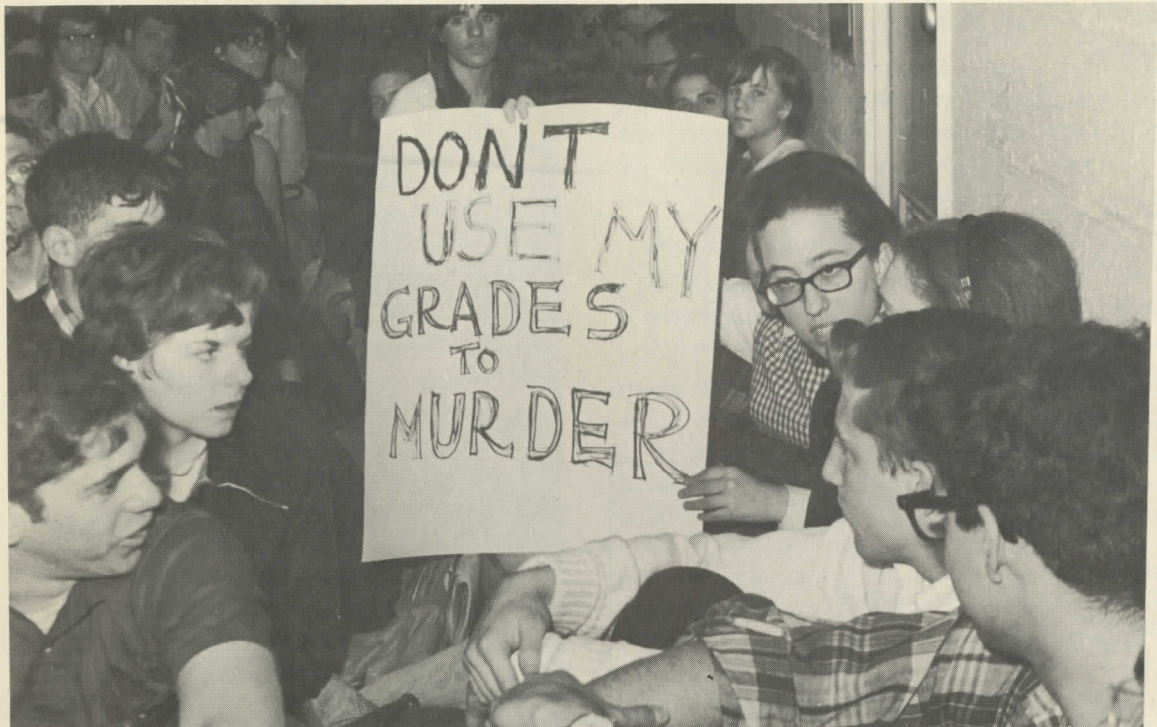


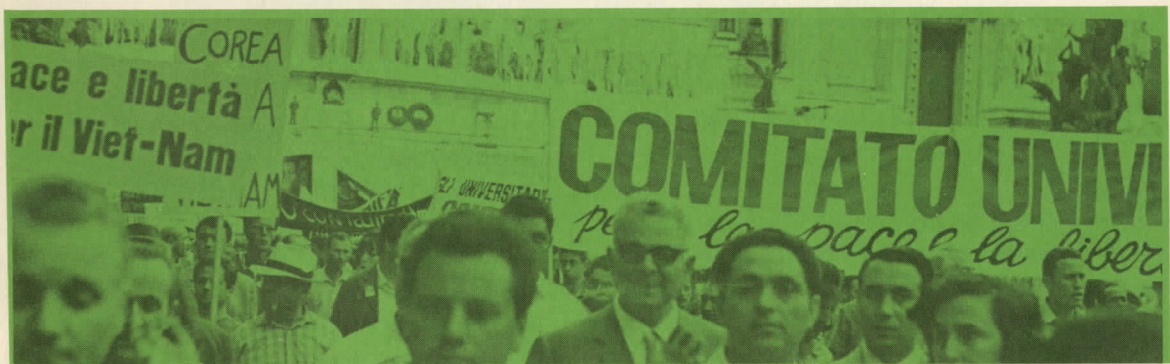
YOUNG SOCIALIST

DEC 1966 - JAN 1967

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THE DRAFT



EUROPEAN SOCIALIST YOUTH AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

● INTERVIEW WITH A
POLISH COMMUNIST STUDENT

YOUNG SOCIALIST

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In This Issue

DOUG JENNESS is a former editor of the *Young Socialist*. Last spring he toured the U.S. under the auspices of the YSA speaking on "Socialism and the New Radicals." Recently, he has been working full time for the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee in New York.

JOHN BENSON has recently returned from his second trip to Lowndes County, Alabama, where he covered the recent elections on November 8. A report on his first trip to Lowndes appeared in the May-June-July issue of the *Young Socialist*.

JOYCE DEGROOT, who graduated from Northwestern University in 1963, is the National Secretary of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students.

ALLEN MYERS graduated from the University of Wisconsin with a major in English. He is now an employee of the University, an active member of the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and a member of the Madison YSA.

Young Socialist Notes

Massive Spring Antiwar Mobilization Called: After the successful November 5-8 days of protest, 200 supporters of the November 8 Mobilization Committee met in Cleveland, November 26, to evaluate the actions called by this new broad formation. Resulting from the evaluation was a decision to hold massive demonstrations in New York and San Francisco on April 15, 1967. The consensus was to attempt demonstrations on a scale larger and broader than any antiwar demonstration in the past. The conference then established the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which will work to get the support of trade union, civil rights and religious figures and organizations.

YSAers from several areas of the country attended the conference, and supported the idea of the spring action. A qualitatively larger demonstration by the antiwar movement is a necessary political response to the government's continuous escalation of the war. Let's start building now to make it the largest action of the decade.

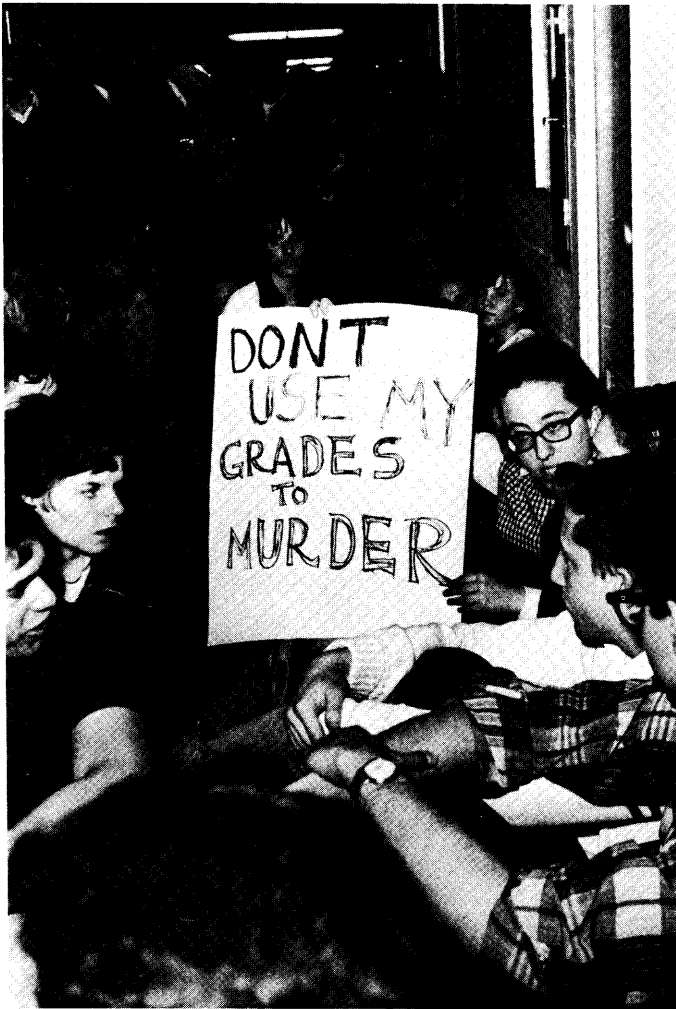
For further information write: Pat Griffith, Interuniversity Committee, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; or A.J. Muste, 5 Beekman St., New York, New York; or the YSA national office.

YSA Regional Conferences: Two young socialist regional conferences are planned for weekends in January and February in Chicago and New York. Each conference will feature presentations and discussions on black power, independent political action, socialism and other important topics. For information write the Chicago YSA, 302 S. Canal St., Chicago, Illinois 60606, or New York YSA, 873 Broadway, NY, NY 10003.

A third conference is planned for the Cleveland area on December 10 and 11. The theme of the conference is "War in the Twentieth Century," with talks and discussions covering the major wars, as well as imperialism and the colonial revolution. For information write: Cleveland YSA, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

(continued on p. 22)

Cover photos. Top—antidraft sit-in at City College in New York, May 16, 1966. Bottom—anti-Vietnam-war demonstration in Rome, March 26, 1966.



War II had begun, but before U.S. entry into the war, opposition to the establishment of a selective service law was very strong.

During World War II opposition to the draft was restricted to a small handful of militant pacifists. Most Americans certainly did not welcome the war, but nonetheless believed it was necessary in order to defeat fascism.

After the victory of the Allied powers over Japan and Germany in 1945, almost everybody thought the war was over, that the troops would be brought home, and that conscription would be ended. The American rulers, however, had other plans. They wanted to take advantage of America's position as the top military power in the world and the only nuclear power to impose their rule throughout the world and make the world safe for American investments.

The GI's, who were tired of the war and eager to get home, resisted the attempts to distribute them around the world as occupation forces. Large scale revolts broke out in both the Pacific and Europe with the troops demanding that they be brought home. These revolts played a significant role in preventing the United States from immediately crushing the rising colonial revolutions and possibly invading Eastern Europe and the USSR. (See *Young Socialist*, November-December 1965)

The World War II conscription law expired in 1946 but was extended until 1947 and then extended again until the Selective Service Act was passed in 1948. This was America's *first* peacetime draft law. The Act has been extended and amended numerous times since it was passed, and expires again on June 30, 1967.

