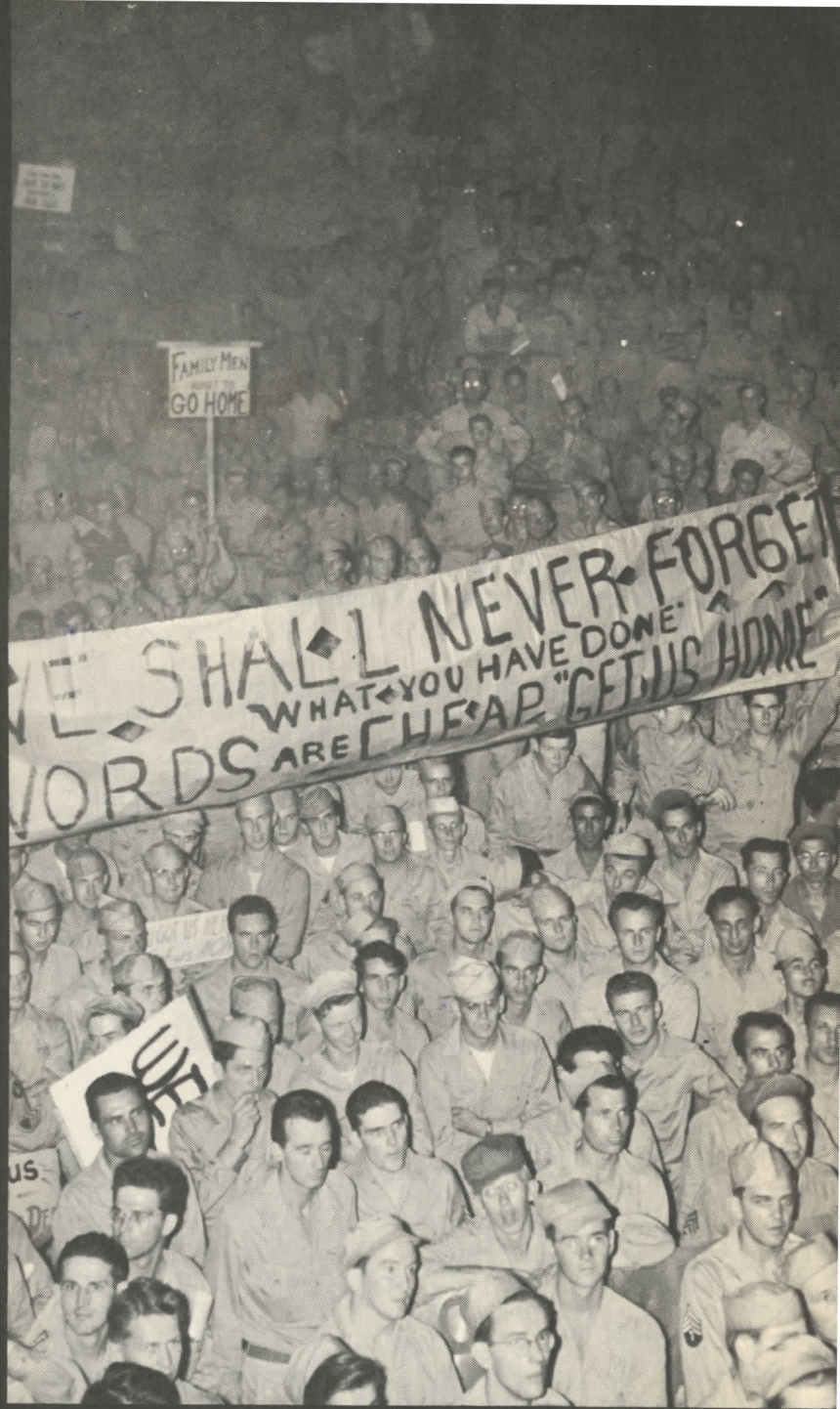


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## GIs AND THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

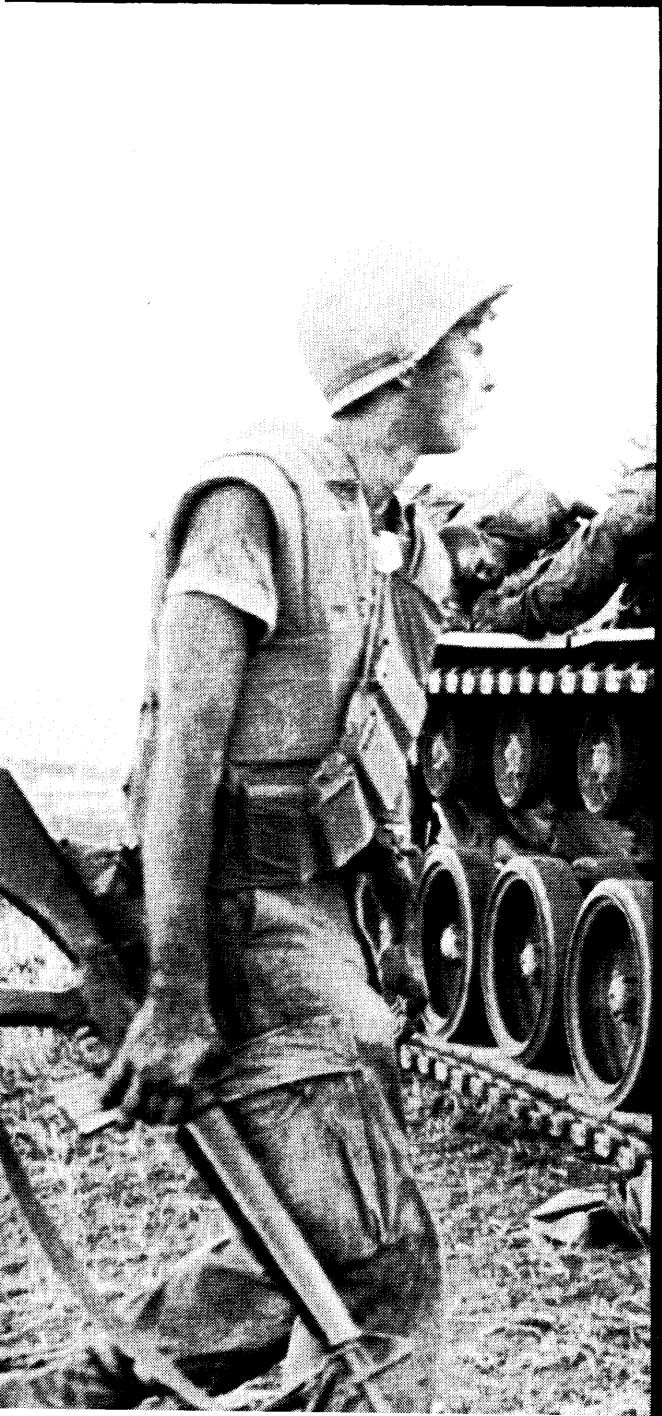
Interview With Fred Halstead

Also  
TEN YEARS OF THE YS

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# YOUNG SOCIALIST

Vol 11, No. 1(79)



OCTOBER 1967

Editor: Doug Jenness  
Business Manager, Charles Bolduc; Design, Melissa Singler

Editorial Board: Charles Bolduc, Lew Jones, Carol Lipman, 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.

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## In This Issue

**DERRICK MORRISON**, is presently touring southern states with Paul Boutelle, the Vice Presidential candidate for the Socialist Workers party, to kick-off the 1968 presidential campaign. Derrick is a student at Wayne State U. and an active participant and leader in the black struggle in Detroit. He is a National Committee member of the YSA.

**DAVE COMEAU**, is a student at Glens Falls High School in Glens Falls, New York. He attended and was an active participant of both the Boston and Detroit High School Student Mobilization Committee conferences. Dave is a member of the YSA and a leading high school antiwar activist in New York.

# Young Socialist Notes

**Victory for Defense of Pfc. Howard Petrick:** After three or four months of discussion in the Pentagon, the army has decided to discharge Pfc. Howard Petrick rather than court-martial him for his political ideas as originally threatened.

Recently Howard received a letter from the army deeming his presence within the armed forces not in the best interests of national security since he is a member of both the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party. The army inferred that the discharge may be a less than honorable one.

The degree of discharge, though, is dependent on one's performance in the period *while in the armed forces* and not on those actions engaged in prior to induction. The army inducted Petrick knowing full well Howard's political ideas and membership in both organizations.

Petrick will reply with a letter informing the army that he will take nothing less than an honorable discharge; otherwise, he will submit a letter of rebuttal and fight the case in civil courts. Petrick's attorney, Leonard Boudin, stated that there are Supreme Court precedents in his favor.

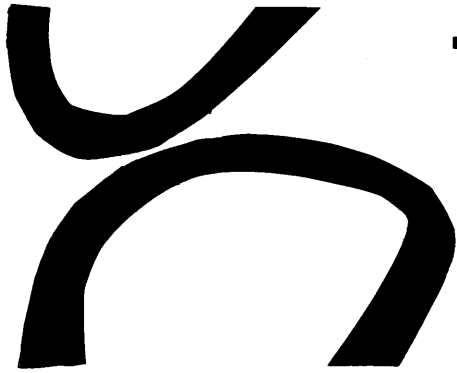
**THE NOVEMBER ISSUE OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST WILL FEATURE THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. DON'T MISS THIS ISSUE! SUBSCRIBE TODAY!**

**Atrocities in Greece:** In the August 1967, *Memo*, the national bulletin of Women Strike for Peace, Helena Bena, a political prisoner of the Greek military coup described in a note smuggled out of prison the abhorrent conditions of the prisoner camps. ". . . The race course camp went through five days and nights of horror. 470 people were squeezed under the stands. There were no toilets and when people had to relieve themselves they were escorted by soldiers with fixed bayonets. . ."

In a football grounds converted into a prison camp ". . . 2 dressing rooms were used for all the prisoners. 180 people lived in the larger room

(continued on p. 22)

**COVER PHOTOS**— *Twenty thousand GIs gather in square opposite Manila's city hall, January 15, 1946, demanding to be brought home (right). American GI in Con Thien, Vietnam (left).*



# The Fight Against War— World War II to Vietnam

## INTERVIEW WITH FRED HALSTEAD

The following interview was given to Mary-Alice Waters, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, and an editorial board member of the **Young Socialist**.

Fred Halstead is the 1968 Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party. Paul Boutelle, a prominent spokesman for black power, is the Vice-Presidential candidate. Halstead is presently an administrative committee member of the National Mobilization Committee and helping with the preparation for the October 21 Mobilization in Washington, D. C.

