in clubs, in circles and in many other institutions of society. In one week, two or three meetings were held in West Berlin just about the situation in Vietnam. We made a good deal of information available inside and outside the university, held exhibitions about the war in Vietnam, held meetings at the university for politicians from the foreign embassies for ideological confrontations.

In 1966 a South Vietnamese ambassador was invited to speak at the university by a right wing student organization, the Youth Union. We held a counter-meeting against the war attended by 1,500 students while two rooms behind us the South Vietnamese ambassador spoke to only

ninety students. After we showed movies and had speeches about the war in Vietnam, we went to the other meeting and took it over. We went directly to the front of the auditorium and started our own discussions, not allowing the South Vietnamese ambassador to go on with his speech.

This was a very important event for our movement. We found it necessary to openly criticize a pure form of tolerance for every Stalinist or fascist lie. In light of studying the book by Marcuse, *Critic of Pure Tolerance*. We felt it was necessary to openly counter the interpretation of the Vietnam war given by the mass media—to counter the view that the war was to "contain communism" with the real explanation of the aggression of the US government in the Vietnam war. The day after the meeting the newspapers—the manipulation centers—spoke of us as a rough-tough organization of 600 guys who were able to physically take over all meetings of the right. They have initiated a real terroristic campaign in the manipulation press against us, from that incident to today.

This was one of the most important events in relation to our antiwar activity. At that time we didn't have any real contact with questions and actions like the desertion campaign, like subversive actions against the war machine.

Mary-Alice Waters: Could you comment on the demonstration held here in West Berlin this weekend in relation to other activities you have held up to now?

Rudi Dutschke: This was a climax of all our past activity but we have no illusions. The Social Democrats prior to the first world war were able to mobilize thousands and millions of Germans in the streets, but in 1914 those same Social Democrats supported the first world war. The importance of the demonstration this weekend isn't based only on its numerical size. It was a large demonstration but the quality of the demonstration was the most important factor. However, the problem with this quality is that we aren't able yet to *organize* the masses we can mobilize into special organizations in different spheres of this society.



One of the many different contingents on the West Berlin demonstration February 18 in support of the Vietnamese Revolution.

Mary-Alice Waters: What kind of special organizations do you foresee?

Rudi Dutschke: We don't think that a party with a monopoly on revolution is possible or necessary. We think that there is more or less a cultural transformation period in which the socialist opposition, the revolutionary socialist opposition is just beginning. We don't agree with the theory that there must be one party with just one program with one monopoly on revolution. Our anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist action is only possible and will only broaden if we are able to politicize the open contradictions in the different spheres of the institutions. In these different spheres, in these different institutions, it is necessary to build self-organizations—forms of organization in which the human components of the institution organize in their own interests for their own needs.

Mary-Alice Waters: Do you have a perspective that there will be a socialist revolution in Germany, and if so how?

Rudi Dutschke: Of course the goal of

all political activity is a revolution, a socialist revolution against the existing society. The time of the revolution is determined by special historical conditions as was the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution and the Cuban Revolution. We think that a revolution in the advanced capitalist countries like Western Germany is only possible as a part of an international revolution. I don't think it is possible to build socialism in one country or in one city such as West Berlin.

So, if you ask me about a socialist West Germany, I can only answer that to understand the prospect of revolution in Western Germany, one cannot separate the perspective of revolution here from the world. You cannot separate it from revolution in Eastern Germany where a real cultural revolution is necessary, not patterned after the Chinese Cultural Revolution, but a specific form of cultural revolution in Eastern Germany because the alienation between the Communist Party and the party leadership and the masses there is very great. The German revolution will be part of the world revolution. More than ever, we cannot build socialism in one country. . . .

Mary-Alice Waters: What is the per-

spective for radical students after they are no longer students?