Origins of "Peacetime" Draft

It's impossible to understand why the American rulers wanted so desperately to establish peacetime conscription, despite its unpopularity, without examining the origins of the cold war.

The cold war did not emerge as a result of a misunderstanding between the USSR and the United States; nor was it due to "violations" by the Soviet Union of post war treaties, or to a "betrayal" by Truman of FDR's wartime alliance with the USSR. It was a direct consequence of the incompatibility between two hostile socio-economic systems.

The American rulers hoped that through their military strength and nuclear hegemony they would be able to prevent the abolition of capitalism in Eastern Europe and roll back the gains made in Russia by the 1917 Revolution.

World War II also unleashed a revolutionary wave in the colonial world as one colony after another broke away from its imperialist masters.

THE DRAFT

BY DOUG JENNESS

For most people of our generation it comes as a surprise to learn that compulsory military conscription, except during major wars, is a relative newcomer to American life. Before World War II the draft would have been unthinkable to most Americans and almost impossible to have imposed upon them. Many Americans were immigrants who had left Europe because they wanted to escape the militarization in their homelands. Even after World

The thrust of this struggle was anti-capitalist and brought it into direct conflict with the United States—chief defender of world capitalism.

Senator Gurney, Republican from South Dakota, expressed the attitude of the ruling politicians on June 3, 1946, when he spoke in favor of extending the war time draft. "Far from being at peace," he said, "we are confronted with a world containing more explosive elements than at the time World War II was started. It would be literally easier to go to war now than then. . . ."

To back up their aggressive cold war foreign policy the American rulers badly needed a standing army. There was no chance whatsoever that the military needs could be fulfilled by a volunteer army. The population was too sick of war for that. Therefore, to be ready to intervene wherever the capitalist order was threatened, a conscript army was needed. The Truman administration not only hustled through a Selective Service Act but took steps to regiment the entire society in many other ways, a policy actually begun under the Roosevelt administration. In March, 1947, Truman launched his program requiring all government employees to sign loyalty oaths, thus taking the first big step in what became a vicious decade-long witchhunt during which radicals were driven out of the trade union movement as a conservative bureaucracy was whipped into line to serve government policy.

Peacetime military conscription, therefore, is part and parcel of American capitalism's cold war policies.

The conscript army is not a crusading army carrying the spirit of democracy around the world. Rather, as post war history affirms, it is a counter-revolutionary dagger aimed directly at the rising colonial and socialist revolutions. American military intervention in Korea, Lebanon, Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Vietnam bears witness to this fact.

Discrimination in the Draft

In addition to the political use of the conscript army, the present draft system also reflects the class nature of U.S. society and the racial discrimination that permeates American life.

Many civil rights leaders including Adam Clayton Powell, Martin Luther King, and Stokely Carmichael have condemned the discrimination against Negroes by the Selective Service System. They point out that black GI's are contributing 22 percent of the total casualties in Vietnam, though the proportion of black people in this country is considerably less. Racist supporters of the war counter these facts by arguing that the enlistment rate of Negroes is proportionately much higher than for

whites, and that the re-enlistment of Negroes is a staggering 49 percent—almost three times higher than the rate among whites.

This argument, however, only serves to point out that the employment opportunities for Negroes are so poor that they seek financial security in the counterrevolutionary army. Negro GI's are forced by this racist system to sell their bodies and risk death fighting Vietnamese peasants.

The dilemma of escaping racist-imposed poverty on one hand and fighting in a racist war on the other has impelled some Negro leaders like Stokely Carmichael of SNCC to urge Negroes to say "hell no" to their draft boards. They are expressing the deep antiwar sentiment that exists in the Negro ghettos and are searching for methods and solutions that will get Negroes out of this mess. If individual acts of defiance against the draft won't do it they will try other methods until they find the most effective.

The antiwar movement can play an important role by exposing the racist and anti-working class character of the draft, as well as the racist nature of the war. There is little point, however, in calling for reforming the draft by abolishing the student deferments. This would be like putting a coat of varnish on a rotten boat. There are no reforms that could "improve" the draft. The problem is the draft itself and most important the political purpose it serves. All the proposed reforms, including the replacement of the Selective Service System with universal training, aim at improving the draft as a tool for the American rulers. We can't have any part of this. Socialists and other antiwar fighters should demand the complete and unconditional abolition of the draft.

The role of the educational system in American society is also reflected by the relationship between the universities and the Selective Service System. Many students and professors active in the antiwar movement have pointed out how universities serve the war aims of the American government by ranking students according to their grades, permitting deferment tests to be held on the campus, and allowing military recruiters easy access to campus facilities. Complicity by universities and colleges with the draft system violates the notion of a free and creative education and should be opposed vigorously along with university support for any aspect of the Vietnam war.

How to Fight the Draft

The peace time draft has been in existence since the end of World War II, yet only since the growth of the anti-Vietnam-war movement has there been widespread questioning about it. The moral re-

vulsion against fighting in Vietnam, along with the rising casualty rates, has forced many young men to have doubts about the draft as well as the war. A growing number of men every month flee to Canada to avoid the draft. Anthony Hyde in the *National Guardian* (October 22, 1966) indicates that 500 to 2,000 draft resisters are now in Canada. There has also been a marked increase in the number of applications for conscientious objector status, from one in 1,000 registrants in World War II to one in 300 now.

The central question facing those of us who are opposed to the draft is: what is the most effective way of fighting it?

The *National Guardian* (November 5) recently devoted almost an entire issue to a discussion of the draft. In one article, Jack Smith, a *Guardian* staff writer, tried to demonstrate that the antiwar movement is turning to antidraft activity as its focal point. He wrote, "As the war intensifies, and as conventional demonstrations seem less and less effective as a bar to escalation, it appears inevitable major sections of the movement will undertake outright, militant antidraft activities."

Organizations like Students for a Democratic Society and the DuBois Clubs have also been advocating that the organized antiwar movement should adopt as its central axis and program a campaign of activities against the draft. Several suggestions have been made by these and other groups as to what kinds of activities would be most effective.

Some advocate defiance of the draft laws by refusal to serve, arguing that the draft is one of the most sensitive and vulnerable points at which to attack the war. If enough men refuse to serve in the army, it would throw a monkey wrench into the entire war effort. This, of course, would be true if enough men would go along with it, and if the activity took on a mass character. However, there is no indication whatsoever that the sentiment for

a mass civil disobedience movement against the draft exists. The overwhelming majority of draft-age males, regardless of what antiwar sentiments they may have, are not willing to defy the law, especially when it means stiff jail sentences. Ironically, even many of the advocates of this orientation for the movement, are not willing to refuse to serve themselves.

Another antidraft action that has been suggested is a national lobby in Washington to put pressure on Congress to abolish the draft. This was proposed in an editorial in *Peace and Freedom News* (October 1, 1966). The underlying political objective of this proposal is to direct the movement towards putting pressure on "progressive" politicians. By shifting the orientation of the antiwar movement from unconditional opposition to the war to opposition to the draft it is hoped that a link between the forces involved in the antiwar movement and the liberal politicians can be made. This would not be a link-up on the basis of the movement's present sharp and unconditional demand for immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. Rather it would be a link-up based on diverting the activities of the movement away from a direct confrontation with the administration and the ruling Democratic party.

Opposition to the draft does not require uncompromising opposition to the foreign policy of the U. S. government and those who support a concentration of energy on antidraft activity hope to "broaden" and enlarge the movement by focusing on this question. There are some liberals including a few congressmen who will speak out for reforming or even abolishing the draft and yet support the war. For example at a national conference recently held by the American Veteran's Committee, the president of Queen's College, Dr. Joseph McMurray, spoke out for abolition of the draft and advocated voluntary recruitment. He is a former federal official and favors President Johnson's policy in Vietnam.

The aim of broadening the movement is very important but it should not be done at the expense of watering down the antiwar program of the movement in order to bloc with apologists of the war.

A third suggested activity is mass protests on the campus against the draft, discrimination in the draft, and university complicity with the Selective Service System. Such actions are positive inasmuch as they draw new people into the antiwar movement and expose the connection between universities and imperialist foreign policy.

They can play a very important role in campus

Put a good product on the market, advertize it properly and people will buy it. . . . Not long ago our mighty war machine came to a grinding halt at the doors of Japan . . . its mission accomplished. . . . Practically overnight we had need of a new Army . . . a **Regular Army** . . . a regular **Peacetime Army**. . . . Somewhere behind the scenes, the blueprint for this Army was laid out and studied and revised. . . . We have our new product . . . the new **peacetime Regular Army** . . . and Americans are buying it!"

From *Army Life*, November, 1945

antiwar activity, especially if they are viewed as a complement to and not a substitute for the building of a mass movement to bring the troops home now.

American Rulers Need Draft

The American rulers are not going to abolish the draft as long as the United States is top policeman for the capitalist world. U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam and elsewhere requires a standing army as much as it does a massive armaments industry and the draft is the means by which the rulers obtain their standing army.

Hanson Baldwin, military editor of the *New York Times*, in an article in the *New York Times Magazine* (November 20, 1966) discusses the role of the draft in meeting manpower needs for the armed forces. Arguing against abolition of the draft he points out that volunteer recruitment might meet the normal military needs of the government but could not meet the sudden greatly increased demands of a Korea or a Vietnam. He correctly recognizes that Koreas and Vietnams are expected outgrowths of American foreign policy and military needs require preparation for them.

He also argues that the draft's "'hot breath' induces a large number of the ostensible 'volunteers' to enter the service of their choice." He points to a Defense Department survey which indicates that "71 percent of Reserve enlistees (men who enlisted in the Reserves for four to six months' training followed by service in the Reserves), 41 percent of the officers serving their first active duty tour and 38 percent of the first-term enlistees—all volunteered *because of the draft*" (original emphasis).

According to a UPI dispatch (*New York Times*, November 9, 1966) some Army officials were worried about a proposed draft reduction "on the ground that it might result in a drop in voluntary enlistments."

If LBJ could find some other way of policing the world than by forcefully conscripting American youth, it would be to his advantage to do it. But he cannot and therefore the draft, along with heavy government spending on arms, is inextricably tied into America's counterrevolutionary foreign policy. At this time, while the United States is employing hundreds of thousands of troops in a war against the peasants of Vietnam, the biggest possible blow against American militarism—the draft, arms spending, etc.—can be dealt by building a mass movement to bring the American men home from Vietnam.

