

# young socialist

SEPT. 1967

15¢



## THE '68 ELECTIONS



PIONEER BOOKS  
2003 MILVIA  
BERKELEY, CA 94704  
848-3992

# young socialist

SEPT. 1967

15¢



## THE '68 ELECTIONS



PIONEER BOOKS  
2003 MILVIA  
BERKELEY, CA 94704  
848-3992

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

Vol. 10, No. 7(78)



SEPTEMBER 1967

Editor: Doug Jenness

Business Manager, Charles Bolduc; Design, Melissa Singler

Editorial Board: Charles Bolduc, Lew Jones, Wendy Ryons, Melissa Singler, Syd Stapleton, Mary-Alice Waters

Subscription Price: \$1.25 per year. Bundle rate: 15 cents per issue (9 cents for newsstands). The YOUNG SOCIALIST is published monthly except during the summer. P. O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 989-7570. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

## Table of Contents

PFC HOWARD PETRICK . . . . .	3
SDS FAILS TO CONFRONT WAR . . . . .	4
HIGH SCHOOL NOTES . . . . .	6
OCTOBER 21 MARCH ON WASHINGTON . . . . .	7
BLACK NATIONALISM AND SELF-DETERMINATION . . . . .	8
YSA LOOKS AT KING-SPOCK TICKET . . . . .	14
BOLIVIA-FIFTEEN YEARS OF REVOLUTION . . . . .	19

## In This Issue

WENDY RYON, is a graduate of City College in New York. She is on the National Committee of the YSA, was recently organizer of the New York YSA and has been active in the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. She is moving to Seattle.

DAVE COMEAU, is a student at Glen Falls High School in Glen Falls, New York. He has been in New York this past summer attending classes of the New York Socialist Summer School organized by the YSA. He is a leader in the antiwar movement in Glen Falls and was a member of the New York High School Mobilization Committee while in New York.

CAROL LIPMAN, is a National Committee member of the YSA. As co-chairman of the Detroit Spring Mobilization Committee she was one of the chief organizers of the Detroit contingent that participated in the April 15th demonstration in New York. She was also co-chairman of the Student Mobilization Committee in Detroit.

PFC HOWARD PETRICK, has become one of the well known names in the antiwar movement. He is a member of the YSA who the Army has threatened with court martial because he distributed antiwar and socialist literature to fellow GI's.

# Young Socialist Notes

On Saturday, August 12, 1967, Michael Goldman, a founding member of the YSA and at various times a member of its national committee died in a Los Angeles hospital at the age of 23. He died of a rare type of bone cancer. Mike, who lived most of his life in Los Angeles, was a member of the Los Angeles local of the YSA.

We dedicate this issue of the *Young Socialist* to his memory.

**Former YSA Leader Deported From Mexico:** Peter Camejo, former National Secretary of the YSA and a Socialist Workers candidate for mayor in Berkeley last spring was deported during a visit with the victims of a witchhunt carried out recently by the Mexican government. Camejo's brother was one of those imprisoned. Camejo, who was seized and loaded aboard an airplane by the police, had completed articles on the case for the *Militant* and the *Berkeley Barb* before his forced departure.

**Thirteen Seized in Mexican Witchhunt:** Eleven Mexicans and two other Latin Americans have been jailed and tortured in Mexico City on the basis of a frame-up charge of "conspiring to overthrow the Mexican Government." The prisoners were beaten, threatened at gun point and burned with cigarettes to extract confessions of guilt.

Protests of this barbarous treatment should be sent to Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, President of the Republic of Mexico, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D. F., Mexico. Funds for defense should be sent to P. O. Box 1208, Berkeley, California.

**John Coltrane, Leading Jazz Musician, Dies:** John Coltrane, who was a leading figure in the new music and referred to by some as the Malcolm X of jazz, helped to introduce non-western cultural concepts into modern jazz. Coltrane carried freer concepts of harmony and rhythm into his music, and brought forward many young musicians in the difficult and often berated field of new music.

(continued on p. 22)



*"I often find it hard to believe the number of GIs who have heard about me. . ."* Pfc Howard Petrick,  
***Ft. Hood, Texas***

BY PFC HOWARD PETRICK

One of the questions I am often asked by people is, "What is it like being in the army and against the war?" This is a question that is hard to answer in only a few words. Probably the best way to describe "what it's like" would be to take a typical day and tell what I do.

To start with I am a cook so I don't have normal duty hours. I work on a 24 hours on—24 hours off schedule. This means that I go on duty at 3 a.m. every other morning and work until 11 p.m. Then the following day I go on duty at 11 a.m. and work until about 7:30 p.m. On this schedule I have a morning off one day and an afternoon off the next. I get every other weekend off from Friday noon until Monday noon, working the weekend in between. A cook also has pass rights whenever off duty (300 mile radius of post).

Since most of the GIs in my unit are spending their remaining months in the army after doing a tour of duty overseas (Germany, Korea, Vietnam), there are GIs arriving every week whom I do not know.

Even on a morning when I go on duty at 3 a.m. it is often easy to run into someone who I didn't know was against the war. For example, a few days ago I met a GI who told me: "I heard of the Fort Hood 3 while I was in Vietnam, and I didn't blame them one bit for what they did. I didn't know what Vietnam was all about when I went over, but once I was there I didn't like what I saw. I didn't think we should be there because we weren't helping the people, so I couldn't be against the guys who understood what the war was about and didn't want to go."

The majority of my time on duty is spent doing my share of preparing the meal and cleaning the mess hall. Occasionally I will take a smoke break and talk with a KP or another cook on any subject from Vietnam to baseball.

### **Many GIs Have Heard About Petrick**

In the last few weeks a few GIs coming through the serving line have mentioned that they would like to speak to me sometime. Almost all of these GIs heard about me from a friend and are inter-

ested in my case and my reasons for being against the war.

Except for these discussions and every now and then a cook asking to read a publication that I received through the mail (there are a few cooks interested in Vietnam and GI's rights, even though the mess Sgt. told them I was a "communist.") my duty hours are quite uninteresting.

Once I am off duty, usually around 1 p.m., I return to my room and read my mail and decide what I should do for the rest of the day.

Since I live in an eight man room there is very little privacy so I will usually go to the library or wait until late at night if I want to read or write.

Very few GIs are off in the afternoon so I spend most of my afternoons alone. This is very helpful to me because I can do my errands or study and still have my nights free. Places like the library and barbershop are not crowded in the afternoon so I can get things done without waiting in line and wasting time.

The majority of GIs get off duty at 4:30 p.m., so from about 5 p.m. on I am usually with other GIs. We arrange to meet at a service club, PX, snack bar or at a restaurant in town. We will eat supper together discussing the latest developments

*(continued on p. 10)*

## ***Defend Pfc. Howard Petrick***

- SEND A CONTRIBUTION
- FREE FACT SHEETS
- BUTTONS ('FREE SPEECH FOR GIs') 25c
- PAMPHLETS 10c

Committee to Defend the Rights of Pfc. Howard Petrick  
 Box 569, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

# SDS Convention Fails To Confront Vietnam War



Victims of U.S. aggression in South Vietnam.

BY WENDY RYON

The 1967 National Convention of Students for a Democratic Society was of particular interest to socialists. SDS had to confront again the key question facing all radical forces today: "What is the most effective way of fighting against U. S. aggression in Vietnam?"

This aggression is part and parcel of American imperialism's global strategy of seeking to dominate and police the world in the interests of the capitalist system by crushing the colonial revolution and eventually rolling back the gains made in the countries where capitalism has been abolished. U. S. intervention in Vietnam is primarily motivated by the *political* need for imperialism to maintain south Vietnam as a link in a ring of strategic bases encircling China. Consequently, to oppose U. S. intervention everywhere in the world including Vietnam is objectively to oppose the very social and economic system which the U. S. government defends and is seeking to expand.

## Vietnam War: Test for Radical Organizations

Those groups that presume to change the social system of this country, must realize the test that the war poses for them. The effectiveness of a radical organization in the U. S. today, is tested by the extent to which it squarely confronts the govern-

ment on this prime question and the extent to which it can organize opposition to the U. S. government's right to draft American youth to die fighting a war against a colonial people.

SDS played a historic role in the fight against the war, when it called the first mass march on Washington in April 1965. This march marked the beginning of organized opposition to the war on a large scale. At that time SDS successfully resisted pressure from conservative peace groups to exclude radical organizations from the march, and set an important precedent of non-exclusion in the antiwar movement.

After the march the leadership of SDS began to back away from organizing the growing antiwar sentiment. Since that time, formations such as the National Mobilization Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee (coalitions of various political groups and antiwar committees) have taken on the national responsibility of organizing the antiwar sentiment that continues to grow. These groups organized the historic April 15th mobilization against the war. Initially, the National Council of SDS voted against supporting the April 15th demonstration, but later reversed its decision under pressure from its own membership who wanted to become involved in the largest antiwar action in the history of the country. Many SDS chapters were among the most active builders of April 15th.

April 15th definitively proved that large masses of people could be mobilized to challenge the U. S. government's right to wage war on the Vietnamese people. The one-half million people who mobilized on the 15th were an inspiration to radical forces all over the world, not least of all to the Vietnamese freedom fighters themselves. In the very center of the most hated and feared country in the world, masses of people raised the banner of opposition for all the world to see.