Rudi Dutschke: We have no concrete alternative. Our position is a very difficult one, but there is no real answer to the situation. Until now the students, after they finish their studies, enter and work in the institutions of society with the perspective of not staying there for life. They stay only for a special time in order to carry out subversive work in the institution, always in relation to the movements outside of and against the institutions. The strategy is to build, broaden and stabilize the anti-institutional movement of the students and the workers in cooperation with one another, with all the contradictory elements within the institutions. They enter the institutions with the consciousness that their work there is to undermine the institution and work cooperatively with the anti-institutional movement of the students.

Another strategy is to build our own political and socio-economic structure—a counter-milieu as you may say—to build our own institutes, scientific institutes, theatres and households, etc., much like the community project experiences in America. I don't know the exact results of the com-



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munity projects. We heard that they were not successful. Of course we have to accept the experiences of the American left but our situation is different from the United States. We have to try it ourselves and prove if it is possible to build these counter-milieus.

If some of the trade unions refuse to abide by the demands of the capitalists that they lower their wage demands, these trade unions will have to politicize their economic demands. It may be possible to cooperate then with some sections of the trade unions. If the trade unions are not able to cooperate with capital, they will have to cooperate with us. As they cooperate with us (and you shall see this in the next months and in the next year) we will then have a real socio-economic basis—a direct cooperation between the workers, some fractions of the working class, and a broad fraction of the student body, so that we can build our own real institutions, schools and universities. We could develop mutual learning processes between sectors of the working class and a part of the student body. That is only an impression of the future possibilities. That is not the reality.

Mary-Alice Waters: But the main problem is that these institutions, because they exist within capitalist society, will also become institutions of this society.

Rudi Dutschke: That is the problem, the problem between reform and revolution. We are not sure we will be able to totally establish our own institutions. We are not sure this would be a realistic policy. But if you build your own houses, your own streets, you have to fight against the system in a total way. If you don't fight you are integrated.

Mary-Alice Waters: What you are really saying is that you want to establish a situation of economic dual power, where one or the other side wins, for they cannot co-exist indefinitely. You constantly refer to "we" and "us" in terms of continuing work. You must have in your own mind, some idea, some form of organization for the coordination of this work.

Rudi Dutschke: We have no organizational conception of how to coordinate these projects. We know it is

possible in theory to convince students of this political perspective; but in practice, without any material foundations in the trade unions, we cannot do anything. It is only a theoretical question and not a practical one. Because I have to speak in a practical and political way, I must remain silent about that problem.

After this big mobilization, we have now the necessity before us of *organizing* those already mobilized. If you want a perspective of a socialist revolution, we have to determine the different stages of the progress of the revolution. The next phase of struggle must be a campaign against NATO coordinated in west Europe and middle Europe. It is more important to fight against NATO than to build counter-milieus because we have no material base.

In fighting against NATO we need two forms of organization. One type is a more conspiratorial type—subversive activity against war production and war materials, with terrorism against machinery and not human beings. We don't think in middle Europe, especially in West Germany, we have to fight against people; we have rather to fight against inhuman machinery, the productive forces. This is one type of organization. The other type is the organization and mobilization of mass actions which are determined by environment and political consciousness, class consciousness about the necessity of a revolution against the system. These two types of organization are the transition belts to the next stage. . . .

Rudi Dutschke: Under the special conditions in Cuba, the very difficult economic conditions of economic dependence on the Soviet Union, it is very impressive how Cuba, the Cuban people, the party and Fidel as the leader of the party, are able to organize campaigns together, to learn from each other, to fight against bureaucracy, to know about the necessity to fight in all spheres against bureaucracy. Fidel said some months ago: the bureaucracy could be the beginning of a new capitalist form of consciousness, it could be the beginning of the reconstruction of capitalism in the country. They know the danger and attempt to mobilize the masses in all spheres of society against bureaucratization. I think they have

made the right step forward. They have difficulties of course, for they are isolated. The revolution in Latin America has suffered defeats and it is only in the beginning stages. The development of socialist democracy in Cuba is especially difficult being part of the struggle of the Cuban Revolution to resist the way of the Soviet leadership.