This approach is superior to the proposals of

those who want to concentrate primarily on the theme of ending the draft because unlike those proposals it has the potentiality of building a mass movement. This is the acid test for any program for the antiwar movement.

The organized antiwar movement at the present time is very small relative to the entire population in this country, and it is composed primarily of middle class students, professors, and radicals. In order for the movement to have any power it must win the support of large sections of the working class, black and white, civilian and soldier. The tactics of the movement should be geared toward every opening that helps bridge the current gap between the movement and the base it so badly needs to be successful. The demand to bring the troops home now helps to do this by putting the movement on the side of the GI's and their relatives.

Circulating facts to soldiers about the war helps to link the movement up with the troops. The links that have been made between the militant civil rights groups and the antiwar movement are part of this approach. The movement should also seriously consider linking up with the women who are militantly fighting inflation.

However, there is nothing that will separate the organized antiwar movement from both civilian workers and soldiers more than the image of being an antidraft movement. To the overwhelming majority of workers and soldiers draft resistance connotes cowardice and beatnikism and worse—ineffective individual martyrdom.

One of the reasons why the major newspapers and TV stations play up antidraft activities, especially draft-card burnings, while blacking out news of antiwar demonstrations, is that they view publicity about this kind of activity as a means of dividing the campus-based antiwar movement from the rest of the population. The rulers in this country deliberately try to counterpose the "brave" GI's to the "cowardly" draft-card burners and "draft dodgers." Despite the sincere intentions and uncompromising moral principles of those who refuse induction or burn their draft-cards, these are the facts of the matter.

While unconditionally opposing compulsory military conscription and defending all those who defy it, the antiwar movement must keep its eye on the objective and concentrate on activities that help build the movement. We have the responsibility as well as the possibility of winning and leading the millions that are necessary to bring an end to this war and strike a blow at American militarism.

INTERVIEW WITH A POLISH COMMUNIST STUDENT



October 24, 1956, 500,000 Polish workers throng Defilee Square to hear Wladyslaw Gomulka, new First Secretary of the Polish Workers party.

On June 28, 1956, hundreds of workers poured out of the huge locomotive works in Poznan, Poland. They filed through the industrial districts towards the center of town singing and yelling. Thousands of others joined the stream until there were 300,000 people pressed into the square between the old university building and the city hall. Hastily prepared banners expressed the simple demands: "We Want to Eat," and "Bread and Freedom."

This was the beginning of a political revolt against the bureaucratic regime in Poland which, before the year was over, even helped spark the massive uprising in Hungary.

Although the revolts in Poland reached deep into the masses and continued for several months, no fundamental changes were made. Wladyslaw Gomulka, a victim of Stalin's anti-Titoist purges in the late 1940's, became the head of the ruling Polish Workers party in October, 1956. A few steps were taken toward liberalization, but the undemocratic rule of the bureaucracy continued.

Now, ten years later, a new opposition is developing in Poland.

In July, 1965, and in January, 1966, two political trials took place in Warsaw which are symptomatic of the growing mood of rebellion especially among students and intellectuals. The foreign press has linked these two trials together due to the political affinities between the defendants, even though the Polish authorities have established no organizational links between them.

In the first trial the defendants were two young intellectuals, Karol Modzelewski and Jacek Kuron. Modzelewski is the son of a former Communist leader who was the first Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Peoples Republic of Poland. He was one of the leaders of the university youth in Warsaw during the 1956 revolt. Later he was one of the organizers of discussions at the University in which he openly expressed opinions critical of the party and state. Kuron is

also the son of an old-time Communist leader. Modzelewski was sentenced to three and one half years in prison and Kuron to three.

The defendants in the second trial, Ludwig Haas, Romuald Smiech and Kasimierz Badowski, all from the pre-war generation, were each sentenced to three years in prison. Haas has since been released. They were instructors in history and economics at the Universities of Warsaw and Cracow. Ludwig Haas was a member of the Polish Trotskyist organization before World War II. With the arrival of Russian troops in Poland in 1939 he was arrested and deported to a Russian concentration camp for seventeen years. When he returned to Poland he openly proclaimed himself a Trotskyist and joined the Polish Workers party.

The key document to come forth from these currents of opposition is an "Open Letter to the Polish Workers Party," written by Modzelewski and Kuron. This document is of great historic importance because it is the first revolutionary Marxist document to come from one of the workers states since the extermination of the Russian Left Opposition and the assassination of Trotsky.

A portion of this document will be published in the January-February, 1967, issue of the **International Socialist Review** and Merit Publishers has announced that it is printing the "Open Letter" as a pamphlet.

The interview with a Polish student printed below was translated by the **Young Socialist** from the September issue of **La Quatrieme Internationale**, organ of the French Parti Communiste Internationaliste.

Even at the beginning of the vacation period, the "Havenda," one of the few outdoor cafes situated near the University of Warsaw, was filled with people, and nothing was easier than striking up a conversation with students. It was more dif-

ficult, of course, to get a precise idea of the political atmosphere which prevails at the University. For that, a long political discussion was necessary, covering the French Communist party and the movements it influences, the Italian Communist party and much more. Without a doubt, there was a fear of provocations, or, at least, a desire to avoid any unnecessary risks.

Poland has generally been considered the "people's democracy" where freedom of expression is greatest. Do you think this is justified?

That was unquestionably true in 1956, the epoch of the Polish October. Now, it is dubious. Of course, we can think what we want and even say certain things (this is the proof right here!), but we can't write them. In other words, certain forms of individual liberty are respected, but it is impossible to organize real discussions, much less propose political platforms.

Then there has been a real regression since 1956?

Absolutely! 1956 saw the birth of *Po Prostu* for example, which was a real magazine of struggle. It was the magazine of the former youth organization, and it was enormously popular. It was practically never censored; then in 1957, it was banned. To protest, the students had a demonstration and there were some run-ins with the police.

What other avenues of discussion were there and what has become of them?

There were additional magazines, literary magazines, but most important, there was a blossoming of "clubs" on the margins of the official organizations. One of the most famous, because of its studies on the recent history of Poland, was the Krzywekolo club which was closed around 1962.

The most recent is the discussion club led by Modzelewski, who is now in prison. This club was extraordinarily successful—the hall was always full to overflowing. It was officially acknowledged, since the Minister of Interior Commerce and the Editor-in-Chief of *Polityka* came there to lecture and debate with those assembled in the hall. The club was closed at the beginning of 1964 by the decision of the University committee of the Z. M. S. (organization of socialist youth).

There was even a club that people called "the club of the revisionists in swaddling clothes," which drew nearly a hundred highschoolers to each meet-

ing. That was also closed.

It should be pointed out that in the beginning the Party looked rather favorably on these clubs; for by itself the Party is unable to combat a certain tendency towards cynicism and disgust with politics which is developing among a section of the youth. But, as soon as absolute control escapes it. . . .

Why was Modzelewski arrested?

Formally, Modzelewski and Kuron were arrested for infractions of the penal code of 1932 and for infractions of the M. K. K. (minor penal code of the Stalinist period). They were arrested for the first time in November, 1964, because they had been working on (although they had not completely finished) an analysis of the Polish political situation and a draft program. They were released and then arrested again for having written an open letter to the Party which explained their position.

Have you read this letter?

At one time it was possible to read it, if you signed a register. Now, I think that to have the letter in your possession would be worth a prison sentence. I know that in this letter there is first an analysis of the causes of the economic and political crisis of the regime: the total political and economic power of the bureaucracy which directs and subordinates to its own ends the entire process of production. That is followed by a program which advocates a system of socialist democracy based on workers' councils.

By what means do they intend to achieve socialist democracy?

The letter speaks of anti-bureaucratic revolution. Whether or not it will be violent depends solely on the degree of decomposition of the bureaucratic apparatus, essentially in the U. S. S. R.

Didn't Gomulka used to boast that there were no political prisoners in Poland?

Modzelewski and Kuron are not political prisoners—that would be inadmissible under a "socialist regime." They are charged with having communicated false information concerning the State, and are thus tried under the common law statutes. Kuron was held under particularly bad conditions; he was put in the worst prison in Warsaw, known

as "Stum," which is intended for habitual criminals.

What were the reactions at the University?

The trial took place during the vacations, but it still created quite a bit of ferment. A number of students were arrested and there were several searches. They were accused of having organized a collection to help the prisoners, and also of "conducting themselves as if there actually existed an important group of students supporting Modzelowski and Kuron."

And among the professors?

That is perhaps less spectacular than among the students, even though there were symbolic gestures from some professors, clearly showing their friendliness towards the prisoners.

But among the professors also, there is a great deal of discontent. Above all, they want freedom of research and creativity. As an indication: in 1964, there was "The Letter of the 34" signed by the most famous intellectuals—Infeld, Dombrowska, Stonimski, etc.—who made public their opposition to "preventive censure." The Party responded with "The Letter of the 100," which each intellectual in the Party was practically forced to sign.

Did they all agree to sign?

Not all. Konwicki, who should have received the national literature prize, refused. They say that

he commented, "30,000 zlotys will not make me become a rat." Of course, he didn't get the prize.

Do you have any opportunities to find out what sort of political climate exists in the working class?

No, we don't really have any such opportunities. But, to be sure, the discontent which is real does not take on such spectacular forms as it does in the intellectual circles.

Do you think that these arrests are a decisive blow, that they will strengthen the apolitical tendency among the youth?

It is not very likely. For example, they had to close the school of philosophy a month early for vacations because of the extent of the discussions that were unfolding there.

An interesting anecdote: at the May Day parade, some students attempted to march past the official reviewing stand with posters on which they had written "Socialist Democracy." There was a little run-in with the monitors who tore up the signs. No one said they were subversive signs, of course—only that those slogans had not been included in the plans for the program! Never at a loss, the students remade the signs, writing with tooth paste. The whole business followed its own course, and two students are in danger of being thrown out of the Z. M. S.