## SDS Backs Away from Antiwar Struggle

One would have expected that after April 15th the leaders of SDS would realize their mistake and decide to join wholeheartedly in efforts to build another mass display of opposition on October 21, 1967. Unfortunately the leadership of SDS has continued to back away from the job of building the largest of possible opposition to American imperialist foreign policy.

The SDS convention passed a resolution on "Antiwar Activities" that gives grudging support to October 21st. It begins, "The National Convention of SDS regrets the decision of the National Mobilization Committee to call for a March on Washington in October." SDS says that it does not "accept the contention that such large demonstrations are the best tools for organizing. Other methods include

organizing around local demonstrations, referendums, or draft resistance, as well as issues not specifically connected with the war."

The SDS alternatives to mass demonstrations are all activities that the National and Student Mobilization committees are engaged in. During this past summer the SMC has helped to organize and participate in numerous local referendums, demonstrations, anti-draft activities, etc.

### **March on Washington: Culmination of Local Organizing**

The convention urged SDS chapters to "use the demonstration (Oct. 21st) only as a tool for organizing." This is the way that the mass demonstrations have always been used. October 21st is projected as the culmination of a whole summer and fall of various local antiwar projects. It will be a display of force, as well as an inspiring measure of the antiwar movement's growth. It will be a display of force that any organization that seeks to radically change society and is opposed to American imperialism should support without reservation. The Student Mobilization Committee's call to Washington bills the demonstration as, "Confrontation Washington D. C., Support Our Boys in Vietnam, Bring Them Home Now!" The two major slogans of the march will be "End the Draft" and "Bring the Troops Home Now!" While the press may black out news of local organizing activities, as it has done in the past, it will not be able to ignore October 21st.

SDS raises its most serious objection when it says in its resolution, "We feel that these large demonstrations—which are just public expressions of belief—can have no significant effect on American policy in Vietnam. Further they delude many participants into thinking that the 'democratic' process in America functions in a meaningful way. The U. S. government has the power to simply ignore demonstrators who threaten its interests." The resolution goes on to say, "Above all we call upon all to recognize that marches and visits to the White House will not end the war."

SDS argues that large demonstrations delude the public into thinking that the democratic process in America functions in a meaningful way. Mass demonstrations in the street to oppose a war, while it is actually being waged, are not usually considered a normal part of the "democratic process." Certainly General Westmoreland, who flew back from the battlefield to attack the April 15th march, didn't think it was a normal channel of dissent. Nor did the many Senators whose epithets of "treason" filled the pages of the *Congressional Record* for weeks after the event.

The overriding theme of the demonstration on

April 15th was active opposition. One-half million people came out in the streets precisely *because* they were disillusioned with the "democratic process." Many had voted for Johnson as a "peace candidate" or written letters to their Congressmen. They marched because they felt betrayed. Very few carried signs like "Negotiate," that were designed to appeal to the good will of the government. The most prevalent slogan was "Bring the Troops Home Now," a slogan that places full responsibility for ending the war on the U. S.

SDS, of course, has a right to criticize mass marches; but what alternative do they offer? They have only the vaguest analysis of what can end the war. Their resolution says, "The task of organizing an on-going movement from below which will not only be able to confront the government, but actually have the power to cause change, should be given top priority." There is no analysis of who has the power to cause change or how these forces can most effectively be mobilized.

In another resolution SDS renews its call for the formation of anti-draft unions. Perhaps this is the alternative they have in mind. While it is important to protest against the draft, building anti-draft unions is not the most effective way to mobilize masses of people against the war. The draft unions have had very little success up until now and there is no indication that they are going to take hold on a widespread scale. You cannot attract masses of people, at this point, to refuse to serve when they know that the alternative is five years in jail.

### **The Important Role of Mass Mobilizations**

What then will end the war? Socialists agree that marches alone will not end the war. However, we see them as an important part of a process that can end the war. The forces that have the power to

(continued on p. 16)



SDS March on Washington, April 17, 1965

# HIGH SCHOOL NOTES

**Send Us News from Your High School:** The YS is adding a new column for high school notes with this issue. Please send us any news, pictures, or clippings of activities in your high school.

**High School Conferences on War:** A regional high school conference against the Vietnam war was held in Boston during the last weekend in August.

Another conference is slated for Detroit during the weekend of September 9-10. All those interested should write: Detroit High School Mobilization Committee, 1101 West Warren St., Detroit, Mich., 48201.

**MacBird?** After watching a play put on by teenagers at the South Bronx Community Action Theater, Robert Kennedy stuffed his hands in his pockets and said: "I was in a high school play once. (pause) I was Lady Macbeth."

They laughed but a young lady drew a larger response from the audience.

"MacBird?" She asked.

There was no answer.



**Detroit Students Fight for Right to Distribute Literature:** The Detroit High School Mobilization had a successful confrontation with the police and won the right to distribute their antiwar literature.

They've received widespread publicity including television coverage for a street meeting they organized. The committee sends contingents of high school students to conferences and antiwar demonstrations in other parts of the country.

In their newsletter, the *Detroit High School Mobilizer*, there is news about high school antiwar activities. The most recent issue, for example, carried an interview with Rev. David Gracie, a story on the Canadian demonstrations at Expo 67, "It's What's Happening in Detroit" page and an "Editors Speak Their Mind" column. The *Mobilizer* is available from the Detroit Mobilization Committee, 1101 West Warren St., Detroit, Mich., 48201. They promise that the next issue will "be better."

**Us High Schoolers Won't Be Left Out!** Steve Stewart, Chairman of the Minneapolis High School Mobilization Committee and a member of the YSA was one of the featured speakers at an antiwar rally on August 5th. Over 300 people were present.



Dave Watson, Chairman of Detroit High School Committee speaks at street meeting.

**Antiwar Group in 25 High Schools in Boston:** The Greater Boston High School Mobilization Committee now has over 200 names in their group, in about 25 high schools in the Greater Boston area. The Boston Committee is engaged in many activities including: street rallies, film showings, public meetings, leafleting, and marching.

**High School Mobilizer Published in New York:** The New York High School Mobilization Committee publishes a *Mobilizer*. The first issue reported that leafleting at 25 high school graduations last spring was very fruitful. The Committee has been helping the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee put an antiwar referendum on the ballot in New York. The *Mobilizer* can be obtained by writing: New York High School Student Mobilization Committee, 17 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y. 10003.

—DAVE COMEAU

# What Are You Doing For October 21st?

BY KIPP DAWSON

*"All across the nation  
There's a new vibration—  
People in motion. . ."*

In Hartford, Connecticut, the local SDS chapter is going full blast toward bringing people to Washington, D. C. on October 21st. "Politically, the plans for confrontation which we have heard, are good," wrote the chairman of the University of Hartford SDS to the Student Mobilization Committee. "Your present job is excellent; and keep it up."

The Hartford SDS has ordered \$34.00 worth of literature, including 1000 calls and 200 *Student Mobilizers*. Like hundreds of other antiwar groups they've been very active during the summer. On July 13-14 they sponsored a Vietnam Information Day.

The response to the call for Oct. 21st has been very enthusiastic. From as far away as Hawaii the SMC received an order from the Hawaii CEWW

for October 21st posters.

In Minneapolis, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Houston antiwar conferences have been held to lay plans for bringing people to Washington, D. C. Already the SMC has sent out over 30,000 calls, 1500 buttons and 1500 posters. The SNCC office in New York has taken 100 of the posters.

The Student Mobilization Committee which directed a summer long campaign of antiwar and antidraft activities coordinates local groups in 160 cities, 43 states, Washington, D. C. and Puerto Rico. Along with the High School Mobilization Committee it helps to service high school committees in Tucson, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Boston, Palo Alto, New York and Detroit.

## October 21st Will Be International

One of the most significant features of the preparations for October 21st is the direct response from organizations in other countries to an international call that the SMC sent out. At this time the SMC knows of plans for October 21st demonstrations in Copenhagen, Edinburgh, Paris, Rome, Canada and London. In London a broad united committee is planning many activities including a torchlight parade to the American embassy.

There are also plans afoot for a large "hippie" contingent being organized by the Diggers and other groups. They plan to encircle the Pentagon with a human chain and "exorcize it of evil spirits."

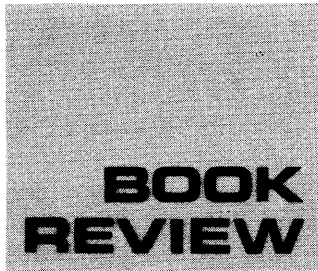
If the high level of activity during the summer and the current pace of preparations is any indication, the October 21st confrontation in Washington will be a powerful expression of the deep-going discontent among the American people.

August 11, 1967

Six hundred participate in largest antiwar action in Atlanta, Aug. 5th.







# Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination

BY BETSEY BARNES

After the Newark rebellion, liberal journalist I. F. Stone wrote that, "It is time to recognize that Negro nationalism is the reflection of an undeniable reality. This is a people apart, a suppressed nation in our midst."

The ghetto revolts which have swept the country are pounding into the consciousness of white America the fact that black nationalism is not simply the weird aberration of a few extremists, but the mood of masses of Afro-Americans.

The consciousness of black radicals has also been affected by the outbursts. Against the background of the Newark uprising, the delegates at a Black Power conference in that city gave overwhelming support to a resolution calling for a full discussion on "the desirability of partitioning the United States into two separate nations, one black and one white."

The pamphlet, *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, shows that Trotsky believed that this development of black nationalism in the U. S. was not only likely, but wholly progressive and complementary to the fight for socialism.