Mary-Alice Waters: The final question then is about the coordination between the revolutionary socialist youth groups that are developing and have developed around the world in the last few years. Do you have any particular comment on this phenomenon? What do you think we can do in terms of better coordination and closer work, particularly between Germany and the United States?

Rudi Dutschke: With our congress last weekend we took the first step and only the first step in the direction of international coordination—in more or less paper form. It is the first step taken in the direction of international coordination, but coordination is not a result of a paper resolution, it is the result of coordination in action, coordination with the participating groups. The real coordination can only come about if comrades from Germany for instance go to France, go to America, to Italy and vice versa. We have to discuss these things among ourselves and then establish our own international information network.

In Europe we hope to build in the next year this revolutionary information network in the form of decentralized bureaus in the different countries. These bureaus have to work together; internationalized comrades from different countries have to work together; they have to publish together; they have to coordinate actions and gather information and they have to go from one country to another. We hope to establish a system of international revolutionary duties where every socialist student works for two or three months in the bureau freely and unpaid. Our plan is to arrange for a permanent center not like a party, but as a revolutionary organization where the comrades work daily and seriously. They fan out from the provincial areas into the international sphere to coordinate and to fight together in broadening our bases . . .

Campaigning for Halstead And Boutelle



YSHB literature table during meeting for Paul Boutelle at Queens College in New York.

photo by Hermes

Voting in Choice 68, the national college presidential poll and referendum on the Vietnam war, has now taken place, but the results were not yet available to include in this month's *Young Socialist*. Whatever the vote, the socialist candidates on the Choice 68 ballot, Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, have won a big victory. Activity around Choice 68 has marked a leap forward in the growth of the young socialist movement in America.

Supporters of Halstead and Boutelle have taken advantage of this poll to bring the socialist campaign to campuses in all nooks and crannies of this country, confronting and exposing the capitalist politicians who defend this racist, war-making system.

Two weeks before Choice 68 the Socialist Workers national campaign office heard from new supporter groups for Halstead and Boutelle at the rate of one a day.

* * *
During a ten-day period, young socialists in Los Angeles had traveled to 27 campuses participating in Choice 68, setting up literature tables and arranging debates with McCarthy and Kennedy supporters. They reported that on most campuses Halstead supporters were the first to contact the Choice 68 coordinator and

to volunteer their help in getting out the biggest vote.

* * *
The Socialist Workers campaign committee published a special *Choice 68 Militant* distributed on hundreds of campuses across the country. It explained why students should vote for Halstead, for withdrawal of troops from Vietnam and for black control of the black communities. Two tons (125,000) of these newspapers were distributed by young socialists prior to the Choice 68 vote.

* * *
At the University of Oregon in Eugene there is a young socialist group of 15 active members. One organizer wrote in: "We are getting 15 minutes live this week on the campus radio station to talk about the campaign. Also there is a debate on the 23rd of April between all representatives of the candidates on the Choice 68 ballot. This debate will be covered by the newspaper and get us lots of publicity. We have put up posters at regular intervals around the campus, and 8,000 leaflets and will distribute *Choice 68 Militants* before the vote."

* * *
"The Big Red Machine," the San Francisco-Berkeley campaign committee, sent speakers on the campaign to every campus in northern Califor-

nia in the period before Choice 68. They distributed over 100,000 leaflets on campuses urging a vote for Halstead and Boutelle.

* * *
The Choice 68 coordinator from Antioch College wrote to the Choice 68 national office protesting that there will be no real choice on the ballot under the referendum on the "urban crisis." He wrote: "In fact, Choice 68 has no place for the expression of the black radical sentiments—black power, black control of the black communities are hardly represented. In effect, with the exception of the Vietnam referendum question, Choice 68 offers very little choice for American radicals, and especially black radicals. Without the Halstead ticket and the 'immediate withdrawal' answer, there would be virtually NO choice that is consistent with their goals and demands."

The Socialist Workers campaign is demanding that since the Choice 68 national office is planning to count write-ins for presidential choice that all write-in votes for black control of the black communities be tabulated as well.