On the contrary, this repression will only produce deeper thinking and greater seriousness.

MEET YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

ANN ARBOR: YSA, 630 Miller Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich., tel. 761-3678

ANTIOCH: YSA, c/o Rick Wadsworth, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio, tel. 767-1576

BERKELEY-OAKLAND: YSA, c/o Derrel Myers, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, tel. 843-6082

U. of Cal.: Pete Camejo, 2418-1/2 Roosevelt Ave., Berkeley, tel. 843-6165

BOSTON: YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, tel. 491-8893

M.I.T.: Nat London, tel. 354-1999

Harvard-Radcliffe: tel. 868-3021

CHICAGO: YSA, 302 S. Canal St., Rm 204, tel. 939-5044

Roosevelt U.: c/o Activities Office, 403 S. Michigan Ave.

University of Illinois Chicago Campus: Richard Hill, 3039 W. Walton tel. 533-6811

CLEVELAND: YSA, E. V. Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Ave., tel. 791-1669

DENVER: YSA, Box 2649, Denver, Colo.

DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., tel. TE1-6135

Wayne State U.: YSA, Box 49, Mackenzie Hall, WSU

KENT (Ohio): YSA, c/o Barbara Brock, Student Activities Center, Kent State U.

LOS ANGELES: YSA, c/o Mike Geldman, 1702 E. 4th St., tel. AN 9-4953

Cal. State College at L.A.: Vic Dinnerstein, tel. WE 1-4779

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Columbia: Caroline Jenness, 314 E. 11th St., tel. GR3-1387

City College: Wendy Reissner, 430 W. 46th St., tel. CI6-2348

PHILADELPHIA: YSA, c/o John Benson, 440 N. 38th St., tel. EV 6-7699

PORTLAND: YSA, c/o Bill Blau, P.O. Box 17154, Kenton Station, Portland, Oregon, tel. 289-4223

SAN DIEGO: YSA, 1853 Irving, tel. 239-1813

SAN FRANCISCO: YSA, 1733 Waller St., tel. 752-1790

S.F. State College: Paul McKnight, 625 Ashbury, #12, tel. KL2-2838

SAN JOSE: YSA, c/o Beverly Bernardo, 239 S. 4th St., tel. 294-2640

SEATTLE: YSA, c/o Syd Stapleton, 4134-A Brooklyn Ave. N.E., tel. LA2-4325

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, c/o Leon Fredrich, 1116 25th St. N.W., #3, tel. 965-8986

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EDMONTON: Young Socialist Forum, Box 476, Edmonton, Alberta

MONTREAL: La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, 66 ouest rue Guilbault tel. 884-7742



Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham, and Tom Morgan at Indiana University.

BY JOYCE DEGROOT

On November 29, the prosecuting attorney in Monroe County, Indiana, notified Leonard Boudin, defense attorney for the three Bloomington students indicted under the 1951 Indiana Anti-Communism Act, that he was moving to Florida, that the newly elected prosecutor was not interested in persuing the case, and that he would like to drop the indictments against Jim Bingham, Ralph Levitt, and Tom Morgan.

Although nothing had been finalized when the *Young Socialist* went to press, the now famous Bloomington case may be close to a final victory.

* * * *

". . . to exterminate Communism, communists, and any or all teachings of the same." This is the explicit purpose of the Indiana Anti-Communism Act, a law which outlines what an individual can, or more specifically, what an individual can *not* "advise," "advocate," "abet," "teach," "print," "publish," "edit," "issue," "circulate," "sell," "distribute," "display," or even think. Passed during the height of McCarthyism, it is not unique, nor is it indigenous to Indiana. On the contrary, it is similar to many state "sedition" laws which exist throughout the country.

What is unusual about the Indiana Anti-Communism Act is its use, for the first time in American history, to criminally prosecute university students for their political ideas. In May, 1963, Jim Bingham, Ralph Levitt and Tom Morgan, officers of the recognized campus chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), were indicted under this act for their activities and ideas as socialists at the University of Indiana.

The Bloomington Case began four years ago in the fall of 1962. At that time, a small group of

BLOOMINGTON CASE: HOADLEY MAY DROP INDICTMENTS

students at Indiana University staged a demonstration in opposition to the U. S. blockade of Cuba. Participating in the demonstration was the Indiana University chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. The picketers were met by a right-wing crowd of several hundred. While the police and a crowd of over 1,000 watched, the counter demonstrators physically attacked the line, yelling, ripping signs and causing injury to some.

The following January, newly-elected Monroe County Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley began what he hoped would be a meteoric political ascendancy by making one of his first jobs an investigation into the "part played by the YSA . . . in inciting to riot" during the October demonstration. With this public statement, he began his smear campaign, using McCarthyite tactics in attempting to remove the YSA from the Indiana University campus. The campaign he conducted was reminiscent of the witchhunt of the 1950's, when association, slander, trial by press and red baiting were common means of proving guilt. Prosecutor Hoadley employed all of these tactics.

All this time, Hoadley's aim was clear - he wanted to remove the YSA from the campus. When his extra-legal means failed (the college administration refused to withdraw its recognition, and the individuals in the organization refused to be intimidated), he turned to a different approach. This time he used a 1951 "state sedition" law to indict the three campus officers, Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt and Jim Bingham. The specific event to which he related the indictment was a public meeting at which a national officer of the YSA advocated that Negroes use their constitutional right of self-defense when attacked by racists. This public meeting, attended by more than 100 people, was singled out by the prosecutor as a meeting to "advocate the violent overthrow of the government of the U. S. and the state of Indiana." The heinous crime of the three students, according to the pro-

secutor, was their *attendance* at this meeting, and it was for this they were indicted.

When this indictment was quashed on a technicality during the summer of 1963, Hoadley returned a second indictment, this time based on a meeting in a private home at which the three defendants, their attorney and friends met to plan their defense after the first indictment.

Although Hoadley's tactics were similar to those used in the 1950's, there was a decisive difference in the reaction of the three students. They fought back. They organized a defense committee; they asked people to support them on the civil liberties issues involved; and they challenged the constitutionality of the witchhunt law. Their fight offers an example to all young people who believe that students have the right to freely investigate all ideas, to act on their beliefs and to defend their basic constitutional rights.

Widespread Support

When the prosecutor began his smear campaign, a defense committee was formed to tell the truth about the demonstration against the Cuba blockade, and to counter Hoadley's attacks with the truth. After the indictment, this defense committee became the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, and its support extended across the U. S. and into Canada. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee provided the services of their eminent constitutional counsel, Leonard B. Boudin. The three indicted students spoke about the case throughout the country, winning support on hundreds of college campuses. Faculty members, community leaders and civil libertarians became sponsors of the Committee, and the number grew from 300 to 700 to 1,300. Hundreds of students circulated petitions, licked stamps for mailings, passed out leaflets and knocked on dormitory doors. Art auctions, rummage sales, sacrificial dinners, parties and folk concerts were held to raise money for the legal expenses. Chapters of the American Association of University Professors, the American Federation of Teachers, the American Civil Liberties Union, along with student governments and local campus organizations, passed resolutions in support of the case.

In March, 1964, the first victory was won when the section of the law under which the students were indicted was declared unconstitutional by a local judge at pre-trial hearings. The prosecutor appealed this decision to the State Supreme Court, and in January, 1965, a split decision reversed this earlier ruling.

Thus the fight began once again, but this time on a different plane. The students filed an appeal for a federal injunction on the grounds that their civil liberties were being infringed upon by the criminal prosecution under this unconstitutional act. In this appeal, they were joined by two professors at Indiana University and two doctoral candidates at the school, who felt that the law infringed upon *their* constitutional rights. Although they had not been indicted, these individuals felt that the existence of this law and the possible threat of indictment under it curtailed their constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech.

A hearing on the constitutionality of the law was scheduled in the federal court for November 4, 1966, one year after the appeal had been filed. Then, with no explanation, the hearing was postponed. It now seems evident that Hoadley's decision to leave the state was an important factor.

The fight waged by the three students and all those who have contributed to the case stopped short Hoadley's attempt to use the issue of "anti-communism" to build a political career. His successor apparently feels he could fare no better.

The fight against reaction and witchhunt is a long and arduous fight. This generation is proving it can wage the fight—proving it on demonstrations opposing the war in Vietnam; proving it in the fight for civil rights and black power; and proving it on the campuses by refusing to be intimidated by subversive lists, investigating committees and other vestiges of the McCarthy period. The three Indiana University students have been in the forefront of this fight for four years. Their fight against this unconstitutional state statute is a fight for the civil liberties of all Americans. Although the final victory seems near, their battle has been hard and costly. For what we hope will be a short time, the Bloomington students still need your *help!*

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European Socialist Youth



BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

In October, *Young Socialist* Editor, Mary-Alice Waters, spent three weeks in Europe, meeting and talking with hundreds of socialist youth from around the world. While abroad she participated in an anti-Vietnam-war demonstration of several thousand European socialist youth in Liege, Belgium, and addressed the rally on behalf of the Young Socialist Alliance, bringing greetings from America's socialist youth. In Belgium, England and France she addressed numerous audiences, discussing the American antiwar movement, the "new left," the rise of the black power movement, and many other questions of interest to Europe's socialist youth.

The following article is based in part on her experiences and information she gathered together from numerous interviews and conversations.



and the Antiwar Movement





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and the Antiwar Movement

October 15, 1966, was an important date for Europe's socialist youth. On that day nearly 4,000 youth gathered in Liege, Belgium, the heart of Belgium's mining industry, to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle being waged by the Vietnamese people, to demand that the U. S. get out of Vietnam and to demand that the European countries get out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The special importance of this demonstration came from the fact that it was the *first* Europe-wide international antiwar action.

As the international delegations began to congregate in the huge Place de l'Yser in the early afternoon the banners in many languages multiplied and the demonstration took form. First came the flags and banners of the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes (JGS), the Socialist Young Guards of Belgium, the initiators and organizers of the demonstration. In French and Flemish, the two national languages of Belgium they demanded "Get Out of NATO," "U. S. Troops Get Out of Vietnam," "Stop the Atomic Armament of Belgium," "Down with the Army, Capitalism's Cop," and "Solidarity with the South Vietnamese FLN Freedom Fighters."