He has been a staff member of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee since its formation and has been one of the chief organizers for the major demonstrations the Parade Committee has carried out.

He also wrote an introduction to a 32-page Young Socialist pamphlet, "GIs and the Fight Against War" by Mary-Alice Waters. The pamphlet can be ordered from the **Young Socialist** at P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003, for 25 cents. — ed.

\* \* \*

I chased Fred Halstead, the Socialist Workers party's 1968 Presidential candidate, for several days, trying to get an interview with him. And it wasn't easy. The work to build October 21 and mobilize New Yorkers to participate had already reached the normally frantic pace of national antiwar actions. Between the work of the National Mobilization Committee and the New York 5th Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, there

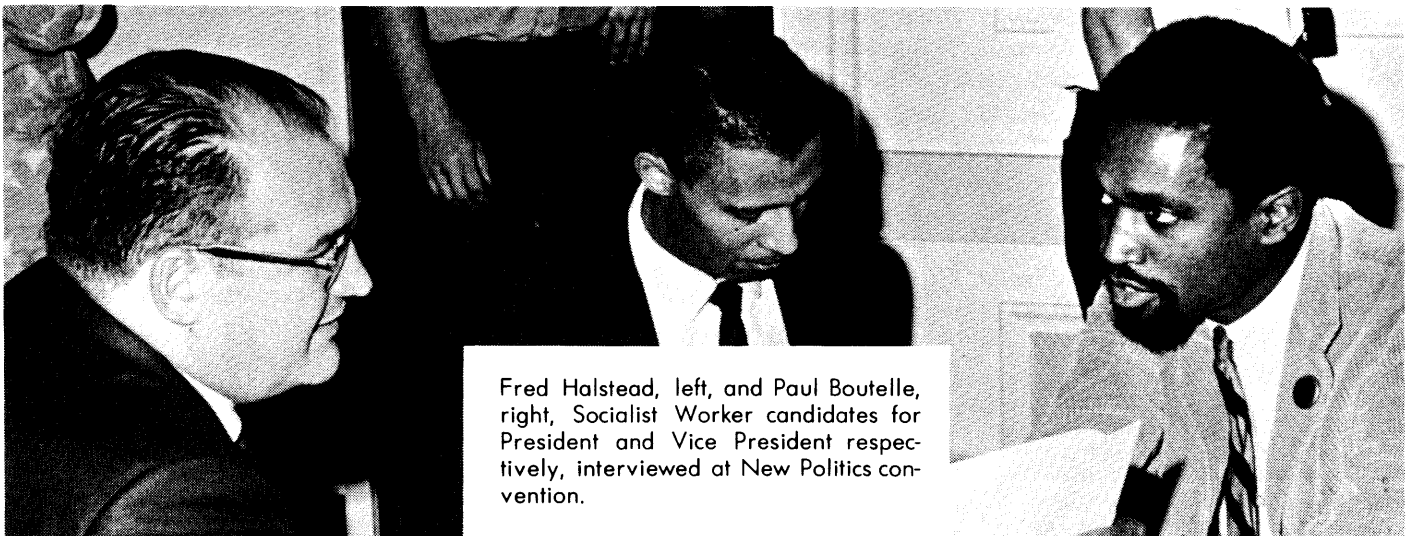
wasn't much free time left.

I finally cornered him one evening, though, and sat him down in front of a tape recorder. The logical first question I asked was—how did you get involved in all this anyway? Were you a socialist first or what?

"Well, I happened to be born of socialist parents, so I was not unfriendly to the ideas of socialism even in my youth. My father was a Wobbler, and my mother was a Debs socialist. But when I first got involved in the struggle I was not really political yet. It had little to do with any ideology. I was 18 and in the Navy, just at the end of World War II.

### Troops Rebel Against China War

We were with the 7th Fleet in China, supposedly repatriating Japanese soldiers. But we took one load of Japanese soldiers back to Japan, and then started carrying Chinese nationalist soldiers to the north of China to fight the Chinese Communists. Quite unexpectedly, there we were in the middle of another war, right after the end of the Second World war. The guys all started writing letters home and organizing themselves to get out of the mess in China, and that's how the going home move-



Fred Halstead, left, and Paul Boutelle, right, Socialist Worker candidates for President and Vice President respectively, interviewed at New Politics convention.

ment developed in the Pacific area. I attended some meetings and passed out leaflets.

"I probably had a little more social consciousness than the average GI, but I became involved for the ordinary reasons. We all just resented being involved in this mess in China, and wanted to come home.

"Truman and the officers had all sorts of fanciful reasons and excuses for why the GIs were not being brought home—not enough boats, no replacements, they were needed for occupation duty, or to repatriate Japanese soldiers—but they were all phony. Sometimes the government blurted out a version close to the real reason they were keeping us there. They'd say 'well, we can't just leave these people by themselves. We have to protect our supply lines,' and things like that.

"Frankly, to most of us the tremendous extent of American involvement and investment in other parts of the world was suddenly revealed. I hadn't known, for example, that the United States had been heavily involved in China before the war. But it became obvious that they were involved and wanted to get even more heavily re-involved. Recruiting agents for American companies used to go around among the servicemen, especially those with construction skills, trying to get them to sign up and after discharge to work on various projects that were being planned. One plan that I remember they told us about was to build a dam across the Yangtze River and set up a big electrification project—American owned of course."

### **Seamen Aid Troop Revolt**

We went on to talk about the big post war strike wave in the U. S., and the effect this had on the going home movement.

"The strikes were just part of the general atmosphere. There was some discussion of them among the GIs, but not a whole lot. The discussions broke down, pro and con, along the lines you would expect. One factor in particular was important. The merchant seamen, organized in their unions, were actively engaged in helping the going home movement. They helped to pass the word, distribute leaflets, and do other things of that kind.

"This all had one interesting effect. As each sailor was discharged he went through a procedure of being asked to join up again or join the reserves. A common reason given by those who refused to join the reserves was that they didn't want to be called up to break a maritime strike. The expectation that the reserves would be used this way was so pervasive that one of the lectures given by the recruiting officers was an explanation of why this could never happen! Everyone took that with a grain of salt, of course.

"The whole atmosphere then was entirely different from today. People weren't out to tackle the world and change it. The GIs just didn't want to be abused any more on a personal basis. They wanted to get out, take off their uniforms, wear different colored clothes, have a steady girl, have some leisure, go to school, get a job, or collect their unemployment. Once they had an opportunity to do that, the tendency was to become apolitical. It's just the opposite of the attitude of the youth today."

### **Troop Morale Low in Korean War**

Our discussion drifted into the topic of the Korean war.

"By the time the Korean war began, it was an entirely different period. The witchhunt was on and McCarthyism hovered about like a big monster. The war was very unpopular and no one stood in line to join up, but there were no demonstrations or anything like we see today.

"The most obvious way in which the unpopularity of the war was registered was in the morale of the troops. I wasn't in Korea, but it was reported in the newspapers all the way through the war. For example, military analysts would write articles about how few men on the front lines actually fired their rifles.

"You also have to remember that the American Army suffered the worst catastrophe in its entire history during the early stages of the Korean war. There was a big announcement, I think in June, when MacArthur promised to get the boys home by Christmas. That's when they started marching toward the Yalu River, and when they got up there, they discovered there was a Chinese army getting behind their lines. The American 8th Army was just about wiped out, which wasn't too good for morale.

"To the average person the war was a lot of stupid killing for nothing. Casualties were high because they were fighting a kind of positional warfare, facing a regular army, and the same ground was being fought over several times. After it dragged out for a couple of years, Eisenhower promised—during the '52 elections—to go to Korea, implying he would go there to end the war, and that won him the election.

"You know, it's hard to remember a lot about that period. It's much easier to talk about Vietnam.

"There are all kinds of indications that troop morale is not so good in Vietnam. Of course, the army keeps claiming it's top notch, but if you read carefully you can tell that it's just not true.

"For example, I read a long article recently about the air war in Vietnam, in which the author frankly

states that they are losing a very large percentage of their pilots as soon as their hitch is up. The main reason he gave for this was that the pilots feel the American public just doesn't give a damn about their risking their lives, so why should they. When you're asked to go into combat and face death, you have to have a motivation—unless you're some kind of a nut, and most GIs certainly are not.

"The GIs and pilots know the war is unpopular at home. So they take the line of least resistance and get out as soon as they can. They are not out demonstrating yet, though I expect they might be in the future. It's happened before in the going home movement and can happen again. They probably don't know it has been done before, without anyone getting victimized or hurt by it. So they last it through as best they can and dog it, but its very hard to fight an aggressive war with that kind of an atmosphere.

### No Glory for GIs in Vietnam

"One thing that is strikingly different about the Vietnam war as compared to the Korean war, is that the newspapers don't really play up the glory angle. In Korea they made a big thing out of the air force. They made heroes out of a lot of pilots, and glamorized the dog fights and shooting down MIGs. The names of many pilots were household words. They were brought back for recruiting tours. But you don't see anything like that now. There are no heroes in the Vietnam war. Reporters reveal that many times pilots being interviewed for the papers and magazines request their names not be used because they feel that when they get home people may not like what they have done.

"It is hard to determine precisely how much effect the antiwar movement has had on the troops in Vietnam. The U. S. is the most powerful military force in the world. It is throwing everything it has—short of nuclear weapons—at Vietnam and not getting anywhere. That's not just due to the morale factor. There is a great mass of American human beings over there who don't know why they're there or what they are supposed to be doing, and that's one of the reasons the American war effort bogs down.

### Black Rebellion Boosts Antiwar Fight

"The mass uprisings in the black communities have also had a big effect on the black GIs fighting in Vietnam. Those uprisings were very effective antiwar demonstrations. Not that they were organized as antiwar demonstrations, or organized

at all for that matter, but they dealt a terrific blow to the American war effort on a number of levels.

"They exposed the U. S. as being in the ridiculous posture of sending soldiers 10,000 miles around the globe to supposedly fight for someone else's freedom, when large sections of the American population obviously felt there was no freedom at home. The whole moral position of the U. S. was revealed to be thoroughly rotten.

"That will make American GIs begin to question things even more, particularly the black GI who received news of his friends and family being shot at by National Guardsmen in his own home town.

"The uprisings revealed the fundamental incapacity of the Johnson administration and the whole capitalist power structure to deal with serious popular demands or revolts. Their only answer was repression, and a few words about liberal reforms. But when it comes to action, they easily find \$40 billion to fight the war in Vietnam and reject \$40 million to fight rats. Everyone knows that to solve the problems in the cities the government would have to spend \$40 billion a year for several years on such things as low rent public housing. Private enterprise doesn't build low rent housing in most cities. It hasn't in two decades and its not about to start now. Only massive public spending—massive like the war spending—would solve the housing problem in the cities.