* * *
The Socialist Workers campaign office received a letter addressed to Paul Boutelle from the chairman of the Organization of Afro-American

Unity in Cincinnati, Ohio. He wrote: "We are trying to build an all black political party. We read in the *Militant* you are in favor of the same thing.

"We are planning a memorial for Malcolm X's birthday May 19, 1968. Would it be possible to have you as the principal speaker?"

* * *

Fred Halstead was interviewed on March 30 by Phil Semas from the College Press Service. The College Press Service had hoped to run a series of interviews with all candidates and potential candidates for President. Although all candidates were asked for an interview, only Halstead and Senator Charles Percy agreed to be interviewed.

The interview reads: "I interviewed Halstead on a Saturday morning in the kitchen of his Washington campaign manager's small apartment, where he had slept on the couch the night before. He is a big man with thinning hair. He doesn't look at all like a Presidential candidate, but when he talks he reveals a deep understanding of the issues, expressed in a common sense, working man's tone of voice.

"How does he answer those who are against the war, but believe they should vote for candidates like Kennedy or McCarthy who have a chance at winning when he doesn't?

"There is a tendency to draw people out of the protest movement and into the Democratic Party. I take a dim view of that. I encourage people to stay in the streets. What will cause the end of the war is not how many people ring doorbells for Kennedy and McCarthy but how much independent protest there is. That's what brought Kennedy and McCarthy into the race in the first place.' . . .

"Besides the war, the major plank in the Socialist Workers platform is an end to American racism. It calls for *black control of the black community* which means control of local police, local stores, local schools, and possibly an independent black political party. . . .

"*Black control of the black community* includes black control of black universities.' Halstead said the student take-over of Howard University was 'very important. These colleges ought to logically be engines for black power.' . . ."



Hedda Garza, Socialist Workers senatorial candidate for New York, distributes Fred Halstead's LETTER TO GI's at the Port Authority bus terminal in New York City.



Bob Wilkinson, Socialist Workers senatorial candidate in Wisconsin, a Vietnam veteran and student at University of Wisconsin at Madison is seen here participating in an anti-draft demonstration October, 1967 at the U of Wisconsin.

California Senatorial Candidate: Pete Camejo

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers candidate for Senator from California is campaigning all over California and other Western states. Camejo has been active in the socialist movement for a decade. In 1960, while attending MIT, he helped organize the picketing of Woolworth five and dime stores in Boston in support of the southern sit-ins. Later that year he became the New England Organizer of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and, during the Cuban missile crisis, made a national tour in support of the Cuban Revolution.

From 1962 to 1965 Camejo was the National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. During the 1964 presidential campaign he campaigned for the Socialist Workers candidates against President Johnson.

In the fall of 1967 Camejo and another student were suspended from the University of California for their part in the Stop the Draft Week rallies. In protest, several thousand students disrupted the functioning of the University Administration for three days. During these protest actions Camejo entered the student elections at U of C at Berkeley on a slate of antiwar candidates and won, receiving the largest vote. Camejo was also a Socialist candidate in California in 1967, campaigning for Mayor in the Berkeley municipal election.

A leader of the movement against the war in Vietnam, Camejo was arrested for his role at the April 12, 1966 demonstration in Berkeley. In the summer of 1966 he led a fight to keep the Vietnam Day Committee from being kicked off the Berkeley campus at UC. He was also one of the organizers of the massive demonstration against the war in April 1967 in San Francisco.



Camejo speaking at a November 6, 1967 anti-CIA rally at Berkeley campus.



Camejo speaking at a NYC demonstration protesting the CIA sponsored invasion of Cuba.

... Lesser Evil (continued from page 6)

Political candidates representing such a perspective will certainly not "win" in 1968, not in the sense that Republicans and Democrats will "win" political offices and all the privileges that go with them. But we will win something far more important. We will convince thousands of new people to break with capitalist politics and begin constructing a revolutionary alternative. That is the most important victory possible because it lays the basis for a real solution to the problems of war, racism, poverty and oppression in the future—rather than holding out an illusory promise of peace and prosperity tomorrow.