Although Trotsky never spent more than a few weeks in the United States, his general understanding of revolutionary processes enabled him to put forth in the clearest terms an analysis of the relationship between revolutionary socialism and black nationalism.

---

LEON TROTSKY ON BLACK NATIONALISM AND SELF-DETERMINATION, edited with introductory notes by George Breitman. Merit Publishers, N. Y. 66 pp. \$ .95.

The pamphlet includes transcripts of four different discussions between Leon Trotsky and American socialists during the 1930's, along with background notes by George Breitman. In 1933 and 1938, when the discussions were held, it was difficult for American radicals, black or white, to think of Afro-Americans as potentially making up a "nation." Nationalist sentiment among the masses of black people was at low ebb, the Garvey movement had collapsed, and few people had heard of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) which was formed in 1931.

In predicting that the nationalist consciousness of black people was likely to increase, Trotsky drew upon his concrete experiences as a leader of the Russian Revolution, where the Bolsheviks had supported the right of self-determination for all national minorities oppressed by the Great Russian state. Trotsky had seen how the national consciousness of these minority peoples developed and changed during the process of the revolution itself.

Trotsky argued that neither the absence of black consciousness at that time nor the lack of a separate black territory or language precluded the development of strong national consciousness. He said that, "Nations grow out of racial material under definite conditions. . . the suppression of the Negroes pushes them toward a political and national unity."

## Socialists Must Defend Right of Separate State

He explained that revolutionary socialists should become known as those who are willing to fight "to the last drop of blood" to defend the basic democratic right of an oppressed people to determine their own destiny. He included in this right of self-determination the formation of a separate state if black people so desired.

In the discussions with Trotsky, the American socialists brought up many of the same questions asked by white radicals today. They argued that perhaps there were some "reactionary" aspects to nationalism, and that nationalism would be a divisive force within the working class.

Trotsky was unequivocal in answering them: "We cannot say it will be reactionary. It is not reactionary. . . . To fight for the possibility of realizing an independent state is a sign of great moral and political awakening. It would be a tremendous revolutionary step."

The highly revolutionary potential of nationalism, Trotsky felt, was imbedded in the fact that black people were the most oppressed and potentially the most radical section of the American working class. "It is very possible," he pointed out, "that Negroes also through self-determination will proceed to the proletarian dictatorship in a couple of gigantic strides, ahead of the great bloc of

SEPTEMBER 1967

white workers. They will then furnish the vanguard. I am absolutely sure that they will, in any case, fight better than the white workers."

Trotsky explained that the division of white and black workers could not be healed until white workers joined blacks in common action in the struggle. Until then, he pointed out, blacks could hardly look upon white workers as their friends.

### No Concessions to Prejudices of White Workers

To drive this point home Trotsky spared no words in condemning the racism of the white workers. He said that "white workers in relation to the Negroes are oppressors, scoundrels, who persecute the black and yellow, hold them in contempt and lynch them." He explained that, "It is necessary to teach the American beasts. It is necessary to make them understand that the American state is not their state and that they do not have to be the guardians of this state. Those American workers who say: 'The Negroes should separate when they so desire and we will defend them against our American police'—those are revolutionists, I have confidence in them."

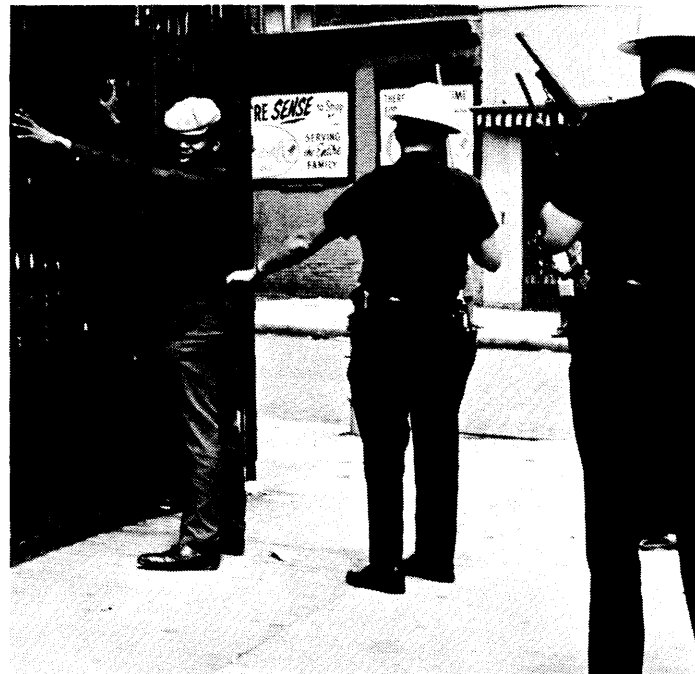
Trotsky saw the black people as being drawn to socialist ideas through nationalist struggles. "When we are so far that the Negroes say 'we want autonomy,' they then take a position hostile toward American imperialism. . .but they will also recognize simultaneously that the white Communist workers fight for their demands and that will push them, the Negro proletarians, toward communism."

Thus Trotsky would have been not at all surprised to see black power advocate Stokely Carmichael at the Organization of Latin American Solidarity conference in Havana.

Such an event was beyond the comprehension of James Reston who covered the gathering for the *New York Times*. In the August 2 *Times* he asserted that the unity between Castro and Carmichael was "ironical" because, "Carmichael with his policy of racial separation and Black Power, could not be further from Castro's policy of total racial integration." To Reston, Carmichael's presence in Cuba was contradictory for, as he wrote, "whatever else Cuba is, it is not a racist state. There is probably less antiracial and antireligious feeling here than in any other nation in the hemisphere."

It does not even occur to Reston that the desire to integrate into socialist Cuba is one thing—into white capitalist America quite another.

Even in his twisted reporting, Reston unwittingly confirms one of the basic ideas Trotsky puts forth: that only through socialist revolution can black people find freedom—with either integration or separation—whichever they choose.



## . . . *Petrick*

(continued from p. 3)

in the war, antiwar movement, and politics in general.

There is a place in the last few weeks where I go and find many GIs who are interested in my case. This is a coffeehouse that is operated by the Chaplain here on post. It is like most coffeehouses you would find around any college campus. It is an old wooden classroom with pop art on the walls, candles for light, free coffee, tea, pencils and paper, and even a stage with mikes for local talent to play. Its clientele is made up of artists, writers, folksingers, hippies, officers, a few radicals of both the left and right, and many GIs who just come to hear the folk music offered by any GI who wants to get up and play. It is not at all uncommon to hear protest songs. Being the informal place that it is, it is easy for GIs to talk to each other and argue their points of view with fellow GIs.

In the last few months many GIs have contacted me wanting to know more about what has happened to me and why the Army has threatened me with a court-martial. The majority of these GIs heard about me through a fellow GI or a friend back home who wrote them and told them about my case.

### Long Waiting List for Donald Duncan Book

I often find it hard to believe the number of GIs who have heard about me and support my rights and even my views on Vietnam. Let me give

you some examples of this. Just a few days ago I went up to the library to get Donald Duncan's book *The New Legions*, which, by the way, has been signed out ever since it was received. I asked the librarian, a special services employee, to put me on the waiting list for the book and when I told her my name she asked if the army wasn't trying to court-martial me. She told me that she had read a pamphlet about me and was interested in the case.

After leaving the library I went over to the Arts and Crafts center where a GI identified me and wanted to know what has happened lately in my case. He also mentioned that he had read the pamphlet about me.

The number of people that have read the pamphlet really surprises me. I have only had about 70 pamphlets on my case, and these were gone in about a week, yet the number of GIs who have asked me about the case is many times this number. It is not only GIs but many people who live in Kileen and surrounding areas.

It is encouraging to know that the facts about my case are receiving a wide audience. It is a tribute to the hard work people are doing all over the country.

---

#### CASTRO SOLIDARITY WITH BLACK STRUGGLE

"Naturally our sentiments and sympathies are with the oppressed people in any part of the world, and they are therefore with the oppressed people of the United States; and most particularly with that sector of the population that is criminally discriminated against and oppressed, the black sector of the U.S. people." (Fidel Castro, July 26, 1967)

# Hugo Blanco Must Not Die!

The struggle of the Vietnamese people is the main combat being carried on today against American imperialism. It is not the only one. In Peru, the former student and peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, is threatened with being shot any day.