"The uprisings have a radicalizing impact on all of American society. People who two months ago were convinced that there was no hope for any kind of revolutionary change in the U. S., are now convinced that the U. S. is part of the revolutionary scene, and a significant part.

"There must be great trepidation in the white ruling class today about having given so much combat training to so many black GIs in Vietnam. I've been told that about 4,000 black GIs are returning from Vietnam every month, and most of



American Federation of Teachers at April 15 Demonstration in San Francisco

them will be returning to the ghettos. You can be sure the National Guard and the police are giving some thought to *that*."

### **Antiwar Movement Has Impact on American Masses**

After pausing for a moment to chuckle about the prospects facing the American rulers, he went on.

"You know, the antiwar movement and the black uprisings are a real boost to the morale of revolutionaries around the world. Sometimes people argue that the antiwar movement and the big demonstrations aren't accomplishing anything, that we haven't stopped the war so we obviously aren't very effective. But they miss the whole point.

"No one, except some very naive people, ever expected that mass demonstrations would convince the capitalist class to pull out of this adventure. We didn't have any illusions like that. What we set out to do was to prove that there was very widespread opposition to the war, to establish the atmosphere that it is legitimate to be against the war and to make it apparent that you're not some kind of nut if you're against the war. On the contrary, you're just like your neighbors. We've successfully established that atmosphere as a result of mass demonstrations, and that's one of the most important accomplishments of the antiwar movement.

"While the students and intellectuals don't have the power to stop the war machine, in the long run they are important because the whole atmosphere of opposition begins to seep through the entire population and begins to effect those strata which do have the power to stop the war, specifically the organized working class and the GIs.

"If you had 100,000 longshoremen or 100,000 over-the-road truck drivers who were as anxious to stop the war as 100,000 students are, that would be the end of the game. They would just stop it. Not only would the war material not be moved, but, more important, it would become *politically* impossible for the rulers to continue it. They might try to shoot them down, but they wouldn't get away with it.

"The antiwar atmosphere also pervades that section of the American population that is getting drafted or joining up under the hot breath of the draft. While the servicemen aren't identical to the rest of the population, they are affected by the same things and reflect the same attitudes.

"The polls show now that a majority of the American population is opposed to the war. I'm convinced that the demonstrative, visible expressions of antiwar sentiment such as April 15 helped create this attitude. *The majority*. That means, *ipso facto*, maybe with a little lag, that a majority

of those American young men who are told to fight it are also opposed, and that is a potentially explosive situation. They cannot fight a war successfully under those conditions.

"The antiwar demonstrations are already saving lives. The week after April 15th, there were people alive in Vietnam who would have been dead if that march had not taken place. It's as simple as that. There were GIs who heard about the demonstration. No doubt some of them asked themselves why should they knock themselves out if that was the sentiment back home. And why should they? They are absolutely right."

We asked Fred Halstead why, from a socialist point of view, he was concerned about building the antiwar movement.

"As a human being, I want an end to the war. It's a perfectly understandable goal in and of itself. It is worth all the effort just to save the lives that will be saved.

"I'm also a socialist, and I know that it is the capitalist system that breeds wars. It will breed other wars after Vietnam if the system is not changed. But, if we are able to stop this war by a movement of the popular masses—and by that I mean both the American people and the colonial masses who are fighting U.S. aggression—that will greatly weaken the hand of American imperialism in all its future adventures, set a powerful example for future fights, and create a whole new dynamic in American politics.

"I view the antiwar movement very differently from those who say, 'We shouldn't bother very much emphasizing the fight against *this* war. We're opposed to it, of course, but we should try to build a radical constituency so that the United States will, at some time in the future, have a large radical population which can effectively oppose future wars.' Well, that's just not the way things work.

"The issue presents itself, and you don't really have any choice in determining just when or what that issue will be. Any issue around which people begin to rally has a dynamic of its own, and you build a whole lot faster concentrating on the central issue that is at hand, than by trying to build a radical base in the abstract—particularly when you ignore, or pretend to ignore, the burning issue at hand."

### **Logical for Antiwar Fighters to Support SWP Ticket**

After a couple of hours, we finally got around to discussing the fact that Fred Halstead is running for President of the United States on the Socialist Workers party ticket. We asked him on what basis he would appeal to antiwar fighters many of whom

(continued on p. 9)

# BLACK POWER ADVOCATES VICIOUSLY ATTACKED

BY DERRICK MORRISON

With the black ghetto rebellions becoming more widespread and reaching new highs in regard to immobilizing capitalist society, the reaction of the government reaches new highs in its frenzied attacks on black power militants. From the local newspapers on up to the Texas outlaw sitting in the White House, a conscious attempt is being made to create a witchhunt atmosphere in which anything from petty harassment to assassination of black power militants is justifiable.

Stokely Carmichael sits in the OLAS conference at Havana, Cuba, and is blamed by Gov. Romney for the black uprising that put the torch to Detroit. In the New York speech where Romney made this charge, he also demanded that Carmichael be tried for treason.

As a result of Carmichael linking up the Afro-American freedom struggle with socialist Cuba and the revolutionary movements in Latin America, a barrage of attacks have been leveled at him by capitalist politicians and the press.

The ignorance that white Americans have of the intolerable conditions that produced the Cuban Revolution is matched by their ignorance of the intolerable conditions that produce ghetto rebellions in this country. In both cases, the creation of the abominable conditions are rooted in the outmoded capitalist social system. While the capitalist politicians and press blast Carmichael for aligning the Afro-American struggle with the "international red conspiracy," that is, the revolutionary movements of the oppressed people of Latin America, they completely ignore the gang of cutthroats, thieves, and gorillas that the U.S. government aligns itself with in the Organization of American States. They also take little note of the fact that an American satellite, Great Britain, has



H. Rap Brown speaks at street meeting

refused to allow Carmichael back into the country because of their mounting "colored" problem. The British government did the same thing when it banned the late Brother Malcolm X from their country, a week before his assassination. Contrary to the situation when Brother Malcolm was alive, there is a significant black power movement afoot today. The existence of this movement will make it that much harder for the government to move against Carmichael when he returns.

## Who Are the Criminals?

Last June, while well-dressed and well-fed Senators and Congressmen sat around bestirring themselves with the speeches of H. Rap Brown and other militants, they ridiculed and cracked jokes over a bill that would use a paltry sum of \$40 million to exterminate rats in the big city ghettos—and then voted to defeat it. At the same time, these Senators and Congressmen saw fit to pass a \$75 million anti-crime bill, which will deck out the local policemen in the latest equipment and weapons used to quell disturbances in the



city. The militarization of the actions of the government abroad goes hand in hand with the increasing militarization at home. Along with the passage of this anti-crime bill, the Senate will now decide whether to pass the anti-riot law, designed to allow the government to arrest "outside agitators." There is also pending legislation to restrict the basic constitutional right of Americans to bear arms. Putting more arms in the hands of the police goes hand in hand with disarming the civilian population. This legislation is aimed squarely at black people, and is an endeavor to make it that much easier for the government to frame up militants like Brown.

### H. Rap Brown Target of Racists Country-wide

Right now, Brown is in jail in Virginia, while court proceedings are conducted to have him extradited to Maryland on the charge of inciting the Cambridge ghetto to riot last July. This is essentially an attack on the right of free speech, which makes it possible for the city governments to put the onus on black radicals for ghetto rebellions rather than point the finger at themselves for the inflammatory conditions that exist in the ghetto. In the case of the Cambridge ghetto, the rebellion was started when white racists, some believed to have been in blue uniforms, rode through the black community shooting at pedestrians a couple of hours after Brown had spoken. One of the pedestrians shot was Brown. As he was being taken to a hospital, the Brothers began to return the fire. Such was the beginning of the Cambridge rebellion, and such is invariably the pattern by which black power militants are framed up "inciting to riot." Either the local police force or racist whites provide the spark for the rebellion, and then the power structure hunts for a scapegoat, whether it be local black power militants or a national black spokesman. No whites were arrested for "inciting to riot" in Cambridge.

Instead of issuing threats against the life of the system responsible for the rebellions, the government officials issue threats against the lives of black militants. Because Brown is one of the chief spokesmen, he is the target of the most threats, which explains why he carried a rifle. In the middle of August, he was arrested in New York for carrying a carbine on an airline from New Orleans, which is a violation of the National Firearms Act, prohibiting transport of a weapon across state lines while under indictment. Whether it was tactically correct to be caught in such a position is not to be debated here, but the point to be made is that the rifle was no secret. Two deputy sheriffs assigned to protect Brown when he was traveling

on bus from New Orleans to Baton Rouge knew that he had the gun. And when Brown went to board the plane at New Orleans International Airport, he affirmed the fact to airline personnel when they asked about the rifle. In fact, Brown turned the weapon over to an airline employe who carried it on the flight to New York. Therefore, either the airline personnel did not know about the law, or were part of the plot to trap Brown for violating the Act. This incident reveals not only attempts by local governments to frame up black militants, but also by the federal government as well.

The cases of Brown and Carmichael are two of the most prominent among many.

### Nat Turner Still Feared in Tennessee

There is the case of the Nashville Liberation school, which has come under attack because the school was receiving funds from the O. E. O., Office of Economic Opportunity, and teaching "hatred of whitey." What was in fact being done was that the school was teaching the political, social, economic, and cultural history of the Afro-American. This involves the revelation of 300 years of chattel slavery, and the brutality inflicted upon the black man by white society. One scene that was being relived at the school was the slave rebellion that took place in 1831 led by Nat Turner. The Nash-

#### YSA SOLIDARITY WITH VICTIMS OF FRAME-UP

September 11, 1967

National Legal Defense Fund  
for the 17 Accused  
c/o Allied Federal Savings  
and Loan Association  
115-02 Merrick Blvd.  
Jamaica, New York

To the 17 Afro-Americans Accused:

The constitutional right of black people to bear arms and belong to rifle clubs is in danger as a result of the frame-up against you, along with the repressive gun legislation designed to disarm the black population.

The National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance pledges all-out support to your case and your demand for justice. We want to help in whatever way we can to get the facts out about the trumped up charges against you and build the defense effort for your case. This political harassment and repression of black people must be stopped.