Following them were delegations of several hundred youth from the French Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR, Revolutionary Communist Youth), the British Young Socialists, the Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (SDS, German Socialist Student Union) and the French youth grouped around the magazine "Revoltes." In addition there were sizable delegations from Denmark and Holland, and representation from Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Canada, the United States, and several other countries.

Enthusiastic Response

When the Belgian JGS originally decided to call the demonstration several months earlier they thought it would be primarily a Belgian demonstration with a few supporting delegations from other countries. But when the invitations to participate went out, the response from other European socialist youth groups was so enthusiastic that a real international protest was assured.

The significance of this can hardly be overestimated as it reflects a very important development

Pictures, opposite page, Liege, Belgium, October 15, 1966. Top—German delegation with sign reading "Solidarity with the FLN, USA Get Out of Vietnam." Center—British delegation. Bottom—Belgian delegation, with main banner reading "Get Out of NATO."

among European radical youth which must be seen in the context of the general European political scene.

In the countries of Western Europe, as in every major capitalist country in the world except the United States, there are mass social democratic, Communist, and labor parties which have the political allegiance of the majority of the working class. In England a labor government is in power. In Belgium during the early sixties the Socialist party formed a coalition government with the Catholic party. In France the Communist party is the largest single party—if you exclude the coalition of parties in the Gaullist Union—consistently winning close to 25 percent of the vote. In Italy a social democratic coalition governs, while 75 percent of the organized workers belong to Communist party led trade unions, and the CP usually wins more than a quarter of the vote nationally. In the Scandinavian countries social democratic governments have been in power for years. In Germany the social democrats have just formed a coalition government with the Christian democrats. And the list could go on. What is important, however, is that in spite of the fact these social democratic, Communist and labor parties have continuously betrayed the basic interests of the working class, their strength still reflects the degree of class consciousness of European workers. Unlike American workers, they do not vote for openly capitalist parties and candidates, as they recognize their interests as a class are different.

But what has been the reaction of these mass Communist, social democratic and labor parties to U. S. aggression in Vietnam? One might expect there to be widespread and effective opposition as theoretically, at least, these parties recognize that the Vietnamese war is the current focal point of struggle between the world socialist revolution and the world imperialist forces led by the United States. These same parties, often the same leaders, lived through the rise of Hitler and German fascism and saw the price paid by the world working class for the refusal of the German CP to forge a united front with the social democratic party to defeat fascism. They saw a battle front of the world socialist revolution develop in Spain thirty years ago and reaped the bitter fruits of defeat there, due to the same failure of the CP to unite the working class and fight for a decisive socialist victory.

Today, the Communist parties of western Europe, following the lead of Moscow are again blunting the struggle—in the name of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism—in the vain hope of appeasing

the insatiable appetite of American capitalism. While Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko slips in the back door of the White House for secret talks with one of the directors of the butchery of the Vietnamese people, the Communist parties of the world talk of the need for "peace" and a return to the Geneva Accords—the same Accords which set the stage for the current blood bath in Vietnam. The social democracy long ago departed so far from any principles of international working class solidarity that today the Danish social democratic government can ban the collection of money for North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front, insisting that any funds sent to Vietnam be divided equally between Saigon, Hanoi, and the NLF. And the pro-Peking Communist parties along with other ultra-left groups attack any united front actions as capitulation to the revisionists or stal-inists.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate what the Communist and social democratic parties of Western Europe would be doing to aid the Vietnamese revolution if they were even half-heartedly following a policy of international solidarity with other workers struggles is to examine a country in which the labor movement is deeply committed to ending U. S. aggression in Vietnam, namely Japan.

The Japanese Workers and The War

In Japan it is the Socialist party which has the support of the overwhelming majority of the organized working class, but the SP did not become a party with mass following until after World War II when real trade unions were organized. Neither the SP nor the trade unions have become as bureaucratized as their European counterparts which have existed over half a century or more. With the rapid industrial rebuilding and expansion of the Japanese economy, militant young workers

have found their way not only into the rank and file of the trade unions but into the leadership as well.

The Japanese workers, from the beginning of U.S. aggression in Vietnam have seen the danger of World War III inherent in the conflict which is taking place on their doorstep and have roundly condemned U. S. actions there.

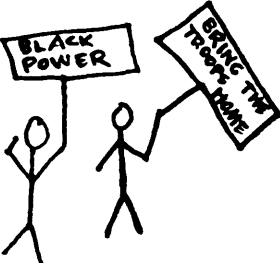
Sohyo, the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions, has taken an active lead in organizing this sentiment. In August of 1965 Sohyo ended its 28th convention with a resolution pledging an "all out fight against U. S. aggression in Vietnam" and demanding the immediate withdrawal of troops and recognition of the right of self determination for Vietnam. They helped organize the 100,000 strong demonstration against the war during the first international days of protest, October 15-16, 1965. They organized the mass demonstrations to meet Secretary of State Dean Rusk when he visited Japan this year, greeting him with more than 4,000 at the airport and surrounding his hotel with another 2,000. They organized the mass protests against the visit of a U.S. atomic submarine to Japan and against the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong last summer. In the fall of 1966 the Soyho convention passed an official resolution calling on workers to refuse to produce war materials headed for the U.S. forces in Vietnam. (It was pointed out, for instance, that 90 percent of the napalm used in Vietnam is produced in Japan. If this source of supply were suddenly cut off it would be, to say the least, a substantial aid to the Vietnamese people.) They have called on sailors to refuse to work ships carrying war supplies to the U.S. in Vietnam, and on longshoremen to refuse to load such supplies. The national convention called for one hour work stoppages all over Japan on October 21 to back up demands that the U. S. get out of Vietnam, and in preparation for this they held trade union meetings around the country.

Through the efforts of the left wing of the SP and Sohyo the Japanese sentiment against the Vietnam war is so well organized that the conservative government has had to move very circumspectly in its support for U. S. policies in Vietnam. It did not dare participate in the Manila conference of Asian governments controlled by the U.S., and Johnson did not even attempt to visit Japan during his Far Eastern three-ring-circus tour.

The European Working Class "Leaders"

The difference between this and the course being followed by the leadership of the European labor movement is enormous. There have, of course,

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been some demonstrations against the Vietnam war, called by various CP's or supported by this or that left wing of the social democracy, but these demonstrations have been small in relation to their potential, and equivocal in their demands. The French CP, for instance, criticized the demand "Get Out of NATO" as adventurist and ultra-left almost to the day de Gaulle decided to bounce NATO out of France.

In general the Communist and social democratic union bureaucracies have followed a policy of keeping political issues out of the trade unions, restricting them to purely economic struggles. They have failed to educate European workers to the fact that a victory for the U. S. in Vietnam would be a decisive defeat for the colonial revolution, embolden imperialism's designs on the already established workers states, and present a real threat to the rest of the world working class. They have not tried to mobilize the workers on the basis of international class solidarity to defend their common interests.

Despite the default of these leaderships and their refusal to initiate, organize and lead the struggle against the imperialist attack on Vietnam, the issue is of such burning importance that concern over it cannot be side-tracked or muted. And this is where the role of Europe's socialist youth organizations has become crucially important. Just as in the U. S. where the bulk of the forces protesting the war in Vietnam come from the youth, it is the youth in Europe who are reacting. It might be added also that one of the reasons they are reacting is because they are inspired by the antiwar struggle in the U. S. and want to solidarize themselves with the American youth who they continually point out are struggling "in the bowels of the capitalist monster itself."

The Revolutionary Socialist Youth

The composition of the Liege demonstration reflected this as it was overwhelmingly youth—high-school and university students and young industrial and office workers.

Unlike similar demonstrations in the U. S., however, they were socialist youth and this is one of the main differences between the antiwar movement developing in Europe and its American counterpart. The majority of the participants in the antiwar movement in the U. S. are not socialist and a section of them are even anti-socialist, but all those involved can agree on the vital importance of bringing an immediate end to the Vietnam war. The majority agree that the only way to do this is to bring the U. S. troops home now. This

is the minimum— and maximum—possible level of agreement for the diverse organizations and individuals involved.

In Europe, however, due to the existence of a long socialist tradition in the working class, the mass socialist and Communist parties, and the general acceptance of marxism as a legitimate and viable political current, youth who begin to radicalize do so on a much higher political level. Instead of going through a long process of radicalization before they become socialists, more likely than not they begin as members of socialist or Communist youth organizations and go on from there to a more thorough study of marxism. Ironically enough the result of this evolution is often expulsion from these same organizations for wanting to put their socialist convictions into practice, as in defending the Vietnamese revolution.

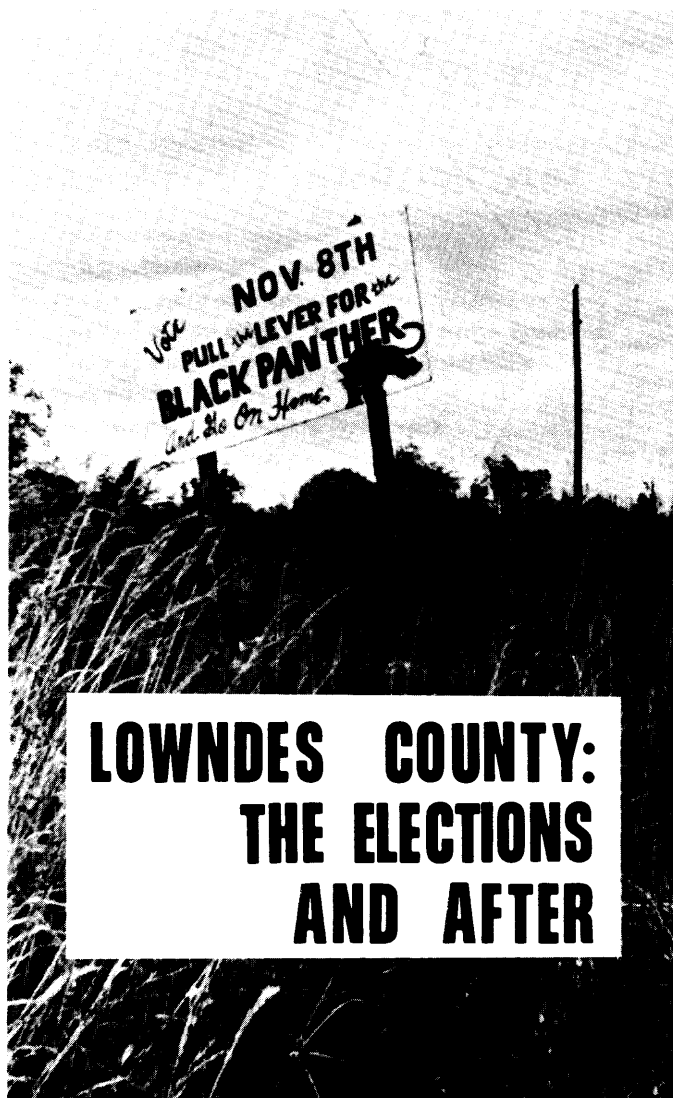
For example, several members of the Jeunesse Communiste (JC, Communist Youth) in Gennevilliers in northern France were physically beaten by a goon squad of local leaders of the JC because they had proposed that the JC in Gennevilliers, like the JC at Le Havre and the Belgian CP youth, support the Liege demonstration, publicize it, and sent a delegation.