To put it another way, the revolutionary witches of Barbara Garson's *MacBird* described the same future while discussing Robert Kennedy:

"An heir who'll play a king, like other kings.
He too shall be an extra on our set.
He'll strut and fret his hour on the boards
And be applauded wildly from the pit.
But if you skip and read a later page,
We take the final bow upon this stage."

IF YOU SUPPORT:

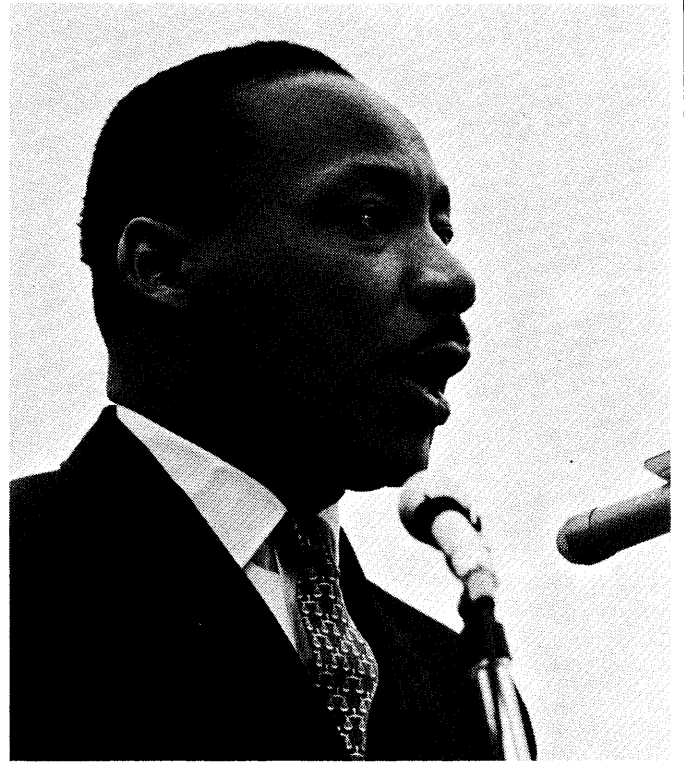
- The Anti-Vietnam War Movement
- Black Power
- Socialist Candidates
- A Socialist America

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**

In Memoriam



"Dr. King's death will not affect our leadership. He will affect the black man, for he was my brother, flesh of my flesh, blood of my blood. You see, the mistake they made when they shot Dr. King was, even though Dr. King felt about non-violence, he was always in the streets ready to lead a demonstration. All the other so-called leaders who talk about non-violence are not in the streets with their people. Many people respected Dr. King, even though they didn't agree with his philosophy, because at least he was in the streets . . ."—Stokely Carmichael, April 5, in a press conference held at the Washington headquarters of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

CALIFORNIA

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

Mills College: Debbie Hinton, Box 9118, Ethel Moore Hall, Mills College, Oakland, Calif., tel. (514) 632-2700

LOS ANGELES: YSA 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif., 90033, tel. (213) 269-4953

(continued)

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 Roosevelt U.: c/o R. U. Activities Office, 430 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 U. of Illinois (Circle Campus): Richard Hill, 3039 W. Walton, Chicago, Ill., tel. (312) 533-6811
 Wilson City College: Bob Mulligan, Hyde Park YMCA, Rm. 424, Chicago, Ill.
CHAMPAIGN-URBANA: University of Illinois, Michael Hannagan, 56 Townsend, tel. (217) 332-4285

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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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 Robbinsdale High School: Steve Stewart, 4320 Golden Valley Rd., Minneapolis, Minn., tel. (612) 558-6775
 Minneapolis Central High School: Bill Scheer, 3829 Oakland Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn., 55413, tel. (612) TA 5-0880
 Edison High School: Walter Sajka, 635 Monroe St. N. E., Minneapolis, Minn., 55413, tel. (612) 335-4683