His crime: to have unionized the most poverty-stricken rural area of the country for the first time. Unionized and educated, the peasants began to recuperate the land which the big landowners had stolen from them; and began demanding a better standard of living. *Jean-Paul Sartre*



## What You Can Do

- Write letters of protest to:  
Consejo Suprema de Justicia Militar,  
Lima, Peru: and to Presidente Fernando Belaunde  
Terry, Lima, Peru  
(Send copies to Blanco's attorney, Dr. Alfredo  
Battilana, Av. Nicola de Pierola, 966, Oficina  
215, Lima, Peru)
- For more information write:  
U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American  
Political Prisoners, P. O. Box 2303, New York,  
N. Y., 10001
- For buttons ("Free Hugo Blanco," 25c) and pamphlets  
("Land or Death: Hugo Blanco and the Peasant Struggle  
in Peru," 25c) write:  
Young Socialist Alliance, P. O. Box 471 Cooper Station,  
New York, N. Y., 10003



***If you support:***

- The Anti-Vietnam War Movement
- The Colonial Revolution
- Socialist Candidates
- The Cuban Revolution
- Black Power
- The Socialist Transformation of America

## **JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE**

If you are interested in joining or learning about the YSA write to YSA, P.O.  
Box 471, Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y., 10003 or

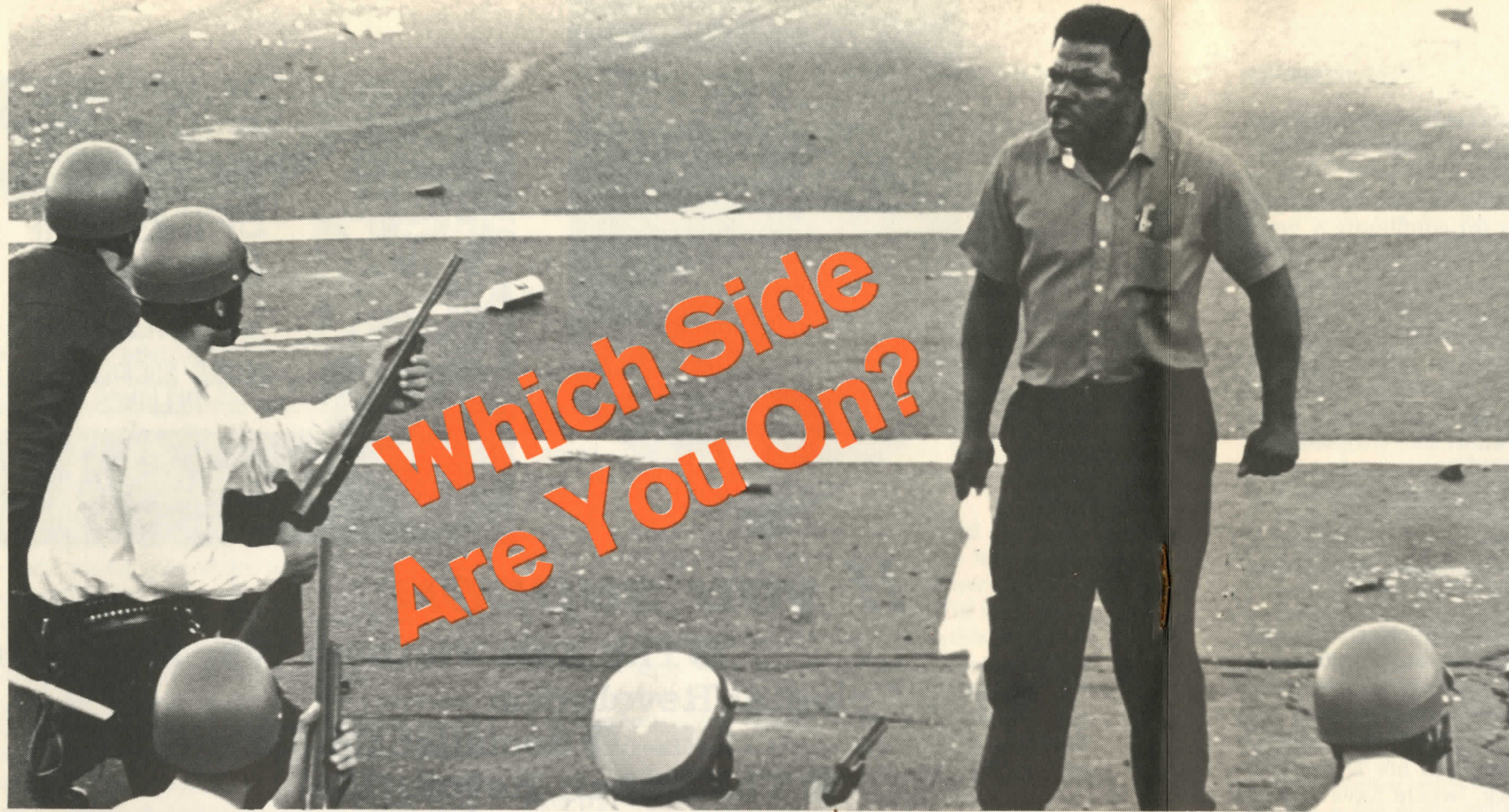
### **Meet Young Socialists in Your Area**

ATLANTA: YSA, 691 Juniper St., Atlanta Ga., 30308  
 BERKELEY: YSA, c/o Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia St., Berkeley, Cal., 94704  
 University of Calif.: Carl Frank, tel. 549-0308  
 BOSTON: YSA, c/o the Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307  
 Boston, Mass., tel. 491-7042  
 MIT: Tom Fiske, tel. 868-3021  
 Harvard-Radcliffe: tel. 868-3021  
 CHICAGO: YSA, Rm. 204, 302 S. Canal St., 60606, tel. 939-5044  
 Roosevelt U.: c/o the Activities Office, 403 S. Michigan Ave.  
 Univ. of Illinois Chicago Campus: Richard Hill, 3039 W. Walton, tel. 533-6811  
 CLEVELAND: YSA, E.V. Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Ave., 44106, tel. 791-1669  
 DENVER: YSA, Box 2649, Denver Colorado, 80201  
 DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., 48201, tel. TE-1-6135  
 Wayne State U.: YSA Box 49, Mackenzie Hall, WSU  
 Macomb County Community College: Bob Custer, tel. TE-1-6135  
 Cass Technical High School: Dave Watson, tel. PR-8-3947  
 KENT (Ohio): YSA, c/o Barbara Brock Student Activities Center, Kent State U.  
 LOS ANGELES: YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033, tel. 339-7323  
 Cal. State College at L.A.: Vic Dinnerstein, tel. 664-2268  
 MADISON (Wisc.): YSA, 202 Marion St., tel. 256-0857  
 MANHATTAN (Kansas): Jan Lewerenz, 1101 Blumont, tel. 6-6977  
 MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL: Larry Seigle, YSA, 704 Hennepin Ave., Room 240,  
 tel. 332-7781  
 U. of Minn.: c/o David Thorstad, 116 W. Grant St. #6, tel. 339-1864  
 Macalester College: c/o Jan Sajka, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn. 55101,  
 tel. 698-7313  
 Robbinsdale High School, c/o Steve Stewart, 4320 Golden Valley Rd., Min-  
 neapolis, tel. 588-6775

Minneapolis Central High School: c/o Bill Scheer, 3829 Oakland Ave. S.,  
 Minneapolis, tel. TA-5-0880  
 NEWYORK: YSA, 873 Broadway, 10003, tel. 982-6051  
 Columbia U.: c/o Peter and Carole Seidman, 240 W. 104th St., #3D, tel.  
 666-4917  
 Queens College: Dave Frankel, 139-45 85th Drive, Jamaica 11435, tel.  
 OL-7-9182  
 New York Univ.: Melissa Singler, 305 E. 21st St., tel. 677-4944  
 City College: Steve Dash, 534 E. 111th St., #14, tel. 673-0602  
 New School for Social Research: Art Maglin, 226 E. 3rd St., 475-6053  
 Mannes College of Music: Terry Hillman, 39 W. 67th St. #901, tel. 362-2051  
 SAN FRANCISCO: YSA, Paul McKnight, 625 Ashbury #12, 94117, tel. 552-2838  
 S.F. State College: Kathie Harer, 61-A Belcher, 94114, tel. 431-5560  
 S.F. City College: Jim Miller, 1733 Waller St., 94117, tel. 387-2562  
 San Jose: YSA, c/o Anita Hansen, 34 S. 9th St.  
 SEATTLE: YSA, c/o Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way, N.E. 98105  
 UP STATE NEW YORK: Glens Falls High School, c/o Dave Comeau, 47 South St.  
 Glens Falls, tel. RX-2-9063  
 WASHINGTON D.C.: YSA, c/o Linda Welter, 1731 New Hampshire Ave. N.W.  
 20009

#### **DISTRIBUTORS OF THE YS IN CANADA**

TORONTO: Young Socialist Forum, 32 Cecil St., tel. 921-4627  
 MONTREAL: Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 66 ouest, rue Guilbault, tel. 844-7722  
 OTTAWA: Young Socialist Forum, Box 2165, Station D.  
 EDMONTON: Young Socialist Forum, Rm. 1, 11129-89 Ave., tel. 433-8791  
 VANCOUVER: Young Socialist Forum, 1208 Granville, tel. 682-9332



## YSA Looks At King-Spock Ticket

BY DOUG JENNESS

The following article was submitted by the Young Socialist Alliance to *New Politics News* as part of the pre-convention discussion of the National Conference for New Politics. The NCNP convention was held Labor Day weekend in Chicago.

There are several proposals on how to approach the 1968 elections being considered by the supporters of the NCNP. The following article only takes up the alternative of a King-Spock ticket.

\* \* \*

Let's imagine that the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP) held its convention four months ago and agreed to nominate a King-Spock ticket. As standard-bearers for "New Politics" how would their stands on the major political events of the day stack up against the Democratic and Republican parties?

Martin Luther King demonstrated clearly where his true loyalties lay during the recent rebellion in the black ghettos. According to the *New York Times* (July 27, 1967) King, along with A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, "in response to an indirect request from President Johnson," issued a statement supporting LBJ's plea for "law and order" and denouncing the revolts as "mob rule." This followed on the heels of an earlier statement by King, who still claims to be a pacifist, which said: "I'm very sorry Federal troops had to be called in. But there's no question that when a riot erupts it has to be halted."