Mary-Alice Waters  
YSA National Secretary  
for the YSA National  
Committee

ville officials have used this to say that the school teaches "hate," and that therefore the funds should be withdrawn. At this point the school is being investigated.

The anxiety and apprehensiveness of the Nashville officials was disclosed when they arrested George Washington Ware, one of Carmichael's companions at the OLAS conference, on charges of advocating the violent overthrow of the Tennessee State government and the federal government. They claimed this was done when Ware made a speech in Nashville and indicated that Afro-Americans should achieve black power "by any means necessary." The charges were subsequently dropped because they could not stand up in court.

### **Thousands of Black Liberation Fighters in Jail**

Another prominent case is that of the 17 Afro-Americans accused of trying to assassinate Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and other assorted toms. This is a case where the "Civil Rites" leaders collaborated with the government in trying to railroad militants to jail. They didn't bother to find out the truth, but just assumed that the whole plot was for real.

The actual truth of the matter is that the 17 were members of a rifle club with members in New York and Philadelphia. The cops then proceeded to bust it up by concocting the assassination plot. Any black leader, including M. L. King,

or black newspaper, which does not expose and call this game by its rightful name, out and out frame-up, assumes a traitorous position in respect to the movement. Instead of just sitting back and taking it, the 17 Afro-Americans accused are trying to rally support to their case, by attempting to set up speaking engagements in the ghetto and on college campuses. All real partisans of the black struggle will rally behind this case and try to expose the grotesque injustice of it.

Another case that needs to be given support and publicized across the country is the case of five students at Texas Southern University, who are each charged with two assault-to-murder indictments and one murder indictment. These charges arose out of the police attack on TSU last May, in which two cops were wounded and one was killed. At present, these five students are being refused readmission into TSU. Write to the Houston Defense and Freedom Fund, Box 88012, Houston, Texas 77004, for more information.

Around the country there are other similar cases where black militants have been charged with assault-to-murder indictments as a result of some cop having been shot in a ghetto rebellion. There are also thousands of people languishing in jail who were arrested for participating in the justifiable black uprisings that swept the nation this past summer. The job of all black radicals and other partisans of the struggle is to help publicize the legal cases of these victims of capitalist misrule whenever and wherever it is possible.

## **...Halstead**

(continued from p. 6)

are not socialists to support his campaign.

"It's true many of them are not socialists. But they are not capitalists either, and they voted for a capitalist candidate in '64 when they thought Johnson was a kind of peace candidate—as compared to Goldwater. Many will support the SWP campaign in 1968 as a protest against the Vietnam war.

"There is one other factor that is very important. Many people in the antiwar movement understand that an independent force must be built— independent of the warmaking capitalist power structure. That is what the antiwar movement has been doing.

"By building massive direct actions, including marches, calling for an end to an imperialist war actually being waged by the U. S. government, the antiwar movement is building an independent force that is not under the control of the capitalist class. The power structure is forced to make adjustments to the antiwar movement. Even from

the point of view of those who are not asking for a fundamental change, but just want the present rulers to make a change in their strategy, the most effective thing to do is to build a power that is independent of the rulers, that they must reckon with and cannot control.

"This action independent of the ruling class must be taken into the electoral field too, and the only way to maintain independence in the electoral field is to make a clean break with the capitalist parties and capitalist politics. If you don't make that clean break, you will be captured by the capitalist power structure and used by it.

"A socialist campaign stands for that kind of a break and furthers the building of an independent working class political force. Far from being a contradiction it is the logical step for serious antiwar fighters to support our socialist election campaign which will give them an opportunity to take their independent action into the electoral arena."

# ' LIES ARE WRITTEN ON FAT FACES...'

## VOZNESENSKY

BY GEORGE SAUNDERS

Andrei Voznesensky is not primarily a political poet. His main contributions, in the realm of sound and imagery, have helped revive Soviet poetry from the dead period of the Stalin era. But recently he has been forced to play a political role—by the times he lives in and the very crudeness of the bureaucratic regime he lives under.

On June 22 Voznesensky wrote a letter to *Pravda*, recounting and protesting the humiliations, the high-handedness, and the stupidities he had endured at the hands of Soviet Writers Union officials in connection with the last-minute cancellation of a poetry reading he had been scheduled for in New York. He made clear that the question of the poetry reading itself he considered secondary. What he denounced was the official callousness and arbitrariness that the incident typified.

*Pravda* did not print this letter. By August, however, copies found publication outside the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, at a public meeting in Moscow July 2 the poet read verses denouncing censorship and ridiculing the "shamelessness" of fat-faced, lying bureaucrats. (See quotes from poem above.) This too found publication abroad.

The Writers Union leaders found a novel way of replying. In the Sept. 6 issue of their organ, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, they reprinted a poem from the organ of the American Communist Party—*The Worker*. The poem in *The Worker* likened Voznesensky to Svetlana Stalin, warned him "The CIA loves you," and asked insultingly, "Have you heard of Sacco and Vanzetti? . . . bloody Vietnam?"

The Writers Union hacks were undoubtedly thrilled by this piece of Stalinist claptrap. But a significant body of Soviet opinion "deems the entire letter a grave injustice to Voznesensky." This was

stated in a Moscow dispatch to *The Worker* itself (Sept. 12), which reported that the *Worker* poem had stirred a further controversy.

It is important to grasp the main issue involved in this dispute. The attacks on Voznesensky do not stem from his "pro-Americanism," as has been reported. The Soviet bureaucrats themselves are the ones that indulge in such attitudes toward American liberals.

Voznesensky's increasingly active role in the struggle for creative freedom is the main cause of his difficulties. He gave strong backing to Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, the anti-Stalin author, who in May called for an end to literary censorship. The poet's July 2 public reading was another step along this line.

Serious Soviet artists want the freedom to deal with vital problems of their society, unhampered by taboos of "socialist realism." Such freedoms would enhance the appeal of Soviet society, not threaten its existence. But free discussion would probe into and threaten wrongful bureaucratic privilege. And that is why the Kremlin bosses, who condone and partake of privilege, are so adamant in preserving censorship and so vindictive toward those who would end it.

### FROM VOZNESENSKY POEM ON "SHAMELESSNESS"

How shamefully we hold our tongues,  
or at the most we hem and haw.  
I'm ashamed of things  
I've written myself.

\* \* \*

Lies are written on fat faces  
that should be hidden in trousers.

\* \* \*

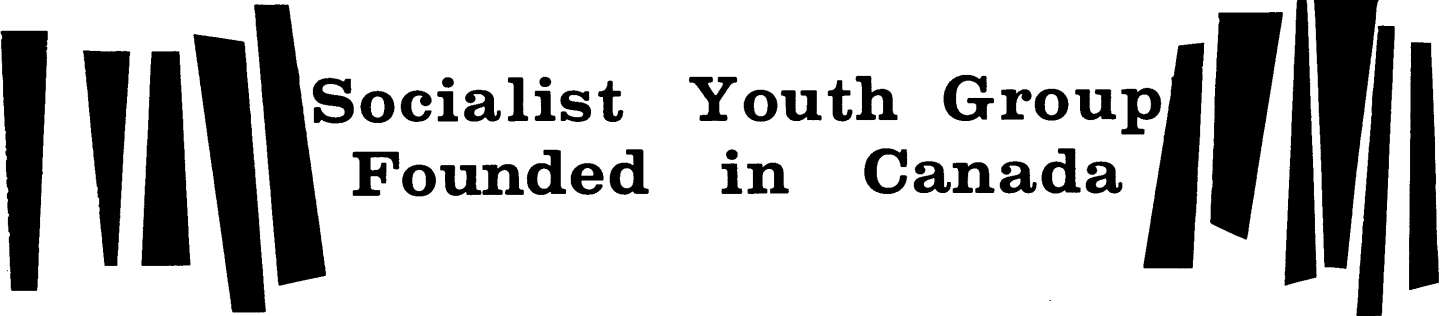
It's scandalous  
that censorship's been introduced—in Greece—  
so that all the newspapers look alike.  
It's scandalous  
when Vietnam becomes a pawn to be played with.  
It's scandalous to lie and lie.

\* \* \*

It's scandalous to eat fish  
with a fork instead of a knife.  
Even more scandalous for us to eat  
while others starve.

\* \* \*

You so-called "intelligentsia,"  
caught in the tissue of your lies,  
you read Herzen,  
while you bare your backside for the lash.



# Socialist Youth Group Founded in Canada

In July several members of the YSA including myself attended the founding convention of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in Toronto, Ontario.

The convention brought together 120 young socialists who are active in the central political struggles of Canada. Enthusiastic and youthful (average age: 20), the delegates came from a wide variety of backgrounds.

Many were veterans of the growing Canadian antiwar movement, where they have fought to end Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war and have been in the forefront of organizing mass actions against the war since the beginning of the antiwar struggle in Canada.

Others came from the expelled left caucus of the New Democratic Youth, the youth wing of the New Democratic party. They had tried to influence the New Democratic youth to take a firm stand for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and to project a militant socialist program.

Although expelled from the NDY and the NDP, these young socialists will continue to urge young people to support the NDP, despite its inadequate program, as a step towards a break from capitalist politics by the Canadian working class. In a resolution adopted at the convention they affirmed this position. "We support the New Democratic party, not because of its timid program and bureaucratic leadership, but because it is the party of the trade union movement, of the organized working people in Canada. . . . The YS/LJS will work, in every election campaign, for NDP governments at the Federal, Provincial, and Municipal levels—and if the NDP doesn't run, we will."

## **YS/LJS Supports Self-Determination for French-Speaking Minority**

Other delegates at the YS/LJS convention came from Quebec where they have been involved in the struggle for self-determination for the Quebecois. They belong to the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. Oppressed as a national minority within Canada, the French Canadians have mounted an increasing struggle for the right to determine their

own future—a right that the YS/LJS supports unconditionally.

In three days of intense and lively discussion the delegates formed a bi-national organization which will fight for a socialist Canada. The Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the Young Socialists are distinct parts of a common movement functioning in both French and English Canada.

The discussion was directed to several written documents that had been read and discussed in local areas before the convention. The resolutions that were adopted unanimously projected the struggle against the Vietnam war as the major arena of activity in the coming year.

The reports at the convention dealt thoroughly with the state of other radical youth groups in Canada. The conclusion of this discussion was that the YS/LJS is the strongest and most influential radical youth group and can look forward to rapid growth. Local units of the new movement exist in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal. Members not in chapters are all over Canada and the founding convention made plans to organize chapters in other major cities.