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 Queens College: Steve Zippen, 42-40 Union St., Flushing, N. Y., 11355, tel. (212) 886-4669
 City College: John Schmeder, 551 W. 175th St., Apt. 22, New York, N. Y., 10033, tel. (212) 795-3164
 New School for Social Research: Art Maglin, 226 E. 3rd St., tel. (212) 362-6053
 Mannes College of Music: Terry Hillman, 39 W. 67th St., Apt. 901, tel. (212) 362-2051
 Barnard: Paula Reimers, Paris Hotel, West End Ave. & 97th St., New York, N. Y., tel. (212) RI 9-3500 ext. 413

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 Temple U.: Mike Walder, 3409 Hamilton Ave., Philadelphia, Pa., tel. (215) EV 2-4117
 Lansdowne High School: Alan Pearlman, 75 East Essex Ave., Lansdowne, Pa., 19050, tel. CL 9-9478

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NBAWADU

THE NATIONAL BLACK ANTIWAR ANTIDRAFT UNION held its first national conference in New York City, April 12-14. Over 300 Afro-Americans, largely students and youth, attended the conference. The large number of delegates were from the East and Midwest with others

from California, Georgia, Iowa, and Kansas. The conference discussed the tactics and strategy that black people must use in their fight against the war and the draft. This fight was seen as part of a general struggle of Afro-Americans against this white racist system. The conference consolidated NBAWADU as a national organization and prepared the way for new actions against the war. Most significant of these actions is a call for a National Day for Black Unity Against the War in Vietnam on May 19 in honor of Malcolm X. Malcolm's birthday is on the 19th. Buttons, posters and other publicity will be put out about the National Day by NBAWADU.



Workshop at NBAWADU conference, April 12-14.

----- clip and mail to -----

NBAWADU
 c/o SNCC
 100 Fifth Ave., Suite 803
 New York, New York, 10003

I would like further information on NBAWADU and actions that your organization plans.

Name

Address Apt

City State Zip

Phone

...Notes

(continued from p. 2)

a news story entitled **McCARTHY FACES MORE OPPOSITION FROM WISCONSIN LEFT**, on March 27. The feature read, ". . . about 100 radical students, including most of the members of the Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Wisconsin Draft Union are working to sabotage [?!] the McCarthy campaign. . . ." This is just one example of the many confrontations that McCarthy, Kennedy and any other of the so-called "peace candidates" will have to meet as the campaign moves further into full swing. The McKennedys may be able to fool some of us for a time, but they won't fool all of us. A growing number of young people are fed up with the system and are looking for a radical change in this society. One of the jobs that these young radicals have is to confront these phoney "peace" candidates on every campus and in every city that they step foot on for the duration of the campaign.

YS Pamphlet a Big Hit: The Young Socialist publication, *Zionism and the Arab Revolution—the Myth of Progressive Israel*, has been a big hit not only among radicals in the United States but also in other parts of the world. It was recently translated and published serially in the most wide-spread Arabic leftist weekly, *Al Hurreya*. This weekly is published by the Arab nationalist movement in Beirut, Lebanon. The movement identifies itself as Marxist-Leninist and has a broad base all over the Arab world, especially in Arabia. The articles included a short biographical note of Peter Buch, whose speech on the Arab Revolution is published in the pamphlet and identified the Young Socialist Alliance and what it stands for to the Arab reader. It is a thirty-two page pamphlet, sells for 30 cents a piece, and can be ordered from the YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10003.

International Solidarity: Jan Garrett and Walt Graham, YSAers from Detroit, are survivors of the first anti-socialist assassination attempt against our

generation of North Americans. On behalf of both Walt and himself, Jan sent a message to Rudi Dutschke: ". . . I want to extend our solidarity to you in your struggle for recovery. I am sure we join the conscious youth of all nations in this, but we feel a special closeness to those of our brothers who are gunned down in the so-called democratic countries exercising those very rights which 'democratic' imperialism claims to have special claim on. May you rebound to activity as we did, in conjunction with the unified struggle of the vanguard youth of all countries against the reactionary, out-lived capitalist system. . . . Long live the struggle of socialist youth, from Czechoslovakia to Cuba, from Germany to Vietnam, from Angola to North America, for an end of oppression and for a socialist world."