And this is supposed to be "independence" from the racist policies of LBJ and the Democratic party? This is not independence from but collaboration with the enemy.

### King-Spock and the Vietnam War

Although both King and Spock have denounced the Vietnam war and called for its immediate end, neither of them have projected a program that can end the war. At the Riverside Church in New York on April 4th, 1967, King outlined his peace program which called for an end of all bombing, a unilateral cease-fire, and negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

In an article in the *New York Times Magazine* (July 16, 1967), entitled "Peace, Man, Says Baby Doctor Spock," Richard Reeves quotes Spock: "We should stop bombing, de-escalate in other ways and deal with the Vietcong in negotiations," said Spock, sounding no more radical than, say Robert F. Kennedy. 'I haven't said anything about immediate withdrawal of American troops. I want a supervised armistice . . .'"

These positions which call for negotiations with the Vietnamese are a violation of Vietnam's elementary right to determine their own affairs. To demand that the U. S. negotiate with the Vietnamese

Socialist Workers Party

"New Politics"



**FRED HALSTEAD, SWP candidate for President**

"It's just as wrong to use troops against the black community here as it is to use troops to try to put down the Vietnamese revolution. Both demonstrate that—for all the liberal talk—the American white capitalist power structure has no answer to growing popular demands except armed repression. The capitalist politicians talk of 'law and order' but the real question is: whose law and what order?"



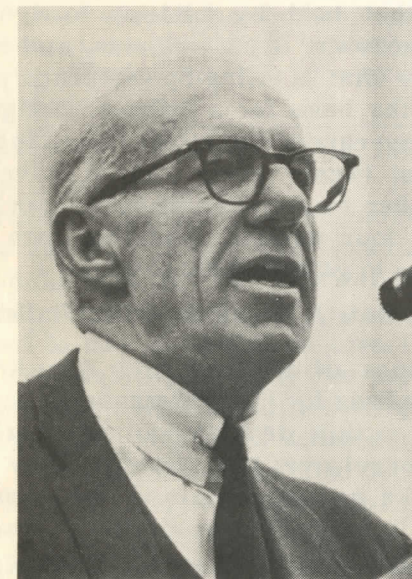
**PAUL BOUTELLE, SWP candidate for Vice President**

"The American Federal, state, and local governments have always been willing to use troops against black people—from slave revolts to today's rebellions. The events in Detroit prove once again that we must defend ourselves by any means necessary. The Detroit fighters have my unconditional support."



**DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**

"I am very sorry that Federal troops had to be called in. But there's no question that when a riot erupts it has to be halted."



**DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK**

"If they (the Republican party) put up a strong peace candidate I am sure our candidates will not run."



Socialist Workers Party

"New Politics"

## YSA Looks At King-Spock Ticket

BY DOUG JENNESS

The following article was submitted by the Young Socialist Alliance to *New Politics News* as part of the pre-convention discussion of the National Conference for New Politics. The NCNP convention was held Labor Day weekend in Chicago.

There are several proposals on how to approach the 1968 elections being considered by the supporters of the NCNP. The following article only takes up the alternative of a King-Spock ticket.

\* \* \*

Let's imagine that the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP) held its convention four months ago and agreed to nominate a King-Spock ticket. As standard-bearers for "New Politics" how would their stands on the major political events of the day stack up against the Democratic and Republican parties?

Martin Luther King demonstrated clearly where his true loyalties lay during the recent rebellion in the black ghettos. According to the *New York Times* (July 27, 1967) King, along with A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, "in response to an indirect request from President Johnson," issued a statement supporting LBJ's plea for "law and order" and denouncing the revolts as "mob rule." This followed on the heels of an earlier statement by King, who still claims to be a pacifist, which said: "I'm very sorry Federal troops had to be called in. But there's no question that when a riot erupts it has to be halted."

And this is supposed to be "independence" from the racist policies of LBJ and the Democratic party? This is not independence from but collaboration with the enemy.

### King-Spock and the Vietnam War

Although both King and Spock have denounced the Vietnam war and called for its immediate end, neither of them have projected a program that can end the war. At the Riverside Church in New York on April 4th, 1967, King outlined his peace program which called for an end of all bombing, a unilateral cease-fire, and negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

In an article in the *New York Times Magazine* (July 16, 1967), entitled "Peace, Man, Says Baby Doctor Spock," Richard Reeves quotes Spock: "We should stop bombing, de-escalate in other ways and deal with the Vietcong in negotiations," said Spock, sounding no more radical than, say Robert F. Kennedy. 'I haven't said anything about immediate withdrawal of American troops. I want a supervised armistice . . .'"

These positions which call for negotiations with the Vietnamese are a violation of Vietnam's elementary right to determine their own affairs. To demand that the U. S. negotiate with the Vietnamese



FRED HALSTEAD, SWP candidate for President

"It's just as wrong to use troops against the black community here as it is to use troops to try to put down the Vietnamese revolution. Both demonstrate that—for all the liberal talk—the American white capitalist power structure has no answer to growing popular demands except armed repression. The capitalist politicians talk of 'law and order' but the real question is: whose law and what order?"



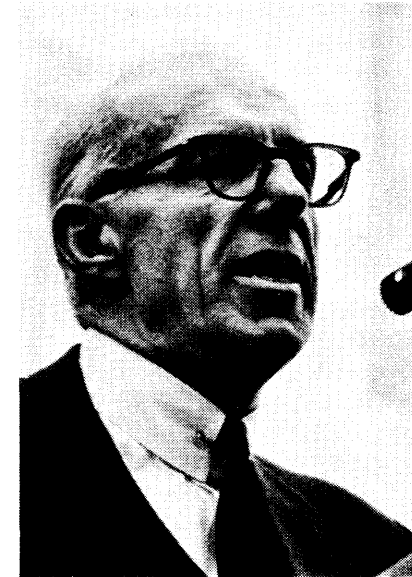
PAUL BOUTELLE, SWP candidate for Vice President

"The American Federal, state, and local governments have always been willing to use troops against black people—from slave revolts to today's rebellions. The events in Detroit prove once again that we must defend ourselves by any means necessary. The Detroit fighters have my unconditional support."



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

"I am very sorry that Federal troops had to be called in. But there's no question that when a riot erupts it has to be halted."



DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK

"If they (the Republican party) put up a strong peace candidate I am sure our candidates will not run."

is to admit that the U. S. has some rights in Vietnam. Any concession to this chauvinistic concept, even implicitly or for tactical reasons, is a failure to consistently oppose the war. Accepting this basic assumption on which the war is predicated lends support to the massive propaganda that tries to justify the war, and can even lead to support for the war at a future date.

Not only do King and Spock fail to offer a solution to the war; their program can easily be adopted by Republican or Democratic party politicians, including LBJ, as a cover for continuing the war. If sometime next summer Johnson were to promise to negotiate, it would not mean the removal of American troops or the end of the war. However, such a promise would successfully undercut the major differential between himself and King-Spock on the war question.

In such an event it is not out of the question that the "third ticket" venture would be abandoned to support Johnson as the "lesser evil." Spock almost says as much when he states that he would consider any candidates selected by the NCNP to be "stand-

by" candidates in the hopes that either a Democratic or Republican "peace" candidate would be nominated.

The only peace program that cannot be adopted by the warmakers as a cover for continuing a very unpopular war is the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American troops. It is this demand that meets with the best response from the average American who is fed up with the war. The plea for negotiations is a delaying action or high-handed maneuver and will appear as such to people who want their sons and husbands back home. The overwhelming majority of American people have no stake whatsoever in upholding the right of the U. S. government to help "settle" the affairs of the Vietnamese.

### **King and Spock Are Not Consistent Opponents of U. S. Foreign Policy**

The failure of King and Spock to clearly oppose the right of the U. S. to intervene in the affairs of other nations is even more sharply seen in their attitude toward Israel's recent attack on and occupation of parts of Syria, Egypt, and Jordan.

According to Richard Reeves in his *New York Times Magazine* article, Spock, "would have backed President Johnson if the president had decided to come to the aid of Israel last month during the short war with the Arab nations." This scarcely seems to represent a fundamentally different position than that held by LBJ on foreign policy.

Antiwar activists, black militants, and socialists who believe that a King-Spock peace program would lay the basis for a different foreign policy than has been carried out by the two ruling parties for the past twenty years should have serious questions after examining the King-Spock record of the past four months. And there are fourteen more months to go before the elections!

### **What is Needed: A Break from Capitalist Politics**

The millions of workers and Afro-Americans who pull the lever for the Democratic or Republican parties on election day are not members of and have no control over these parties. They play no role in, take no active part in the decisions of, and know little about these parties. These parties are simply electoral machines consisting of paid functionaries and local ward heelers whose major job is to turn out the vote for their candidates. They are in no way social movements involving workers and Afro-Americans in day to day struggles for their own interests. The character of these parties is not determined by the workers and Afro-Americans that vote for them every election year but by the programs they administer and by the policies and strategies they follow at home and

#### **PAUL BOUTELLE**

SWP Candidate for Vice President of the United States

Paul Boutelle was born in Harlem Hospital in New York City and has lived in the black communities in Harlem and the Bronx most of his life.

He has, among other things, worked as a salesman selling books on Afro-American history. He now makes his living as a cab driver and is a member of Taxi Drivers Union Local 3036, AFL-CIO.

He is a prominent leader and public speaker in the Afro-American struggle in Harlem and has been a candidate for public office several times. In the summer of 1963, he was active in trying to form the all-black Freedom Now party and in 1964 was its candidate for State Senator in the 31st district in Harlem.