Thus the youth who gathered in Liege on October 15 represented the most politically advanced youth in Europe. While the majority of the participants in the antiwar movement developing in Europe come from the new generation of socialist youth, this struggle is in turn playing an important role in building the revolutionary socialist youth movement in Europe.

In Belgium, for instance, the organizers and hosts of the Liege demonstration were tremendously encouraged by the success of the weekend's activities. Until the beginning of 1965 the JGS (which has been in existence since 1891!) was one of the youth groups of the Socialist party. But the leadership of the JGS supported the left wing of the SP and as a result the organization was driven out in a series of expulsions initiated by the right wing. In the past two years they have established themselves as an independent socialist youth group and developed their program, working closely with the Socialist Workers Confederation, the party that was also formed out of the left wing of the SP during the same series of expulsions.

One of the main reasons the JGS decided to call the Liege demonstration was to show their opposition to the transfer of the NATO headquarters from France to Belgium—an issue they see as very closely related to the fight against the Vietnam war. In many ways their demand "NATO Get

(continued on p. 20)



LOWNDES COUNTY: THE ELECTIONS AND AFTER

BY JOHN BENSON

On Tuesday, November 8, 1,600 votes were cast for the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, popularly known as the Black Panther party, and frequently referred to in Lowndes as, "the Cat." This represented 41 percent of the total vote cast for county officials, and at least 80 percent of the Negro vote. By polling more than 20 percent of the total vote, the Freedom Organization became the officially recognized Lowndes County Freedom Party.

After the election, I talked with John Hulett, chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, about the problems the Black Panther had faced, how they had been met, and his own ideas concerning future perspectives.

For the last year Mr. Hulett has worked full time for the movement in Lowndes—without pay, because the movement has so little money. On a typical day he leaves home about 7:00 in the morning and does not return until after 10:00 at

night. The day is spent driving around the county organizing and usually topped by an evening meeting. I was with him on one of these days, and he did not even stop for a meal.

Negroes in Lowndes look to him as a leader, but his devotion to the movement is only one reason. I have never heard him speak for more than a few minutes at a time, but he always seems to say the few words that are needed. In a calm and assuring way he is able to explain what has been done, what needs to be done, what goals are realistic, and what is meant by the word "victory." In addition, he has a deep concern for the welfare of individuals.

On election night, for example, he was very busy trying to evaluate the returns to see what possible grounds existed for challenging the vote. He was also very concerned with the problem of protecting the Negro community from possible white violence. For a while this violence seemed quite likely. Yet when someone came to him with a problem—checking on someone's children, needing a ride home, or worrying about someone's safety—he turned his attention to this problem. Taking care of all these things clearly made an already tiring day much longer. But it is all these factors—his concern for people, his organizational ability, and his desire to build a movement which can win power for the Negroes of Lowndes—which have made him a leader.

Building the Party

The 1,600 Negroes who had just voted for the Black Panther represented a substantial increase over the 900 who had voted in the primary last May. I asked Mr. Hulett what had been done to build the party. "The first thing we did was to go out and really sell the idea to the people, explain to them why they should stay out of the Democratic party. Then we started organizing precinct and community meetings.

"We were pushing registration but didn't do too well. In May we had 2,250 registered and in November 2,800. We got most of the people who weren't afraid to move before the primary." After Negro registration began to rise, many of the landowners, who had previously fought so hard against registration, brought their tenants in to register. "About 75 people registered on the last day the Federal registrar was here, but the landowners brought a lot of them. They brought even more in when the county registrars were there."

The Freedom Organization tried to reach these people through the community meetings. "Starting in August we were averaging 17 meetings a week.

Sixteen met every week and two every other week." The attendance at these meetings averaged 25 to 30, sometimes ranging as high as 50. "At the end of August we got a campaign headquarters which was used for executive board meetings and workshops."

The candidates spoke at the community meetings almost every night. They were supposed to build the party and explain what the jobs they were running for involved. Previously the candidates had attended workshops on the duties of each office. "We had people from the SNCC research department in Atlanta, a person from Philadelphia, and some school board members. The workshops met once a week."

The only indications that a campaign was going on were the Panther posters all over the county, several large signs that had been made, and "Logan for Sheriff" stickers on cars. "We started posting up posters. We'd put them up one day and the next day they'd be torn down. We had stickers to put on cars, but some people with the stickers couldn't get gas. Whites wouldn't sell them gas."

I later learned that a white "better government" organization was campaigning against the Panther by passing out a leaflet warning whites not to vote a straight Democratic ballot. The reason for this was that two of the people running for the board of education were Republicans, and a straight Democratic vote would have left two Panther candidates unopposed.

Qualified Candidates

The new party had many difficulties to overcome to register the gains they made. One of the biggest was the lack of political experience. "We had trouble getting campaign workers. People wanted to work but a lot didn't know enough about politics. A real problem in the beginning was that people thought the candidates weren't qualified for the jobs. But after the workshops, the candidates were able to tell people so much about the job this really changed. Even whites had to acknowledge the quality of the material we put out. *They* didn't even know the duties of the sheriff."

Intimidation and evictions have been a serious problem and fear has kept many people out of the new party. "People were told if they went to the polls to vote they would have to look for a place to live. Some of the plantation owners gave marked ballots to people and told them to ask for certain clerks to help them. What really hurt was that plantation owners were officials. All this stopped quite a few because they realized they didn't have any place to go.

"Most of our problems come from not having places to live or jobs. So we're going to try to build houses and provide jobs—to control some of the money in the county. We want to really move on this."

Mr. Hulett referred to the plans for a Lowndes County cooperative which intends to buy land, for people who have been evicted because of support to the Freedom Party, and also build a store. "There has been a lot of talk about this in the last two weeks. We want to build a grocery store. We are going to work on the plans immediately and hope to finish it in three to four months if we have enough money. Then maybe we'll build another one."

We went on to discuss some of their other plans to help the Negroes of Lowndes, and Mr. Hulett described a poverty program grant they were supposed to receive. "There was a grant of \$241,000 to the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights. We received a telegram from Sergeant Shriver telling us about it. It was for vocational training and was for 100 people—80 men and 20 women. We were going to train carpenters to help build houses.

"But we didn't get the money. Wallace made some charges against the Christian Movement. One was that the money would be used for the promotion of the Black Panther party. So Shriver held up the grant for investigation. None of the charges were true. Actually, we were going to put the money in the bank until after the election and work on the political questions. We don't know whether we will get the money now or not."

Eviction and Intimidation

The new party feels a responsibility for the Negroes of Lowndes and the party activists. There were few evictions between May and the elections, but Mr. Hulett expects more now. The attempt to buy land for houses is an answer to this. Negroes will have a place to go if the plantation owners threaten them with eviction. There were two cases of people being victimized because of their activities during the elections.

One was Mr. Andrew Jones who was beaten as he was leaving a polling place on election night and had to be hospitalized for two days. Mr. Hulett told me that Mr. Jones had been an activist for a long time. Three of his children were among the first Negroes to enter the previously all white Fort Deposit school. Shortly before the elections he had been evicted, and then was unable to find another place to live.

Finally someone offered to sell him some land for \$200, but he does not have that much money. Mr. Hulett was not sure if Mr. Jones had insurance to cover the hospital bills, but if not he said the Freedom Organization would pay the bills, and help buy the land to build a new house for him. "If you don't give protection to people, you lose. Mr. Jones was the strongest person in the community. If we let him down, other people will get shaken."

One other man was evicted for his activities on election day. He lived on the plantation owned by the county chairman of the Democratic party. "He was hauling people to vote. The owner stopped him and told him to put the people out and go on home to the field, or give him the \$300 he owed and get off the field by night." He continued to help transport voters. He too will get help "because he was working for the Freedom Organization."

Analyzing the Elections

In addition to aiding the Negroes in Lowndes, especially those victimized for their support of the Freedom Party, in the immediate future the efforts of the movement in Lowndes will focus on analyzing the election and explaining the results to everyone in the county. Mr. Hulett was very hopeful about the future in Lowndes and also the ability to spread outside the county.

When we discussed the election results, Mr. Hulett told me that they had had a test of how well the Panther would do in August when elections were held for the county board of the Agricultural Conservation Stabilization Service. The board is important because it controls \$400,000 of federal money that comes to the county for loans to farmers. White plantation owners had been going around collecting the ballots of their tenants. Because of this the Freedom Organization "took control of only one community out of six, where three delegates and alternates were elected. In other areas we only elected some alternates. These results made me think we might not win the general elections."

Now that the elections are over "we see our mistakes, our own weaknesses. We'll be able to sum it up and start moving for the next two years. Some people were a little discouraged, but now they are determined to work harder. Perhaps one of the reasons we lost is that people did not realize how hard it would be. They thought if we got out and said a few words we would win. Now people see we have to get out and work and organize. Some people would have helped but they thought we couldn't stick together. Maybe they will help now."