In Uncompromising Struggle: The JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionaire—Revolutionary Communist Youth] of France will hold their second national convention April 13-15. The JCR, is an active, large and growing revolutionary youth organization in France. The Young Socialist Alliance sent the following message to their conference: ". . . revolutionary youth around the world have played a particularly important role in the defense of the Vietnamese Revolution. We must continue to do so, fighting uncompromisingly until every American soldier is withdrawn from Vietnam and the victory of the NLF is assured . . . It is through such international solidarity that a new generation of revolutionary fighters will be forged around the world. The socialist youth of America salute the work of the comrades of the JCR and hope that our collaboration and cooperation can be even greater in the coming year."

Support Our Men, Bring Them Home Now! The *Young Socialist* magazine published a front page photograph in its February issue of a GI in Vietnam eating C-rations. On his helmet was pasted the slogan: "Bring Me Home Alive!" The March 18, *N. Y. Post* published an article which affirmed that slogans such as this one were not abnormalities in Vietnam, but that antiwar slogans were prominent among the GIs, many found on helmets and on the back of their jackets. To quote from the article: "Some [slogans] are prayerful, some profane, some are full of bravado and some are edged with fear. . . . Some reflect the Hippie influence among young Americans at home . . . 'Just you and me God, right' is one of the legends most commonly seen on helmets. 'Pray for an early peace,' is another. 'Help me, Ma,' read a more down to earth

helmet inscription of one Marine.

"'Stop. Don't shoot. I'm short,' is a favorite inscription. 'Short' is the term GIs use when they are close to the end of their year's tour of duty. Some of the things that the troops say about their branch of service and the life of a man at war are revealing. 'Fighter by day, lover by night, Marine by mistake,' is another common inscription. Perhaps the most touching of all inscriptions was on the helmet of a young marine crouching in a bunker near Con Thieu during a recent enemy mortar barrage. He had lettered on the front of his helmet one word: 'Why?'"

Special Subscription Campaign: The Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle have initiated a special subscription offer to the *Young Socialist* magazine and the weekly *Militant* for the duration of the 1968 election campaign. The offer will include six months of the *Young Socialist* and three of *The Militant* for \$1.00. It is projected that over 2100 new subs to the magazine will be sold by November 30. As of April 22 the scoreboard looked something like this:

Area	Quota	Sent	In Percent
Antioch	20	17	85.0
Madison	80	42	52.5
Chicago	160	74	46.3
Champaign, Ill.	35	13	37.1
New York City	300	103	34.2
Atlanta	62	21	34.0
Seattle	80	26	32.6
Kent	50	11	22.0
Cleveland	160	33	20.3
Washington D. C.	20	4	20.0
San Francisco	135	27	20.0
Detroit	175	32	17.9
Philadelphia	135	24	17.8
Boston	160	22	13.8
Twin Cities	135	18	13.3
Berkeley	200	14	7.0
Los Angeles	135	11	8.1
Others (includes Baltimore, Carbondale DeKalb, Ill, Eugene and Portland, Oregon)		36	
Totals	2100	528	25.1
Should be as of April 22	2100	441	21.0

— PETER SEIDMAN

VOTE HALSTEAD - BOUTELLE VOTE HALSTEAD - BOUTELLE VOTE HALSTEAD - BOUTELLE VOTE HALSTEAD - BOUTELLE



Fred Halstead for President

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGNER

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, tel. 212 673-0790



Paul Boutelle for Vice-President



THE TRUTH ABOUT THE McCARTHY CAMPAIGN

- Is Support to Eugene McCarthy the Way to End the Vietnam War?
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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE McCARTHY CAMPAIGN is a 16-page magazine exposing the 1968 McCarthy "peace" presidential campaign published by the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee

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