For a short time he was a member of Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity before Malcolm was assassinated.

His first experience with the socialist movement came when he joined the YSA for a brief period during 1960-61.

He joined the Socialist Workers party in 1965 and in the same year was its candidate for Borough President of Manhattan. In 1966 he was the SWP's candidate for Attorney General for the state of New York.

He has participated actively in the defense of black freedom fighters. In 1962 he was a fund raising speaker for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, he is the Chairman of the Alexander Defense Committee and is active in the defense of the 16 members of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) who were unjustly arrested.

He also participates in the antiwar struggle and in 1965 was the founding chairman of the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam. He is secretary of the Black United Action Front which has organized a number of antiwar actions including the black contingent for the April 15th demonstration in New York.

**FRED HALSTEAD**

**SWP Candidate for President of the United States**

Fred Halstead was born 40 years ago in Los Angeles, California and for the last 20 years has devoted his energies to the labor, antiwar and socialist movements.

He is a member of the administrative committee of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and was in charge of the staff organizing the historic April 15th demonstration in New York.

He was in the U.S. Navy at the end of World War II and participated in the Let's Go Home Movement among U.S. GI's in the Pacific area.

All his adult life he has been active in the trade union movement. He participated in the Imperial Valley California agricultural strike of the National Farm Laborers Union, 1949, in auto and garment workers organizing campaigns in Los Angeles, 1949-52, and in the Square D electrical workers strike in Detroit, 1954. He is a cloth cutter by trade and for years has been a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Since 1955 he has lived in New York where he has been a staff writer for the weekly socialist newspaper, *The Militant*.

As a resident of the Lower East Side slum area at the time, he participated in the 1964 rent strike movement and wrote a book out of the experience called 'Harlem Stirs' (Marzani and Munsell, 1966).

He is one of the leaders in the antiwar movement in New York. During the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, he was one of the principal organizers of the 'Hands Off Cuba' demonstration—one of the first attempts at a broad, non-exclusive antiwar demonstration.

He has been on the staff of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee since its formation in 1965 and one of the chief organizers of the large demonstrations it has carried out.

abroad—policies which serve the interests of the capitalist class.

In order to combat and eventually eliminate war and racism it is necessary to struggle against the capitalist system, the political parties which administer it, and the state apparatus which is organized to defend it. This requires the organization of the majority of American people—the organized labor movement and the black community—into political organizations which they themselves control. These organizations must oppose the political formations and the policies of the capitalist rulers.

The struggle against war and racism must start with an understanding that two sectors of U.S. society, the workers and blacks, must break from capitalist politics—politics that leave them totally dependent on parties whose basic assumptions and policies are at the root of their own oppression.

The key problem with the King-Spock ticket is that despite its "independence" from the two major capitalist *parties*, it does not represent a break with capitalist *politics*. Neither King's nor Spock's pro-

grams challenge the capitalist system. Their programs come down to merely criticisms of, or tactical differences with, the capitalist politicians who are presently in power.

Furthermore, the logic of a King-Spock ticket does not lead toward the formation of an independent labor party or an independent black party. Rather it leads to a third capitalist party like Henry Wallace's 1948 Progressive party. Wallace's party never aspired to be a workers' party based on and controlled by the organized labor movement, but rather tried to hide its support of capitalist policies by creating the illusion of being a supra-class party of all the people.

Neither King nor Spock have even gone so far as to call for the formation of a new party. King hasn't even come out for a "third ticket" yet and, as stated earlier, Spock's position is that the NCNP candidates would only be "stand-by" in the hopes that one of the capitalist parties will put up a "peace" candidate.

**Grass Roots Organizing: For Whom and For What?**

Someone might argue that although King and Spock don't have a very good line most people at the NCNP conference will be more radical and will pass a much more militant program. Furthermore, wouldn't the formation of "independent" grass roots organizations make the King-Spock ticket worthwhile despite its programmatic drawbacks?

Any campaign that is geared around prominent individuals like the Henry Wallace campaign in 1948 has an additional weakness. The supporters of the campaign have little control about the program or what the candidates will say. Furthermore, if the candidates changed their minds, and decided to back a Republican or Democratic "peace" candidate supporters of the "third ticket" would be left high and dry.

As socialists we are strongly in favor of grass roots political organizing particularly among those sectors of American society that have the power to change this society—the organized labor movement, unorganized workers and the black masses. However, we are opposed to grass roots political organizing which aims to gather votes for middle class reformists who are quicker to collaborate with the enemy than to chart an independent course for their followers. Socialists, for example, welcomed the grass roots political organizing carried out by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization because it was rooted among the poor black workers and farmers of Lowndes County, and sharply differentiated itself from and confronted both the Democratic and Republican parties.

What alternative do socialists offer to a King-Spock type of third ticket?



We urge all young people who are fed up with this rotten system and its dirty wars to campaign and build support groups for the ticket of the Socialist Workers party in 1968.

The SWP ticket will be the only national ticket that will be campaigning on an antiwar program that calls for the immediate withdrawal of all American troops from bases throughout the world and unconditionally opposes their use against the colonial revolution and the workers' states from Cuba to Vietnam.

The SWP candidates stand unequivocally on the side of black people in their struggle for jobs, better living conditions and the right to control their own communities. They unconditionally defend their defensive struggle against the Federal troops, National Guardsmen, and cops. There is no neutral ground in the struggle of the oppressed masses against white capitalist America. The rulers must be fought in the streets and at the polling booth.

## ...SDS

(Continued from p. 5)

cause change in the U. S. are primarily the organized working class and the black people—that is the majority of American people. The black people are already beginning to collaborate with the organized antiwar movement. Through organizing for April 15th, working relations were established with various black organizations. Some union leaders and local unions also took a few steps towards active opposition to the war on April 15th. The links made then will be important in the future as the antiwar movement tries to influence more layers of the labor movement to speak out against the war. As wages are kept down, prices rise, and the government continues to strike-break, all in the name of the war effort, labor will move more and more against the war. When big sections of the labor movement combined with the black people, actively oppose the war, the antiwar movement will become a powerful social force.

In addition to the forces that can be moved into motion here at home, the U. S. is threatened with the prospect of more Vietnams abroad.

The combination of all of these forces is the real hope for ending the war. Mass demonstrations are the most important vehicle for reaching new layers of the population, inspiring those that are already opposed to the war, and indicating to the rulers the scope of the protest.

In organizing for the mass demonstrations, millions of people have been reached, through leaflets and antiwar newsletters, with the truth about the

The SWP ticket stands for a break with both the Democratic and Republican parties and with all pseudo-independent, middle class, capitalist parties or tickets that may venture onto the scene. If a person wants to struggle against this system he has no business supporting candidates who accept rather than reject the basic assumptions by which the rulers justify oppression. If a person calls himself a socialist and then supports capitalist candidates in *opposition* to socialist candidates, something is wrong with his socialism.

Finally, the SWP ticket will educate around and foreshadow the break that the working class and the black community must make with capitalist politics. The SWP campaign will promote the formation of a labor party and an independent black party.

In the absence of these formations the way to vote for a break from capitalist politics is to support the SWP campaign in 1968.

war. GIs have been reached with leaflets about the war and antiwar GIs. The marches themselves have broken through the news barrier and gained wide publicity in the mass media. As displays of force, the marches have given many people the courage to stand up and protest.

In essence, the organizing that has been done around the mass marches has laid the basis for a force that combined with other forces does have the possibility of ending the war.

With no clear analysis of how to bring about social change or end the war, SDS's position on the antiwar movement puts it on the sidelines of the fight. We sincerely hope that the membership of SDS will reject the course of its leadership and help to build a mass antiwar movement as a step in the process of radically changing American society.

**Organize Support For**  
**HALSTEAD and BOUTELLE**  
**On Your Campus**  
**or**  
**High School**

For posters, brochures, buttons, speakers write:  
Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle,  
873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y., 10003

# YSAers Help Put Halstead-Boutelle On Ballot In Michigan

BY CAROL LIPMAN

Detroit young socialists have been active participants and organizers of the petition campaign to place the Socialist Workers party on the ballot for the 1968 general elections. This is not the first time that the SWP has been on the ballot, but this year it has been much easier to obtain the required number of signatures.

Linda Belisle, member of the Young Socialist Alliance and petition campaign director said that "more people are out more often in more places throughout the state, enthusiastic about giving voters a real alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, the twin parties of war and racism. Many YSA'ers and friends who are under age and unable to circulate petitions, have offered to baby sit for those who wouldn't otherwise be able to petition."



The political climate has improved considerably since the 50's according to those who remember similar campaigns during the McCarthy era. Workers and students, housewives and professionals are less wary in signing the petitions; many are just plain sick of the parties in power and all agree that the SWP has the right to be on the ballot. A majority of those signing emphasize their disgust with the war in Vietnam and are glad to see young people actively opposing it. On the average, more people are eager to sign our petitions in the black communities throughout the state, and many black teenagers have asked to sign—but can't because they are under 21.

Often we are asked why the SWP has to go through this arduous procedure at all, especially since the party has been on the ballot before. Actually, Michigan election laws governing minority parties are less harsh than those in other states, but they still constitute an undue burden in contrast to the Democratic and Republican parties. In order to be placed on the ballot, a party must obtain either a certain percentage of the vote or gather signatures equal to one percent of the total vote cast for secretary of state in the last election: 13,337 this year.