Before this convention welded the Canadian young socialists together in a common organization they had been supporters and readers of the bi-monthly magazine the *Young Socialist Forum*. This attractive and colorful publication served to tie the widely scattered young socialists together as well as help convince new radicals to become socialists. Now the *YSF* will be published as the official organ of the YS/LJS. A twelve issue subscription can be obtained for \$1.50 by writing to; *YSF*, 32 Cecil St., Toronto 2B, Ontario, Canada.

Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance presented greetings from the YSA. She stated that the formation of the YS/LJS was an event that would inspire young socialists all over the world. "The Young Socialist Alliance" she said, "salutes your work and looks forward to fruitful collaboration in our common struggle for a socialist North America and a socialist world."

—LEW JONES

# Ten Years of the YOUNG SOCIALIST

# 1957-1967

BY SUSAN LIND

The *Young Socialist* was born during a period of crisis in world politics. In 1956 such world-shaking events occurred as Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the Hungarian revolution, the imperialist invasions of the Middle East and Laos, and the resurgence of the black people's struggle in this country. All these events served to shake up the existing socialist groups, and to begin a process of discussion and ferment among American youth, which would replace the "silent generation" of the fifties with the activists of the sixties.

At the end of 1956 only one independent socialist youth group existed in this country, the Young Socialist League. The Labor Youth League, youth group of the Communist party, had been dissolved because of dissension within its ranks. The Young Socialist League was split. Most of its members decided to merge with the Young People's Socialist League, youth group of Norman Thomas' Socialist party, but a left wing rebelled against this course.

In October, 1957, a group of young people published the first issue of the *Young Socialist* as a monthly newspaper. These people came from various political tendencies, including the dissolved CP youth group, the left wing of the Young Socialist League, youth from the Socialist Workers party, and supporters of the *National Guardian*—and were joined by independent socialists of various kinds.

The political events which precipitated this period of "socialist regroupment" also caused some campus youth to consider new ideas and explanations of these social convulsions. Small socialist clubs began to pop up all over the country. They tended to read and support the *Young Socialist* newspaper, the only socialist youth publication in existence.

### Young Socialist: A Forum for Radical Youth

The YS was the pole of attraction for these youth who wanted the truth about the recurring problems of war and racism, and were not afraid to consider socialist answers. Early YS's carried many reports such as this one: "DENVER—A group of young socialists in the Denver area are planning

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## SUPPORT SNCC

### VIETNAM: WITHDRAW OR NEGOTIATE?

## 3 Students Face Jail For Political Ideas



THE YOUNG SOCIALIST  
Ten Cents

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST  
Ten Cents

## Johnson Is No Answer To Goldwater

## THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

## THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY:



## A REPORT FROM OWNDES COUNTY

## BOYCOTT

## Woolworth's

## YOUNG SOCIALIST

### Interview with Malcolm X

YANKEE  
GO HOME

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**Vol. 6, No. 5 (53)**

**YANKEE GO HOME**

to form a young socialist club in order to further discussion among youth of different political persuasions and to bring the ideas of socialism to the young people of the area."

The goals of the YS were to be "independent, broad, and militant." The YS editors thought socialist youth needed an organ which was not controlled by or financially dependent on, any adult political group. Secondly, they felt the YS should rally *all* socialist youth who wanted to work together in a revolutionary direction. An editorial explained, ". . . old lines should no longer divide young people. We need a movement in which we can *discuss* the points we disagree about, while *acting* for the things we agree on." And lastly, the YS wanted to be militant—unafraid to speak out and act against the imperialist rulers of this country, and to stand up for basic socialist principles.

### **YS Supporters Active in Campus and Civil Rights Struggles**

Now students are used to buying and selling radical publications on almost every campus, but in the late '50's things were different. The YS was the first socialist publication to be sold in large quantities on campus since the cold-war witchhunt began, and many YS salesmen were harassed by university officials. The May-June, 1958 YS reports: "Attempts by police and administration authorities to halt the distribution of the *Young Socialist* on the University of Michigan campus have met with decisive defeat. A combination of intimidation by police photographers, threats of arrest by a university official and an editorial smear in the university newspaper backfired when a large number of students repudiated these tactics and rallied to the support of the distributors."

The YS conducted a major campaign around the issue of school desegregation and equal rights for the black population. In the late '50's and early '60's the dominant strategy of militant black people, especially in the South, was the strategy of fighting against the worst features of segregation. Young people were enraged at the hypocrisy of the 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregation of the schools. They demanded equal rights, and equal opportunities, through militant demonstrations, marches, and sit-ins. On October 25, 1958, a massive Youth March for Integration brought 10,000 young people to Washington, D. C. Supporters of the YS helped to build the demonstration into a large one while also participating with their ideas by selling 400 YS's. Then on April 18, 1959, another Youth March for Integration brought out 26,000 marchers.

In April, 1960, the Southern civil rights strug-

gle hit the Northern campuses. Students got the idea of picketing Woolworth's, Kresge's, and other chain stores in solidarity with Southern black students who were sitting-in to force the stores to serve black people at their lunch counters. Youth committees arose in city after city to plan weekly picketing of Woolworth's. *Young Socialist* supporters were in the front lines of this effort, and were the initiators of the actions in many cities.

The YS carried reports every month from participants across the country on the progress of the picketing and the victories in forcing stores to lower their barriers to blacks. In some cities students picketed Woolworth's every week from March to September, 1960. These were the largest that had been held in years, and they deepened the controversy and ferment on the campus.

In the midst of these demonstrations, campus free speech fights, and activities around other issues, supporters of the YS grew and consolidated themselves in several regional conferences.

### **Young Socialist Alliance Founded**

In April 1960 the founding conference of a new organization, the Young Socialist Alliance, was held.

The *Young Socialist* newspaper had drawn around itself a nucleus of activists who wanted to recruit American youth to the fight for socialism.

At the founding conference the discussion of the problems and future of the black struggle reflected the fact that YS supporters were deeply involved in, and leaders of, the Northern civil rights and campus struggles.

The conference also decided on a "Where We Stand" document, which outlined the origins of the new organization and its program. The document analyzed the Communist party and the Socialist party, and concluded that both these groups were striving for social reform rather than for a social revolution. After two-and-one-half years of political discussion in the YS, the young socialists declared at the founding conference that they were in political solidarity with the Socialist Workers party, as the only party on the American scene which would be able to lead the American workers to power on a class struggle program.

At the same time, the document stated, "The YSA is an independent organization which elects its own officers and works out its own political views. The YSA bases itself on the principles of the organizational independence of the revolutionary youth organization and opens its doors to all young people—regardless of other affiliation—who agree with its socialist principles and accept its program."

At this conference the YSA hailed the Cuban revolution and pledged to use the pages of the YS

to bring the truth about Cuba to American youth. The young socialists also decided to support the SWP slate of Dobbs and Weiss for President and Vice President in the 1960 elections.

### "Hands Off Cuba!"

In 1960 the capitalist press in the U.S. turned against the Cuban revolution as the revolution made deeper and deeper inroads on capitalist private property. The second major campaign of the YS was to come to the defense of the Cuban revolution through printing the truth about what was happening there, and urging all who believed in democracy to unite in a common effort to defend it against the hostility of the U. S. ruling class.

In the summer of 1960 seven YSA members were sent as delegates to the first Latin American Youth Congress held in Havana, and the YS printed eye-witness reports from them on what they saw there. Articles were run such as, "I Saw a Cuba Where the People are Running the Show," and "First-Hand View of Cuba Exposes U. S. Lies." With banner headlines reading "Defend the Cuban Revolution!", the YS began a campaign to publicize and build Fair Play for Cuba Committees, which were springing up across the country. The purposes of the FPCC was, "To disseminate truth, to combat untruth, to publish factual information which the U. S. mass media suppress, which the American public has a right to know, and in the process to combat the ignorance, the inadequate leadership, the blatantly distorted reporting which we believe constitutes not merely a grave injustice to the Cuban people, and a serious threat, as well, to the free traditions of our own people, our nation, our hemisphere."



Young socialists protest U. S. invasion of Lebanon, 1958

Student Fair Play for Cuba Committees multiplied until membership reached 7,000. The first major activity of the FPCC was to sponsor a Christmas vacation trip to Cuba in 1960. About 330 people went on the trip, including 150 students.

The *Young Socialist* published excerpts of Castro's speeches, writings by C. Wright Mills on Cuba, and reports on the many FPCC demonstrations across the country. The YS defended Castro's step in nationalizing U.S. industry in Cuba, exposed the lies in the capitalist press, and blasted U.S. threats to invade Cuba and attempts to have Cuba expelled from the OAS. The YS sent "trailblazers" on a tour through the Rocky Mountain states, and this campaign to sell and distribute YS's became a campaign to defend Cuba.

*Young Socialist* reporter Sherry Finer covered Castro's visit to New York in 1960, when he stayed at the Hotel Theresa in the heart of Harlem. She jotted down comments she heard in the Harlem streets and discussions she had with black people and Puerto Ricans: "By the simple act of moving to Harlem's Hotel Theresa, the Cuban delegation electrified the whole community and forged a solid bond between the Latin and Negro people." One black person told her: "'Castro came to the Theresa and they said it was propaganda. But why don't they come to the Theresa and do propaganda? Castro has shown the people of Harlem a dark man called Almeida for the head of the Army. I tell any one of you of any color or any religion to go to Cuba to the best places and you won't see discrimination.' Castro appeared at the window and the crowd went wild. 'And you won't see signs in Cuba that say for colored only and be pushed to the back of the bus. Is this propaganda?'"

At the second national convention of the YSA held in December 1961, the membership had a full discussion of the development of the Cuban Revolution, and voted to accept a document "Why We Back the Cuban Revolution." This conference also discussed the significant entrance of new forces into the civil rights movement, and the development of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in a more militant direction. The Freedom Riders campaign and the attacks on Robert Williams' self-defense group in Monroe, North Carolina were two new developments discussed by the YSA members.

Headlines of the March, 1962, YS hailed the largest antiwar demonstration in America in over 30 years. On February 16, 8,000 high school and college students marched on Washington after a week-long series of demonstrations on campuses across the country. The action was certainly not



so radical as the mass antiwar actions of today, but it expressed the beginnings of revolt among students against nuclear testing, U. S. military presence all over the world, and the drive toward war by the rulers of this country.

The *YS* carried articles way back in 1962 on the U.S.'s criminal role in Vietnam. The newspaper tried to point out to youth who joined in the peace marches of that period that, in addition to opposing war in general, they should organize opposition to this particular war which the U.S. was actually carrying on. Thus, from the very beginning, the *YS* tried to direct the student antiwar movement toward direct confrontation with the U.S. government's whole imperialist foreign policy.