While explaining the reasons for losing the elections, Mr. Hulett made it clear they did not feel they had suffered a defeat. "Even though we lost the election, this is the only place people had a choice. We already won a victory being on the ballot. Getting more than 20 percent of the vote and qualifying as a party—that's a further step.

"We are going to get additional people to register and really set up classes and organize. The classes will be on political education. We'll teach people how to become poll watchers—what to expect on election day. We'll take what happened in the election and show why we didn't win." Mr. Hulett also discussed the possibility of setting up classes to teach people to read and write and how to use a voting machine.

One of the biggest gains for the new party is experience, and they intend to use that. They hope to run candidates for state representative in the next elections, in the district that covers Lowndes and Autauga counties. The day I left, a man was down from Autauga County to talk to Mr. Hulett at 7:00 in the morning, and Mr. Hulett explained to me that they had been working closely together lately and that he planned to speak at a mass meeting in Autauga.

"It's going to grow in other counties in the state of Alabama in a year, and maybe some other states. People from Lowndes can go help. With all the experienced people we can go out and do a good job. We'll feel responsible to help other parties get set up."

Mr. Hulett also feels that as much as possible the party should be financed by the membership because that gives people a greater feeling of responsibility toward it. But it would be very difficult for them to raise locally enough money to aid all the people who have been victimized because of their struggle. For this they will need help from supporters throughout the country.

The Freedom Party intends to run for the county offices in 1968. Some of the offices open that year are the Board of Revenue, the Superintendent of Schools, and county Solicitor. The Solicitor must be an attorney and they would like to have someone move to the county so they can run a candidate for that office. But the success of this depends on their ability to help the Negroes of Lowndes, and the support they receive throughout the country.

The willingness of the people to sacrifice and risk eviction for the new party has won for them some impressive victories. Friends and supporters outside Lowndes County can send contributions to Mr. John Hulett, Rte. 1, Box 125, Hayneville, Alabama.



Robin David demands Senator Edward Kennedy answer questions about Vietnam war.

The Madison Confrontation

BY ALLEN MYERS

Whenever President Johnson leaves the White House, wherever he travels in the U. S. or around the world, he has to run in secrecy. He does not dare let even the American people know where he is going or when, and the reason is simple. Whenever he or any of his high ranking advisors go anywhere in the country they are met by demonstrations, antiwar picket lines, and cries of "Hey, hey LBJ, how many kids did you kill today." The president of the United States cannot travel openly even in his own country.

The "Madison Confrontation" between antiwar students and Senator Edward Kennedy provides a good illustration of why that is true.

On Thursday, October 27, the Massachusetts senator came to Madison, Wisconsin, to plug the gubernatorial aspirations of the Democratic candidate, Patrick Lucey. The Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV) learned of the scheduled visit only a few days in advance and resolved to take advantage of this opportunity to confront the Senator and demand that he defend his support of the war in Vietnam. Leaflets documenting his position were distributed on the campus and committee members obtained large numbers of admission tickets to the Stock Pavilion where the meeting was to take place.

"Bring the Troops Home Now" and "Free the Fort Hood Three" signs were lettered on paper that could be folded up and hidden under coats, and a mimeographed list of questions was prepared and distributed.

As soon as Kennedy appeared on the platform a member of the executive committee of the CEWV stood up and asked "on behalf of the dead and dying in Vietnam" that Kennedy devote his speech to answering the audience's questions about the war. Kennedy's only answer to this was the statement that the proper place to discuss the war was not Madison, but on the floor of the Senate!

When Kennedy had finished this amazing statement, Robin David, chairman of the CEWV, and a member

of the Madison YSA, stood up and said that, as an individual who was not a senator but a student who faced the prospect of being drafted and sent to Vietnam, he wanted Kennedy to answer questions about the war.

Kennedy's way of avoiding this demand was to ask the audience, composed primarily of Democratic party faithful, whether it would rather hear him or David speak. (Some people have reported that Senator Gaylord Nelson, who was seated on the speaker's platform, raised his hand to indicate he would rather listen to the CEWV spokesman.)

Kennedy tried to begin his speech, but was prevented from continuing by a volley of questions shouted from the audience. The senator then invited David to speak from the platform for three minutes.

When David attempted to discuss the background of the war, however, he was interrupted by Kennedy, who insisted that he avoid history and merely give his program for what the U.S. should do now. David then stated the position of the Madison CEWV, demanding the immediate withdrawal of American troops, and went on to attack both gubernatorial candidates and especially the Democratic party for deliberately avoiding the important issues in the election period.

After David returned to his seat, Kennedy went on with his speech, in spite of the fact that it could not be heard because of questions shouted by members of the audience outraged by Kennedy's deliberate evasion of the issues.

The "Kennedy Incident," as it came to be known, turned the Madison campus into an uproar. A host of individuals who had never spoken a word about the bombing attacks on organizations opposed to the war suddenly discovered a consuming interest in defending democracy and just as quickly decided that the "heckling" of Senator Kennedy was a violation of democracy, free speech, and the American Way.

But the Madison CEWV stood firm on its right to demand a public accounting from elected officials. Such is the life of the "leaders" in America today.

...europe

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Out of Belgium, Belgium Get Out of NATO" corresponds to the slogan of the Canadian antiwar movement, "End Canadian Complicity."

The German SDS

In Germany, Italy, and France, as well as Belgium, the struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam is playing an important role in the work of the left communist and socialist students.

In Germany, the SDS, which includes most of the various tendencies of socialist and communist youth, has been leading a campaign of opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, to the German government's support to the U.S. war policy and in solidarity with the people of Vietnam. In addition to projects like bringing a large delegation to Liege, the various local groups have staged demonstrations in which they have cooperated with other organizations such as the social democratic students, labor union youth, and socialist high school students.

In Italy the strength of the FGCI, the Communist party's youth organization, has been steadily declining over the last decade—from 400,000 in 1955 to 150,000 in 1966—due to the fact that the CP has very little to offer the more political youth in terms of marxist education, debate and political development, while for social life they can as easily go elsewhere. At the same time, in the past few years a left wing tendency among the youth has been gaining strength all over the country.

Last spring some of the left wing CP youth began publishing a bulletin called *Falcemartello* (Hammer and Sickle) with the intention of making it a pole of attraction for all the young Communists who had joined the FGCI looking for a revolutionary organization and then became conscious, through their fight against the bureaucracy of the FGCI, that serious political problems were involved in the "social democratization" process taking place in the Italian CP.

After only a few issues had been published the magazine became a focal point of debate at the conference of the Milan section of the FGCI, with a third of the delegates at the conference defending the contents and the valuable role played by *Falcemartello*. The CP then banned the magazine and threatened to expel anyone associated with it. But *Falcemartello* had gained enough support even by then to be able to continue publication and

gain wider and wider circulation among the left CP youth.

The French JCR

A similar type of development has occurred among French Communist youth, and there too one of the key issues in dispute has been the question of how to organize the European working class to effectively oppose U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Although the struggle between the left wing Communist youth and the French CP bureaucracy had been going on for some time, it came to a head a year ago during the general elections. The CP was supporting Mitterand against de Gaulle and the Sorbonne section of the UEC (Communist Student Union) passed out a leaflet demanding that Mitterand state his position on Vietnam and NATO. As a result, the leaders of the Sorbonne group were expelled and the section dissolved.

When the national congress of the UEC in April, 1966, refused to readmit the expelled leaders and reconstitute the former Sorbonne section, dozens of the delegates to the congress walked out and together with the majority of the Sorbonne section formed the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR), Revolutionary Communist Youth. Since then they have more than quadrupled their membership (now over 500) and established JCR groups in 15 or more French cities from Cannes and Nice on the Mediterranean all the way to Strasbourg and Rouen in western and northern France.

The central focus of their work has been the war in Vietnam and they have taken the lead in organizing anti-Vietnam-war committees around the country as well as organizing and participating in numerous demonstrations. Through this activity they have more and more become a pole of attraction to rank and file Communist youth and students, and the bureaucratic leadership of the JC has become fearful of this, as the incident in Gennevilliers indicates.

The developments in Belgium, France and Italy make it clear that the leaders of the stalinist and social democratic organizations have found it increasingly difficult to convince their own rank and file that they should not cooperate with forces that are building a united front in defense of the Vietnamese revolution. By taking a lead in this struggle for a united front, the revolutionary socialist youth are accomplishing two main tasks: building the strongest and broadest support for the Vietnamese revolution, and also attracting to revolutionary socialism a growing number of youth and students who have formerly been influenced by the stalinists and social democrats.

The Ultra-Lefts

Combatting the criminal abstention of stalinism and social democracy has been the biggest job for Europe's revolutionary socialist youth who want to organize an effective defense for the Vietnamese revolution, but they have also been forced to wage a parallel fight against the influence of ultra-left organizations such as the Maoist oriented CP's and groups like the British Socialist Labor League and its youth, the Young Socialists. In confronting the ultra-lefts the central issue has again been the crucial issue of the united front. The ultra-lefts have displayed such a sectarian attitude towards their possible allies in a united front to defend the Vietnamese revolution, that they have made such a formation very difficult.

The Liege demonstration represented a tremendous milestone in that the supporters of the action had been able to convince pro-Moscow CP youth in several countries to participate, precisely because these youth agreed that the CP was doing nothing effective to aid the Vietnamese revolution. Quite a large number of Moscow oriented CPers came with the delegations from Denmark and Germany, and the leadership of the Belgian CP youth, under pressure from their rank and file, had finally agreed to participate, though very reluctantly and continuously searching for an "out."

When they arrived in Liege they did not have to look far to find their excuse to withdraw. The Young Socialists and the "Revoltes" group, among their other signs, insisted on carrying huge banners in defense of the 1956 Hungarian revolution. The CP youth leadership was then able to turn to their rank and file and convince them that the "Trotskyists" were not interested in a united front defense of Vietnam, but were simply using the issue to trick others into demonstrating under slogans on which there was not common agreement. As a result, more than a hundred pro-Moscow youth left the line.