Since there is usually an attempt to disqualify large numbers of signatures, the SWP has a goal of 20,000. We need 100 valid signatures in each of 10 counties and may get no more than 35 percent in any one county.

The Prohibition party in Michigan this year is suing in the courts to prove what the SWP has always maintained—that these laws are unconstitutional, in contradiction with the one man one vote ruling by the Supreme Court, and are an attempt to keep minority parties off the ballot. Many states make it virtually impossible for any party other than the Democrats and Republicans to be placed on the ballot. The SWP has filed a friend of the court brief in the Prohibition party court case, which is now at the Supreme Court.

In spite of all the legalistic hurdles, the YSA and SWP have set a record pace in this year's campaign—over 14,000 signatures were collected in the first three weeks of the campaign! We are sure that when efforts are made in other states to place the SWP on the ballot, similar experiences will be found.







# BOLIVIA FIFTEEN YEARS OF REVOLUTION

BY TERRI LYNNE

At the end of March this year, newspapers all over the world from the *New York Times* to the French daily, *Le Monde*, carried the startling news that some 3,000 Bolivian troops had been sent into battle against a band of guerrilla fighters. Since then reports about the opening of the guerrilla front have been in the forefront of the news and have attracted the interest of radicals all over the world.

A sensation was created throughout Latin America when the Onganía government in Argentina leaked to the press on July 4, that it had turned down "for the time being" a request from the Bolivian government for Argentine troops to be used against the guerrillas. Apparently the guerrilla movement had become more than the military dictatorship in Bolivia could handle.

Shortly after the news broke about the guerrilla struggle—news which was garnished with rumors about the possibility of Che Guevara being involved—Regis Debray, a prominent French journalist and Professor of Philosophy, was arrested

by the Bolivian secret police. Although he was unarmed, dressed in civilian clothes and had entered the country perfectly legally as a correspondent for the Mexican magazine *Sucesos* and the publishing house of Maspero, Debray is accused of participating in the guerrilla struggle. There have been reports that he has been tortured in prison, and further threats to his life can be expected from any trial carried out by the military "gorillas" who run Bolivia.

The harsh treatment served to Debray when he entered Bolivia is not surprising in light of the cruel punishment suffered by dozens of Bolivian political prisoners. According to a report issued last spring in Buenos Aires by Irene Mizrahi, former director of *Monthly Review* in Latin America: "Since January 18 of this year, 23 Bolivian political prisoners have been condemned to a slow, cruel, and inexorable death in the areas where they have been confined by the government of General Rene Barrientos.

"The places where they have been put," she reports, "are military outposts in a jungle zone often in the midst of swamps infested with crocodiles and piranhas. The nearest villages are 120 to 200 kilometers away, separated from the camps by dense

---

Above photo: Anti-government demonstration in La Paz, Oct., 1962

jungle, the best barbed wire to prevent escapes. To venture out of these places means certain death for whoever tries it. . . ."

"Food consists exclusively of bananas and at times, with luck, of bats to be found in churches still standing from the days of a Jesuit settlement.

"The houses, flimsy structures of adobe and straw, are ideal nesting places for tarantulas and snakes which take their toll among the political prisoners. There is an insect, the sting of which produces a suppuration that can cause death within 48 hours. The air swarms with mosquitoes, gnats and horseflies that prevent any kind of activity in the open air, including the basic necessities. The Bolivian government sends no medicines or food whatsoever to counteract these terrible scourges and debilitation from undernourishment."

What's happening in Bolivia that all these events are occurring now? What happened to the 1952 revolution? This was the revolution that liberals in the United States pointed to as an example of how fundamental social changes could be made in Latin America without taking the road of Cuba.

### **The 1952 Revolution**

The 1952 revolution was sparked by the seizure of power in 1951 by a military junta in order to prevent Paz Estenssoro, legally elected president and member of the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionaria (National Revolutionary Movement, MNR) from taking office.

In April, 1952, the generals fell out among themselves and a few of them staged a coup, calling on the MNR to help them oust their opponents. As the masses began to be involved they realized their mistake and surrounded La Paz with troops. It was too late and the masses of La Paz poured into the streets demanding arms. In the tin mines high in the plateaus, the miners seized the towns. The army was defeated in a series of battles and power fell into the hands of the MNR. Paz Estenssoro became president. This revolution resulted in the nationalization of the tin mines—the single most important source of wealth for Bolivia, and in the initiation of an agrarian reform law.

During this period the Central Obrero Bolivian (COB), a national organization of trade unions was established and was able to win numerous concessions. These gains were possible because of the armed power held by the popular militia of workers and peasants which the government at this time could not disarm.

The capitalist-landlords and the American financial interests in the country, however, could not afford to continue granting higher wages or going too far in distributing land among the poor peas-

### **YSA SOLIDARIZES WITH DEBRAY**

Dear Regis Debray,

The Young Socialist Alliance deplores your arrest and the treatment that you have suffered at the hands of the Bolivian dictatorship.

We have sent an airmail letter to General Barrientos demanding your immediate release and will do everything we can do to publicize this atrocious act of injustice. The campaign for your release must grow and grow until it becomes a protest movement reaching into every corner of the world.

Lew Jones  
National Chairman, YSA

ants. Paz Estenssoro, despite his membership in the MNR and his nationalist talk, was supported by and served the interests of the capitalist rulers and the American business interests. His agrarian reform turned out to be a hollow promise which did not improve the lives of the peasant masses who remain poverty stricken with the lowest per capita annual income in Latin America.

The nationalization of the mines rather than making any significant changes in the lives of the workers served to enrich a caste of governmental bureaucrats.

In addition the nationalist revolution of 1952 did not result in national independence. In a sense, of course, Bolivia has formal political independence. It has its own flag, etc. But Bolivia is not economically independent of American financial penetration and consequently even its political independence is more illusion than reality. Since the 1952 revolution American businessmen have moved in to take over the oil industry and gold deposits. The American government has sent dozens of spies, military experts, banking commissions, etc. into Bolivia who influence Bolivian political life.

### **Estenssoro Prepares Reaction**

Shortly after the revolution Estenssoro began to rebuild a regular army and bit by bit he sought to divide the peasants from the workers and to cut down their armed strength. This process has continued up to the present.

In 1963 the management (COMIBOL, Corporacion Minera de Bolivia) of the nationalized mines demanded that the miners bear the cost of modernizing the mines by giving up, among other things, some of the conquests of 1952. The miners answered with a two week general strike. Two leaders of the mines were fired and 1,051 miners were suspended.

Later in the year, the Estenssoro regime arrested two leaders of the union at the Siglo Viente tin mine on charges of alleged "murder" and "misuse"

of union funds. The miners retaliated by seizing nineteen hostages and by stationing armed militia in the streets against the movement of troops toward the mine. The government then issued a decree dissolving the Central Obrero Bolivian (COB) founded by Juan Lechin, a left wing leader of the MNR.

This type of bitter struggle between the mines and the government troops has been going on continuously for the past few years and still exists. Dozens have been killed, scores wounded and hundreds arrested.

In June of this year the miners at Oruro and Huanuni issued a proclamation stating that their region from now on is "free territory." The mines in these areas are managed by the workers themselves. The declaration was met by the sending in of troops by the government. Twenty-one workers died and seventy were wounded.

Early in 1964, Estenssoro expelled Lechin from the MNR when Lechin announced that he was going to run for president. This expulsion sparked a mass exodus from the MNR by the miners and Lechin formed a new party called the Partido Revolucionario Izquierda Nacionalista (PRIN). This split consummated the division that had been widening between Paz Estenssoro, the symbol of acquiescence to American imperialism and the mass of peasants and workers who were disillusioned with the failure of the 1952 revolution.

### Estenssoro 'Traded In' for Barrientos

As the political crisis became more severe and Estenssoro's unpopularity grew, the ruling circles replaced him with General Rene Barrientos Ortuno in 1964. They attempted to dress up Barrientos's regime with a liberal atmosphere including the right of free speech.

However, the tin miners did not place any confidence in the Barrientos regime. They sent him a list of reforms as a condition for "cooperation." Moreover they organized themselves into battalions of an armed militia that elected its own commander and claimed to have 25,000 miners trained for combat.

In May, 1965, "liberal" Barrientos exiled Juan Lechin to Paraguay, a notoriously reactionary country. In protest, the unions ordered a general strike. The junta dropped its mask of pseudo-liberalism and ordered the demonstrations to be put down by force. Following the demonstrations it decreed a "state of siege" and the suspension of all leaders of Bolivia's trade unions. The democratic rights won in 1952 were reversed as a witch-hunt atmosphere took their place.

Since January of this year the witch-hunt has been stepped up. The organizations hit were the Partido

Obrero Revolucionaria, POR, (the Bolivian Trotskyist party), PRIN, and the pro-Peking Communist party. These organizations were part of a united front called the Democratic Council of the People formed to combat the military junta. Numerous political arrests and executions have been made. The POR and the Communist party were officially outlawed on April 11.

Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, secretary of the POR, was arrested by the secret police on April 13 and was exiled to one of the remote jungle camps described earlier. He is still there.

### Guerrilla Movement Inspires Freedom Struggle

It is the elimination of all democratic rights, the banning of left wing political parties and the closing of all normal, legal methods of struggle that has convinced more and more Bolivian revolutionaries of the need for guerrilla war. Radicals from Juan Lechin to the POR are in solidarity with the guerrilla movement. In a statement made by POR leader, Hugo Gonzales, before he was exiled, he stated that, "The guerrilla's cause is the cause of every Bolivian."