The year 1963 saw the YSA under attack for its socialist views. The *YS* defended Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan, three students at Indiana University who were indicted under an Indiana witchhunt law for "advocating the violent overthrow of the government." This was the first case in which students were indicted for their campus activities. The whole YSA mobilized to defend their fellow members, and the *YS* carried reports on the proliferation of Committees to Aid the Bloomington Students on campuses across the country. After a four-year fight to defeat the government in the courts and to explain to the American people this threat to freedom of expression, this case has finally been won.

### **YSA Supports Black Nationalism**

The highlight of the third national convention of the YSA was a discussion of the new mood of the black masses in this country and the shift in strategy in their struggle for human freedom.

A section of the new layer of leadership of the black struggle was represented at this convention by the presence of fraternal delegates and observers from the Black Muslims, the National Afro-American Organization, and from Uhuru, a black nationalist group in Detroit.

The October, 1963 *YS* printed the resolution on "Youth and the Black Revolt" which was passed at the convention. The statement, printed next to a picture of Malcolm X, welcomed "the growth of black nationalism as a vehicle of struggle against racial oppression." The YSA supported black nationalism as "progressive since it contributes to the creation of an independent movement for the unification and mobilization of the black masses" to fight for freedom.

From this point to the present time, the *YS* has led a campaign to defend SNCC, Malcolm X's movement, and other militant black organizations from government attacks and to help publicize

their views and just demands. The *YS* covered all the conferences of SNCC, the Grass Roots Leadership Conference held in Detroit to which only blacks were invited, and speeches Malcolm X made on various campuses. The March-April 1965 *YS* carried an interview with Malcolm X which contained some of his most well-developed thinking on black nationalism, capitalism, and the role of youth in the world today.

Betsey Barnes, as a reporter for the *YS* marched on the 1966 Meredith March in Mississippi and reported the emergence of the demand for Black Power. A *YS* reporter also visited Lowndes County, Alabama to talk with John Hulett and other leaders of the Lowndes County Freedom party. His report in the *YS* described the independence of the Black Panther party from the Democratic and Republican parties, the difficult conditions under which it operated, and the perspectives of its leaders to actually take political power in that county.

### **YS Becomes A Magazine**

In October, 1964 the *YS* format was changed from a newspaper to a bimonthly magazine, in order to, "provide young people with more facts on more general issues than a newspaper can," as the editorial explained.

The magazine *YS* began with a campaign to support Deberry and Shaw, candidates of the Socialist Workers party for President and Vice-president in 1964. In the middle of the stampede of liberals and "socialists" into Johnson's camp, the *YS* was probably the only youth organ which told the truth about Johnson and tried to show youth the uselessness of supporting "lesser-evil" capitalist politicians.

Then when the Students for a Democratic Society called for a March on Washington against the Vietnam war in April, 1965, the YSA and the *YS* threw themselves into the preparations for the action and have been actively involved—in many instances in a leadership capacity—in the organized antiwar movement ever since.

The *YS* entered the discussion over the strategy of the antiwar movement, stressing the need for building massive and militant confrontations with the war policy in the streets, the need for the antiwar movement to bring the truth about the war to American GIs, and the need to demand immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops.

In April of this year the *YS* became a monthly magazine, in order to more fully cover the expanding struggle of black and white youth against the capitalist system. The *YS* will continue in the future to present a revolutionary path for youth who want to make a socialist transformation of America.

# If you support:

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



## JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

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

### Meet Young Socialists in Your Area

ALBANY (New York): c/o Carol Ann French, 272 Lark St., Albany, 12210

ATLANTA: YSA, Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308

BERKELEY: YSA, c/o Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia St., Berkeley, Calif. 94704, tel. 848-3992

Univ. of Cal.: Carl Frank, tel. 549-0308

Merritt College: Susan Montauk, 2007 Milvia St., Berkeley, Cal. 94704, tel. 849-1409

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

BOSTON: YSA, 295 Huntington Ave., tel. 876-5930

Harvard-Radcliffe: John Barzman, 608 Franklin St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139, tel. 868-3021

M.I.T.: Jim Leass, 116 Kinnaird St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139, tel. 547-5360

Brandeis U.: Nat London, 116 Kinnaird St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139, tel. 547-5360

Boston U.: Debbie Ginsberg, 118 Kinnaird St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Tufts U.: Kathie Blair, 628-5912

CHICAGO: YSA, Rm. 204, 302 S. Canal St., Chicago, Ill. 60606, tel. 939-5044

Univ. of Chicago: Naomi Allen, 1109-52nd St., tel. 324-7534

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., Cleveland, Ohio 44104, tel. 791-1669

DOVER (Delaware): Delaware State College, Lloyd Summers, Box 559, Dover, Del. tel. 674-9843

DENVER: YSA, Box 2649, Denver, Colorado 80201

DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201, tel. 831-6135

Wayne State U.: YSA, Box 49, Mackenzie Hall, WSU, 48202

Macomb County Community College: Bob Custer, tel. TE1-6135

Cass Technical High School: Dave Watson, tel. PR8-3947

GLENS FALLS (New York): Glens Falls High School, Dave Comeau, 47 South St., Glens Falls, tel. RX 2-9063

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

LOS ANGELES: YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal. 90033, tel. 269-4953

Cal. State College at L.A.: Vic Dinnerstein, tel. 664-2268

UCLA: Angie Vinther, 647 Pien Ave., Santa Monica, Cal. 90405, tel. 478-9711, ext. 2233

MADISON (Wis.): YSA, 202 Marion St., tel. 256-0857

MINNEAPOLIS—St. Paul: YSA, Larry Seigle, 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 240, tel. 332-7781

U. of Minn.: David Thorstad, 116 W. Grant St., \*6, tel. 339-1864

Macalester College: Jan Sajka, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn. 55101, tel. 698-7313

Robbinsdale High School: Steve Stewart, 4320 Golden Valley Rd., Minn., tel. 588-6775

Minneapolis Central High School: Bill Scheer, 3829 Oakland Ave. S., Minn., tel. TA 5-0880

NEW YORK: YSA, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, tel. 982-6051

New York Univ.: Melissa Singler, 305 E. 21 St., tel. 677-4944

Queens College: Steve Zippen, 43-32 Kissena Blvd., Apt. 11-H, Flushing, N.Y. 11467, tel. 886-4669

City College: Steve Dash, 534 E. 11th St., #14, tel. 673-0602

New School for Social Research: Art Maglin, 226 E. 3rd St., #901, tel. 475-6053

Mannes College of Music: Terry Hillman, 39 W. 67th St., #901, tel. 362-2051

NORMAN (Oklahoma): Sudie Trippet, 1427 Jenkins, tel. JE 6-8125

PHILADELPHIA: YSA, Marilyn Levin, 811 S. 49th St., Phila. 19143

Univ. of Penn.: Richie Lesnik, 312 N. 37th St., Phila., Penn. 19104, tel. EV 6-7699

SAN FRANCISCO: YSA, Paul McKnight, 625 Ashbury, #12, San Francisco, Calif. 94117, tel. 552-2838

S. F. State College: Kathie Harer, 61-A Belcher, 94117, tel. 431-5560

S. F. City College: Jim Miller, 1733 Waller St., 94117, tel. 387-2562

SAN JOSE (Calif.): YSA, Anita Hansen, 34 S. 9th St., San Jose

SEATTLE: YSA, 5257 University Way, N.E., Seattle, Washington 98105, tel. 523-2555

Univ. of Washington: Kathy Perdue, 5222 17th N.E., Seattle, Wash., tel. 522-7485

Eastern Wash. State College: Ann Montague, 5223 Dryden Hall, Cheeney, Wash. 99004

WASHINGTON D.C.: YSA, Linda Wetter, 1731 New Hampshire Ave., N.W. 2009, tel. 387-7995

American U.: Anthony Thomas, 324 Hughes Hall, American U., Washington D.C., tel. 244-9846

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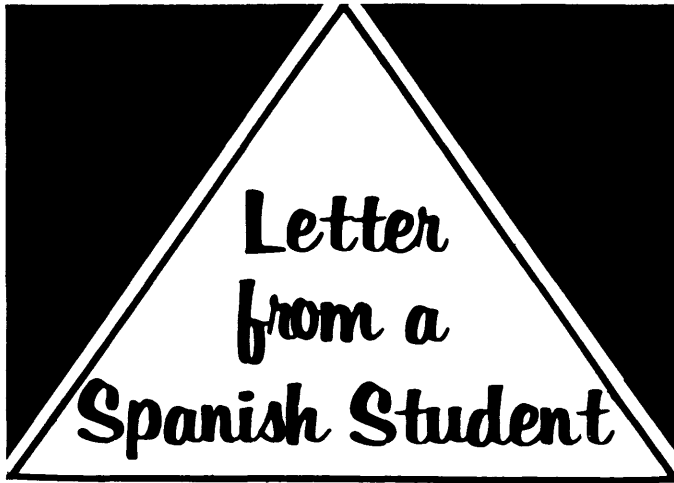
TORONTO: Young Socialists, 32 Cecil St., tel. 921-4627

MONTREAL: Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 66 ouest, rue Guilbault, tel. 844-7722

OTTAWA: Young Socialists, Box 2165, Station D

EDMONTON: Young Socialists, Rm. 1, 11129-89 Ave., tel. 433-8791

VANCOUVER: Young Socialists, 1208 Granville, tel. 682-9332



## Letter from a Spanish Student

The following article was sent to the *YS* by a young revolutionary socialist who is an active leader of the Democratic Students Union (DUS) in Spain. Unfortunately the article is published anonymously for reasons of security. The DUS, an illegal organization of students, has conducted many militant struggles against the Franco regime in the past couple of years, most of them for the elementary right to exist as a legal union of student youth.

\* \* \*

For a large part of the international radical movement, the name of Spain is at the same time a political myth and an historic image. The perseverance of the sentimental burden associated with the civil war which preceded the last world war can be estimated easily in the repercussions which current Spanish political acts customarily evoke beyond our borders. But these acts are generally badly interpreted, in the way in which they are appraised with relation to the civil war. The political problems which exist in Spain, although they may have historic roots in the war, must be attributed to another social dynamic which is entirely distinct. Any understanding of the socio-political situation in Spain today must depart from the destruction of that mythical image of a fascist regime facing an unrestored republican legality. And the blame for maintaining precisely that image falls on the anti-Franco political organizations, who use it not only as a propaganda instrument (which would be acceptable), but as the basis of their own analysis and therefore of their own actions, inasmuch as their objectives, with variations, can be summarized in the idea of re-establishing the "formal" democracy which was "altered" by the military coup of 1936.