The point, of course, was not whether defense of the Hungarian revolution is politically correct. The JGS and the majority of the youth marching in Liege supported the Hungarian revolution as a genuine political revolution for proletarian democracy. But the stalinist youth did not, and ironically enough, the tactics of the sectarians only succeeded in putting off the day when those CP youth will be willing to reconsider their own ideas about the Hungarian revolution. It is certain they were not convinced by the banner of the Young Socialists. Only by winning their respect and confidence through working together on questions where there is common agreement will they see the defects of

their current leaderships and become more and more willing to discuss and consider other issues.

Instead of beginning this process in Liege, the sectarians provided the stalinist leadership with but another argument for refusing to participate in united front actions. Instead of seeing the crucial importance of uniting the largest number of people on the key political question of today, beginning this process of winning over stalinist influenced youth from their misleaders, and setting a powerful precedent for future actions, the sectarians saw the departure of one section of the forces, however small, as a victory for themselves. The incident served only to further divide the most politically advanced youth of Europe and prevent the revolutionary socialist youth from being able to influence the stalinist youth who are beginning to question the policies of their own leadership.

The essence of a united front is not to stifle differences, but to engage in action on questions where there is agreement while assuring free and open discussion on issues over which there is disagreement. To the ultra-lefts, however, a principled united front that brings the maximum number of persons together on issues of common agreement is simply an opportunity to denounce those who do not already agree with their program 100 percent as traitors, revisionists, social fascists, police agents, or any other name they can come up with.

A Bright Future

Despite the incidents around the Hungarian banner and several other sectarian actions on the part of the Young Socialists and "Revoltes" group, which caused the entire SDS delegation and many of the Danes to leave several hours earlier than they had planned, the Liege weekend still represented real and important gains for the European socialist youth movement. In an effort to maximize these gains a meeting of representatives from all the delegations was held to discuss a program for further coordination of actions to support the Vietnamese revolution, and oppose NATO. On the basis of this discussion the JGS has issued a call for a conference to take place in early February to discuss more thoroughly the possibilities of Europe-wide coordination.

The Liege weekend showed clearly the problems faced by Europe's socialist youth who are fighting to build a revolutionary vanguard capable of assuring a socialist future for Western Europe. But it demonstrated the successes as well, and pointed the way towards the future development of greater and greater international solidarity. These successes bode well for the future.

...Notes

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Canadian Antiwar Movement Grows: On November 11 and 12, thousands of Canadian students across the country demonstrated against the war in Vietnam and demanded an end to Canadian complicity in that war.

In Montreal more than 1,000 turned out, including some 400 French Canadian youth. In Toronto, Saskatoon, Regina, Edmonton, London, Vancouver, and other cities meetings, rallies and marches were held.

In September, when the Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam issued the call for the Student Days of Protest, only two campus based antiwar committees were in existence. By November, more than 20 committees had been formed. The Student Days of Protest were also supported by the Ontario Provincial Council of the Young New Democrats (the Canadian labor party's youth group). This tremendous growth is no less encouraging to the American antiwar movement than to the Canadians.

Progress Among U.S. Allies?: We reprint, unabridged, a recent *New York Times* article: "Shackling government employees in chains is now illegal in Yemen, the Government has announced. The decree was issued after workers at a Communist Chinese-built textile factory demonstrated in Sana against the factory manager's practice of chaining inefficient employees to iron bars as punishment." There is no word on how non-government workers fare.

Young Socialists Seek Election in Canada: Three young socialist antiwar activists are running for office in Canadian elections. The three candidates, who are centering their campaigns on the Vietnam issue, are John Riddell, editor of the *Young Socialist Forum*, running for the Toronto Board of Education, Jean Rands, *Young Socialist Forum* candidate for mayor of Vancouver, and Art Young, candidate for the Toronto Board of Control on the League for Socialist Action ticket.

Riddell's platform calls for educational decisions to be made by youth and students. Stop the war in Vietnam; free university education for all; end discrimination against working people, free day-care centers for children; and democracy in the schools are his main demands.

The *Young Socialist Forum* is Canada's only socialist youth publication. For information on

these campaigns or the magazine write: YSF, 32 Cecil St., Toronto 2B, Ontario, Canada.

Active Recuperation: YSA National Committee member Jan Garrett, one of the three victims of the politically motivated shooting in Detroit on May 16, 1966, has been recuperating in Gainesville, Florida and his socialist activities have caused the university administration there to wish he'd gone someplace else to "regain his strength." Jan was shot several times by a right winger who wanted to "kill some communists." Socialist Workers party member Leo Bernard was killed in the incident, and another YSA member Walt Graham, was seriously injured. Virtually every socialist, radical, and antiwar group rallied to the support of the victims.

Jan underwent several operations and had to wear a body cast for many weeks. Now, though still confined to a wheel chair and crutches, he is taking classes at the University of Florida and has helped found the Florida Socialist Union (FSU). The FSU puts out a regular socialist bulletin, has sponsored several large campus meetings as well as many discussion groups, and has already embroiled the campus in a free speech fight over recognition of the group.

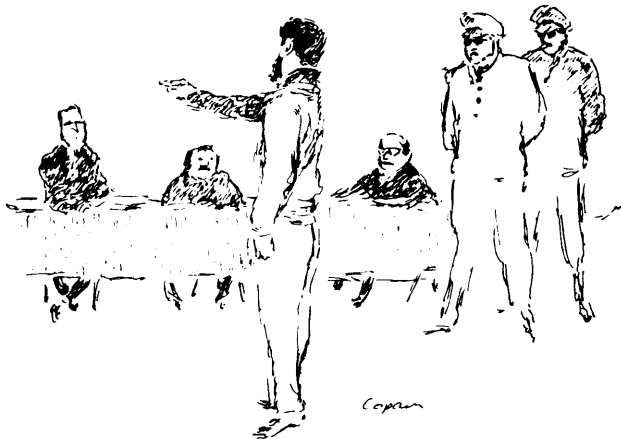
Free Assembly, 1966: Does the antiwar movement have the right to literature tables, as the armed forces has the right to put up recruiting tables? No, says the University of California. Students at Berkeley were naturally outraged at this attitude and called a student strike to fight for their rights. The school administration spewed Lyndon-esque hypocrisy in answer seems intent on not only denying basic rights of free speech and assembly but on doing away with *any* rights. Restricting students' political activity on campus is a direct attack on the antiwar movement. Full support to the Berkeley students!

YSA Leader Tours U.S. and Canada: Black power is the subject of a current nationwide speaking tour by the National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, Betsey Barnes. She is speaking in most major cities in the U. S. and Canada.

Last June, Betsey participated in the Meredith freedom march in Mississippi where the black power controversy began. She also visited Lowndes County, Alabama, to get a first hand picture of black power by meeting and talking to leaders and members of the Black Panther party. Utilizing these experiences, she points to the radical significance of Negroes controlling their own organizations and fighting for control of their own destiny, and calls for complete support to black power.

New Threat to Life of Hugo Blanco: Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian revolutionary socialist peasant leader, once again faces the danger of execution. Savagely convicted to 25 years in prison by a military court for the crime of organizing peasants to fight for their just rights, Blanco's defense appealed his conviction to the Supreme Council of Military Justice. The prosecution then announced it would press the Supreme Council for the death penalty. There is no appeal from this court!

The danger is indeed grave and support is urgently needed. Telegrams and petitions demanding immediate amnesty should be sent to Peruvian Embassies and to President Fernando Belaunde Terry. As we go to press, groups and individuals throughout the world have reacted to this new threat, but no word has been heard from the Peruvian government.



Sketch based on snapshot taken at Blanco trial in September. Hugo Blanco turns the tables and accuses judges of their guilt as representatives of Peru's ruling oligarchy.

Former YSA Leaders Wage Successful Campaign:

The Socialist Workers party gubernatorial campaign in New York state, supported by the New York Young Socialist Alliance, has come to a successful finish. Two former National Committee members of the YSA, Judy White, candidate for governor, and Ralph Levitt, candidate for controller, were on the ticket.

Running as the only state-wide slate opposed to the war in Vietnam, the candidates were endorsed by many individuals representing a wide range of socialist and antiwar organizations. On the sponsors list were Paul M. Sweezy, Edward Keating, Maxwell Geismar, A.J. Muste, Linda Dannenberg, Felix McGowan, Robert Greenblatt, and over 100

others. The *National Guardian* also supported the campaign.

Judy, the youngest candidate ever to contest the governor's office, spoke to antiwar groups and meetings in all parts of New York city, and made a speaking tour of upstate New York as well. The campaign was able to win more than 10 hours of television time during which the candidates reached millions of people with their program of opposition to the war, support for black power, and support for socialism.

The Fight Goes On; Fort Hood Three Conviction Upheld: On November 7, Lt. General William Train, commanding officer of the US First Army, affirmed the convictions of the Fort Hood Three, Pvt. Dennis Mora, Pvt. David Samas, and Pfc. James Johnson. The three have been sentenced to prison for refusing to go to Vietnam. A vigorous appeal to the Army Board of Military Review, demanding a complete reversal of the convictions, is planned by defense counsel, Stanley Faulkner.

The men have been treated cruelly, sometimes barbarously, in their prison quarters. Solitary confinement, standing for entire days, harassment exercises, and other penalties have been the army's method of treating these heroic men. International protest has forced the army to mend its manners a little, however.

On November 8, the three were moved to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where presumably they are to serve their sentences. Better treatment in these quarters has been reported.

Support for, and actions on behalf of the Fort Hood Three are vital if these men are to receive the justice they deserve. To help, write: Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman St., New York, N. Y. 10038.

YSA Conducts Two Drives: As part of its expanding activity the Young Socialist Alliance is conducting a drive for 500 new subscriptions to the *Young Socialist* and a record-setting \$7,900 fund drive. The subscription drive will bring our magazine to growing numbers of youth interested in socialism. The fund drive, which will pay for the YSA's activity, is the largest in our six year history. Contributions to either drive are welcome.

Interested in Socialism and the YSA? Contact your local Young Socialist Alliance, which conducts a regular series of activities including classes on socialism; or write to YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003, for a free brochure, "Introducing the YSA."

—LEW JONES

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