The small band of guerrillas are being combatted by 3,000 infantrymen, heavy artillery, fighter planes and bombers, and the National Guard with their trained dogs. Napalm, provided by American aid, is being used against farmers, small ranchers, and peasants. People accused of supporting guerrillas are taken prisoner, many of whom "commit suicide" after horrible torture.

But the people of Bolivia are not giving up their struggle for liberty. Instead, every action taken by the government to suppress the people, is met by more and more revolutionary fervor.

**Subscribe to:**

**The International  
Socialist Review**

**A Bi-Monthly Marxist Magazine**

**1 year: \$2.50**

**Single copies: 50c**

**In the Aug.-Sept. Issue:**

**Discussion on Guerrilla tactics in Latin America.  
An answer to Regis Debray by a leading member  
of the Fourth International.**

**ISR, 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y., 10003**

## ...Notes

(continued from p. 2)

**Meetings Demand Freedom for Hugo Blanco:** Two meetings in which the YSA participated in Detroit and Cleveland have demanded that Hugo Blanco be released from the threat of a death sentence. The Detroit meeting was addressed by Halma Perry, a young Peruvian writer who has been active in the liberation movement in Latin America, and James Griffin of the YSA spoke on the Debray case and recent developments in Bolivia.

**Philadelphia Professors Circulate Blanco Defense Letter:** Six professors at Temple University and the University of Pennsylvania have signed and circulated a letter urging a united defense in behalf of Hugo Blanco. The letter asked its recipients to join in signing a telegram to Belaunde Terry of Peru demanding the pardon and immediate release of Hugo Blanco.

**Canadians Launch New Socialist Youth Organization:** At a bi-national conference attended by over 120 Canadian youth the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes was formed. The new movement voted unanimous support to the New Democratic party, Canada's labor party, called for a campaign to place students on the Boards of Governors of Canada's Universities, and pledged to work to build a massive movement against American intervention in Vietnam.

**What This Country Needs. . .** As the cost of living spirals in the rest of the world, the Cuban government has made all local calls from pay phones in Havana free of charge. In the last two months funeral and burial services were made free, payments for water were abolished and bus fares (already on a pay-if-you-can basis) dropped from eight cents to five.

**Socialist Education Weekend Held in Seattle:** After a successful meeting in Portland, Oregon, Harry Ring, staff writer for *The Militant*, spoke in one of a series of three talks jointly sponsored by the Seattle YSA and Socialist Workers party. The conference centered around the theme of "The Dynamics of World Revolution," and included a buffet dinner and a party as part of the program.

**They Speak in Many Tongues:** In an article on "The Race Problem," the *New York Times* recently stated, "There are 535 voices in the halls of Congress and in recent days it has seemed that the rising babble of those 535 voices on what should be done about the riots that have erupted

in American cities this summer could have come from Genesis: 'Come, let us go down, and there confuse their language that they may not understand one another's speech.'"

**Canadian Indians Indict White Man at Expo:** Fewer than 15 per cent of the Indian homes in Canada have running water, flush toilets or telephones. Three out of four Indian families earn less than \$2,000 a year. This is the theme of the Canadian Indian pavilion at Expo 67, yet the pavilion, which contributes very well to an understanding of "Man and His World," has been denounced as chauvinistic by authorities in Canada and the United States.

**Even If Nuclear War Doesn't Wipe Us Out. . .** New York, first in the nation in air pollution, will become uninhabitable in ten years unless strict controls are applied to industry, says the Mayor's Task Force on Pollution.

**Black Power at 125th Street:** The City of New York, in the person of Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, announced that the intersection of 125 and Seventh Avenue will be known as "African Square." Sutton made the announcement of the naming of the Harlem square at a meeting held to commemorate the death of Marcus Garvey, one of the earliest nationalist leaders.

**Ax Falls on Aeschylus:** The military dictatorship in Greece, invoking a law passed under Nazi rule in 1942, has banned productions of plays by Euripedes, Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Aristophanes. Explaining that the music for the plays was composed by Mikos Theodorakis, a Communist, the witchhunting generals denied a report that the texts of the plays were embarrassing to the government. Apparently the ancient Greeks are too progressive for our time.

**YSAer Interviewed in Mexican Journal:** The widely read Mexican radical bi-weekly, *Politica*, carried an interview with Kipp Dawson, a leading member of the YSA and former west coast director of the Spring Mobilization Committee. Miss Dawson, now a national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee, focused on the importance of the international antiwar movement in the four page interview.

**PLPer's in Hooligan Attack on Socialist Campaigners:** Members of the San Francisco Socialist Campaign Committee, the Socialist Workers party and the YSA were attacked, knocked to the ground and beaten by about 20 supporters of Progressive Labor party while distributing campaign material at a

rally of a San Francisco Tenants Union. The unprovoked attack on candidates running on an antiwar and socialist platform prompted an open letter to Progressive Labor party by Robert Davis, SWP candidate for Mayor. The letter scored the resurrection of the methods of Stalinism, explained that radicals should unite in defense of free speech and demanded disciplinary action by PLP against those members of PLP who were involved in the attack.

**Summer School Focuses on Independent Political Action:** The New York Young Socialist Alliance is sponsoring a summer study program which includes as its central feature a study of independent working class political action, and independent black political action. Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor party, the Progressive party, and the United Socialist ticket in New

York in 1958 were discussed during the course of lectures and discussions. The students, who also attended classes on other topics such as Afro-American history, Cuba, and the history of the revolutionary socialist movement, prepare and serve dinner for up to forty people two nights a week. Similar YSA summer schools were held in 12 cities.

**Young Socialist Selling Well:** The July-August *Young Socialist*, a special 32 page issue in tribute to the Cuban Revolution sold so well that 1200 additional copies had to be printed. The magazine was received well at the Cuban pavilion at Expo 67. YSAers at Columbia University sold 170 copies in three weeks, and Cleveland YSAers sold them at the rate of 25 an hour in the downtown area. Many YSA locals around the country ordered more after selling their entire bundles.

## ☆ YSA Solidarity With Cuban Revolution ☆

**YSAer Speaks at July 26th Rally in Madison:** Over 200 students gathered in the Great Hall of the Student Union at the University of Wisconsin to salute the Cuban Revolution. The meeting, organized by the YSA, heard a report from Walter Lippmann, Madison YSA organizer, on the accomplishments of the revolution.

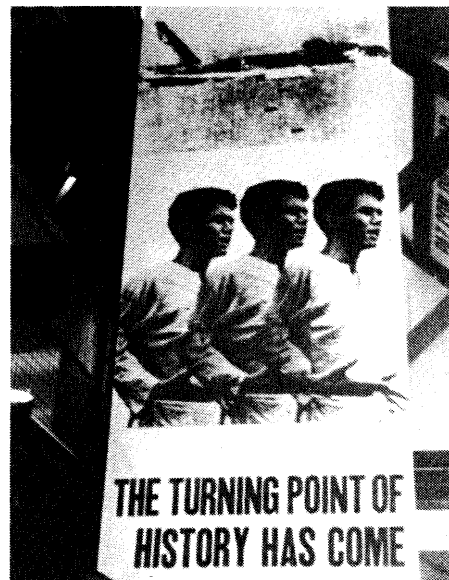
The hall was decorated with Cuban posters and a forty foot long banner hung above the speakers' platform with the inscription: "1967- Year of Heroic Vietnam."

A conservative columnist for the *Daily Cardinal*, U. of W. newspaper, reported that Castro was a "New Left hero" and that the revolution was celebrated by the University of Wisconsin's "New Leftists (YSA)."

**Bus Trip to Cuban Pavilion at Expo 67:** A bus trip to Expo 67 organized by the N. Y. YSA attracted so much interest that there were forty more applications for seats than could be accepted. A reception for the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba was held at the Cuban pavilion in which the New Yorkers were invited to participate.

Copies of the *YS*, buttons and antiwar materials were eagerly accepted by the Cubans.

This event was part of a Cuba Solidarity Week sponsored by the YSA in N. Y. Other events were the showing of two Cuban films and a public meeting with author Jose Yglesias speaking on "Life in a Cuban Village."



Part of Photo Display at Cuban Pavilion.

**Solidarity Party in Minneapolis:** A party was held in Minneapolis on July 29th in solidarity with the Cuban Revolution. The price of admission included a subscription to the *Young Socialist*.

**Cuban Films Shown in Chicago:** Chicago YSAers showed Cuban films on July 22nd in celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks.

— SYD STAPLETON



**Support Our Boys In Vietnam-  
Bring Them Home Now!**

# MARCH ON WASHINGTON OCTOBER 21

Join Thousands of Americans in Washington, October 21 to Confront the Warmakers

For brochures, buttons, posters, calls, speakers, write:

Young Socialist Alliance  
P. O. Box 471  
Cooper Station  
N. Y., N. Y., 10003  
tel. (212)989-7570

National Mobilization Committee  
857 Broadway  
N. Y., N. Y., 10003  
tel. (212)675-4605

Student Mobilization Committee  
17 E. 17th Street  
N. Y., N. Y., 10003  
tel. (212)255-1076

**young  
socialist**

**Subscription**

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

\$1.25 per year

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

MOST WIDELY READ SOCIALIST YOUTH PUBLICATION IN AMERICA