But the socio-economic base of the country has changed profoundly, passing from an economy which was predominantly agricultural and a society fundamentally rural to an economy which is mainly industrial and a society which is by and large urban. It has passed from a ruling class controlled by landowners and their local bosses

to one with a monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie acting as the obvious driving force of the system.

The period of economic autarchy through which Francoism went, essentially for political reasons, between 1945 and 1957, permitted an accelerated accumulation of capital at the cost of enormous privations of the working people who were absolutely unable to defend themselves during that period. At this time agriculture was used as a source for financing industry. It is evident that this process created economic maladjustments, especially a significant inflation and the creation of numerous undertakings which were not competitive on an international scale, but it entailed a profound change in the economic structure and allowed the regime to dislodge the political resistance. It sapped its social base, by economically integrating an important part of the middle class and by exercising a fierce repression on the working class which was in a condition of abject poverty and at that time had no possibility of organizing itself against a giant police apparatus.

Starting from 1957-59, with the international isolation of Francoism broken, fundamentally thanks to the policies of the United States government consecrated in the Spanish-American agreements of 1953, its economic base consolidated and the decision imposed monolithically through a dictatorship controlled by a tiny group of financial interests, Spanish capitalism has initiated a dual process of economic and political integration in the Western world.

On the economic level this process has been a question of joining the European Common Market as a long-range policy; but above all, in the short run, it has been a question of opening the Spanish market for foreign investment, especially American investment, thereby using our country as a financial springboard for new penetration into other countries, in particular as a base of penetration of American industry into other European countries. This project, strongly supported by the international organizations controlled by the U. S., like the Bureau for International Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, both of which provided a cover for the initial dangerous phase of the operation, has resulted in a very important acceleration in the process of industrialization, the growth of the Gross National Product, and an indisputable rise in the standard of living in the recent years, especially in the sphere of individual consumption. Although the internal contradictions of the economic system are enormous, in particular in regard to the disastrous state of agriculture and in the lack of adaptation of sizeable industrial sectors to international norms, no political strategy can be based

on the hypothesis of a catastrophic crisis in the Spanish economy.

### **New Stirrings in Working Class**

The process just described briefly created a new dynamic in Spanish society. The opening of the borders allowed more than a million workers who had been reduced to unemployment or underemployment by the economic reconversion (The Stabilization Plan of 1959) to leave the country and allowed the entry of the millions of tourists who each summer provide the necessary income to maintain the equilibrium of the balance of payments.

On the other hand, the new economic activity of 1961 and the following years made it possible for the beginning of a recovery of the working class. The sole and compulsory trade union, the Falangist union which, according to the law, grouped together bosses and workers in the same organization, was rapidly given free rein. The collective bargaining agreements and the creation of the Franquist state to channel wage negotiations were used as a basis of agitation and trade union organizing. Organized groups of workers began to spring up spontaneously in the factories although it had been years since the traditional unions, the CNT (anarchist) and the UGT (socialist) had existed within the country as organized bodies.

The strikes in the spring of 1962 which extended all across Spain for two months, with the participation of hundreds of thousands of workers, profoundly stirred up the whole Spanish political system, as much within the ruling group as within the anti-Franco opposition. It was an immense spontaneous mobilization, originating in a whole series of economic gains but which was converted rapidly to the political level when the government refused to accept the fact of the strike and the existence of autonomous working class organizations. These strikes represent at the same time the objective possibility of a mass struggle, but also the verification of the fact that Francoism was entrenched with sufficient force to be able to resist a large spontaneous workers' movement.

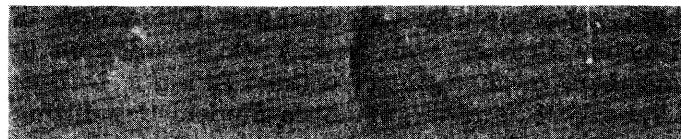
For the government of Franco, it was a warning that the economic evolution was leading to a parallel political evolution. It marked the beginning of the so-called policy of liberalization, headed by the Minister of Information, Fraga Iribarne. The most salient features of this policy consisted of a series of concessions in minor aspects from intellectual repression (in particular, more freedom in the publication of books and magazines, a new "tone" abandoning the formal vestiges of fascism)

and in a legal formalization of the most scandalous aspects of the arbitrary Franquist rule (for example, the substitution for political "crimes" of trial by military tribunals to trial by civil court, the sentences of which, as has become obvious since then, are actually more severe than those of the military courts).

### **Labor Revolt Stimulates Student Movement**

With respect to the working class movement, the new Franquist policy consists of recognizing it partially, when it is unavoidable, and insofar as it deals with economic recovery, while energetically checking any political inferences whatsoever. In the same vein, the student movement, which has developed extraordinarily since 1956, in particular in the University of Barcelona, has been the object of various attempts at integration through a legal recognition of it as a strictly professional movement. Francoism is endeavoring to arrive at the social integration of Western society but without giving up its totalitarian character, seeing that in a certain way, this is considered as a "precursor" of the states with a strong executive (eg. DeGaulle's France) that are gradually leading to a type of neo-Bonapartism in the neo-capitalist countries—supported by two large parties equally respectful of the system.

But this attempt contains within it a profound contradiction, because the powerful internal tensions of Spanish society make any authentic liberalization extremely dangerous for a bourgeoisie which is obsessed by a possible popular inundation. Under those conditions, the most basic recoveries end up in a political bridling, if they are carried to their conclusion by the responsible or-



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ganizations. Thus, the recognition "in fact" of the economic recoveries including recognition of the strike, has led to the practical disappearance of the Falangist trade union, which only persists where its posts have been occupied by workers from the Labor Commissions, representing the workers.

### Liberal Capitalist Regime or Socialism

These Labor Commissions, democratically elected at the factory level, have spread all over the country and into all branches of production although their major strength is in Madrid, Euzkadi, Asturias, and Catalonia. In spite of being officially illegal, its members are well known and many of their actions are public. These Commissions, in which workers of all political tendencies participate, although the preponderant influence is that of the Communists and the left-wing Catholics, represent for the first time in 28 years an authen-

tic organization of the masses on a national scale. Their struggle for recognition is a public act which attacks the very heart of Francoism.

An identical situation exists in the universities, originating in Barcelona in 1966 and in the other universities in 1967, of a Democratic Union of Students (DUS), a mass movement, the only existing union today among the students, which functions openly although it is illegal. *At the level of union organizations we find ourselves in Spain in a situation of dual power.*

The fundamental problem of the moment is to know whether the regime will finish integrating these tendencies and institutionalizing the repression against them, whether it can still permit itself to follow a policy of outright repression (as it has tried to do in the last few months) or whether the actual dynamic will lead to a political inundation which, given the character of the forces that would lead it, could lead to the formation of a socialist state.

## High School Conferences Support Oct. 21

BY DAVE COMEAU

On Friday, August 25th, eighty high school students registered for a weekend antiwar conference in Boston. There were representatives from high school Student Mobilization Committees in Boston, Detroit, and New York in addition to members of the Young Socialist Alliance, DuBois Clubs, SDS, and the Southern Student Organizing Committee. The conference opened with a discussion with Nick Egelson, former president of SDS, about his recent trip to north Vietnam.

On Saturday we broke into workshops where we discussed whether or not to organize around the single issue of the Vietnam war or organize around a more general radical program taking stands on many issues.

Among the workshops held on Sunday morning were those on antidraft newspapers, direct action, and organizing.

Following this a representative committee was selected to draw up a resolution on the October 21st mobilization in Washington, D. C., which was overwhelmingly endorsed by the last plenary session. It was agreed to give full support to the October

21st action and to organize as many high school students as possible to come to Washington and march under a high school banner.

The Boston Conference was only one of two held recently. I also attended a weekend gathering of high school students in Detroit on Sept. 8-10th. Among the organizations represented were the Detroit High School Student Mobilization Committee, Draft Resistance, the Twin Cities High School Student Mobilization Committee and the YSA.

### Vietnam Veteran At 20

The high point of this meeting was a report from Jim Selesky of the Chicago Veterans Against the War. Selesky is a Vietnam veteran at the age of 20.

The conference voted to support the rights of GI's to free speech and cited the cases of Levy, Stapp and Petrick. It enthusiastically endorsed the October 21st march and pledged to organize as many high school students as possible to come.

These two regional conferences have increased communication and collaboration between those of us in the high school antiwar movement and are the launching pad for what will become a strong high school antiwar movement.

Letters  
to the  
Editor

This page of the *Young Socialist* is reserved for our readers. We urge you to express your views on subjects of interest to radical youth. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers initials will be used unless authorization to use name is given.

Austin, Texas  
September 19, 1967

Thank you very much for the copy you sent of your news release concerning my husband's death. It has helped me very much to see again what I have always believed to be true: regardless of political differences within the movement, we do not forget in times of need who our real enemies are. Thank you again.

Peace and Unity,  
Mariann Vizard  
Chairman, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs,  
Austin Chapter

Piscataway, N. J.  
September 20, 1967

As a token of appreciation for publishing *Zionism and the Arab Revolution*, I am sending the modest sum of ten dollars as a donation. I am also sending one dollar subscription fee for the *Young Socialist* (one year).

A. M. E.

Westport, Conn.  
September 8, 1967

I have been reading the *Young Socialist* since late this spring. The full-page ad on page 28 of the July-August issue has spurred my interest in membership, so I would be interested in seeing anything you can

send me about the YSA and how to join it.

G. S. K.

Berkeley, Calif.  
August 11, 1967

Your information about the mid-east war is wrong.

As a young socialist and a strong believer in Zionism you were wrong.

The Kibbutz (farms under the socialist way of thinking) have been attacked many times. And Israel, when it had *her revolution*—where was imperialism then? Nowhere. Most socialist gave Israel money and help. And Israel has taken in her refugees and made them a part of the country. And the Arab countries let them (refugees) rot in camps. So I rest my case, and I hope you will print this.

Sholom.

T. D.

Houston, Texas  
September 9, 1967

I would greatly appreciate it if you would drop me a note about the availability of posters, and bumper stickers in support of the Socialist Workers party candidates. Oh, the Cuba issue (July-August) of the *Young Socialist* was ABSOLUTELY WONDERFUL! *Those putting this out deserve very special praise!* The copies of the issue on sale at The Underground Railway (a local "psychedelic" store) very quickly sold out. I am looking forward to the next issue.

E. F. L.

Osaka, Japan  
August 20, 1967

I am so glad to receive your attractive pamphlets. The articles in the *Young Socialist* are very interesting. I am sorry not to write you sooner and afraid I can't send you the payment now. Instead, I will give you some news of this country.

The enclosed news clipping written in English is from "The Mainichi Daily News." (Clipping described efforts of students at Kyoto University to prevent members of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) from enrolling at Kyoto University. Ed.) Kyoto University is where I go. There are many active members of

SDF studying in our university. They are studying, of course, subjects beneficial to army use, like poison gas, rockets and fuel, or public peace regulations in an emergency and so on.

On June 30 we went on a whole-university strike against it. I hear similar cases exist in your country. The Japanese SDF is now the biggest army in Asia, except China (on the continent), and is the most loyally allied army to the U. S. It is not sent to Vietnam only because we have a "Peace Constitution," which the rulers scheme to rewrite to include a conscription item.

You see in the article the word "anti-Japan Communist party students." To be sure, they are by no means anti-communists but rather anti-Stalinists, generally called "New Left." I suppose you are also "New Left." The word, in our country, signifies broadly every left sect other than those that used to exist, and in a narrow sense, anti-Stalinist sects. The contents of the sects are too complicated to tell you simply.

The pictures which are explained in Japanese letters are a demonstration held May 28 at Sunagawa, which is the place adjacent to the Tachikawa U. S. airbase near Tokyo. The shortness of the runway there allows jet transports, bound for Vietnam, to carry only 60% of maximum capacity. In due course they desire to enlarge the base, all the more according to the amazingly increasing traffic between Vietnam and Japan. Sunagawa is the place in question and they have been trying to buy up the area. But many of the farmers living there will not consent, despite a heap of money. The farmers know what they are doing and say "we are stopping Vietnam aggression by 40%." Now the government is plotting to take the land forcibly. To tell the truth, they once tried eleven years ago and failed in face of the strongest opposition of the farmers, workers, and students. So Sunagawa is the front battlefield in Japan now.

I want to write more but I am a little tired with and of English composition and mis-typing.

I hope you exert yourselves hard against your rulers. The Japanese people will not stop in their struggle.

H. Y.

## ...Notes

(continued from p. 2)

for five days and were not allowed out at all. A tunnel used by football players to go to the playing field was used as a toilet by these 180 people. The prisoners slept on the bare floor in shifts . . . The Piraeus arrived at the camp after being brutally beaten in the Security building. Arriving in such horrifying condition were the Mayor of Peristeri; Trade Union leaders were especially brutally beaten . . ."

**Canadian High Schoolers "Speak Out":** In Canada the Students Against the War in Vietnam, an organization of high school students, has initiated a program called "Speak Out." They hold outdoor rallies where they let anyone come and speak his piece on Vietnam and Canadian complicity with the war.

**High School Conference Slated for Thanksgiving:** Antiwar activists from high schools all over the country are now organizing in their local areas for a post October 21st conference. The high school conference will be held in Chicago during Thanksgiving vacation. For more information write: New York High School Student Mobilization Committee, 17 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y. 10003.

**On the State of the DuBois Clubs:** Bob Heisler in his organizational report at the DuBois Club National Convention, September 8-10 at Columbia University, described the gains made by the DuBois Clubs. Then he followed by saying: "But along with the above, we have also seen a decline in the past year in the number of functioning clubs.

"There are many reasons for this decline. For the past six months we have not in effect had a functioning National Office. No consistent publications, political or ideological leadership came from the National Office. Many clubs, thinking that the National Office had closed down, either folded up or stopped functioning regularly . . ."

Heisler closed with a sense of urgency. ". . . So, the message of my report is simple. The country needs the DBC. It needs us real bad."

**YSA Competition:** The July-August issue of the YS, a special issue on Cuba, was the focus of good socialist competition. YSA chapters across the country vied for the best sales per capita. The Los Angeles YSA won the contest hands down by selling 33 per capita and will receive their bundle of the YS free.

**Life With Lyndon:** In the N. Y. Times (Sept. 22) . . . "In Washington, it was reported that Mr. Rusk had been prepared to resign if his daughter's marriage [to an Afro-American] embarrassed President Johnson politically. But the President apparently saw this as a formal courtesy and gave it no serious consideration."

**Campaign Tour Begins With a Bang:** Over 200 students at Delaware State College attended a public meeting during the first stop of a tour by Paul Boutelle, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, and Derrick Morrison of black campuses in the South to kick-off the SWP presidential campaign! Over \$30 worth of literature was sold.

**Munich Socialist Students Stage 'All Purpose Hate-In':** The *New York Times* reported on August 28 that "Munich Socialist Students staged 'an all purpose hate-in' against Western leaders, including Johnson.

"Some 200 students sang protest songs and threw rotten eggs at larger than life pictures of . . ." the Shah of Iran and the dictator of Portugal.

"The demonstration in the student district of Schwabing, was aimed at regulations which forbid insults to foreign heads of state and require police permission for protest demonstrations."

**Solidarity Appreciated:** Daniel Camejo Gauche, one of the thirteen Latin Americans seized and jailed by the Mexican security police in a recent wave of arrests in Mexico City, sent a letter to the N. Y. YSA.

"We have received your telegrams of solidarity, for which we are most grateful.

"Having been kidnapped, tortured, threatened with death and held incommunicado by the Federal Security Police (DFS) here, after which we were booked on completely framed-up charges, it was most encouraging to receive your messages.

"Your past and present concern and activity in defense of so many political prisoners throughout Latin America, such as Hugo Blanco, Hugo Moscoso, Regis Debray . . . are proof of your revolutionary internationalism and provide inspiration to the political prisoners here in Mexico.

"Your most effective help to the fourteen of us recently thrown into prison here on trumped up charges, is your revolutionary activity within the YSA—defending the struggles of the black people in America and building and providing the capable leadership for the massive antiwar movement and the defense of the rights of the heroic people of Vietnam.

"With revolutionary solidarity."

Venceremos!

Daniel Camejo G.

**Iranian Students Ask for Support:** The YS received a letter addressed to various youth groups, from the 14th Annual Convention of the Iranian Students Association asking for support to their struggle against the military dictatorship in Iran. Following is an excerpt from that letter.

"We have found it to be our duty to bring the real situation in the Shah's Iran to the attention of the American people and to protest the United States meddling in the internal affairs of our people. In our work we have received invaluable sympathy and assistance from American youth. In this connection the convention commends your work with us.

"We also commend your work in the antiwar movement of the American people to stop the U. S. interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese."

**National Gathering of the YSA Projects Record Fund Campaign:** In a national plenary session of the YSA, leading members of the YSA projected a fall fund campaign from September 15—December 15 of \$10,000, the largest yet in the history of the YSA. As of September 28, already \$2,900 had been sent in! You can also contribute in helping to build a strong socialist youth movement by sending us a donation today.

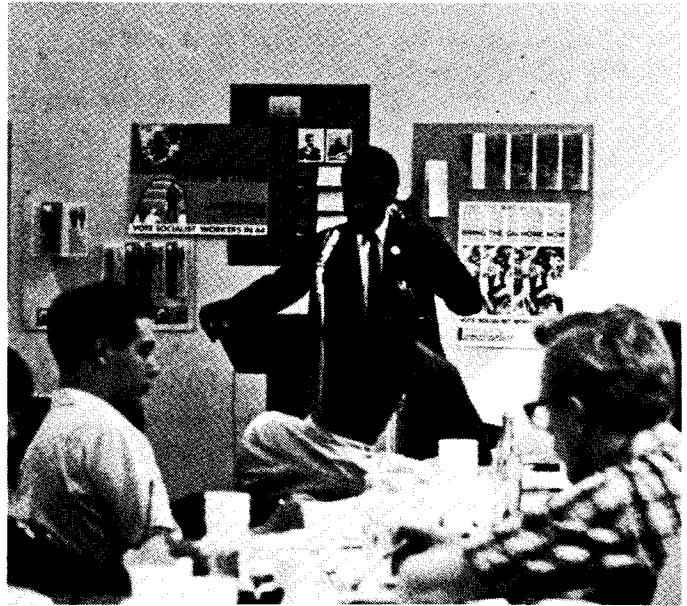
**John Birch Signs Edited in California:** Two big signs put up by the John Birch Society near the James Lick Freeway to publicize its policies were defaced. The messages, carried by large back-to-back billboards atop an unoccupied building say: "Support Your Local Police" and "Let's Win in Vietnam and Get Out!"

At least they did say that. Now through the efforts of a person or persons unknown who climbed a fire-escape and went after it with paint and brush, they say: "This War in Vietnam . . . Get Out", and "Support Your Local Lice."

**Really?** *Look* magazine's October 3 issue on the 50th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution opened its lead article with the following: "It works. Ponderously, fitfully, unevenly. But 50 years after the revolution that changed the world forever, the system it fosters wheezes with life. We strain to hear the sounds of discord and seize on every setback; but it's time to ponder some disconcerting realities."

Even the capitalist press today has to admit the impact of the Russian Revolution, even if it has taken them 50 years.

**Pamphlet on Zionism Best Hit at "New Politics" Convention:** Of the large quantities of literature sold by the YSA at the National Conference for New Politics Convention over Labor Day week-



Paul Boutelle addresses YSA meeting

end in Chicago, the recently published YSA pamphlet, "Zionism and the Arab Revolution" was by far the best hit. Over 150 copies were sold.

**YSA Growing Rapidly:** More young people have joined the YSA in the past six months than in the previous two years. This trend is expected to continue.

**Two Vietnam Veterans Newspapers Initiated:** Recent dissatisfaction within the armed services is reflected in an attempt by Vietnam veterans to organize and publicize their opposition to the Vietnam war. *The Bond*, published on the West Coast and *Veterans Stars and Stripes for Peace* are both important publications for antiwar activists to read. *The Bond* can be obtained by writing to: 2056 Emerson St., Berkeley, California 94703, and *Veterans Stars and Stripes* from: 1608 W. Madison St., Rm. 201, Chicago, Ill. 60612.

**Business As Usual in Washington:** "On August 14 the President issued a special statement ordering Secretary Wirtz and Defense Secretary MacNamara to help 100,000 armed forces veterans who have had difficulty finding jobs since returning to civilian life."—*New York Times*

**Black GI Refuses to Go:** DuBois Club member, Ronald Lockman, was arrested September 15 in California for refusing to board a troop train for Vietnam.



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